

ASCENT TO GREATNESS



Pan Taylor

Raymond E. McNair

How America Became Great

Winston S. Churchill once said that America has "arrived at the summit of the world."

Now, Raymond F. McNair, seasoned veteran journalist, brings his skills to bear in writing a penetrating, thought-provoking, highly exciting and vivid account of the United States' unparalleled rise to power. Tracing America's meteoric rise from thirteen struggling, precarious colonies to the world's foremost super-power in just 200 years, he probes the reasons and causes of America's fantastic journey to greatness, revealing the all important "invisible thread" through America's history.

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- ... of the miracle of 1588 and the defeat of the Spanish Armada.
- ... the incredible ordeal at Valley Forge.
- ... the whole story behind the world's greatest land grab bargain.
- ... how Russia lost Alaska and California.
- ... how a little known "miracle" stopped Rommel's army at El Alamein.
- ... the incredible plot that destroyed Hitler's A-bomb project.
- ... the tightly guarded secret that swung the balance of World War II.
- ... the hair-raising episode of the Cuban missile crisis.
- ... the truth about the Watergate controversy.
- ... what went wrong in Korea and Vietnam, and why.

... the amazing truth about America's religious heritage.

Ascent to Greatness is a book you won't want to miss. Unlike any other history book, it tells the untold story of what factors have contributed to America's uniqueness among the world's nations. It is not only filled with the many staggering sagas of our forefathers and their accomplishments, but also perceptively analyzes America's current problems, crises, and the state of the nation, militarily, morally, and psychologically. In the light of this analysis, his penetrating and incisive commentary on the whole chronological spectrum of the American scene is "must reading" for every informed American.

One of the outstanding features of this fascinating American history is its many scores of valuable quotations from the Founding Fathers, important generals and other national figures — as well as treasured quotes from dozens of world leaders. The inclusion of important Presidential Proclamations, and State papers make this highly attractive volume a valuable source of easy reference material for speakers, writers, editors, lecturers, ministers, teachers and students.

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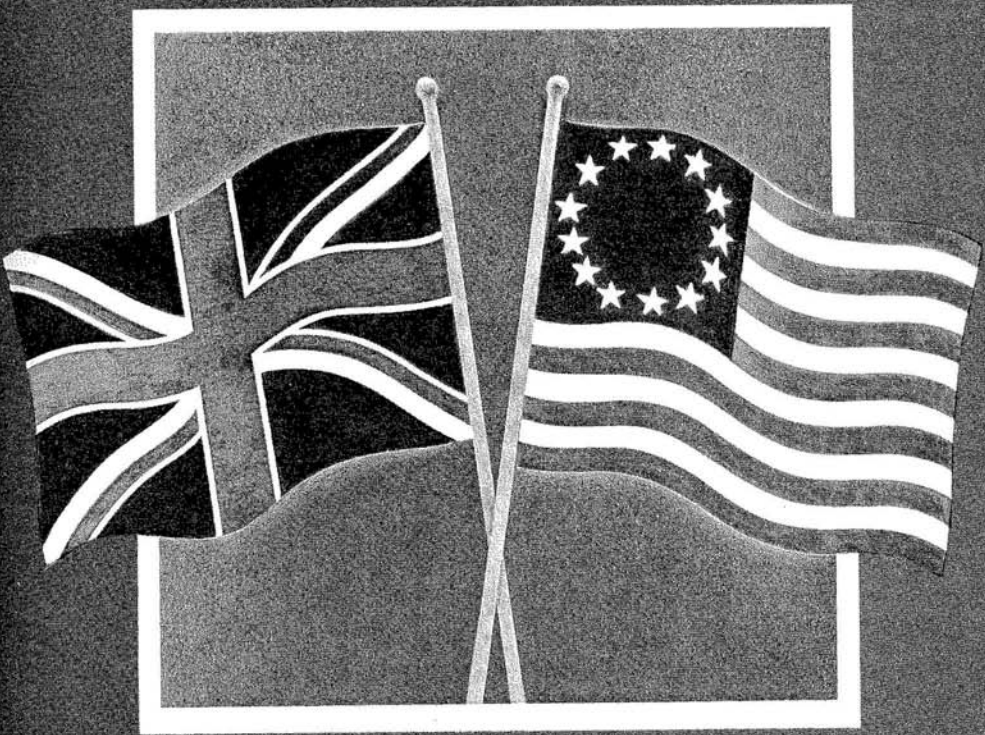
*In loving memory of my sister
Margie Helen Meredith
And
To my wonderful children
Ruth Angelyn
Bruce David Andrew
Raymond Joseph*

Those who tell the Americans of the future what the Americans of today and of yesterday have done will perforce tell much that is unpleasant. Nevertheless, when the tale is finally told, I believe that it will show that the forces working for good in our national life outweigh the forces working for evil, and that, with many blunders and shortcomings, with much halting and turning aside from the path, we shall yet in the end prove our faith by our works, and show in our lives our belief that righteousness exalteth a nation.

— Theodore Roosevelt

BOOK I

**BIRTH PANGS
OF THE
REPUBLIC**



America at the Pinnacle

Winston S. Churchill, speaking at a dinner in his honor in New York on May 25, 1949, said that America had “arrived at the summit of the world.”

This 200-year-old nation is by far the richest and most powerful country on earth! Truly, America’s ascent to greatness has placed the United States at the very pinnacle of power and prosperity. How did this all come about?

How did the thirteen struggling colonies become the world’s super nation — with a GNP roughly double that of Russia?

How could this latecomer on the world scene rise meteorically to such an unprecedented pinnacle of economic and military dominance — dwarfing all other nations?

Is America’s success story primarily the result of cleverly engineered American bootstrap philosophy? Did American ingenuity produce all this wealth and power?

Or has an Unseen Hand guided this nation unerringly from its inception in 1607 — when the struggling Jamestown colonists from England barely managed to establish the first permanent English foothold in the New World?

How different the course of world history would have been had Spain, France, or Russia come to dominate North America!

In 1493, Pope Alexander VI assigned to Spain all the land which later became Canada and the United States. Subsequently, Spaniards claimed Florida, much of the southern part of the U.S., and all of western America as far north as Canada.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Frenchmen explored much of North America and claimed vast territories for France. Later, Napoleon Bonaparte planned to establish a French Empire west of the Mississippi River — for the express purpose of counterbalancing the Anglo-Saxon dominated nation east of the Mississippi.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Czars of Russia claimed Alaska and the western part of Canada. In 1812 the Russians even established a thriving colony in northern California. Russia, like Spain and France, coveted North America.

Holland and Sweden also made feeble attempts to create footholds in

North America in the early 1600s. But these Dutch and Swedish settlements were soon swallowed up by the English colonies. The Finns also began a trading station in North America during this period.

Spain, France and Russia all grasped for control and possession of North America, yet they all *failed!* But why?

Why did their attempts to gain control of this indescribably rich, virgin continent utterly collapse? How did it happen that the peoples of Britain, a tiny island nation of only 3 or 4 million people, gained possession of this fabulously wealthy land?

And did the Anglo-Saxon-Celtic-descended British succeed in acquiring this rich continent because of their cleverness, foresightedness, skill and cunning? Or did these British-descended peoples succeed in spite of themselves?

The true history of America — the account of how we became the earth's most affluent, most powerful nation — is a fascinating chronicle. The real struggle for national dominance in North America is a most interesting, yet little known, story. Many of the thrilling highlights of this American story have been very sadly misunderstood.

It is imperative that Americans be given the facts of their national success story as we — both during and in the years following our Bicentennial — reflect on the highlights of our history.

As a nation, America is still young. But she is no longer an infant or even an adolescent nation. We have come of age. We have matured. Some would even say we are “aging.” They see in us many social wrinkles of injustice. Gray hairs of moral decadence, they say, are everywhere in evidence.

Some even go so far as to claim that this once virgin land — like its once virtuous peoples — has lost most of its virtue. Greedy Americans have ravished, despoiled and polluted their lovely land.

Some radicals and extremists are even preparing to destroy America through the convulsive blows of a bloody revolution. To them, our beloved country is sullied, corrupt — so morally deformed as to be beyond redemption!

Such gloom and doom mongers believe national *rigor mortis* is already setting in. The undertaker is waiting impatiently. America's funeral will, they think, soon become part of the dusty pages of history.

But before we can speculate on America's future “history,” we need to examine America's past, and we also need to understand present-day America.

Look at America today. In spite of our social, economic and moral wrinkles, how greatly have we been blessed in comparison with the other nations of this earth!

We shall now take a critical look at these United States of America from three different perspectives: 1) the goodly heritage of this rich land

of plenty, including our marvelous climate; 2) our thriving, unparalleled economy; and 3) the U.S. military dominance in the world.

America's Goodly Heritage

Our national heritage, when rightly viewed, can only elicit open-mouthed astonishment, awe and wonderment.

Truly, no nation or people has ever been so fortunate as the peoples of these United States of America.

President Abraham Lincoln aptly stated this when he proclaimed a day of fasting and prayer in 1863. The President said: "We find ourselves in the peaceful possession of *the fairest portion of the earth*, as regards *fertility of soil*, extent of territory, and salubrity of *climate*. . . . We find ourselves the legal inheritors of these fundamental blessings. We toiled not in the acquirement or the establishment of them."

He continued: "We have been the recipients of the *choicest blessings of heaven*. . . . We have grown in numbers, wealth and power as no other nation ever has grown."

Lincoln was right — but in the one hundred thirteen years since his words were penned, we have been blessed even more.

In size, the United States is the fourth largest nation — after Russia, China, and Canada. We also have the fourth largest population — after China, India, and Russia.

Though we occupy only about 6 percent of the earth's land surface, we possess 18 percent of the world's croplands. Very few nations have as much "arable land" per capita as the U.S. — with 3 acres per person. Russia has only 2.8, France has 1.2, India 0.9, Norway 0.6. (Canada, our sister country, has a whopping 6.7 acres per capita.)

These United States lie between the 26° and 55° N. latitude — in the *north temperate zone*. As you go north of the U.S. border, the growing season is drastically reduced and the weather becomes harsh during much of the year. When you travel south of our border, you quickly descend into humid heat and subtropical weather.

World's "Breadbasket"

As a direct result of our being so abundantly blessed with one of the world's most varied and enticing climates, and with our possession of the earth's most productive land, America has become the "breadbasket" of the world.

In 1973 the U.S. exported over \$17 billion worth of farm produce. This figure rose to about \$20 billion in 1974; and burgeoning shipments of food continued in 1975. U.S. food exports will undoubtedly continue to climb higher in coming years as America tries to stave off famine in

the world's undernourished countries, as long as her own crops remain bountiful.

Notice the proportion (of all foodstuffs exported worldwide) which the U.S. exported in 1973: 89 percent of all *soybeans*, 74 percent of *corn*, 53 percent of *wheat*, 26 percent of all *rice*, and 18 percent of all *cotton*.

The U.S. is now exporting about 60 million metric tons of grain each year. Canada exports about 14 million, Argentina and Australia about 12 million each.

The U.S. has quadrupled in size since 1790, when there were only 889,000 square miles in the nation. By 1890 we had grown to 3 million square miles.

While Canada occupies about half of North America (it has 3,851,809 square miles), the United States possesses 3,608,787 square miles, and our southern neighbor, Mexico has 761,000 square miles.

It is interesting to note that the U.S.-Canadian border is the longest unfortified frontier in the world. Nearly 4,000 miles of border separate Canada and the 48 U.S. states to her south. Add to this the 1500-mile border between Canada and the state of Alaska. Every year there are over 60 million crossings of the U.S.-Canadian border, and over 125 million crossings of the U.S.-Mexican border.

Furthermore, much of the U.S. is laced with rivers and streams, and there are many thousands of lakes, including the important Great Lakes which we share with Canada. The Mississippi-Missouri river is the fifth longest river in the world. The Indian word *Mississippi* means "Father of Waters."

The entire world would be much poorer today if America had not been discovered and colonized. Few Americans realize how many important foods are indigenous to their continent. Here are only a few of them: Corn, potatoes, peanuts, squashes, pumpkins, avocados, peppers, pineapples, tomatoes, cacao, cocoa, and many others others.

The U.S. has been blessed with expansive tracts of productive croplands, large forests, a multitude of rivers, streams and lakes, and a varied but temperate climate. This new "Promised Land" is also rich in oil and other minerals. The U.S. possesses about *one third* of all the coal in the entire world. Once the technique of extracting and utilizing this vast resource in an economical manner is perfected, America should have enough of this abundant fuel to keep her going for many centuries.

America at the Economic Pinnacle

The total wealth produced by the original Thirteen Colonies at the time of the American Revolution was miniscule in comparison with today's gross national product of one and a half trillion dollars! America's GNP accounts for over one third of the total world GNP! This

mind-boggling figure represents the total value of both *goods* and *services* produced annually by the U.S. And this is nearly double the GNP of the Soviet Union.

Here are the GNP figures for some of the major non-Communist nations of the world — as computed for the calendar year of 1972: *Japan* 335 billion; *W. Germany* 286 billion; *France* 218 billion; *Great Britain* 152 billion; *Italy* 122,090; *Canada* 103 billion; *India* 58 billion; *Spain* 51 billion; *Netherlands* 51 billion; *Australia* 51 billion. Brazil's GNP for that same year was just barely below the 50 billion figure. Soviet Russia, East Germany and Communist China certainly must have had a GNP of well over 50 billion in that same year.

Other non-Communist nations' GNP fell well below 50 billion for 1972.

These figures will give you some idea of just how small the actual productive capacity (the annual GNP) of most nations really is. During that same year (1972) the U.S. GNP was nearly \$1 trillion — \$930 billion.

In August 1974, *Fortune* magazine listed the top 50 industrial corporations in the world. Of the twelve largest corporations, *ten* are American. These twelve leading corporations are (in order of size): General Motors, Exxon (during 1975 Exxon became number 1 and GM number 2) Ford, *Royal Dutch/Shell*, Chrysler, General Electric, Texaco, Mobil Oil, *Unilever*, IBM, ITT, Gulf Oil. All of these twelve top corporations are American-based except *Royal Dutch/Shell* and *Unilever*.

Another index of U.S. affluence can be seen in the *average family income* compared with other nations. In America, the average family income is now running at about \$14,200. One of the reasons for this very high average family income is the fact that 43% of all women are now employed; and there are now 3,000,000 women who earn more than their husbands.

In 1776 the annual income per person was less than \$500. A century later (1876) it had risen to \$800. Today the average annual income per person in the U.S. is running at the high mark of over \$6,000!

Another indicator of the economic strength of America today is the sheer size of our U.S. Government budget — which during the year of our Bicentennial celebration is running over \$350 billion, and is soon expected to climb above the \$400 billion mark!

The annual U.S. defense budget, if all hidden items are included, is now running well over \$100 billion — and this is more than double the entire gross national product of the vast majority of nations on this earth — as most nations' annual GNP is well below \$50 billion.

The GNP of the state of California is now running well over \$100 billion. If California were to become a separate nation, her annual GNP would be the eighth largest in the entire world.

Another sign of unprecedented U.S. prosperity is the number of motor vehicles choking our highways. The U.S. now has over 105 million *automobiles*, plus 25 million *trucks and busses* — 130 million motor vehicles clogging our roads, superhighways, and city streets. (This affluence is now regarded as a mixed blessing!)

A Glut of Material Things

Never before have the peoples of any nation been so blessed (or glutted!) with material possessions! Nearly two thirds of all Americans now own their own homes — over 60 percent to be more precise — and over two million own second homes. Eighty percent own at least one car — while millions have two cars, and many own three or more.

Nearly all U.S. families own *refrigerators, TV sets, radios; and washing machines*, while over 90 percent have *telephones*.

The average American only spends about 18 percent of his consumer dollars on *food*; the average Briton spends 30 percent, and food runs to about 40 percent in the nations behind the Iron Curtain. But worse still, in the underdeveloped countries the figure runs to 60 percent.

Does an average American worker work *fewer hours* in order to purchase food, clothing, houses, cars, appliances, etc. — than the average worker in other nations? He certainly does!

The following facts taken from *The Real America* by Ben J. Wattenberg, reveal some shocking comparisons between the American and non-American workers' actual purchasing power:

LIVING STANDARDS, INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS, TEN SELECTED ITEMS

To buy this —	A typical factory hand must work this long in—				
	U.S.	Japan	Britain	France	W.Germany
Low-priced home	4-5 yrs.	12-14 yrs.	6-7 yrs.	8-10 yrs.	10-12 yrs.
TV set, B & W	36 hrs.	87½ hrs.	99 hrs.	125 hrs.	69 hrs.
Small car	15 wks.	21½wks.	32½ wks.	33 wks.	21½ wks.
Man's shoes	6½ hrs.	7½ hrs.	9½ hrs.	12½ hrs.	9 hrs.
Whiskey, fifth	80 min.	5½ hrs.	3 hrs.	4 hrs.	2 hrs.
Cigarettes, pack	8 min.	7 min.	23 min.	13 min.	17 min.
Hamburger, lb.	14 min.	62 min.	30 min.	47 min.	29 min.
Eggs, dozen	11 min.	22 min.	23 min.	33 min.	21 min.
Milk, half gal.	10 min.	24 min.	15 min.	17 min.	13 min.
Bread, lb.	4 min.	14 min.	8 min.	7 min.	7 min.

In 1971, 99.8 percent of American homes had radios; 94 percent had vacuum cleaners; 84 percent had electric food mixers; 91 percent had

automatic coffeemakers; and in the four years from 1969 through 1972, 23 million power lawnmowers were sold. During this same period, 34 million tape recorders, 18 million phonographs, and 18 million hair dryers were bought in affluent America.

In 1973, Americans purchased 31 million major appliances, 8 million color TV sets, 11.5 million new autos, and were still able to contribute nearly \$24.5 billion to charity.

Interestingly, most of the leading industrial nations lay a heavier tax burden on the shoulders of their citizenry than does the U.S. Of the 13 leading industrial nations of the world, the U.S. tax burden is the second *lowest*. And four of those thirteen countries impose a tax burden on their peoples which now averages over 40 percent. (The average U.S. citizen only pays 28 *percent* of his income in *taxes* — federal, state, local.)

Though inflation continues to pick the pockets of Americans, to their everlasting annoyance, it has been much lower in the U.S. than in most of the industrial nations during the last ten years. In the U.S. it has averaged less than ten percent per annum during that ten-year period. But in many other countries it has run up to twenty percent or higher.

Inflation was roaring along at about 25 percent in Britain (but is now down to around *only* 12 percent), and is racing along at the fantastic rate of 75 percent in Argentina!

Meanwhile the U.S. continues to give away much to other nations. Since World War II, the U.S. has given away about \$69 billion in military aid, and about \$110 billion in civilian aid. Besides this, we have exported to the other industrial nations billions in American capital investment and have given or sold to them countless billions worth of advanced technology.

America's friends and foes alike around the world continue to criticize, all the while aping and envying her — realizing that they are just not able to compete with this industrial and military colossus.

In 1957, Premier Khrushchev boasted Russia would soon overtake the U.S. in her annual GNP. He worked hard to convert Russia from a "goulash economy" to a modern technologically advanced, computer-run nation. But this modernization process has been slow.

Since that time, droves of Russian agricultural experts have constantly toured American farms and factories to see what it is that enables the U.S. to far outproduce Russia in so many vital areas — even though Russia is about two and one-half times the size of America.

In 1900, 38 percent of the American labor force was employed on farms — as laborers, foremen or farm managers. By 1970 only 4.3 *percent* of the American work force was left employed on farms!

But . . . 27% of Soviet Russia's work force is now employed in

the running of Soviet farms; in *Japan* it's 24%; while France employs 18%; and 11% in West Germany.

In spite of many social and labor evils which still plague America, the average U.S. wage continues to rise, and the after-taxes purchasing power of the average American continues to climb steadily upward — giving America the world's highest standard of living.

Has America Been Too Blessed?

Many Americans simply don't realize just how gratefully blessed they have been. Having made several world tours, and having travelled widely throughout Europe (where I lived for fifteen years), it is my conclusion that even the "poor" of the U.S. are much better off than are the masses of most countries.

Ordinary items of food, clothing, shelter and appliances — articles which are commonplace in America — things which we take for granted — are luxury items in most nations. We have been so blessed with fine homes, beautiful autos, nice clothes, innumerable appliances, varied and exotic foods — that we tend to take all these blessings for granted. And all too often we seem to feel or express no real thanks or gratitude for our superabundance!

The late Prime Minister of Japan, Kakuei Tanaka, seemed to sense our national ingratitude when he commented: "I often wonder why you (Americans) worry so much about domestic problems when you have such an abundance of resources. For example, look at American agricultural productivity. It's easy for the U.S. to expand its output whenever it chooses. We can't do that in Japan. When I compare the situation here in Japan with the situation in your country, I think that as a nation you are too privileged."

When he was asked if he really believed we were "too privileged," he replied: "Yes, *I think God has not been very fair in the distribution of resources.*"

He further commented: "The U.S. has many domestic problems, and some Americans may be deeply concerned about the way their country is being run. But of all the 3.7 billion people on this earth, Americans have the most stable economy, they have an abundance of resources available within their own country, and they have more investments abroad than any other country. So in terms of broad economic activity, the influence of the United States, as such, has not changed at all.

"When you think in terms of a capability in exercising economic, political and military power, the weight of the U.S. in world affairs has not declined at all. I expect it to continue to be as important as it has been in the past" (*U.S. News & World Report*, Nov. 26, 1973).

Was the late Prime Minister of Japan right in thinking that the U.S. is "too privileged" by having "such an abundance of resources"? Was he really right in saying: "I think God has not been very fair in the distribution of resources"?

It is certain that America has been blessed by Heaven with the "fattest land" in the whole earth — if one considers, as originally stated, the fertility of our soil, the abundance of our natural resources and the temperate climate with which we have been favored.

But how did it all come about?

Have all these great blessings come to us as a result of our own cleverness, brilliance, ingenuity?

Is it merely by "chance" that we have received them? Were our forefathers especially gifted above other men, or more lucky?

Or was this bounty fore-ordained by Providence?

Before we can truly understand the answers to these questions, we must survey the historical setting which led to the establishment of the original Thirteen Colonies along our eastern seaboard.

What world conditions led up to the colonization of the New World by Europeans? How did the British come to win the struggle for control of the North American continent?

Struggle in Europe

It is difficult, if not impossible, to understand the great religious zeal behind European colonization of America — without first briefly surveying various events in Europe — events which preceded and led up to the American colonization.

The Roman Empire had ruled over much of Europe — including France, Spain, England and part of Germany — for many centuries when the Western branch of the Roman Empire was brought tumbling down before the onslaught of the barbarians.

Once the political power of the Western branch of the Roman Empire had been crushed, there was no power in the West to equal or challenge the power of the Pope at Rome. Though the Eastern branch of the Roman Empire at Constantinople continued to function, in the West there was a nearly total power vacuum left after the mighty fall of Rome.

Justinian revived the Roman Empire in the West in 554. From this time forward, all the kings and emperors in the West were in one way or another dependent on or subject to the power and authority of the Pope at Rome.

During the Middle Ages few kings or emperors were powerful enough to challenge or in any way defy the authority of the popes — without feeling the serious consequences of such “obstinate” and “heretical” defiance.

Kings and emperors who dared to challenge the authority of the church actually found themselves humiliated, excommunicated or even deposed!

In 1075 Pope Gregory VII decreed that any priest receiving “lay investiture,” or any layman giving investiture to a priest would be excommunicated! (The term “lay investiture” refers to the appointment of bishops, abbots and other holders of church offices by laymen — and kings and emperors were also considered laymen).

But the Pope’s denying civil rulers the authority to make appointments to church offices did not set well with Henry IV, King of Germany and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Henry struck back by convening an assembly at Worms, composed in the main of bishops that he had nominated. This august assemblage then proceeded to depose Pope Gregory.

The Pope retaliated by excommunicating Henry. Then, to make matters worse, Henry's bishops concluded they could no longer give allegiance to him — an excommunicated king!

Realizing the Pope had, at least temporarily, tied his hands, Henry felt compelled to seek the Pope's pardon. In order to ask the Pope's forgiveness, penitent Henry made a long journey in the cold winter to Canossa, a fortress where the Pope was residing. The humbled German king is said to have stood barefoot in the snow for three days before he was granted permission to kneel at the Pope's feet and receive pardon.

But Henry later exacted his vengeance on Pope Gregory for this humiliating experience. In 1084, Henry marched against Rome and captured the city, forcing Gregory to flee. King Henry IV then replaced Pope Gregory with a new pope of his choice. Gregory died in exile.

But the battle was not over. A later pope proceeded to expel Henry from the Church. And in 1105, Henry IV was forced to abdicate after one of his own sons was influenced to rebel against him.

This conflict between king and pope will serve to illustrate just how powerful the popes became. Remember, at this time their sway extended over nearly all of Western Europe.

Another notable example of temporal rulers submitting to the authority of the pope is that of Henry II, King of England (1154-1189).

After the conquest of England by William the Conqueror in 1066 A.D., the Church continued advancing in Europe its already immense claims to authority. The Pope, as Vicar of Christ, responsible for men's salvation, insisted on supremacy over the secular rulers of Christendom. Earthly kings and princes were merely his vassals. They owed complete homage to him, and had to obey his "bulls" and decrees.

Henry II, King of England, was one prince who differed with the Pope on the matter of "lay investiture." However, England's Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, agreed with the Pope, and bitterly opposed Henry on this important issue.

King Henry became furious at his opposition: "Are there none that will rid me of this turbulent priest?" asked Henry.

Shortly afterwards some of Henry's knights murdered Archbishop Becket. A stunned Europe shuddered at the news of his murder. Eventually, an overwhelmed Henry confessed his fault, and begged the Pope's forgiveness. So deep was his sense of guilt and remorse that he afterwards did penance at the tomb of the martyred archbishop, walking near the tomb barefoot, while monks scourged his naked back.

During the Dark Ages many other kings and emperors humbled themselves before the popes. Several, on the other hand, fought against the popes; and on a few occasions, even took them captive or deposed them.

Besides the "lay investiture" conflict, there were other clashes be-

tween kings, emperors and popes during the Middle Ages. Many rulers objected to the riches, corruption, and authoritative demands of the Church. They did not like the popes or any of the clerics meddling in their secular affairs. Many petty princes endured it. Other more powerful secular rulers rebelled.

During the fourteenth century fierce doctrinal differences sprang up within the Church. These religious conflicts climaxed in the second Great Schism in the Christian Church. The popes had moved to Avignon for purely political reasons, and when those reasons seemed no longer valid, Pope Gregory XI returned to Rome; and died shortly afterward. Subsequently, two popes were elected — one ruled at *Avignon*, the other, at *Rome*. For the next thirty-nine years, there were two *rival popes* — each claiming to be the true head of the Church.

This great schism helped to discredit the Church and caused it to lose much of its authority. This period of two-pope strife fostered a climate of further schism, outright heresy, and serious *protest* — which eventually led to Martin Luther's break with Rome in 1517, and the resultant third Great Schism in the Christian Church, the Protestant Reformation.

Papal claims, plus their "meddling" (as some called it) in secular matters, and the great schism which resulted in two popes claiming to be Christ's Vicar, weakened the Church in many ways. This was especially true in England.

Had it not been for this general *confusion* (plus the undeniable *corruption*, and great affluence in the Church, while the masses lived in poverty) Henry VIII might never have been emboldened to break with Rome and, in 1534, declare himself Head of the Church in England.

The Renaissance

During the long night of the Dark Ages Europe stagnated, forgetting much of the art, skills, science and learning of the ancients. It was as if a heavy, smothering blanket of ignorance and superstition settled down over Western Europe. During much of this period, the Church held universal sway over virtually every facet of men's lives.

But at last a breath of fresh air, the *Renaissance*, or rebirth of learning, began to waft across Europe. During the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, bold thinkers began to rediscover the ancient Greek and Latin writings. Arts, crafts and many branches of learning blossomed.

As men began to shake off the shackles of ignorance and superstition which had suppressed them during the Dark Ages, they began to think for themselves, to question, to demand proof. Some even dared to question many of the Church's cherished beliefs.

Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) was one of the great thinkers who began

to question, among other things, whether the earth really was the center of the universe. Following the Copernican theory he held that the earth revolved around the sun. But since this belief was anathema to the teaching of the Church, Galileo was put under a Church ban.

On June 22, 1633, this old man (who had distinguished himself as an astronomer and a teacher), pale and trembling, stood in sackcloth before the assembled cardinals, who were dutifully prepared to carry out their sacred trust as part of the dreaded Inquisition.

One of Galileo's inquisitors informed him in a monotonous voice that he was to be "held absolved (from his heresy), provided that, with a sincere heart and a faith unfeigned, he abjures and curses the heresies he has cherished, as well as every other heresy against the Church . . . and that he shall be condemned to the prison of the Inquisition during its pleasure"

The aged Galileo fell on his knees before the assembly, invoking divine assistance as he vowed never again to teach his heretical doctrines. Then, with trembling hand, he signed a paper setting forth his wrongdoing. As the assemblage of cardinals arose, he was taken from the room, reportedly muttering defiantly, "*Eppur si muove*" ("But it moves, just the same!").

Not only kings and emperors, but also scholars and scientists had to be careful not to oppose or in any way even contradict the Church. Otherwise they could be excommunicated — cut off from the Church, from family and society. They might even receive the death penalty, if they obstinately refused to recant. Such "heretics" were expected to repudiate their "false" ideas — even if they honestly believed they were right.

These facts of medieval life played a big part in impelling many Europeans to seek real *religious freedom* in the New World across the Atlantic.

Discovery of America

What is it that impelled seamen, voyaging in rather primitive, unsafe ships, to be willing to brave the fury of oceanic tempest in order to discover the New World?

Why were men willing to leave their families and fortunes behind, and sail far westward into the unknown "dark, deep ocean" — risking their very lives?

One contributing factor was that Europe longed to discover a new route to the spice lands of the East. Europeans wanted to find a shorter, less time-consuming and less costly route to the Orient — to India, Japan and China, as well as the rich spice islands, the Moluccas.

In 1453 the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople and renamed it Istanbul. By 1571 the Ottoman Empire dominated the Mediterranean,

and sealed off to European seamen all the old sea-routes between Europe and the rich spice lands of the East.

Remember, during those times when canning and refrigeration were unknown, spices were considered *necessary* in order to make unpalatable foods more savory. Meats could be made much more enjoyable if they were seasoned with exotic spices from the Orient.

European merchants, deprived after 1571 of their source of rich spices, began to think of ways to overcome their difficulty. How could they find a direct route to Japan (Cypangu), China (Cathay), the Moluccas and other spice lands — without having to traverse *Moslem* lands — and thereby avoid paying excessive prices for these precious spices?

About this time, certain important inventions (the magnetic compass and the astrolabe) and the art of map-making began to make sea voyaging much more enticing.

The Portuguese early became great navigators. Under the impetus of Henry the Navigator (1394-1460) and others, they explored the waters around Africa, and sailed all the way east to India and China. Not long afterward, the Spaniards, English, French and Dutch also began to navigate the world's unknown waters — especially the Atlantic.

In the late 1400s a remarkable man, Christopher Columbus (1451-1506), appeared on the world scene — with a consuming *vision* that God had chosen him for some great purpose!

He tried to get the King of Portugal and then the King of France to underwrite his exploratory expedition in search of Cathay (China). He ran into a brick wall. The kings of both Portugal and France turned him down flatly. He sent his brother, Bartholemew, to see if the King of England, Henry VII, would back his explorations. Again his request was turned down.

Many thought he was *mad!* How could anyone believe you could reach the *East* by sailing *West*? This just did not make sense to them. Even though enlightened people of the day believed the earth was a sphere, nobody had yet proven this to be so. Understandably, then, kings and private financiers were reluctant to risk fortune and lives on this harebrained adventure.

Finally, however, Columbus began to receive some encouragement. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain became mildly interested in the plans of this tall, red-haired, freckled-faced, blue-eyed visionary — with his wild dreams of discovering Japan, China and India by sailing west. They put Columbus on a small retainer salary for several years. He grew somewhat discouraged — thinking he was getting nowhere. Finally he decided to pack his bags, mount his donkey and head for another kingly court. But just at this instant, Queen Isabella sent a messenger after him — telling him that he was being commissioned to discover a new route to the Orient.

In that very year, 1492, the Moors had finally been driven out of southern Spain (Granada), and this victory made it possible for the Spanish throne to divert finances into Columbus's scheme. It was estimated that the entire expense of his exploratory voyage would only equal the cost of one royal dinner.

King Phillip II and Queen Isabella of Spain promised him that he would be made Admiral of the fleet, would be given ten percent of all the gold or treasures which he found, and would also be made viceroy of all the lands which he discovered.

In 1492 Columbus and a crew of ninety men sailed from Spain in three small ships (*Santa Maria*, *Pinto*, and *Nina*) looking for a shortcut to the East. After sailing for many weeks, the crew was on the verge of mutiny when they finally sighted land — San Salvador.

On his first voyage Columbus discovered San Salvador (Watling Island), Santa Maria de la Conception (Rum Key), Isabella (Crooked Island), Long Island, Haiti and Cuba.

Columbus and his crew became the first Europeans to set foot on the New World in modern times, other than the Vikings. They were so joyful when they sighted land, that they knelt down, kissed the ground, and recited a prayer of thanksgiving to God for having brought them safely through the terrors of the vast ocean, and for enabling them to discover this new land which Columbus promptly claimed for Spain on behalf of his Catholic sovereigns.

On Columbus's return voyage to his country, he stopped off at the Azores, and sent a message back to Spain, explaining his discovery.

When he and his men arrived back in Spain they were given a huge reception. Columbus was treated royally, as a true hero!

They had brought some gold, exotic fruits, other objects, including some natives from their discovered islands as *proof* of their discoveries. (Columbus thought he had reached India, and he held firmly to this belief till his death.)

Pope Divides the World

In the following year, 1493, Pope Alexander VI divided the New World between Spain and Portugal — setting the line of demarcation (which ran north and south one hundred leagues (about 300 miles) west of the Azores. All land west of this line would go to Spain. All land to the east would belong to Portugal.

Did the Pope have divine authority for dividing the New World between Spain and Portugal? He certainly believed he did. When a new Pope is crowned, the officiating cardinal puts the triple tiara on his head, and says: "Receive the three-fold crown of the tiara and know that Thou art the Father of princes and kings, the Ruler of the round earth,

and here below the Viceroy of Jesus Christ, to whom be honor and glory forever." Popes claimed they had authority to give lands to kings and emperors.

The Pope and others feared that if a line of demarcation were not drawn, squabbling might break out between Spain and Portugal, if either party encroached on the other's claims.

Spain and Portugal agreed (at the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494) to move this demarcation line further west — to a point about 1200 miles west of the Azores.

Apparently this line of demarcation was moved further west at Portugal's request. Some think her explorers had already sighted Brazil, and this new line of demarcation would enable her to claim that vast territory.

The King and Queen of Spain were so impressed with Columbus' discoveries that they gave him additional authority and added money to outfit other ships, hire more men and make three more exploratory expeditions to the New World.

On Columbus's second voyage (1493-6) he discovered Dominica, Porto Rico, Guadaloupe, Antigua, Santa Cruz and the Virgin Islands.

It was while on his third voyage (1498-1500) that he first set foot upon continental South America near the mouth of the Orinoco River. On that voyage, he also discovered Trinidad.

His fourth, and final voyage, proved to be a big disappointment. He discovered no new islands, but he did explore the coast of Honduras and Nicaragua. He finally returned to Spain broken in health, a dejected man. He was now discredited, almost forgotten!

Even though Columbus was greatly interested in finding a new route to the Orient by sailing west, he and his crew were also greatly interested in finding gold, silver and other treasures.

Eventually, Cuba became the Spanish base of operations — from which Spain sent explorers, conquistadores and colonizers into Central, South and North America.

Mexico's Fabulous Wealth

In 1504, only twelve years after Columbus had discovered the New World, Hernando Cortes (1485-1547) set out at the age of nineteen to seek adventure in the West Indies.

Cortes settled in the West Indies. He was 33 before he got his golden opportunity. The greedy and rapacious Spanish Governor of the island of Cuba (Don Diego Velasquez) appointed Cortes leader of an expedition into Mexico — where it was known that gold and a highly developed civilization existed.

The Governor then changed his mind, and decided to remove Cortes

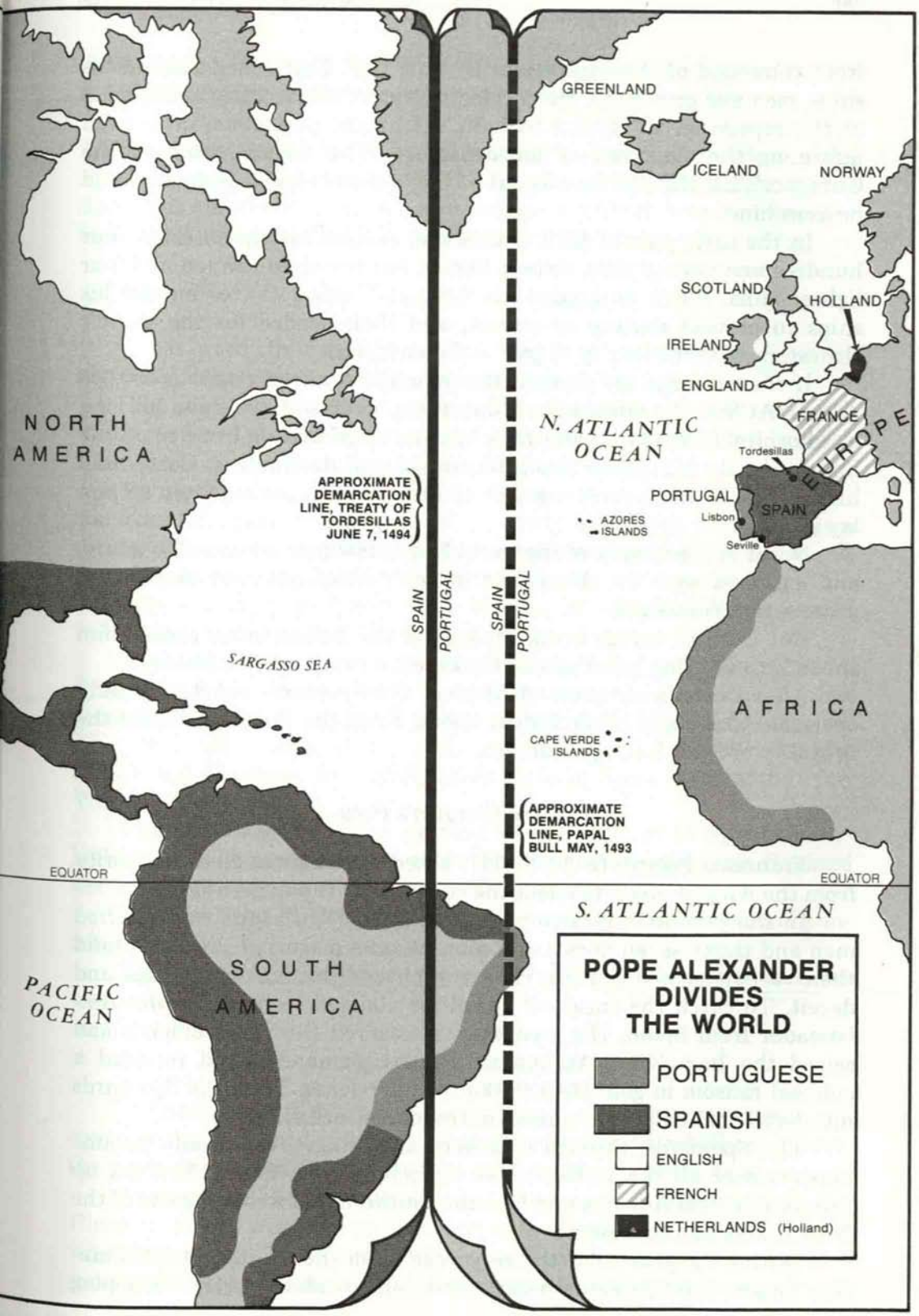
Pope Alexander Divides the World

Columbus discovered the New World in 1492. The following year, 1493, Pope Alexander VI drew an imaginary line from north to south 100 leagues (c. 340 miles) west of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands. That Line of Demarcation, drawn between the north and south poles, barely touched the easternmost point of Brazil in South America — which hadn't yet been discovered. Pope Alexander gave Spain all unexplored, non-Christian lands to the west of this line — while all to the east went to Portugal. The Pope hoped his Line of Demarcation would prevent disputes between Spain and Portugal over the right to claim, explore and colonize lands in the Americas and Asia.

However, neither Spain nor Portugal were completely satisfied with the Pope's imaginary Line of Demarcation. Therefore, in 1494, at Tordesillas, Spain, they signed the Treaty of Tordesillas whereby they reaffirmed the papal division; they also agreed to move the Line of Demarcation to a point 370 leagues (c. 1,250 miles) west of the Cape Verde Islands. Papal sanction of their Line-of-Demarcation change was not given until January, 1506. Scholars now think this Line lay near the 48° west longitude line.

By extending this Line around the globe and into the Eastern Hemisphere, Portugal was given the right to claim the Philippine Islands. In later treaties with Spain, Portugal gave up its claim to the Philippines and won the rest of Brazil. By the Treaty of Saragossa in 1529, the Line of Demarcation in the Eastern Hemisphere was set 17° east of the Moluccas (Spice Islands).

Other up-and-coming maritime powers — England, France and the Netherlands — totally ignored the Pope's imaginary Line of Demarcation and went merrily on their way exploring and colonizing wheresoever they chose!



NORTH AMERICA

APPROXIMATE DEMARCATION LINE, TREATY OF TORDESILLAS JUNE 7, 1494

SARGASSO SEA

EQUATOR

PACIFIC OCEAN

SOUTH AMERICA

SPAIN
PORTUGAL

SPAIN
PORTUGAL

GREENLAND

ICELAND

NORWAY

SCOTLAND

HOLLAND

IRELAND

ENGLAND

FRANCE

Tordesillas

PORTUGAL

SPAIN

Lisbon

Seville

• AZORES ISLANDS
• ISLANDS

N. ATLANTIC OCEAN

AFRICA

CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

APPROXIMATE DEMARCATION LINE, PAPAL BULL MAY, 1493

EQUATOR

S. ATLANTIC OCEAN

POPE ALEXANDER DIVIDES THE WORLD

- PORTUGUESE
- SPANISH
- ENGLISH
- FRENCH
- NETHERLANDS (Holland)

from command of the expedition. By this time Cortes had readied his ships, men and provisions. He decided to leave Cuba secretly at the head of the expedition to Mexico without asking the permission of or even informing the Governor of his departure. This he did, exciting the Governor's ire. But Cortes was out of the harbor before Velasquez could prevent him.

In the early part of 1519, Cortes had readied his eleven ships, four hundred and twenty men, sixteen horses, ten fair-sized cannon and four lighter guns. When he landed his force in Mexico, Cortes burned his ships to prevent mutiny or retreat, and then headed for the world's richest, most fabulous city of gold — Tenochtitlan.

If the accounts are correct, the population of the city was 500,000 Aztecs. At first the priest-king Montezuma received Cortes and his men in a hospitable manner. Later they became suspicious and turned on the Spaniards. By 1521, after much bloodshed and destruction, Cortes and his men made themselves masters of Mexico. The entire Aztec empire lay in ruins.

Never in the history of the world had so few men mastered so many, and gathered such an abundance in gold, silver, precious stones and other articles of wealth.

But Cortes's savage brutality against the Indian tribes earned him the infamy of being listed among the cruelest conquerors of history.

After Cortes's conquest of Mexico, the Spaniards ruled ruthlessly over the Aztecs and other Indian tribes. Even the Popes protested the brutality of Spain's conquistadores.

Pizarro Conquers Peru

Francisco Pizarro (c. 1478-1541) asked for and was given authority from the King of Spain to effect the conquest of the Incas of Peru.

In the year 1532 Pizarro took a small army of about two hundred men and thirty-seven horses and soon became master of the Incas (and their vast treasures) in Peru. He accomplished this feat by intrigue and deceit. To catch the Incas off guard, he claimed to be a friendly Ambassador from Spain. His men then massacred the court officials and seized the Inca King, Atahualpa. Pizzaro demanded and received a colossal ransom in gold (£3,500,000) for his release. Then the Spaniards murdered Atahualpa and seized control of his Inca Empire.

The Spaniards, through treachery and cruelty, eventually became masters over all the Indian tribes stretching from South America up through Central America and into the southern and western parts of the North American continent.

During the year 1517 (the very year when the Protestant Reformation began) the Spaniards began the infamous slave trade — shipping

slaves against their will from West Africa to Central and South America to help the Spaniards build up their Empire.

It is estimated that at least 11,000,000 slaves were transported from Africa to the Americas from 1517 until the slave trade ended in the 1800s. Most of them were taken to Central and South America by the Spaniards and the Portuguese. But perhaps a million or so were brought to North America by English-speaking slave masters.

Spain Wallows in Wealth

What were the consequences of Spain's and Portugal's discovery and colonization of Central, South, and parts of North America?

The fabulous wealth (mainly gold and silver) which the Spanish conquistadores plundered from the Aztecs in Mexico, and the Incas in Peru, made Spain the wealthiest country in the world!

So much gold and other treasure began flowing back to Spain that the King of Spain was able to build many new ships and hire large mercenary armies. By reason of their wealth and power, the Spaniards were in a position to dictate much of the course of Europe's history. This immense wealth of the New World, flooding into the Old World, proved to be upsetting to Europe's balance of power.

This vast treasure trove was also a prime factor in inciting Britain, France and Holland to begin making piratical raids on the endless stream of Spanish treasure galleons returning to Spain laden with gold. This immense wealth also provoked privateers and freebooters, like Drake and Hawkins, to raid Spanish ports in Spain and in the New World.

England's sea dogs reasoned that it was indecent of Spain to selfishly wallow in her plundered gold. Why shouldn't poor little England get her hands on some of this Aztec-Inca treasure?

But how? Did English freebooters dare rob the treasure-laden Spanish galleons?

This tempting prize proved too much for England's bold buccaneers to resist.

Seeds of Protestantism

Meanwhile throughout Europe serious theological contention and controversy continued erupting. Protest and outright rebellion against the authority of the Church seethed even before Galileo's time.

In short, by the fifteenth century, after ages of oppression by the Church, Europe trembled on the brink of the Protestant Reformation — which was not only destined to divide historic Christianity, but was also soon to become responsible for bathing much of Europe in some of its

most sanguinary struggles. This religious bloodbath between long entrenched Catholics and newly emerging Protestants was destined to take the lives of millions before it was over.

The Church had stood virtually unchallenged for over a thousand years, and it was not about to passively stand by while "heretical" Protestants challenged its authority and divided the nations' allegiance.

Only twenty-six years after Columbus discovered America, the Protestant Reformation was ignited in Europe; and it was sparked by one who had himself been an ordained priest of the Roman Catholic Church.

Martin Luther (1483-1546), the father of the Protestant Reformation, was an intelligent pupil, though stubborn. He first studied law, then spent three years as a monk in the Augustinian convent at Erfurt, where he was ordained a priest in 1507.

Later he visited Rome and was appalled by the manifest corruption and the low moral standards of Christianity's Holy City.

Shortly after this he was shocked to see a Dominican Monk, Johann Tetzel, selling indulgences as a means of raising funds for the rebuilding of St. Peter's at Rome.

Incensed by this blasphemous example of a holy man blatantly selling indulgences, Luther wrote out *ninety-five theses* in which he strongly attacked the selling of indulgences. He then tacked his ninety-five theses on the front door of the castle church of Wittenberg.

Luther's bold action immediately caught the attention of people all over Germany and Europe. Rome also took notice, and Luther was asked to retract his teachings. This Luther steadfastly refused to do.

At this point in German history, so many German princes were "fed up" with excesses of the Church and its popes, that the German nation was ready to back any strong man who would vigorously protest such abuses.

Luther's religious ideas soon spread throughout Germany and Scandinavia, and into other parts of Europe. John Calvin in France, John Knox in Scotland, Zwingli in Switzerland, and others took up the Protestant banner.

Most of Europe was in religious foment. Many felt it was time to throw off the shackles of the Church, and return to the pure, pristine teachings of the Scriptures as practiced by the early Christians.

The Protestant ideas of Martin Luther began to shake the Catholic Church's foundations in Germany, Scandinavia, Holland, France, Switzerland, Bohemia (Czechoslovakia) and other nations of Europe.

England's Protestant Beginning

But in England the Catholic Church seemed unshakable. In 1521 King Henry VIII even wrote a book in defense of the Church, attacking

Luther and his Lutheranism. For Henry's defense of the Church, the Pope conferred on him the title of "Defender of the Faith." But the Pope was later to regret this favor.

For Henry VIII was a strong-willed king, and he had ideas of his own — especially when it came to matrimony.

Henry met and fell in love with a pretty, buxom maid of honor, Anne Boleyn, whom he immediately wanted to marry. But to do so he would first have to get the Pope to nullify his marriage to Catharine of Aragon, his first wife.

But the Pope was afraid to grant Henry his request, since to do so would alienate the King of Spain; for Henry's first wife, Catharine, was the fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Self-willed Henry decided to take matters into his own hands. He deposed and executed Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, who would not nullify his first marriage. Henry then had his chief adviser, Thomas Cromwell, declare his first marriage null and void. This made it possible to legitimize his marriage to Anne Boleyn.

This action did not set well with the Pope. While the Pope hesitated, Henry again went boldly into action. He decided to make the break final with Rome. With this in mind, by his Act of Supremacy, he declared himself head of the Church in England in 1534, and began overhauling the Church as he saw fit. He and his ministers began to appropriate whatever Church property they wanted.

From this time forward, the King of England in actuality became one of the leading figures of Protestantism, though Henry remained a Catholic at heart.

Luther himself had begun to withdraw from his leadership of the Protestants after he saw some of the excesses of his followers, and the cruel bloodshed which resulted from this great cleavage of Christianity.

It needs to be clearly understood that Henry VIII did not repudiate Catholic teachings. In fact, he remained a Catholic at heart until the day of his death. He merely rejected the Pope as the *head* of the Church in England. And by substituting himself in place of the Pope, he could dissolve the monasteries, sell off the Church's property and thereby get sufficient money to carry out various projects, including his wars, and the building up of England's royal navy.

In 1547, just one year after Luther's death, Henry VIII was also dead. His son, Edward VI, a frail, weakly youth, inherited the throne. During his reign, Protestantism continued in England. Catholic churches were stripped of many of their sacred images and pictures, and their colorful stained glass — with the idea of removing all "popish superstitions" and reminders from Edward's Sceptered Isle.

“Bloody Mary”

But Protestants in England began to worry about what would happen when Catholic Mary ascended the throne. They feared the worst, and their fears were justified.

Frail Edward VI was soon dead (1553), and Mary I ascended the throne. This Catholic queen soon became known as “Bloody Mary,” for she immediately turned on the Protestants, and tried to rid England of all Protestant influence. She sincerely, passionately believed that England’s true salvation lay in its return to the historic faith — Catholicism!

Within two years of her becoming Queen, she replaced the Anglican ministers with Catholic priests. Old Catholic rites and ceremonies were reinstated. The laws of the reformed Church were swept away, and Protestants, in terror of losing their lives, made a panicky dash for the Continent.

The religious gale blowing through Europe had driven the English ship of state back onto the Catholic shore. It looked as though Protestantism had been dealt a death blow in that island kingdom.

Beginning in 1555, Bloody Mary embarked on a campaign of systematic persecution. Within a three-year period, nearly three hundred Protestant martyrs fell victims of this Queen and her policy of total destruction of Protestantism.

Queen Mary thought she could stamp out Protestantism before her death. She was wrong! Her persecution and martyrdom of those who opposed her only strengthened Protestant resolve in England. Her pitiless, inhuman slaughter of Protestants turned many Englishmen against the Catholic Church for all time.

When Bloody Mary died in 1558, not many tears were shed. There was, however, much rejoicing! Many Englishmen had suffered under her bloody purges, and they now looked forward to having a Protestant sovereign. Having once tasted from the cup of religious freedom, they craved to drink it to the full. There could be no turning back to religious tyranny again.

So on Mary’s death many in England heaved a big sigh of relief. For they rejoiced to see Mary’s half-sister, Queen Elizabeth I, who had been brought up as a Protestant, reverse Mary’s Catholic policies, and head the English ship of state back toward the Protestant shore.

Meanwhile Elizabeth and the English continued to give aid and comfort to the Dutch Protestants, who at that very moment were not only trying to throw the Spanish out of the Netherlands, but were also seeking to establish Protestantism in their country.

Catholics Become Alarmed

Popes, clergymen and all Catholic leaders were alarmed by the continuing spread of Protestantism in Europe — and feared that if its progress were not stopped, their thrones, and everything that the Catholic Church had painstakingly built up for over a thousand years might come crashing down.

What could be done to staunch this deadly heresy?

Alarmed Catholics devised a means of countering the deadly menace — the “Counter-Reformation” was launched. The dreaded Inquisition (founded in 1446 by a zealous Spanish Priest, Ignatius Loyola) was continued as part of that answer.

For many years after Protestantism had emerged, the popes and Catholic kings and emperors believed they could destroy Protestantism by using the armies of loyal Catholic countries to conquer rebellious, heretical Protestant strongholds.

But when England’s leaders joined Protestant ranks, the task loomed larger than ever before.

The titanic struggle between England and Spain in the latter part of the late sixteenth century was part of Rome’s attempt to crush the rising tide of Protestantism!

Catholic Philip II of Spain had as his main goal the overthrow of Protestant England, and then the complete destruction of Protestantism in the Netherlands. After dealing a deathblow to Protestantism in England and Holland, the Catholic Church would then be able to handle the rebellious Protestants in Germany, France, Switzerland and any other country where they dared to raise a protesting head.

Showdown with Spain

When Elizabeth I, Mary's half-sister, ascended the throne, Britain breathed a sigh of relief. In that same year (1558) England lost control of Calais — her last piece of Continental real estate. England was now forced to look elsewhere for an empire. She could no longer hope to expand her power and influence on the Continent. France was too powerful, and had proved that she could block English expansion there.

The loss of Calais freed the English of their centuries-old Continental entanglements, and made it possible for them to begin concentrating their energies on exploration, and eventually on colonization.

But England was not yet quite ready to begin colonizing. She hadn't yet built up her navy to the point where she would be able to protect her vital sea link with any future far-flung colonies in North America.

Queen Elizabeth's father (Henry VIII) and grandfather (Henry VII) had both taken a keen interest in helping to build up England's sea power. But this was a slow task. It took *time* to build enough fast, sleek ships to enable her to confront the mighty navy of Spain.

When Columbus discovered the New World in 1492, Spain was the "Mistress of the Sea" — the most powerful nation on earth. Shortly afterward, her mighty galleons were plowing the seas between Mexico and Spain, carrying vast quantities of gold and other treasures to fatten the Spanish purse.

This fabulous wealth made it possible for Spain to develop the world's mightiest navy. With her treasure she was also able to hire mercenaries to strengthen her armed forces. Spain, soon, had not only the most powerful navy, but also the world's mightiest army.

This was the dizzying height to which Spain had arisen when she came into conflict with England in the 1500s.

England Challenges Spain

England, France and other nations looked at Spain's increasing wealth and power with envy and suspicion, as they saw an unending stream of Spanish galleons carrying hoards of gold to deposit in King

Philip's coffers. Furthermore, this unprecedented amount of wealth, circulating throughout Europe, created chaos in the economies of England, France, the Netherlands and Germany.

But what could Britain, France and the other nations of Europe do?

The solution soon became apparent. Queen Elizabeth hesitantly sanctioned (unofficially, of course) her sea dogs — men like Drake, Hawkins, Howard, Greenville and Raleigh — to raid the Spanish treasure ships.

These English seamen believed Englishmen should be able to freely sail anywhere in the world without interference or molestation of any kind. But the Spaniards and the Portuguese didn't look at things the same way.

One year after Columbus discovered America, the Pope divided the new American lands between Spain and Portugal. An adjustment in the line of demarcation was made and ratified by the two nations at the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494.

This line of demarcation ran through mid-Atlantic from north to south about twelve hundred miles west of the Azores. The papal bull of 1493 gave Spain all land west of this line, and all to the east of it went to Portugal. This meant that all the new land in North, Central and South America went to Spain — with the exception of the eastern portion of South America (Brazil). Later, Spain even claimed Australia as a result of the papal bull of 1493 in which the Pope divided the territory of the Americas.

Other countries like England, France, and Holland simply didn't believe the Pope had legitimate God-given authority to divide up the world. They felt the unexplored world was still open to exploration and colonization by other nations — not just by the Spanish and the Portuguese.

Spain and Portugal, however, took the Pope seriously. They believed they had authority by divine right to claim all the newly discovered lands in the Americas, Africa and the Orient. They soon let other nations know that foreign ships were not welcome in the waters of their God-given territories.

An Inevitable Showdown

The English were particularly adamant in their belief that God hadn't really given Spain and Portugal all this new, rich land. Rather, they believed God was leading their explorers and seamen in staking out their claims in the New World — especially in North America.

Men like Sir Walter Raleigh, Frobisher, John Cabot (in the employ of England) and others continued exploring and probing the waters and lands of North America. Drake, Hawkins, Howard, Raleigh and other

English seamen began to sail into "Spanish waters" — especially into the West Indies. The Spaniards were fearful of these daring English interlopers. At first they merely turned a blind eye to the intruders. But in 1568 the Spanish treacherously attacked and destroyed a small British fleet which had been given a written promise from the viceroy of the Spanish fleet that they would not be molested. Most of the sailors in this fleet of English ships were either killed or later died horrible deaths at the hands of the Spaniards.

Fortunately, both Drake and Hawkins escaped. They solemnly vowed to take revenge upon the Spaniards for their treachery. This event occurred in 1568.

In retaliation for Spain's treachery, Drake led two small English vessels to the West Indies in May 1572, to inflict "God's punishment" on the world's mightiest Empire. It was on that voyage that Drake and his men captured a gold-and-silver-laden mule train at Nombre de Dios in Panama. They loaded this treasure into their two small ships and sailed away with it securely locked in their English sea chests.

Queen Elizabeth was pleased with the results of that daring piratical act by her bold sea captain, but she didn't dare publicly acknowledge this, for she still thought it wise to maintain peaceful relations with her brother-in-law, Philip of Spain. She therefore had no intention of officially countenancing piracy in Spanish waters.

Drake Circumnavigates the Globe

In the year 1577, Sir Francis Drake was given official support to seek a Northwest Passage to the Orient. He left England on December 13, 1577, in command of the *Golden Hind* and three smaller ships.

After much difficulty, Drake sailed around the southern tip of South America and up to the Isthmus of Panama, where he overpowered the Spanish treasure ship, *Cacafuego*. It was heavily laden with gold and silver. The *Cacafuego* contained thirteen chests full of reals of plate, eighty pounds of gold, and six and twenty tons of silver.

Drake then sailed to the San Francisco area, where he landed, claiming the area in the name of Queen Elizabeth.

Then he sailed west to the Moluccas, and continued around the world. He finally arrived back in England on September 26, 1580, where he was given a tumultuous welcome. The Queen knighted him for his bold exploits, and for being the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe.

By now the die had been cast. England continued boldly, impudently sailing her vessels into Spanish waters, and, not content with that, she continued to plunder the Spanish ships as they carried their rich treasures back to Spain. This was too much for Philip. The deadly English sea-dragon had to be vanquished.

Queen Elizabeth and the English were also giving aid and comfort to the heretical, Protestant Dutch who were at that very moment seeking to defeat the Spanish Duke of Parma and drive him out of the Netherlands.

To complicate matters still more, Mary, Queen of Scots, had been imprisoned by Elizabeth and had been in prison for many years. While imprisoned, Mary continued plotting, doing everything possible to overthrow Elizabeth and the Protestants — hoping to become Queen and restore Catholicism to England. (Later, her treachery would cost her head.)

Philip's Treachery

In 1583, King Philip of Spain, faced with a disastrous wheat crop failure, asked London merchants to ship relief supplies. Then Philip had the gall to confiscate both wheat and ships!

One English vessel escaped, however, and returned to England with a hostage — the Governor of Bilbao, who had treacherously organized the seizure of the British ships. He was captured and bundled back to England. In his boot was discovered Philip's personal order to seize the grain ships. This document revealed the Spanish King's intention to use those English vessels to fulfill "God's obvious design" — which to Philip meant the punishment of Elizabeth — that "incestuous bastard, begotten and born in sin."

This additional Spanish treachery incensed all England. Elizabeth immediately retaliated by sending to the West Indies twenty-nine ships with 2,300 men under Drake's command. In 1585 they captured San Domingo — for which they extracted a heavy ransom. They also captured Cartagena, for which the Spaniards paid a ransom of 25,000 English pounds. Then Drake sailed northward and sacked St. Augustine, Florida, before going on to the struggling English colony at Roanoke, North Carolina. The dispirited survivors of this colony accepted Drake's offer of passage back to England.

Drake's bold exploits resulted in the bankruptcy of Spain's Bank of Seville and meant that Spanish troops in the Netherlands went unpaid.

"Singeing Philip's Beard"

By now King Philip was building the world's mightiest Armada to send against England — to bring her to heel. But the English knew Philip was planning an invasion, and they didn't wait for him to strike first.

In 1587 Sir Francis Drake and his buccaneers struck again — not at Lisbon, which was too well protected — but at Cadiz, where a portion of the "Invincible Armada" was being fitted out.

Drake's entire fleet consisted of only twenty-three ships, but as with nearly everything Drake did, this venture was spectacular. Sixty-five Spanish vessels were scuttled right in sight of the Castle of Cadiz.

Sir Francis then swept up the coast, looting and burning as he went. Next he sailed to the Azores, where he attacked and plundered the Spanish treasure ship *San Felipe*, with a cargo valued at 114,000 pounds — double the amount needed to pay for the entire expedition.

Drake's burning of sixty-five Spanish vessels at Cadiz came to be known as "singeing the King of Spain's beard."

But this loss of ships only angered Philip into intensifying his efforts to marshal the world's most formidable Armada.

The Armada was eventually composed of 130 ships and nearly 28,000 men — including 19,290 soldiers, 6,350 sailors and 2,080 galley slaves.

Large quantities of powder, 123,790 cannonballs and thousands of cannons, lesser guns and other weapons, all had to be provided. This mighty Armada bristled with 2,500 guns — enough to blow the British ships out of the water. Great quantities of food, water, wine, oil, many horses and mules also had to be supplied. Hemp, tar, garments, personal effects and numerous miscellaneous items completed the inventory.

All of this was assembled by midsummer, 1588. At last the Invincible Armada was ready to sail for England. Unfortunately for Spain, her ablest and most famous admiral, the never-vanquished Alvaro de Bazan, died of typhus. This left the Armada without an experienced Admiral.

Philip lost no time, however in appointing the Duke of Medina Sidonia — a gentleman of great nobility, but with very little experience or ability (even in his own eyes) to command. Strangely, the Duke had openly confessed that he easily became seasick. He told Philip that he did not feel qualified for the task — that he felt much more at home gardening than sailing.

But being a good Catholic, and not wanting to offend the King, he consented to accept the admiralship of the ill-fated Armada.

The Armada's Holy Crusade

At last the soldiers and sailors were collected, the ships were provisioned, after first having been tarred, caulked, and freshly painted. All was ready — except one thing.

This was to be no ordinary voyage. All Spain knew this was a religious naval crusade of the highest importance. Even the Pope was concerned, and expressed fear that the Armada could meet with disaster. Nothing therefore could be left to chance. God's blessing on the voyage must be invoked.

One Spanish sea captain remarked; "We are sailing against England in the confident hope of a miracle." He hoped for "some strange freak of weather," or thought that something might deprive "the English of their wits."

Were not these dedicated men who were about to sail with the Armada *God's* people? Wasn't the Most Catholic Philip *God's direct instrument* to bring Protestant Elizabeth and her heretical subjects back into the fold?

And if England could be conquered, and the English Protestants destroyed, Protestantism would be dealt a severe — if not fatal — blow. Then could not the Duke of Parma easily defeat the Dutch, once they had been deprived of England's aid — thereby destroying the seeds of Protestantism in the Netherlands? And would it not then be possible to suppress the Protestants in Germany and eventually extirpate all Protestantism from Europe — stamping it out once and for all?

With these thoughts in mind, the 27,500 Spaniards who took part in this crusade solemnly elicited and besought *God's* divine intervention, his miraculous help, to accomplish his high purpose — and this they fully expected to receive.

The Spanish believed the destruction of the monstrous dragon of British heresy could not be accomplished in the spirit of revenge or conquest, but only in the spirit of righteousness and true humility.

The officers and men, sailors and soldiers alike, were all ordered to confess their sins and attend Mass before beginning this holy undertaking!

Prostitutes were forbidden on board the ships, gambling and swearing were outlawed, and no "unclean thing" or person was allowed to go along.

Admiral of the Armada, Medina Sidonia, carried the holy standard of the fleet from the altar of the Cathedral of Lisbon, as he passed through lines of kneeling crusaders. On the Spanish flags were inscribed the words: "Arise, Lord, and vindicate your cause."

All England Trembles!

All England trembled in long awaited expectation — while the summer months of 1588 dragged on. The English knew Philip had the mightiest navy in the world, and they also knew his veteran soldiers in the Netherlands were the best. Spain was the most powerful country on earth.

It was wildly rumored in England that the Duke of Parma, Philip's able general on the Continent, had 55,000 troops, 5,000 horses and several hundred barges. It was feared (and indeed it was planned!) that Philip's Armada would sail up the Channel to Calais, France, pick up the

Duke's seasoned troops and then ferry them to England for the final assault on the island nation.

So confident were the Spaniards that God would give them the victory, that they sent along all the paraphernalia and accoutrements necessary to set up a Spanish government in London, once they had defeated the English army and marched to their capital.

England's army was pitifully small. Her cities were unwalled and unprotected. Her only salvation seemed to lie in *preventing* a Spanish invasion — not in defeating a superior army once it had actually landed on English soil. So all Britain hoped and prayed that God would help them defend their island home. They waited nervously during the early part of the summer of 1588 — wondering when and where the final Spanish onslaught would come.

At last Philip had readied his "Invincible Armada." On the 22nd of July, 1588, the King's 130 ships left La Coruna, in northern Spain. By the 29th of July, the Armada had been sighted off the southwest coast of England, south of the Lizard in Cornwall. England's Admiral Howard admitted the Armada was the mightiest fleet of ships ever assembled.

The English ships were at the time dispersed, some near Plymouth, while other squadrons were farther down the coast — just in case the Armada attacked Britain from that direction. Altogether, the English hoped to muster about 200 ships — manned by 16,000 brave hearts.

The English vessels were generally much smaller than the Spanish ships. But this proved to be an advantage. Sir John Hawkins had been engaged for some time in building a fleet of modern ships which were slimmer and much more maneuverable than any known vessels. In addition the English ships were equipped with smaller, lighter cannons (culverins) which fired nine-pound cannon shots with a half mile range; whereas the Spanish cannons were much larger — using thirty-pound cannonballs — but their range was only a quarter of a mile — about half the range of the British cannon.

Thus, the English ships were sleeker, faster, much more maneuverable, and had longer range cannon, whereas the Spanish galleons, galleasses and galley ships generally were much more massive ("floating fortresses") and more difficult to move.

Suspense mounted. Preparations continued at a furious pace. At last the long-awaited day arrived. All 130 vessels in Philip's Armada rendezvoused, except five ships which didn't make it. Philip was ready with his 125 ships to carry out his planned goal of ferrying Parma's troops from Calais to England.

Admiral of the English fleet, Lord Charles Howard, expected to be able to have some 200 ships ready to join in the battle before it was over, but only 54 were battle-ready. The other 150 ships were still being



Philip II, King of Spain, sent his "Invincible Armada" in 1588 to bring British Protestants to heel. After the English victory, Queen Elizabeth I had a medal struck bearing these words: "God blew and they were scattered."

prepared for action, or else were patrolling the Channel off the enemy-held ports.

Sidonia's Tactical Blunder

As the mighty Armada formed and began sailing along the south coast of England near Plymouth, the English fleet was caught in the disastrous position of having the Armada between itself and the wind. This gave the Armada a strategic advantage. Had Medina Sidonia seized this golden opportunity, he could undoubtedly have closed in on the English ships, trapping them in the process, and could have proceeded to annihilate the entire English fleet. He either failed to realize his advantage, or else decided against using his option of encircling and destroying the English ships. That tactical blunder may well have cost him the battle.

By the following morning, July 31, it was too late to exercise his option. Medina Sidonia was alarmed to discover that the English fleet had slipped out of Plymouth during the night, and had gained the advantage — had tacked around on the windward side of his Armada. Now it was the English who were in the most advantageous tactical position for joining battle. Admiral Howard maintained this advantageous position during the entire *ten days* of dueling.

Seeing the English fleet on the windward side of the Armada, the Duke ordered the Spaniards to battle stations and arranged his squadrons in a perfectly executed crescent formation. He put his mightiest galleons on the ends of the formation, while putting his troop carriers and clumsier merchantmen in the center.

This crescent formation was a deadly trap. The Spaniards hoped to entice the English ships to come in close enough so that they could enclose them. They could then fling their grappling hooks onto the English ships to prevent their escape.

Then, since the Spaniards outnumbered the English more than two to one, they could easily board their vessels and demolish them. They thus planned to close in and cut the English to ribbons.

But the English Admiral Howard had a different plan. His ships were smaller, but were much faster and more maneuverable. Since they also had smaller but longer-range cannon, the English ships would sail in close enough to pound the Spanish galleons with their long-range cannon, but not close enough to be hit by the heavier but shorter-range Spanish cannon.

Medina Sidonia hardly knew what to make of his enemy's strategy. It frustrated him to see the English ships come close enough to fire on his ships, then veer off before they got within range of his powerful cannons.

As it turned out, however, all tactics and human strategies came to naught. The English cannonballs merely bounced harmlessly off the thick oak walls of the mighty Spanish galleons. The hulls of some of Philip's mighty ships were nearly four feet thick!

For days, the English and Spanish fleets continued to engage in a running duel — mere gunnery practice — for the English cannons could not penetrate the thick hulls of the Spanish ships, and the Spaniards were prevented from getting close enough to even hit the English ships.

The Armada continued sailing along the south coast of England, on past the Isle of Wight — where it was prevented from landing.

For several days, Philip's "Invincible Armada" sailed majestically toward Calais. The English were frustrated in their attempt to stop or even to seriously hinder the stately course of the Armada.

But, as it sailed toward Calais, one of its ships, the 46-gun *Rosaria*, carrying 418 sailors and soldiers, and loaded with 55,000 golden ducats, fouled another ship and broke her own bowsprit, then lost her foremast. Unable to keep up with the rest of the Armada, she fell easy prey to Drake's waiting ships of war.

Another Spanish ship, the *San Salvador*, suddenly exploded in full view of the English fleet, spewing hundreds of sailors and soldiers into the sea. Reportedly, a Dutch master gunner, in a fit of rage, thrust a flaming linstock into the stern's powder magazine as a result of being caned by a Spanish captain. The Dutchman then jumped through a porthole into the sea.

Blazing Infernos

Minus these two casualties, the Armada continued its stately sail toward the French port of Calais, where it safely anchored in anticipation of taking the Duke of Parma's army on board, so they could be ferried to England where they would crush the small English army now waiting just across the Channel.

But nothing seemed to go right for the Spaniards. The Duke of Parma was bottled up at Dunkirk, and was therefore unable to rendezvous with the Armada now anchored at Calais. Parma was unable to embark because part of the English fleet, aided by a small ragtag Dutch fleet, kept him from sailing for Calais.

By now the Armada itself was in trouble. Its stores were spoiling, its ammunition was pretty well expended, and its water barrels were leaking. But the Armada had passed the point of no return.

The formidable Armada lay at anchor, still maintaining a perfect crescent formation. So the English decided to set the cat among the pigeons. They sent eight fire ships with their cannons double-spiked so they would fire at random or explode in the intense heat. These menac-

ing fire ships caused the Spaniards to panic and cut anchor. The Duke of Sidonia had commanded them not to cut anchor, but merely to slip anchor if need be to avoid any fire ships, and then resume their appointed place in the formation.

Many of the Armada's vessels, after avoiding the fire ships, resumed their battle formation; but the Spaniards were by now running low on ammunition.

Sensing the Spaniards' plight, the English ships were ordered to move in close enough to really damage the Spanish galleons. This they did, sailing in close, firing many broadsides into the bowels of the Spanish ships, then again veering off to prevent the enemy's grappling hooks from seizing them in their deadly clutches.

Now the English could see the blood and destruction which their guns, now firing at point-blank range, were wreaking on the Armada. Still they were unable to sink the ships. But they could mangle and destroy everything above the thick hulls of the lower decks, and that is exactly what they did.

During this battle off Gravelines, France, the Spaniards' predicament grew more serious. The Armada was drifting hopelessly toward shipwreck unless the wind changed.

Just in the nick of time the wind did change, and blew the Spanish Armada back out to safer waters, where they were able to regroup and head for home.

It was now obvious to the Duke of Parma that he would never be able to ferry his troops to the Armada. The Spanish Admiral Medina Sidonia also realized the hopelessness of this task.

There was nothing left to do but head back to home port. But it was not possible to sail straight for Spain, for the English ships were now much more numerous than the Spanish. Moreover, a strong, contrary wind made it impossible to sail in the direction of Spain.

What could the Spanish admiral do? He decided the best route was to sail up the English Channel, into the North Sea, then wheel around the north of Scotland, and finally double back toward Spain by sailing to the west of Ireland.

But this presented the Duke with several serious problems. How was he going to get more badly needed provisions to his thirsty and hungry men? Would he be able to safely sail the treacherous waters around Scotland and Ireland — with many of his ships badly battered, and with thousands of men wounded, sick and unable to assist in manning the ships?

This course of action, though not a pleasant choice, seemed the wisest.

The dangerous voyage back to Spain via Scotland-Ireland meant many more weeks of slow, difficult sailing against a contrary wind in



QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Elizabeth I was the strong-willed Queen who, in the late 1500s, opposed her brother-in-law, Philip II King of Spain. "Virginia" in America was named after Queen Elizabeth. Since she was never married, she was referred to as "the virgin queen." — *American Stock Photo*

dangerous waters; and always lurking nearby were the English and Irish, waiting with sword in hand to finish off any unfortunate, seasick Spaniards who escaped the vengeance of the sea.

One by one, crippled ships of the Armada fell behind and ceased to form part of its formation. The Invincible Armada grew smaller and smaller — losing twenty or thirty ships on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland.

Since many of the Spanish captains had panicked at Calais (as the English fire ships sailed among them), and cut anchor in their unthinking haste to escape the blazing infernos, now, without their anchors, it was difficult for them to prevent being blown toward the rocks or another ship. This cost the Armada many ships.

On one five-mile stretch of Irish coast at Sligo, in Donegal Bay, lay an estimated “eleven hundred dead bodies of men, which the sea had driven upon the shore.”

In any event, about half of the original 130 ships which set sail from Spain were destroyed in this ill-fated crusade before the Armada limped back to Spain. Half of the men died before its return. Another two thirds who did make it back were so malnourished that, within a month of their arrival back in Spain, they succumbed to death from the effects of disease, dysentery and hunger.

And half of the vessels which limped back to Lisbon never sailed again. Philip’s “Invincible Armada” had been overwhelmingly beaten.

“A Miracle” of Deliverance

Was the defeat of the Invincible Armada the result of superior British seamanship? Or was it the result of a miracle? Here is what Sir Winston Churchill said about the defeat of the Armada in 1588:

“But to the English people as a whole *the defeat of the Armada came as a miracle*. For thirty years the shadow of Spanish power had darkened the political scene. A wave of *religious emotion* filled men’s minds. One of the medals struck to commemorate the victory bears the inscription “*Afflavit Deus et dissipantur*” — “God blew and they were scattered.”

“Elizabeth and her seamen knew how true this was. The Armada had indeed been bruised in battle, but it was demoralised and set on the run by the *weather* [which the Creator controlled]. Yet the event was decisive. The English seamen might well have triumphed. Though limited in supplies and ships the new tactics of Hawkins had brought success. The nation was transported with relief and pride” (*A History of the English Speaking Peoples*, vol. II, Winston S. Churchill).

The Dutch also struck a medal showing the terrestrial globe slipping out of the grasp of the hands of Catholic Spain.

Since the English seamen had been unable to sink many of the ships of the Armada, they were somewhat dispirited after their battle with the Spaniards. They did not realize at first how severely crippled the Armada was — and neither did they realize for some time the awful toll both in lives and ships which the very harsh weather took, as the Armada slowly limped its way around the treacherous waters of Scotland and Ireland and finally back to the safety of Spain.

After this famous battle, wild rumors circulated through Europe — rumors that Drake had been captured and the English badly beaten. It was also rumored that the Spaniards had actually landed in England. These wild rumors caused jubilation in Spain, Italy and other Catholic countries. But such jubilation was short-lived; for the awful truth of the ghastly fate of the “Invincible Armada” soon became widely known all over Europe.

After the defeat of the Armada in 1588, England was held in much higher esteem. Philip’s vaunted naval superiority had become myth. Spain, with the pride of her naval power temporarily broken, was no longer looked upon as “Mistress of the Seas.”

Now the oceans were open to all who had the courage to sail them. No one had a charter from God to close any part of the Seven Seas to other nations. No longer did any papal bulls establish imaginary lines of demarcation.

The English had lost only two hundred men in action during the ten-day battle with the Armada; but after the battle, food poisoning killed several thousand among the English crews.

Philip was determined to outfit a second and even a third Armada if need be to break the back of English sea power. The immense wealth that kept steadily pouring in from the New World enabled him to continue building new ships. In fact, nothing seemed able to permanently check Philip’s naval might.

England’s Most Brilliant Naval Success

But the English knew they could hinder Philip’s naval buildup by further raids. So in 1596 Elizabeth authorized yet another audacious attack against Spanish naval installations at Cadiz. This time over a hundred vessels and six thousand men, under the joint command of Lord Admiral Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh as Vice-Admiral, sailed from Plymouth in June.

By a stroke of good luck, Spain’s entire West Indian treasure fleet lay at anchor as England’s powerful fleet sailed into Cadiz. Fortunately for the English, only four large galleons and a small squadron of galleys had been left to protect them. A noisy battle followed, but by nightfall Cadiz had been overrun, as English troops waded ashore with the Earl of Essex at their head.

The city fathers of Cadiz were willing to bargain with Admiral Howard for the release of the treasure ships cowering in the inner harbour.

Here is where the English missed a golden opportunity. Instead of heading straight for the treasure-laden galleons and securing them under English command, the English troops wasted their energy looting Cadiz — stripping away everything the sailors could take back with them to England: jewelry, silk gowns, church bells, furniture, tapestries, expensive clerical vestments and even bedding — anything the English thought might be of value.

It was at this point that the infuriated and exasperated Spanish Admiral, Medina Sidonia, executed a bold course of action. He wanted no part in any vulgar haggling with the perfidious English. The Admiral disdainfully ordered the burning of the entire fleet of 36 vessels (cargo and all!) rather than let them fall prey to the English or be used for ransom.

When Queen Elizabeth heard of the blunder of her admirals, she was furious! Why had they, through sheer carelessness, missed such a rich prize? Why hadn't the English seized the treasure ships before they were burnt?

In spite of Admiral Howard's tactical blunder, however, this naval sortie was England's most brilliant success of the entire Elizabethan Age. Besides the destruction of four of Philip's mightiest galleons, fifteen great merchantmen, and a host of lesser craft, Admiral Howard extracted 220,000 ducats as ransom.

The English had used surprise and audacity to catch the Spanish off guard. Once more Spain had been humiliated, and had suffered great financial loss.

In spite of this, Philip continued to build more ships to ferry his never-ending stream of treasure from the New World. And he was becoming wiser. His ports both in Spain and in the New World were now heavily fortified, and they would eventually become almost impregnable.

The Mighty All Die

On August 28, 1595, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins set out on what proved to be their last expedition. Their fleet of 27 ships and 2,500 men sailed for Spanish waters in the New World — with the express intent of wreaking havoc on Spanish ports and ships.

But on this voyage, the luck of both Hawkins and Drake finally ran out! Wherever they went — Puerto Rico, Cartagena, the Isthmus, Nombre de Dios — they found high walls bristling with Spanish guns. After an abortive attack on Puerto Rico, Hawkins died.

Drake was determined to carry on alone, but he soon succumbed to depression at his failure to breach Spanish defenses, and then he fell ill

with dysentery. On January 27, 1596, the dreaded "El Draque," who for decades had struck terror in the Spanish, died and was buried at sea near Porto Bello.

This stout-hearted English sea-dog had become a legend in England and Spain, and throughout much of the world. His buccaneering exploits and his capture of Spanish treasure ships had provided a dashing, colorful chapter in English history.

With the passing of Drake and Hawkins, and with Spain strongly fortifying her ports, and building fast sleek ships that could equal any ships sailing under English command, both Spain and England drifted into a *de facto* truce. They both came to respect each other. Spain, the former "Mistress of the Sea," would learn to share the Seven Seas with the English and others. And the English seamen would end their piratical buccaneering and turn to more honorable ways of increasing their wealth.

Drake and Hawkins both died in 1595. Three years later Philip II of Spain died also. Though he was still plotting the subjugation of Protestant England, all his schemes were foiled by death.

Then, in 1603, Queen Elizabeth died, leaving the English throne to a new line of kings — the Stuarts. Under their guidance England would make her Ulster Plantations and, most importantly, her permanent plantations in the New World. The Elizabethan Age had come to a close.

From that time, Catholic Spain was able to employ her energies in colonizing and developing her vast domains in Central and South America. All these lands were destined to remain under the Catholic banner.

At the same time, Protestant England was now able to go merrily on her way, exploring, colonizing and developing her rich lands in North America and around the world.

Both England and Spain were destined to have a profound, lasting influence in shaping the Americas. But each would go its separate way — leaving the other to its divinely appointed birthright.

Confrontation between these mighty "Mistresses of the Sea" gave way to a period of peaceful co-existence. Now England could seriously begin the colonization of North America.

England Explores America

When and how did the English first become interested in North America?

Only five years after Columbus had discovered America, John Cabot — a Genoese navigator sailing in the name of Henry VIII of England — came to North America. He was, in fact, the first European to set foot upon the North American continent since the days of the Viking explorers, about A.D. 1000.

In 1497 he discovered Cape Breton Island (which he thought was the mainland of China). In 1498 he sailed again, and touched Greenland.

Another Englishman, Martin Frobisher (c. 1535-94), a powerful, cantankerous Yorkshireman, sailed in 1576 in search of the Northwest passage to China (Cathay). He visited Labrador, and Frobisher Bay in Baffin Land.

Frobisher was one of the first English navigators to search for a Northwest passage to India and the Orient. William Baffin (1584-1622) and numerous others attempted to find the elusive Northwest passage to China, Japan and India. But all of them failed, for there was, in fact, no Northwest passage open to anyone. Everything was frozen solid in the north!

England's First Colonial Failures

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was the first Englishman to seriously attempt colonization in North America. He spent much time, energy — and most of his fortune in several vain attempts to plant a permanent colony in what is now North Carolina.

Gilbert argued at the English Court that colonization would achieve the vital end of effectively combating Spanish influence in North America. In 1578, Queen Elizabeth I gave Sir Humphrey a charter (of six-year duration) to start a colony in the New World. Finally, Sir Humphrey and his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, organized and dispatched seven ships and nearly four hundred men, to commence this colony in the New World.

The fact that this colony was all male reveals that England was really seeking to establish a colony in North America which could harry

the Spaniards. This colony was planned as a base to be used against Spain.

Gilbert headed first for Newfoundland and took formal possession of that land for England. But this colonial venture met with disaster when he perished in a violent storm at sea.

Gilbert's death did not kill the idea of initiating a colony in North America. Sir Walter Raleigh was now determined to carry on with this idea.

He obtained a royal grant similar to Gilbert's, for a six-year period, and immediately set out in 1584 to reconnoiter the North American coast.

His reconnaissance indicated that Hatteras Island, called Roanoke by the Indians, might be a good place for a colony. His scouts took possession of Roanoke Island in the name of England, and then hurried back to England, taking with them two native Indians. There they presented a glowing report that the climate was very pleasant, the soil rich and fertile, the Indians friendly, and that mineral wealth was everywhere.

Sir Walter Raleigh flattered Queen Elizabeth by asking permission to name the new land "Virginia" — after her, England's "Virgin Queen." Elizabeth consented.

Sir Walter Raleigh, and others, argued that an English colony planted in Virginia would serve many purposes. It would: provide raw materials for English industry, promote trade, strengthen the navy, afford an outlet for the "wandering beggars of England," advance the Protestant faith, and would also help to undercut the growing power of Spain.

Raleigh obtained private financing for his second expedition, and appointed Richard Grenville to head the group.

Grenville and his party landed on Roanoke in June — too late to plant crops. But real trouble soon began. The previously friendly Indians became quite unfriendly, and storms made the winter almost unbearable. The party survived a year in this untamed wilderness, though near the end, in order to survive, the men were eating the flesh of dogs steeped in sassafras leaves.

In June 1586, Sir Francis Drake anchored off Roanoke. He had spent the preceding months ravaging the Spanish West Indies. Then, as he voyaged northward to check on the struggling little English colony in Roanoke Island, he completely leveled Saint Augustine.

Drake offered supplies and reinforcements to the Roanoke colonists. But the devastating storms led them to decide it was best for all to return to England with Drake.

Sir Walter Raleigh didn't quit. He now financed another group, and found 117 persons (including seventeen women and nine children) willing to undertake this second colonization venture.

This little group of colonists landed at Roanoke Island in July 1587. One month later, John White, the leader of the group, returned to England for supplies — leaving the colony without a head.

But when John White returned to England, he found no one really interested in the colony. At that moment, England was girding for a desperate struggle with Spain.

After the defeat of the Armada in 1588, White finally managed to get together some supplies and return to America to replenish the colony. He arrived in Roanoke in 1591, but could not find one trace of the people he had left behind.

To this very day, no one knows what happened to these settlers. Were they all killed by Indians? Did the Spaniards sail northward and take revenge on this little English colony, venging themselves for Drake's razing of St. Augustine? Or did they die of sickness, malnutrition and ultimate starvation? History has left us no record.

Lessons From Failure

Sir Walter Raleigh had spent a private fortune in his attempts to establish the first English colony in North America. Though his attempts had failed, he did learn valuable lessons.

Englishmen were coming to see that the matter of planting a colony in the New World was too costly an undertaking for one person to attempt. It would need to be a joint effort, or have the official backing of the Government.

The English had also learned that to start a colony in North America would not be a picnic. It would take hardy people to do this successfully in the wilderness of this new land. Any future colonists had better be prepared to support themselves by hard work. They would have to establish a thriving agricultural base. Better forget looking for "Eldorado" — the land of gold. The real gold would lie in the wealth of the land — once it was properly colonized.

England could become wealthy by establishing such colonies in North America. But this would take time.

France's North American Claims

But it was the French explorers who really got the jump on the English in North America. While Pizarro was mastering the Incas, grabbing their vast treasures of gold and silver in Peru, France was busy exploring North America.

The French made a bold attempt to destroy the Spanish settlements (including the one at St. Augustine) in Florida. But the Spanish retaliated, destroying the French forts, and finally drove the French out

of Florida altogether. French Huguenots even tried to colonize in Florida, but were slaughtered by the Spaniards.

France's first serious bid for a stake in America was in Canada. In 1535, Jacques Cartier explored the Gulf of the St. Lawrence — the gateway to Canada. He sailed up the St. Lawrence River as far as the present site of Quebec, but no colonies were then started.

Another great French explorer, Samuel D. Champlain, following Cartier's route, actually established France's first permanent settlement at Quebec in 1603-4. Though Champlain visited the future site of Montreal, no actual city was established there until 1642. From that date, Quebec and Montreal have remained the chief towns in French Canada.

Champlain later penetrated as far as the Great Lakes, and defeated the Iroquois Indians in 1609 at Lake Champlain. He became the actual founder of the French colonial Empire in North America, and bequeathed to his native France the St. Lawrence region as her first permanent foothold in North America. From this toehold in Canada, France would later seek to take possession of the richest part of North America — the great Mississippi River Basin.

But the French settlers seemed more interested in fur trade and in fishing than in establishing strong French colonies. France failed to inspire a mass exodus of French colonists to North America, and this later proved to be the undoing of her carefully laid plans in the highly prized continent.

The second stage of French penetration into North America did not occur until the latter half of the 17th century — long after the main English colonies along the eastern seaboard of the Atlantic had been established. After advancing into the Great Lakes area, the French easily made their way down the Ohio River to the Mississippi.

France's Sun King, Louis XIV, encouraged French exploration and trade in the Ohio region by authorizing the Company of the West in 1664, and granting it a forty year monopoly of trade in France's American possessions. This French company was backed by government cash and troops.

Another great French explorer of this time was La Salle. It was he who had actually discovered the Ohio River in 1669. In 1681 he sailed down the Mississippi, reaching the Gulf of Mexico the following year. La Salle promptly claimed the whole Mississippi Basin for France, and he flattered the Sun King by naming it "Louisiana" — after His Majesty, Louis XIV. Other French explorers and adventurers soon began following the St. Lawrence-Ohio-Mississippi route.

First Permanent Colony

After the defeat of the Spanish Armada, England felt strong enough to establish and protect any future overseas colonies.

Strong *economic* and *religious* forces were building up in England — pressures which pointed toward overseas expansion as a means of relieving those pent up pressures.

It was under England's first Stuart king, James I, that English colonization of the New World was given the green light of royal authorization.

Since privately backed attempts at colonization had failed, it was decided that any future colonies should be either government sponsored and backed, or else a number of wealthy individuals would need to put up enough capital to carry through successfully.

Eventually, three types of colonies were planted in America: royal, proprietary and corporate.

Royal colonies were under the direct control of the *king*.

Proprietary colonies were controlled by a *proprietor* — a single individual — under a royal grant from the ruling king.

Corporate colonies were operated as a general rule under a royal charter obtained from the king by the *stockholders* of a company.

Trading companies had already been granted charters and they were proving successful. The *Muscovy Company*, founded in 1555, was organized for the purpose of trading with *Russia*.

The *Levant Company* was established to trade with *Venice* and the *Near East*.

The *East India Company* was granted a charter in 1600 and was authorized to manage all trade in the *Pacific* and the *Indian Ocean*.

Other companies were established in order to trade with *Bermuda*, *Newfoundland* and along the fabled route of the *Northwest Passage*.

Then in 1606 King James I granted charters to two companies: one, the *London Company*, was authorized to found colonies between the 34th and 41st latitudes, and the other, the *Plymouth Company*, was to colonize between the 38th and 45th latitudes.

Hardships at Jamestown

In May 1607, the first permanent settlers in North America finally reached "Earth's only paradise" and established an English colony at Jamestown. One hundred and twenty men landed on a peninsula in the James River and named their settlement *Jamestown* — after King James, who had granted them the permission to colonize.

Deprivation, sickness and disease, even starvation — all were experienced by these courageous colonists. "We hope to plant a nation, where none before hath stood," were the words of a ballad of the day. And that is exactly what they did, but at quite a price. The region of Jamestown was swampy and unhealthful. Within a year, two thirds of the Jamestown pioneers were dead. In the year 1609, so many died that

the year became known as the colony's "starving time." But this first English settlement in North America was destined to become the first permanent foothold in England's attempt to people a giant continent.

The colonists learned that it was vitally important to produce their own food if they were to stave off starvation. This was far more important than looking for gold, as many of them had originally planned. During the early years of the Jamestown settlement, survival itself was the overriding issue. Many died of malarial fever. Others fell before the arrows of the savage Indians.

And to make matters worse, the settlers even fought among themselves. When relief supplies arrived in January, 1608, out of a total of six leaders, one was dead from disease, another had been executed, and two others were locked up; there remained only two to help direct the colony.

That same month a fire ravaged their cabins and their storage houses. During the remainder of the bitter winter many more died from exposure as they sought refuge in tents and exposed lean-to shelters. By now, Jamestown had become a real horror story.

Reportedly, some of the stronger men dogged the footsteps of those who were about to die — waiting to feed on the bodies of their expired fellow colonists. It was also said that some of the corpses of slain Indians were exhumed from their graves and consumed by the starving, half-crazed colonists.

Fortunately, Captain John Smith emerged as a strong, sensible leader. He cajoled and bullied the colonists into working. He said they would all have to follow the biblical injunction that "if any would not work, neither should he eat"!

About 500 new settlers arrived at the decimated Jamestown in 1609 — including approximately 100 women and children. By the year 1611, the year the King James translation of the Bible first appeared, some 900 had made the perilous journey to Virginia. Only 150 of them survived the ordeal. During the Great Migration of 1630-1643 approximately 65,000 left England to seek a better life in North America and the West Indies.

In 1611 an able soldier, Sir Thomas Dale, arrived in Virginia with three ships, in which he had brought some livestock and 300 colonists to help further establish the colony.

One major difficulty which these early settlers faced were brutal Indian attacks. To prevent savage Indian attacks, the colonists signed a treaty of friendship with the Indian Chief Powhatan in 1614. One of the settlers, John Rolfe, married Powhatan's daughter, Pocohontas.

But, after Chief Powhatan's death in 1618, the Indians broke their treaty, and a savage massacre followed in 1622.

In spite of all these vicissitudes, the infant colony survived. Then

the London Company (later called the Virginia Company) sent a number of young women to marry the bachelors of the colony. This helped to establish strong family roots in this early colony.

During the year 1619 — only twelve years after the first colony had been planted at Jamestown — a Dutch trader arrived with twenty-eight black slaves which he sold to the colonists. These early colonials were totally unable to foresee the woe and misery which this slave trade, and its long-continuing aftermath, would bring both on themselves, the slaves, and all their descendants.

Only a few years after this first *colony* was planted, the colonists began planting *tobacco*. They soon had a thriving tobacco trade with the Mother Country. This “evil weed,” as King James called it, was also destined to have very far-reaching consequences upon the future health of the colonists and others who smoked it.

The Plymouth Pilgrims

America’s second English colony was established by the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1620.

These Pilgrims were a group of Separatists, an offshoot of the Puritans, who had risen to prominence in England during the reign of Elizabeth I, and were finally destined to have one of their brethren, Oliver Cromwell, become master of all England.

They believed the Anglican Church, which had broken with Rome in the reign of Henry VIII, had not gone far enough. They believed the English Church should be *purified* of any further “popish taints,” and since the leaders of that Church were unwilling to do this, they decided to break away from the Anglican Church.

The majority of the *Puritans* considered themselves Anglicans, but they tried to make the Anglican Church “pure” by working *within* that community.

The *Separatists* (including the Pilgrim Fathers) felt that it was futile to wait any longer for reform. They thought it best if they completely withdrew from the Church.

Some of the Separatists who lived at Scrooby in Nottinghamshire left England and went to Holland where they were allowed religious freedom.

But in time they became fearful that their children would eventually lose their English language, customs and heritage as they remained in Holland. They decided to sail to America. First, they went back to England, then in 1620 they set out on the *Mayflower* for the New World.

The *Mayflower* arrived at Cape Cod, Massachusetts, on November 11, 1620. The passengers disembarked at Plymouth, Massachusetts on

December 26th. Some of the more pious Pilgrims and pioneers fell to their knees and thanked God Almighty for bringing them "over ye vast and furious ocean," when they arrived at Cape Cod.

Of the 101 passengers on the *Mayflower*, only 51 were Pilgrims.

The Pilgrim minority had fled from England, where they had been hounded and persecuted, and now at last had arrived safely in America where they planned to establish a "New Zion" for themselves and their posterity.

Before landing at Cape Cod, the *Mayflower* passengers made a compact or agreement that they would live together in peace and in order under civil officers of their own choosing.

Here is a copy of the "Mayflower Compact" (in modernized spelling):

In the Name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc. Having undertaken for the Glory of God, and the Advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the first colony in the northern Parts of Virginia; Do by these Presents, solemnly and mutually in the Presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politic, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid; And by Virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions, and Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general Good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due Submission and Obedience. In Witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape Cod the eleventh of November, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King James of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth and of Scotland, the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini, 1620.

After landing, they began building a town which they named Plymouth. But that first winter was their worst. Many began dying — sometimes two or three a day.

At times only half a dozen were well enough to care for all the others. By the following April, 1621, over half of them were dead.

But in spite of the many appalling hardships, lack of food, sickness and death which the Pilgrims suffered, they weathered the storm. New hope sprang up in the summer of 1621 with an abundant food supply. A bountiful corn harvest brought rejoicing among the members of the colony.

The First Thanksgiving

The Governor of the Plymouth colony, William Bradford, in grateful appreciation to the Great Provider of all blessings, decreed that a three-day thanksgiving feast be held.

A contemporary of the time, Edward Winslow (in a letter of December 11, 1621) gives a vivid description of that first Thanksgiving Day celebration:

Our harvest being gotten in, our Governor sent four men on fowling, that so we might after a more special manner rejoice together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours. They four in one day killed as much fowl as, with a little help beside, served the Company almost a week. At which time, amongst other recreations, we exercised our arms, many of the Indians coming amongst us, and amongst the rest their greatest king, Massasoit with some 90 men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted. And they went out and killed five deer which they brought to the plantation and bestowed on our Governor and upon the Captain and others.

The Indians brought both wild turkeys and venison. And the men of the colony provided geese, ducks and fish.

It took many days to prepare this food for the coming feast. The women spent days preparing for the Thanksgiving Feast. The children also helped by turning roasts on spits on the open fires.

The women of the colony served the meat and fish with journey cake, nuts and corn meal bread, and with succotash. The food was served outdoors at large tables which were built. For days the colonists and Indians feasted and engaged in entertainments.

After this first Thanksgiving Day observance, other American colonies held similar thanksgiving celebrations. The custom of holding an annual Thanksgiving Day gradually spread from Plymouth to some of the other New England colonies.

A massive migration of Puritans occurred during the years 1630-42. Those who took part in this "Great Migration" were unhappy with the way events were going in England. England's King, Charles I, had dissolved Parliament in 1629, and Archbishop Laud had declared war on the Puritans.

The Crown gave the Massachusetts Bay Company a charter in 1629, and the Puritans quickly obtained control of it.

John Winthrop, the governor of the colony, persuaded the members of the Bay Company to transport the company, their charter and a large group of colonists to Boston, Massachusetts. Other groups of colonists (mainly Puritans) immediately began to migrate to the Bay colony — with Boston as its center.

Careful estimates show that by 1641, 300 ships had carried 20,000 settlers to America. This was an almost purely *English* migration, and included a few aristocrats and many university graduates. Religious zeal motivated most of the migrants.

Religious zeal in the Massachusetts Bay Colony was so strong that a church-controlled state was actually established.

In this colony, voting rights were limited to church members only.

The ministers exercised powerful authority in civil as well as religious affairs. This dominance of the colony by the clergy, however, and the narrowness and harshness of this theocratic type of government, aroused a great deal of discontent.

Roger Williams became an outstanding champion of greater freedom and religious tolerance. When he was banished from the colony for his outspoken views, he founded the settlement of Rhode Island — where he encouraged much greater religious freedom and tolerance.

Thomas Hooker and others founded colonies on the Connecticut River. John Davenport led in the establishing of a settlement at New Haven — a colony which later expanded into Long Island Sound.

By 1680, all the New Englanders practically ruled themselves. Though they regarded the government of England as sovereign, they passed their own laws, raised their own defense forces, and made their own trade regulations. *Sentiment*, not force or duty, was their main tie with Britain. In the main, England, standing 3,000 miles away, was neither all that concerned, nor from a practical point of view, was she really able to control these colonists across the wide Atlantic. So American colonials went merrily on their own way — developing themselves in full freedom.

When England was rent with civil war (1642-49), the colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven and Massachusetts Bay banded together in a confederation which lasted for a whole generation. Defense against the Indians, French, and the Dutch was the primary purpose for this four-colony defense league.

Indentured Servants

How could Englishmen who were too poor to afford the passage to America manage to finance their trip? Many of them indentured themselves into the service of another for a period of four to seven years. After serving this period they became totally free, and could then acquire land, enjoying thereafter the rights of free citizens.

Many of the indentured servants served on the big plantations in Virginia and the Carolinas. Throughout the 1600s white indentured servants were preferred to Negroes. For a time during this colonial period, as many as 1,500 white indentured servants arrived in America annually. They were mainly English, but also included a number of Scots and Irish.

Dutch Colonization

In 1609 Henry Hudson, in the service of the Dutch, sailed into what is now New York and claimed much of the territory in the Hudson River

area for the Netherlands. The Dutch were primarily interested in trade — fur, lumber and tobacco — rather than colonization.

In 1621, Holland chartered the Dutch West India Company, and empowered its governors to build forts, establish a government, and to colonize.

In 1623, the company sent a vessel to America with thirty families of Walloons (Protestant refugees from southern Netherland) to the mouth of the Hudson River so they could make a permanent settlement on Manhattan Island. This was a favorable location for a colony, and many other colonists soon arrived. One of them, Peter Minuit, purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians in 1626 for the pittance of twenty-four dollars' worth of goods, beads and other trinkets. This island was to become the seat of the government for the Dutch colony. Fort Orange (Albany) was also established by the Dutch in 1624 as a fur-trading settlement.

The Dutch living in New Netherlands soon began to thrive. New Amsterdam quickly became an important town, and attracted people from many nations, with different languages and varied religious backgrounds.

But the Dutch didn't follow very wise colonial policies in administering their New Amsterdam settlements. In 1629 the Dutch West India Company granted any patron who brought out fifty families a great estate on which to let these tenants live. But the Dutch system was feudalistic — giving a few great families a disproportionate share of the wealth and power. The poor tenants got very little. This disparity between the very wealthy and the very poor in the Dutch colony caused much discontent.

The Dutch governors who ruled New Netherlands were autocratic, harsh, intolerant and blundering. They ruled without popular assemblies, without giving the people a voice in the government. For these reasons, they were not very popular.

Their most famous governor, Peter Stuyvesant, was considered short-sighted, headstrong and not very well attuned to the desires of the Dutch residents over which he governed. This high-handed manner was destined to backfire on the autocratic governors, and eventually turn them out of their job altogether.

England Takes Over

England's colonies now stretched along the eastern seaboard of America in an almost unbroken line — except for the Dutch settlements in New Amsterdam.

The English looked upon these Dutch colonies as interlopers. They threatened their unity and their security.

What could England do to get rid of this nuisance?

English rulers decided they could not long permit the Dutch colony to break their line of possessions on the Atlantic seaboard. So in 1664 a rather small English naval force sailed into New Amsterdam without firing a shot. The mere threat of their presence was sufficient to cause the 7,000 inhabitants of the area to surrender on British terms.

Besides, the disgruntled, surly Dutch residents were unwilling to fight for their harsh, arrogant governors. They felt it would be better to let the English take charge. Who could say that the English wouldn't make better masters? Hopefully, they would give them more freedom, rule them less harshly.

In the English colonies, land was usually sold very cheaply, and was sometimes even given away. This proved quite an incentive for people to leave the Mother Country and try to make a decent living in the New World where they could soon become owners of a fairly good-sized piece of land.

Charles II appointed his brother, the Duke of York, to be the ruler and owner of this new English-dominated colony which was promptly named "New York." At that time this area called New York stretched from the Delaware to the Connecticut Rivers.

Their new English masters were not to disappoint them. Immediately they began running a more liberal regime. The new governor treated the Dutch generously, allowing them to keep their lands, their language and religion. Furthermore, the English immediately began encouraging more immigration. The settlements in the colony thickened. And the colony began prospering as never before.

Pennsylvania and the Quakers

William Penn is considered one of the noblest, greatest colonial figures. He was certainly one of the best to preside over what later became Pennsylvania and Delaware.

William was a son of a prominent English admiral who had helped Charles II gain the throne of England. But young William had been converted to the Quaker religion, which was also known as the Society of Friends. The Quakers were pacifists, and they were not popular in England.

When William Penn's father died, leaving him all his wealth, young William suggested that King Charles might pay off his considerable debt of about 80,000 pounds by giving him a grant of land in America. This was something which the King was happy to do — for he appreciated what William's father had done in helping him to be established on the English throne.

The king then named this grant of land "Pennsylvania" (Penn's

Woods) after William Penn's father. The Duke of York, also gave young William the territory which later became Delaware.

In 1682, William Penn headed for America with a number of eager colonists — many of whom had answered his impressive, four-language ads, extolling the merits of settling in Pennsylvania.

William had wanted to establish a colony in which every race and every sect could find both religious and political freedom — with complete tolerance being granted them by all others.

Also, William Penn offered the settlers a very generous, enticing offer of land in Pennsylvania. His liberal terms included: fifty acres free; larger farms at a very nominal rent; and 5,000 acres for only one hundred pounds. In 1682, Penn visited his "holy experiment" and laid down a charter of government which established a small elective council to help him govern the colony; and he also created a larger elective assembly to pass or refuse any proposed laws. In 1701 this generous governor of Pennsylvania granted a new charter to the colony which lasted until the American Revolution.

William Penn was a truly big-hearted, altruistically minded man. He was especially interested to see that others like himself (members of the despised Quakers) would be able to worship in complete peace.

Penn built Philadelphia ("city of brotherly love") and expressed the desire that it would always be "a green country town," with lovely gardens surrounding each home. And it did become a beautiful and prosperous city. At the time of the Revolutionary War it was the largest city in America.

Because of Penn's very liberal policies, immigrants flocked to the colony by the thousands. Not only did large numbers immigrate to Pennsylvania from England, but many thousands of persecuted Protestants fled there from Germany, due to harrassment by German princes.

This German influx of immigrants was the largest non-British group of immigrants from any nation before the War of Independence. Included among them were Lutherans, Dunkards, Mennonites, and many other Protestant sects which were not welcome in their Fatherland. These sturdy, hard-working, serious-minded Germans became known as the "Pennsylvania Deutsch." They became prosperous farmers and did much to develop Pennsylvania into one of America's wealthiest colonies.

A Catholic Refuge

The Puritans had been persecuted in England (as had the Lutherans in parts of Germany, and the Huguenots in France), but it is also true that the Catholics had been persecuted with varying degrees of severity in England.

The English Catholics longed to establish a colony in the New

World where they would be in charge — so they would be free to practice Catholicism as they pleased.

One of the closest friends and supporters of King James I was Sir George Calvert (Lord Baltimore). After visiting America, he asked the king to give him land just north of Virginia. The Calverts were given permission to establish a colony in Maryland and rule it so long as they did so according to the laws of England.

Lord Baltimore wanted to make this colony a refuge for Catholics — especially from England. They were granted in 1632 all the district between the Potomac River and the 40th parallel.

The first shipload of Catholic colonists, accompanied by two Roman Catholic priests, arrived early in 1634 and established a colony in Maryland. Though this colony was meant to be a refuge for Catholics, it actually turned out that Protestants soon outnumbered Catholics, for most of the Roman Catholics preferred to remain in England.

The Catholic Lord Baltimore persuaded the assembly which he had called into session to pass a religious toleration act in 1649. This would make sure that the more numerous Protestants could never persecute the less numerous Catholics.

When staunchly Protestant William and Mary became King and Queen of England in 1689, the Calverts lost control of Maryland. But when Lord Baltimore (the Fourth) embraced Protestantism in 1715, the Calvert family regained its rights to this proprietary colony.

The Carolinas

Charles II was brought back to England from France and given the English throne in 1660. He felt deep gratitude to those who assisted him in obtaining the crown.

Accordingly, he granted the area south of Virginia to eight of his loyal friends. They became the joint proprietors of the future colony of the Carolinas.

In 1670 these joint proprietors sent a group of people to start a settlement in South Carolina at the present site of Charleston. This city was named, after Charles II "Charles' Town."

They granted their subjects religious freedom, and made it easy to acquire cheap land in the colony. The colony prospered with many well-to-do plantation owners, some merchants and other traders. It produced rice, indigo, furs, tar, turpentine, lumber and other commodities for export to England.

To this colony came French Huguenots and Scots as well as many from England, and some from Germany and Switzerland.

Eventually, Carolina became two colonies. North Carolina remained more rural and was rather poor. South Carolina was more

prosperous. Charleston became a wealthy and fashionable city, and at one time was about the "swingingist" town in all America.

Georgia — the Last Colony

The last of the original colonies to be founded was Georgia. This colony was founded by a group of well-intentioned English philanthropists.

The leader of the colony, James Oglethorpe, was a rather gruff British army officer. He became interested in the lot of the prisoners in England. He knew that many of them were in prison for no real reason, or were there for the merest of "crimes" such as inability to pay small debts, petty thievery, political opposition, etc. He wanted to have a hand in helping to free these peoples, so they could become decent, law-abiding, useful citizens — earning their own keep.

Oglethorpe and his fellow philanthropists obtained a grant of land between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, where they hoped to give these poor debtors and other deserving poor people a fresh start in life.

In 1733 James Oglethorpe and a hundred settlers arrived in Georgia and established the town of Savannah. They were idealistic, and outlawed slavery, the importation of rum, brandy and other alcoholic beverages. In 1751, after a period of slow but steady growth, the proprietors allowed Georgia to be taken over by the Crown.

One of the reasons for establishing this colony in the first place was so it could serve as a buffer between the Spanish settlements in Florida and the English colonists in the Carolinas. Though this colony was never to become the most populous or the wealthiest, it did serve as a welcome refuge for English prisoners.

The Thirteen Prosper

The Thirteen Colonies had been planted in North America during a one hundred and twenty-six year period — beginning with Jamestown in 1607, and ending with the establishment of Georgia in 1733.

From their inception, these colonies were independent in practice. They were able to run themselves as they saw fit. England was just too far away to be able to effectively govern her American colonies from London.

During this entire colonial period, taxes were relatively low.

As the populations of Europe began to explode, Europeans needed more living space — more land. They needed more food and raw materials, and much of this had to come from the New World. With England, most of it came from her Thirteen Colonies in America. They in turn bought most of their manufactured goods from England. The colonists

did, however, carry on some trade with the Spaniards to their south, and especially with the French and Spanish islands in the West Indies. Rum, sugar and other commodities were imported from that region.

As a result of rapidly expanding commerce between the Thirteen Colonies and the Mother Country, the once struggling colonies began to prosper greatly.

At that moment in history there was little trouble from the Spanish to the south. The Spaniards were too preoccupied with their vast possessions in Central and South America to worry about the English colonies of North America.

England Supplants France in America

Little did either Britain or France fully realize the fantastic potential wealth of North America. But as England and France began their nearly one hundred-year struggle for control of America, it was even then understood that the land was very rich in furs, fish and farmlands.

Three great Anglo-French wars were to be fought between 1700 and 1763. During this time, France would lose her grip on her rich possessions in North America. England would supplant her.

The first of these three wars — the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13) — concerned the Spanish Succession in Europe — but it spilled over into America. During this war England won Acadia (Nova Scotia) and the Hudson Bay territory. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 confirmed these wins and gave Britain a solid foothold in Canada. (This same treaty also gave England Gibraltar.)

The French reply to this English threat was to build a string of forts all the way along the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers. By fortifying these forts strongly, the French hoped to be able to pen the English to the east.

But the French line of defense was not sufficient to check the English advance. The French were spreading themselves too thin. In 1666 there were only approximately 3,500 people in all of New France, whereas there were over 50,000 residents in British America. The French found themselves vastly outnumbered.

And this English numerical superiority was destined to continue. England continued nourishing her American and Canadian colonies with a never-ending stream of settlers. The French weren't nearly as zealous in populating their colonies in North America. They were more interested in the abundant furs, fish and forests.

The second Anglo-French war broke out in 1740, and the struggle for and in Canada grew fiercer.

At the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, a stalemate settlement was reached. Each country simply returned its conquests to their pre-war

possessors. As an example, Fort Louisburg in Cape Breton (taken by American colonial forces in 1749) was handed back to the French — much to the annoyance of the Colonists.

But friction continued in the Ohio Valley. In 1749, a group of Virginians formed the Ohio Company. George Washington (a wealthy Virginian planter) had a stake in that company. These Americans planned to exploit the land in the Ohio Valley, and in 1752 the Ohio Company was granted a royal charter for the purpose of land development in the valley.

This didn't set well with the French. They also claimed the rich Ohio Valley. So in 1754 the French built Fort Duquesne, on the present site of Pittsburgh.

But Britain didn't intend to stand idly by while the French strengthened their military position. In 1755 General Braddock was ordered to take Fort Duquesne from France. A young volunteer officer named George Washington accompanied General Braddock on his military adventure.

But the British hadn't yet learned how to fight a colonial war. General Braddock was so confident of easy victory that he even took his plump mistress along. He had two regiments (about 2,100 men), which was double the size of the French forces.

As Braddock confidently marched along the road toward Fort Duquesne his smartly attired redcoats made easy targets for the French and their Indian allies, lying hidden in ambush.

As neat columns of British infantrymen marched forward, suddenly, from the woods, a murderous cloud of musketballs hit them from all sides and they began toppling like tenpins. During the battle, General Braddock died muttering, "Better luck next time." Half of his army had been slaughtered, and the rest fled for their lives. George Washington was one of those who escaped. It was his cool courage that helped save the lives of at least part of Braddock's army.

The last of the three Anglo-French wars for control of America broke out in 1756 and ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. This war was at least partly the result of the continuing struggle over the rich Ohio Valley and was called the French and Indian War, because the French stirred up the Indians to fight against the British in the struggle.

General Wolfe's English forces took Louisburg handily in 1758. But the struggle for Quebec was to be much more difficult. The French had strongly fortified it. Quebec was difficult to attack from the waterfront, and seemingly impossible to take otherwise, because it nestled atop towering cliffs which protected the city.

The French didn't believe the English would try to climb these cliffs, and thus neglected to set up an adequate defense in that area. But during the night, the English forces scaled the high cliffs and, to the

consternation of the French general Montcalm, were assembled on the Plains of Abraham the next morning. Montcalm was astonished beyond measure. He never expected to wake up and see red-coats!

Though Montcalm was considered a brilliant general, he made the tactical blunder of letting his men fire too soon — before the English were within effective range of the French shot.

General Wolfe ordered his men to wait until the French soldiers were within forty paces. Only then did his troops unleash a murderous hail of shot which quickly decimated the French forces. It wasn't long before General Wolfe's army had mastered the situation.

Some 1,200 casualties were the result of this furious thirty-minute battle on the Plains of Abraham. Both sides suffered heavily. And at the end of the battle both Wolfe and Montcalm were dead.

Though the final English victory over the French in Canada didn't occur until the next year — when a British army of 18,000 forced Montreal to surrender — nevertheless the fate of French Canada was decided at that decisive battle of Quebec in 1759. From that defeat onward, there was no way the French could check the British advance.

France had struggled and fought bravely for nearly a century to maintain her tenuous foothold in North America. But, with only 50,000 Frenchmen trying to hold out against nearly twenty times that many Englishmen, it was just a matter of time until the tricolor would be lowered and the Union Jack raised in its place.

France had fought valiantly, but now her power was completely broken in North America.

France realized she had been badly beaten. The British navy now dominated the Seven Seas — including the Atlantic. New France in America had dissolved in the dust of a series of Anglo-French battles for the control of the world's richest continent.

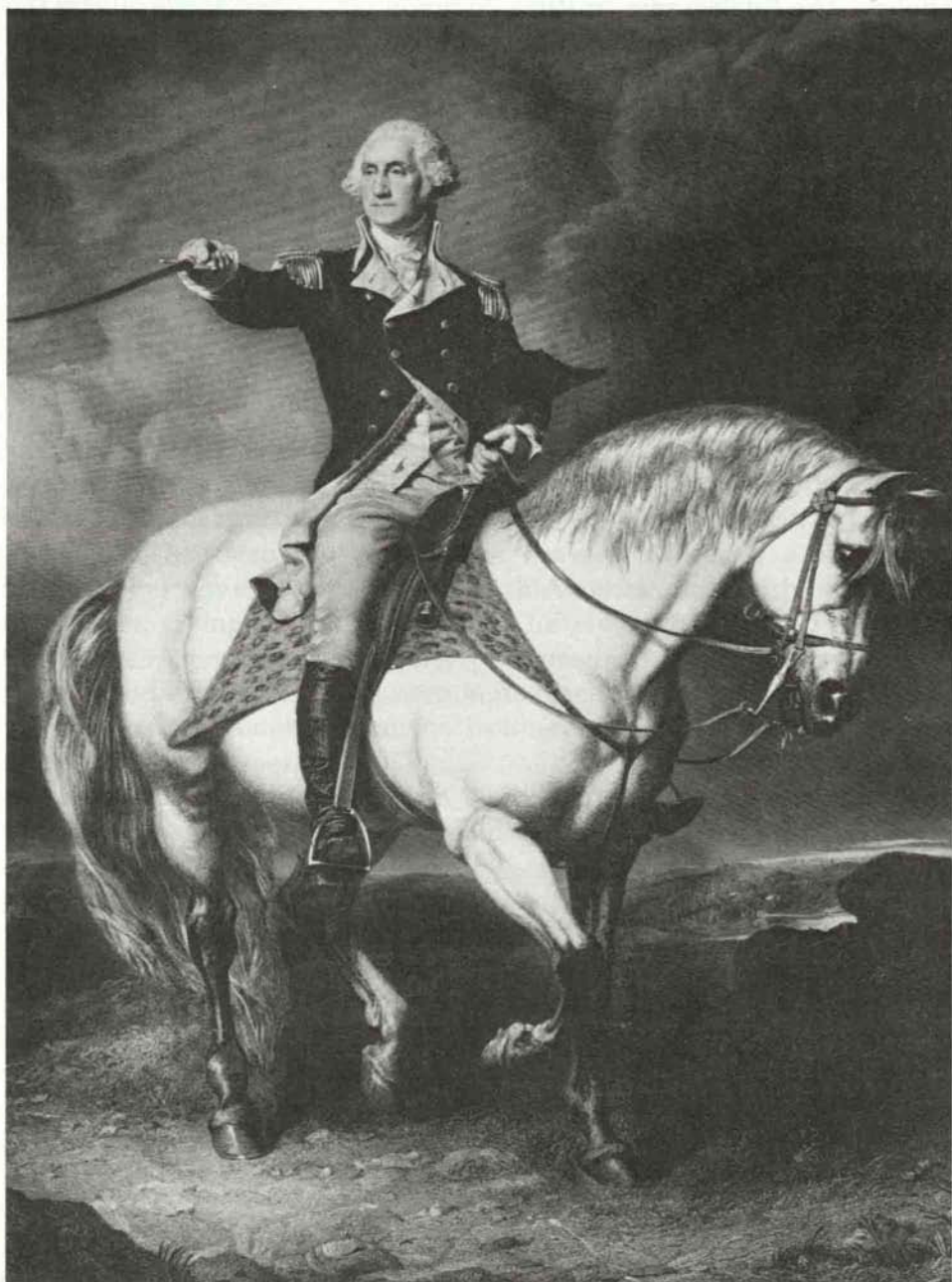
In 1763, France relinquished most of her territorial claims in the New World. France gave Canada to England, and also handed over all the land east of the Mississippi as far south as the Florida territory. Furthermore, France ceded the lands west of the Mississippi territory to Spain.

The Treaty of Paris was also called the Peace of Paris. But in England, many were not pleased. One disappointed politician said the Peace of Paris was like the Peace of God — “it passeth all understanding.”

Many Englishmen were not convinced that Canada was truly valuable. Incredibly, the new British Government actually debated whether England should take Canada as her victor's prize, or whether she should take *Guadeloupe*, a small island in the Caribbean rich in sugar, rum, and slaves. Of what value was Canada, they asked — barren, useless, frozen wasteland at the far end of North America?

With the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Anglo-French strife in North America ended. The die had been irrevocably cast. America would be English. The English race, culture, common law — and above all else the English language — would henceforward be paramount in America.

But Britain's troubles in North America were not yet over. Unknown to her at the time, a *family quarrel* would soon result in a new wave of problems for the Crown.



George Washington, America's first president and "father of our country." — *Harold M. Lambert Photo*

America's Struggle for Independence

Following the Paris Peace settlement of 1763, it would have seemed that real peace could now settle down over America. But this was not to be. Peace was short-lived.

When the Treaty of Paris was signed, the Thirteen Colonies were thriving. The population had risen to two and a half million — two million whites and a half million blacks.

Prosperity in the Colonies was the rule — not the exception. In fact the colonists were generally far more prosperous than the average Briton. The land on which they lived was virgin soil, rich and productive. The colonists were, in the main, an energetic able group — determined to get ahead!

Trade and commerce flourished — especially between the colonists and England. Taxes were ridiculously low in the colonies. They had not had the burden of heavy defense costs. The Mother Country had been willing to shoulder that responsibility.

In fact, during the Anglo-French war of 1756-63, the colonists had continued prospering, partly as a result of the war. Some had profited by providing supplies for the British; other colonials had even supplied the French forces — for a profit, of course.

When Britain and France signed the Treaty of Paris in 1763, by which France relinquished her claims to Canada and the Mississippi Valley, it looked as though the American colonies would no longer need English troops on their soil. Previously, Americans had welcomed English soldiers, and had even fought beside them. They knew British troops were there to protect the colonies from French and Indian attacks.

After the Treaty of Paris, England woke up to the realization of just how much the war had cost her. British merchants grumbled because they were asked to pay for this costly war. Taxes were now running at four shillings in the pound. And interest on the national debt was five million pounds a year — a very high sum, indeed, at the time. Running an Empire was proving a very costly undertaking!

Englishmen began realizing that Americans, who in some ways had actually benefitted from the war, were paying little or no taxes! Why shouldn't they also help shoulder this tax burden?

After all, prosperity was soaring in the Thirteen Colonies. One fifth of all Britain's subjects now lived in America. And the Americans were actually enjoying a considerably higher living standard than were their English cousins. Americans had huge tracts of land, lived in large, comfortable homes and enjoyed some of the highest-priced goods from Britain and Europe.

At the time, England's public debt averaged eighteen pounds per person, whereas the public debt of the colonies was only one-twentieth of this (18 shillings per person). The average American taxpayer was paying only sixpence a year, but his English cousins were paying about fifty times that amount in taxes.

Furthermore, England believed she should leave a number of troops in America — to protect her subjects from Indian attacks, or from a possible renewal of French aggression. The Americans, however, just didn't see any need for Britain to station soldiers in the colonies now that France had ceded virtually all of North America to Britain. It appeared to the Americans as if the French had bowed out of North America.

But regardless of stiffening complaints and resistances, after France ceded Britain the land east of the Mississippi, England forbade the colonists further expansion west of the Appalachian Mountains. This nettled the Americans. They fully intended to settle the lands west of those mountains.

When England began increasing the tax rate, and garrisoning red-coats throughout the colonies, it was the last straw.

It was an increasing *tax burden*, saddled on American colonists by England, which irritated and infuriated the Americans more than anything else. They would tolerate a certain amount of British interference in their trade, but woe to the English politicians in London if they tried to coerce independent-minded Americans to pay more taxes!

John Locke's (1632-1704) influential book, *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), contended that since all government derived from the people, they had the right to overthrow any government which denied them their fundamental rights. *People should not be taxed without their consent!* The colonists took this Englishman's words to mean that they, too, had certain natural rights which the British Parliament couldn't violate. And they firmly believed that Parliament could not (or should not!) *tax* them without their express consent.

Leaders of the Revolution

At this point in colonial history, a number of fiery men began to arise. The spirited Patrick Henry aroused public sentiment in popular harangues against the British.

Patrick Henry was considered by some to be ambitious and also vainglorious, but he possessed an ability to move people to action. He had been admitted to the bar after reading law for only six weeks. And he was not timid (or even respectful) when it came to derogatory references to King George III, King of England.

Patrick Henry began to say that the King had "degenerated into a tyrant." This was heady, strong, even treasonable, language! But it seemed to suit the mood of many of the colonials.

Another fiery leader (some referred to him as a rabble-rouser) who continued to stir up the colonials was Samuel Adams. He had quite a following among the common people in Boston. At his beck and call, hundreds of Boston bully-boys would go into action against the British. Many looked on Sam Adams as the "Father of the Revolution."

Later, the popularity-seeking lawyer, Patrick Henry, arrived in Virginia and orated before the Virginia House of Burgesses. He was so abusive of the King, that the speaker of the House accused him of treason. Patrick Henry apologized — then spoke more treason! Moved, the House resolved that Virginians could not be taxed except by their own assembly, and that anyone who said otherwise "shall be deemed an enemy of His Majesty's colony."

The Right to Tax?

What would Britain do? Did she really have the legal right to tax the colonists?

England steadfastly maintained that she not only had the right to tax the colonists — but to do so even *without* their consent. Furthermore, she could regulate trade, wage war and conduct her Imperial business without seeking advice or counsel from the upstart colonials.

England then unwisely passed a number of acts and laws which proved both unpopular and utterly unenforceable.

The *Molasses Act* of 1743 placed a duty of sixpence a gallon (a very high duty) on molasses imported from the *French West Indies*. This act aimed at forcing the colonists to buy from the *British West Indies*.

The *Iron Act* of 1750 attempted to limit the manufacture of hardware in the colonies. Numerous other restrictions were placed on various colonial industries.

In 1651, Britain passed the *Navigation Acts* — directed primarily against the Dutch. This Act made it mandatory that all goods shipped to or from the colonies be carried in English or colonial ships, and the majority of the hands on those ships had to be English or colonial born.

Furthermore, certain kinds of produce ("enumerated articles" — furs, ships' masts, tar, pitch, turpentine, tobacco etc.) could be sent to

Europe only *via* England. And goods from Europe to the colonies must also go *via* England.

What was the colonialists' reaction to all these restrictions? They either ignored, or openly flouted British rules and regulations. England, realizing the utter impossibility of enforcing them on so vast a territory, was halfhearted in her attempt.

The colonists' usual response was wide-scale *smuggling!* In fact, many a wealthy colonial merchant (e.g. John Hancock — signer of the Declaration of Independence) obtained much of his wealth by the shady business of smuggling. Bribes and corruption were rampant! Many British officials could be paid to turn a blind eye to any smuggling which they might be privy to.

The molasses-rum business was the prime concern of the smugglers. This was a very lucrative trade at that time. Molasses from the West Indies was sold to the colonists. They made it into rum, and then used the rum and their rum-money to buy more slaves from Africa, who were in turn sold in the West Indies to help produce more molasses. This wretched triangular business thrived for many years.

The overall effect of the passage of some of these unenforceable laws was to encourage general *lawlessness* — much like what later happened in the U.S. during Prohibition.

Many of the early colonists had left England in the first place because they wanted more political and religious *freedom*. Liberty and independence flowed strongly in their blood. Rebellion seemed to be second nature to these self-willed pioneers. They demonstrated quite early that they had no intention of keeping laws — especially English laws!

When George Grenville became Prime Minister in 1763, he decided it was past time to begin tightening the controls on American trade. Grenville immediately ordered a crackdown on all smugglers and contraband. And by the use of "writs of assistance," he empowered British agents with the legal means of searching houses suspected of having contraband.

In 1764 the *Sugar Act* was passed, repealing the unenforceable *Molasses Act* of 1733. This later Act placed a duty of threepence a gallon on all imported molasses. This was only half what it had been before. But the colonists still weren't satisfied.

The Hated Stamp Act

What really stirred up a storm of protest was Grenville's passage of the *Stamp Act* in 1765. Though the amount of taxes to be raised by this Act was *minimal*, colonial hostility and resultant outcries against it were *maximal*.

By this Stamp Act all legal documents, licences, newspapers, university degrees, commercial contracts, wills had to have a legal stamp (a form of a tax) paid on them. This practice had been common in England for some time, but the rebellious-minded colonists weren't about to submit to this form of taxation.

The "Sons of Liberty" and the "Daughters of Liberty" were growing in strength. They protested against and stoutly resisted all British Acts by which additional taxes were laid on their shoulders.

The hostility and heated agitation against the Stamp Act was an ominous portent for the future of British rule in the Thirteen Colonies. Henceforth, their battlecry — "No Taxation without Representation!" — would serve as a serious challenge to British rule. They hotly argued that the English Parliament had no right to tax them unless the colonies had representatives seated in Parliament. Since 3,000 miles separated the colonies from London, they concluded that only their own assemblies could tax them.

When the colonists refused to pay duty on molasses and boycotted English goods in a solid show of defiance, there was little that England could do but relent.

When the colonies decided not to pay stamp taxes on legal papers, there was no way Britain could force them to comply.

Time and again, English governing authorities gave in to the demands of the colonists. Repeatedly, when the colonies refused to pay imposed duties, they were repealed by Parliament.

A Taste of Freedom

But once the colonists got a taste of freedom — once they had rebelled against the Mother Country, and gotten away with it — their confidence and independence grew even greater.

King George III was determined to make the colonists submit, as were several English prime ministers. But a few leaders like Edmund Burke and William Pitt reasoned that even if Britain had the *legal* "right" to tax the colonists, it was, nonetheless, highly *unwise* to do so.

When Britain repealed the Stamp Act, the news caused boisterous enthusiasm in the colonies. For some time afterward anti-British agitation ceased. It appeared that the Anglo-American wound had closed, and might soon heal.

But old festering wounds of animosity were reopened with a vengeance in 1767. England's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, convinced Parliament that the American colonies would be willing to pay customs duties though they had rebelled at paying the stamp duty.

At his instigation, Parliament passed customs duties on paper,

paints, glass, lead and *tea!* The Prime Minister had been assured (on unsound advice!) that this *external* taxation would be acceptable to the colonies. They only resented *internal* taxation. But, how wrong he proved to be!

Dumping British Tea

It so happened that the East India Company had accumulated a vast amount of tea which they were unable to sell. Many of the colonists were purchasing cheap Dutch tea, and were therefore not willing to pay the higher price for English tea. The colonists were great tea drinkers — drinking about two million cups a day.

England decided to dump this surplus tea on the American colonies, selling it cheaper than the Dutch tea. England thought this tea would be so cheap that the colonists would be happy to buy it — even if they had to pay a small tax on it.

But a number of Americans decided to stand firm on *principle*. If they bought this cheap tea and paid the tax Britain demanded, were they not then acquiescing to the principle that England had the *right to tax* them without representation?

And this they were not willing to do!

In the autumn of 1773, a tea-laden flotilla of seven English ships were on the high seas, destined to unload their politically explosive cargo at American ports.

But even while the ships were en route, many merchants cancelled their orders for English tea. In numerous American ports, the city officials refused to let the tea be unloaded.

Three of these vessels carrying about 90,000 pounds of East India tea sailed into Boston harbor in November 1773.

Sam Adams and his crowd of rowdies demanded that they put back to sea immediately. After much harassment, the shipowners agreed to leave, but the English Governor, Thomas Hutchinson, refused to let the ships go until the tea duty was paid. According to law, said Hutchinson, the tea was liable to *tax* once it entered the harbor — whether it was purchased or not!

A mob of about 5,000 Bostonians gathered at the Old South meeting house on December 16. They dressed up as Indians, blackened their faces and with a frolicking good war-whoop, they cheerily threw the tea into the harbor — all 90,000 pounds of it!

Some very highly placed citizens took part in this Indian “tea party.” John Hancock (one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence) reportedly threw some tea overboard. During the fracas, a friend, recognizing Hancock, grunted to him: “Ugh, me know you!”

Meanwhile, an East India cargo was burned in Greenwich, New

Jersey, and in Annapolis, Maryland, the "Indians" burned both the tea and the ship. Several other "tea parties" were held.

What would the British do? Did they dare ignore this insolence and rebellion?

England decided, after the Boston Tea Party, to close the harbor of Boston until the city paid for all the tea thrown into the harbor. George III himself said: "We must master them or totally leave them to themselves and treat them as aliens."

The "Boston Massacre"

By 1768 rebellious disturbances in the colonies had reached such a fever pitch that the English government thought it time to show "those braggarts their insignificance in the scale of Empire."

In 1770 Lord North, an easy-going man, became Prime Minister. In that same year the so-called "Boston Massacre" took place.

For some time Bostonians had shown disrespect toward English governing officials. British soldiers in Boston suffered many insults. Tempers flared. Ugly incidents became more frequent.

In March 1770, a brawl started outside the customs-house in Boston. Civilians marched forward, insulting and taunting the British soldiers. They advanced menacingly, and began striking the soldier's rifles aside. A British soldier was knocked to the ground.

Then apparently panic broke out. Nobody really knows exactly what happened. Some said the British officer in charge ordered his men to fire, but he stoutly denied this. When the smoke and confusion cleared away, five Bostonians were dead or dying.

Many reasonable men felt the subsequent trial proved that the Patriots were to blame for the shooting. Thirty-eight witnesses testified that there was a carefully laid plot for a civilian attack on the troops. Many distressed Americans concluded it was high time for the rowdy mobs to quit their provocative acts.

But the cat had already been let out of the bag. Violence flared, and tempers soared as men acted in passion. In the eyes of many colonists, the British were simply unreasonable, oppressive, cruel!

The British, however, felt the colonists were totally to blame. They simply needed to be taught a few sharp lessons.

Britain was particularly annoyed at the city of Boston. That proud city would have to be subdued; and, if necessary, be reduced to a "smuggling village." The British Army would have to be sent to America to restore order, and impose the Imperial will of Britain on these rebels. England's Prime Minister, Lord North, incensed by the rebels, "cursed from morn to noon, and from noon to morn."

Meanwhile Americans continued boycotting British goods. Tarring

and feathering of English officials occurred. Also, any Americans who became informers were tarred and feathered.

The leaven of bitterness grew. Insults were hurled back and forth across the Atlantic as a verbal battle raged between the colonists and the Mother Country.

Serious conflict was not far away!

In September, 1774, some of the "ablest and wealthiest men in America" met in Philadelphia — the City of Brotherly Love — to plan their strategy in handling the ugly situation which was developing in the colonies.

(This first Continental Congress was to be described by William Pitt, a future British Prime Minister, as "the most honourable Assembly of Statesmen since those of the ancient Greeks and Romans.")

In early 1776, Thomas Paine who had arrived in America in 1771, published a highly provocative book entitled *Common Sense*, in which he urged the colonists to throw off the Imperial British yoke and declare themselves a sovereign nation.

His book was an instant success. Hundreds of thousands were sold. Nearly everyone who was literate read it and was impressed by its logic. Why should the peoples of the Thirteen Colonies continue to hang on to England's apron strings? Why should they let a government 3,000 miles away dictate their economic and political policies?

Weren't they able to stand up as men for freedom — to oppose the *tyrants* of Europe (King George III included), and if need be *fight* for their freedom? Was not independence worth fighting for?

Most of the colonists weren't yet fully persuaded that America should seek independence. Even when the war finally broke out, perhaps one third of the colonists were still convinced they should remain loyal to the English Crown. Another third were equally persuaded that the time had come when the colonies should cut all ties with the Mother Country. And about one third didn't care much either way. They just wanted to be able to live in peace and prosperity without interference from Parliament or anyone else.

When bitterness finally boiled over into armed conflict in 1775, nobody thought it would last long. The British certainly believed the colonials would not be able to hold out very long against the English regulars.

Americans — "A Race of Convicts"

The British still clung to the false hope that the colonials would quickly surrender — once they saw a sufficient show of strength. The average Englishman didn't have a very high regard for colonial soldiers. Many looked upon the colonists as the "sweepings of English prisons."

Colonials were regarded as people so lacking in spirit that they had sold themselves into indentured bondage. Some arrogantly looked upon the colonists as mere criminal riff-raff. Samuel Johnson, when speaking of the Americans, once said: "Sir, they are a race of convicts, and ought to be content with anything we allow them short of hanging."

Many insulting jibes and disparaging innuendoes were hurled toward the colonials. "These rebels will run at first sight." One British general remarked: "The American is an effeminate thing, very unfit for and very impatient for war." Another general insultingly boasted that with only a few English regulars, he would be able to "geld [castrate] all the American males, some by force and the rest with a little coaxing."

Shortly after the actual fighting began at Lexington and Concord, even King George III said: "When once these rebels have felt a smart blow, they will submit!" The King of England certainly did not intend to allow the British Empire to be dismantled by these insolent rebels.

American newspapers were whipping up anti-British feelings. The British army was manned by *sex fiends*, claimed newspaper editorials. If British occupation of American soil didn't end, "neither our wives, daughters, nor even grandmothers would be safe," the colonial papers screamed.

Rumor, half-truths and outright fabrications were fed to the British and the colonials. Emotionalism carried many along the path toward war. Reason dragged itself along slowly in the rear. War was now imminent!

One of History's Most Impassioned Speeches

One of the most impassioned and eloquent speeches ever given by mortal man was that of Patrick Henry's, given at the second patriotic convention of Virginia (March, 1775). Those who heard it were left stunned!

Following is a reconstruction of portions of that speech from actual witnesses who heard it!

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of *hope*. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth — and listen to the song of that siren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous *struggle for liberty*? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so dearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst and to provide for it. . . .

I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array (of British forces), if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motives for it? Has Great Britain any enemy

in this quarter of the world, to call for this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. *They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. . . .*

Sir, we have done everything that could be done to *avert the storm* which is now coming on. We have *petitioned* — we have *remonstrated* — we have *supplicated* we have *prostrated* ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of *peace and reconciliation*.

“*We Must Fight!*”

There is no longer any room for hope; if we wish to be free — if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending — if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained — *we must fight!* — I repeat it, sir, *we must fight; an appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!*

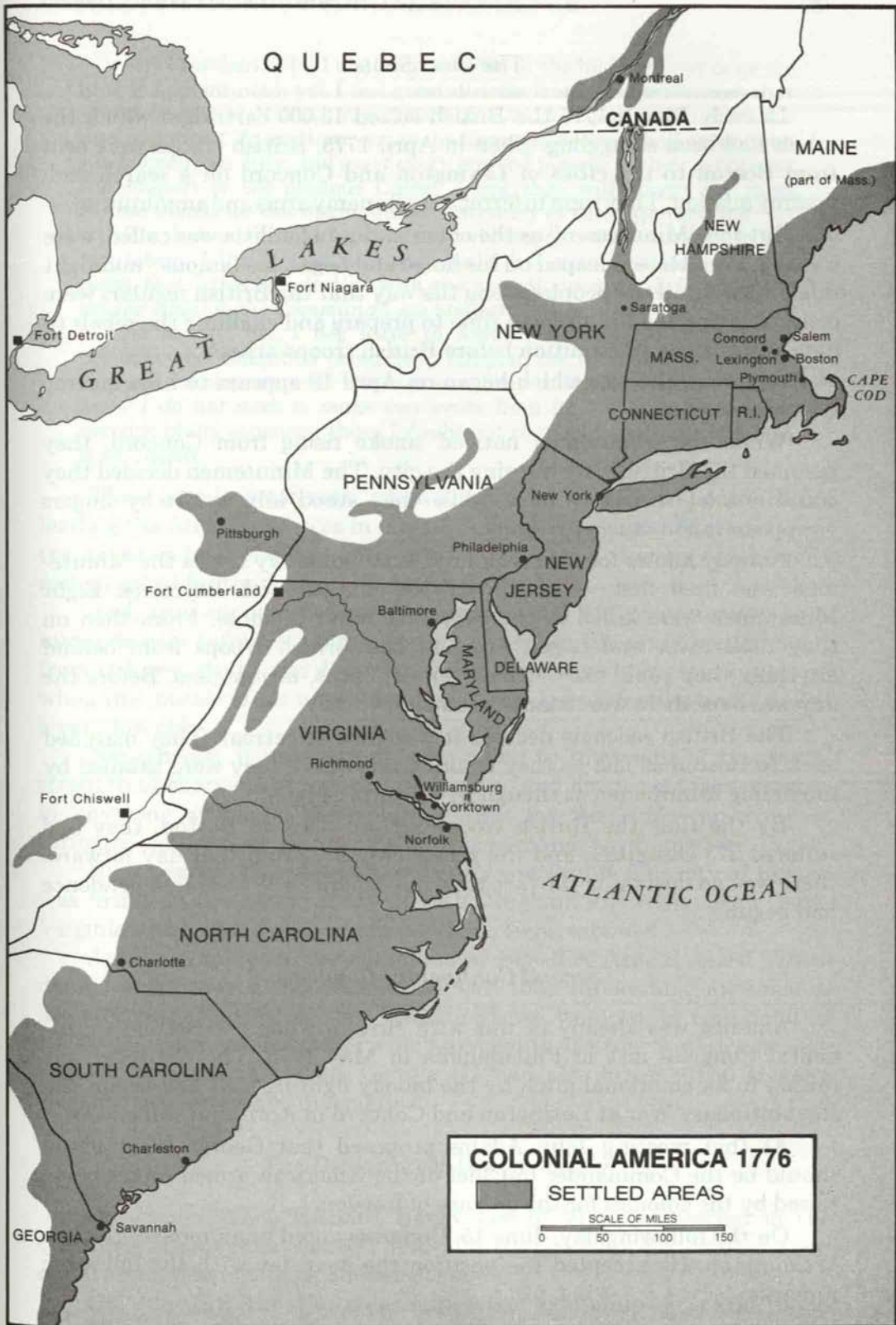
They tell us, sir, that we are weak, unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? *Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemy shall have bound us hand and foot?*

Sir, *we are not weak*, if we make a proper use of those forces which the *God of nature* hath placed in our power. . . .

Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. *There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations*, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, *it is now* too late to retire from the contest. There is *no retreat but in submission and slavery!* Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable — and let it come! I repeat, sir, let it come!

“*Liberty or . . . Death!*”

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? *Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!*”



QUEBEC

CANADA

MAINE

(part of Mass.)

LAKES

NEW HAMPSHIRE

GREAT

NEW YORK

MASS.

Concord
Lexington
Boston

CAPE COD

CONNECTICUT

R.I.

PENNSYLVANIA

New York

Pittsburgh

Philadelphia

NEW JERSEY

Fort Cumberland

Baltimore

DELAWARE

MARYLAND

VIRGINIA

Richmond

Williamsburg
Yorktown

Fort Chiswell

Norfolk

ATLANTIC OCEAN

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston

GEORGIA

Savannah

COLONIAL AMERICA 1776

■ SETTLED AREAS

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 150

The First Shots

In early March 1775 the British seized 13,000 cartridges which the rebels had been smuggling. Then in April 1775, British troops were sent from Boston to the cities of Lexington and Concord on a search-and-destroy mission. They were to ferret out all enemy arms and ammunition.

But the "Minutemen" as the colonial rag-tag militia was called, were waiting. Paul Revere leaped on his horse and began his famous "midnight ride" warning all the peoples along the way that the British regulars were coming, giving the Minutemen time to prepare and enabling the rebels to hide any guns or ammunition before British troops arrived.

In a way, the war which began on April 19 appears to have started quite by accident.

When the Minutemen noticed smoke rising from Concord, they assumed the British were burning the city. The Minutemen decided they could not let their city burn while they stood idly by. Itchy fingers wrapped around musket triggers.

Nobody knows for sure who fired first. Some say it was the Minutemen who fired first — as the British charged with bayonets. Eight Minutemen were killed in the very first burst of shots. From then on they took cover and began firing at the British troops from behind anything they could use — trees, fences, barns, farmhouses. Before the day was over there were many casualties.

The British redcoats decided it was time to retreat. They marched back to Boston as fast as they could. Everywhere they were assailed by the hiding Minutemen as though by a swarm of bees.

By the time the British troops arrived back in Boston, they had suffered 273 casualties, and the rebels only 93. From that day forward, there was no mistaking the fact that the American War of Independence had begun.

Second Continental Congress

America was already at war with Britain when the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in May 1775. The Congress was roused to an emotional pitch by the bloody fighting that had begun the Revolutionary War at Lexington and Concord in April that same year.

At that meeting John Adams proposed that George Washington should be the Commander-in-Chief of the American armed forces being raised by the colonies for the defense of freedom.

On the following day, June 15, Congress voted unanimously to elect Washington. He accepted the position the next day with the following remarks:

Mr. President: Tho I am truly sensible of the high Honour done me in this Appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness that *my abilities and Military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important Trust*: However, as the Congress desires I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service for the support of the glorious Cause: I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their Approbation.

But lest some unlucky event should happen unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every Gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, *I do not think my self equal to the Command* I am honoured with.

As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to Assure the Congress that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to have accepted this Arduous employment (at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness) *I do not wish to make any profit* from it: I will keep an exact account of my expenses; those I doubt not they will discharge and that is all I desire.

Thus, a truly great man, when given the awesome responsibility of leading the American forces in mortal combat against the Mother Country, revealed his humility by his humble confession that he didn't really feel qualified for the job.

And, true enough, George Washington and his army were to have many defeats before achieving victory. At times his army melted away from sickness, death and desertions; and there were numerous occasions when the morale of his unprofessional, ill-equipped, motley army was at a very low ebb.

Nonetheless, it was undoubtedly much to the credit of this man's strength of character, his devotion to duty, and his dogged perseverance in anything which he undertook — that led the American army to ultimate victory over an enemy that was in many ways superior.

But in early 1775, the road to victory was far off. The city of Boston was firmly in the hands of the British. England knew that New York, Virginia and Philadelphia would also have to be subdued.

American troops under command of Benedict Arnold seized Ticonderoga and Crown Point that same year, thus threatening an advance into Canada. Meanwhile, Sir William Howe was put in command of 10,000 British reinforcements which arrived in Boston. Americans were angered to learn that King George III had also hired 20,000 Hessian German troops to serve in America.

The Declaring of Independence

On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia asserted in the Continental Congress that "These United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States."

On June 11, the Congress appointed Benjamin Franklin, John

Adams, Robert Livingston, and Thomas Jefferson to draft a declaration supporting Lee's resolution. It was decided that the task could best be done by Thomas Jefferson, since he was known to have a "happy felicity for composition." Jefferson eagerly went to work on the declaration and after many hours of work presented his document to the Continental Congress. On July 2, 1776 — not July 4 — the Continental Congress adopted Lee's resolution in which the colonies declared their total independence from Britain, and severed all political ties with Britain.

John Adams (later to become the second President of the U.S.) was so pleased and excited that he wrote his wife expressing the view that Americans ought to commemorate this memorable event. His letter stated: "The second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epocha in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of *devotion to God Almighty*. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore."

Congress Debates Final Wording

After the Continental Congress approved and voted for American independence on the second of July, the rest of the day and the following two days were devoted to a close scrutiny of Jefferson's draft of a more detailed "declaration" of American independence. The Congress made a number of minor changes plus one or two important deletions. Jefferson had, in his original draft, mentioned that King George of Britain was using "Scotch and foreign mercenaries." But there were a number of notable "Scots" in the Second Continental Congress. Those offensive words were therefore stricken from Jefferson's first drafted copy. Also, Jefferson had included a denunciation of the African slave trade. This derogatory statement was highly offensive to some of the slave-owning delegates from the southern colonies.

After these alterations, the Continental Congress finally approved Jefferson's Declaration of Independence on the evening of July 4! That's why Americans celebrate their independence on July 4, not on July 2.

Signing With a Flourish

After Congress finally approved the Declaration of Independence, John Hancock, the president of the Congress, signed it with an unusually large signature. He later explained that the reason for this was that he wanted to make sure King George saw it. Hancock's signature was so

large and bold that his name has become synonymous with signing one's name. "Put your John Hancock on the document" simply means "sign the document."

The king's governor of the colony of Massachusetts had previously been instructed to arrest John Hancock and Samuel Adams but they escaped after being warned by Paul Revere. Later, the British colonial government was authorized by Britain to pardon all rebel patriots who laid down their weapons — *except* Samuel Adams and John Hancock.

Britain's governor of Massachusetts offered the pardon in the following proclamation: "In this exigency of complicated calamities, I avail myself of the last efforts within the bounds of my duty to spare the further effusion of blood, to offer, and I do hereby in his majesty's name offer and promise, his most gracious pardon to all persons who shall forthwith lay down their arms, and return to the duties of peaceable subjects, excepting only from the benefit of such pardon, *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any consideration than that of condign punishment."

The Continental Congress had the declaration printed, and it was read to the public in Philadelphia for the first time on July 8. George Washington, who was in New York City with his army at the time, assembled his troops so they could have the Declaration of Independence read to them on July 9.

Later the Continental Congress ordered a parchment copy of the Declaration of Independence, and the signatures of the delegates were added to this parchment at various later dates. Eventually, fifty-six men signed it.

The Colonies Go To War

During 1776, General Howe evacuated Boston, but quickly defeated Washington and the Continental Army at Long Island, and occupied New York. There, instead of capitalizing on his advantage, since he was now in a position to destroy his enemy's much weakened army, he unwisely decided to settle down for the winter.

At the time, Washington only had about 9,500 men. General Howe had 25,000 at his command — the largest army ever seen in America.

But Howe was too reticent, too hesitant! Three times he had the opportunity to deal Washington's army a crushing defeat. Thrice his enemy escaped. General Washington sailed from Long Island and crossed into Delaware.

Then Washington moved spectacularly and decisively. He knew the British army would not be very alert on Christmas night — after feasting and drinking.

With this in mind, Washington boldly recrossed the Delaware River

in a blinding snowstorm on Christmas night and easily captured a thousand Hessians at Trenton. A few days later he won another battle at Princeton, thus restoring badly needed morale to his army.

The British then conceived a brilliant strategy, which if executed, might have won them the war. In 1777, General Burgoyne took command of a British force of 8,000 troops and planned to work down the Hudson Valley to New York from Lake Champlain. General Howe promised to send 10,000 men up the Hudson to meet Burgoyne. London approved the concept.

Then General Howe changed his mind, and determined to send only 3,000 men to meet the British army from Canada. Eventually he decided not to send any troops north, but to merely hold a force ready to assist General Burgoyne — if he really needed help.

Burgoyne was already meeting heavy rebel resistance in New York before he learned that General Howe was sending no troops to his assistance. His army of about 7,000 at this time captured Ticonderoga, and then marched on to Fort Edward. Here he had to wait for supplies to come from Canada. In the meantime, rebel forces swarmed like hornets all about him.

Eventually the American forces cut his line of communications and mauled his battle-weary army.

He had foolishly overburdened his men with baggage. Thirty wagons were required to transport Burgoyne's own equipment, including supplies of champagne and silver plate.

General Burgoyne was by now surrounded and outnumbered, and had little real hope of escape. His Indian allies had abandoned him. Surrender seemed his only choice. On October 13, 1777, he surrendered his army near Saratoga.

Nathan Hale — "I Only Regret . . ."

Every great struggle produces its heroes, and the Revolutionary War was no exception. In an age of waning patriotism, it is well for Americans to reflect on the exemplary patriotism and the supreme sacrifice of one of its heroes during the American War of Independence.

Nathan Hale (1755-1776) was born into a large family of twelve children. As a young lad, he had a good mind, a strong, athletic body, and a rather calm, pious temperament. He took an active part in sports and showed great enthusiasm while engaging in all sporting events.

But he did not neglect the development of his mind. Hale entered Yale College in 1769, and distinguished himself by his keen interest in reading and his physical skills. After graduating from Yale, he taught school for a year at East Haddam, Connecticut. (He was born in Coventry, Conn.)

When the American Revolution broke out, Nathan Hale became excited about the issues involved. He, therefore, decided to join a Connecticut regiment, and even though he was a highly successful teacher, he joined the struggle against Britain. Hale received a lieutenant's commission in July, 1775, and fought in the siege of Boston. Before long he became a captain. Under his resourceful and daring leadership, he and his small band of troops captured a provision sloop from under the very guns of a British man-of-war. This brave act of heroism won him an honored place in a small fighting group called the Rangers. This daring group of men were highly respected for their fighting qualities and for their performance during dangerous missions.

One of the most dramatic moments of the Revolutionary War was just about to be enacted. General George Washington badly needed information concerning the British lines, and asked the Rangers' commander to select a man to pass through the enemy's lines to obtain information on British positions. The Rangers' commander asked for a volunteer. No one responded. But on the second call, Nathan Hale agreed to undertake the dangerous mission.

Hanged for His Patriotism

Hale slipped into British-held Long Island in the natural disguise of a Dutch schoolmaster. Though he succeeded in crossing the British lines, and obtained the information which Washington requested, as he returned to the American lines on September 21, 1776, he was captured by British troops. Some believe that a cousin, an ardent British loyalist, was the one who betrayed Hale. Nathan Hale was hanged without trial the following day, according to British military law.

Before he was hanged, he is said to have requested a Bible and the services of a minister, but was refused by his captors. General William Howe was the British commander who condemned him to death.

Many American patriots gave their lives for the Revolutionary cause during the bitter struggle between America and the Mother Country. But the most glorified martyr during that war was Nathan Hale. What caused him to be so highly honored? Why has his memory been remembered so long and so persistently?

Before his execution by hanging, he displayed such calmness of mind that his heroic resignation provoked the admiration of all who witnessed his death. Just before he was hanged, he made a speech and, while condemned on the gallows, concluded that memorable address with words which have inspired Americans ever since: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." Having said this, one of America's great patriots of the Revolutionary War made the supreme sacrifice! His exemplary death for his country has given an immortal

ring to his name, and has caused him to be placed among America's honored heroes in the hall of fame.

As the U.S. celebrated her Bicentennial, some Americans had come to look upon patriotism as a dirty word. How many Americans today would be willing to die for their country? How many would have the courage and the fortitude of a Nathan Hale?

France Joins America

With the American victory at Saratoga, France became convinced of Britain's vulnerability. In February 1778, France decided to throw her lot in with the rebels. Soon she would send her navy, and some of her best troops to fight alongside the American forces to help deal the British the final *coup de grace*. France hoped to regain some of her lost North American Empire.

After her defeat and humiliation by Britain in India and also in North America, her entry on America's side gave her a golden opportunity to strike a stinging blow at her old enemy.

Ordeal at Valley Forge

In his state of the union address to the nation in January, 1976, President Ford spoke of "George Washington kneeling in prayer at Valley Forge."

Valley Forge proved to be a "forge of affliction" which tested George Washington and his army more than any other place or event during the War of Independence.

Valley Forge is about forty-five miles west of Philadelphia. It was there that General George Washington and his men camped during the terrible winter of 1777 and 1778. Those were long, cold, dreary, discouraging months for Washington and his men and for the American cause. But Washington and his motley army proved they could endure long months of bitter suffering and emerge a much better army.

George Washington led his battered army of about 11,000 men to Valley Forge after being defeated at Philadelphia and Germantown, Pennsylvania. During those cold winter months, living in crude log huts they had built themselves, his troops had little food, and precious little clothing to protect themselves from the bitter cold. Furthermore, the Continental Congress couldn't provide additional supplies to fill the men's needs.

Even though there were supplies to be had in the area, George Washington refused to allow his troops to seize the food, grain, and animals which they could have taken by force. He wanted to keep the integrity and reputation of his Continental Army high. So he and his

men had to tough it out during the biting cold days of late 1777 and early 1778.

Their intense sufferings at Valley Forge from cold, starvation and sickness forever hallowed that historic site for Americans. The following account was written by George Washington on December 23, 1777: "We have this day no less than 2,873 men in camp unfit for duty because they are barefooted and otherwise naked. . . . Numbers are still obliged to sit all night by fires."

During that terrible winter, a dreaded smallpox epidemic struck Washington's army. Over 3,000 soldiers died. Many others were too weak or too sick to fight. Yet at the same time, the people living in the area were enjoying all the comforts of a rich countryside. And British troops were living a gay life in Philadelphia. But the American soldiers were toughened and sifted by Valley Forge. Those who came through the winter would be hardened, battle-ready men.

"*Summer Soldiers*"

During the trying times of the Revolutionary War, Thomas Paine wrote: "These are the times that try men's souls. The *summer soldier* and the *sunshine patriot* will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country. . . ."

During that terrible winter of 1777 and 1778 there were many desertions and occasionally mutiny reared its ugly head.

What kind of men made up Washington's army? He described his troops as "raw militia, badly officered, and with no government." In actuality, there were two kinds of soldiers in his army:

- 1) troops of the Continental Army, organized by Congress, and,
- 2) militia, organized by the States.

Poor provisions and equipment, great hardships and many early defeats continued to demoralize Washington's army. As a result, he had great trouble keeping soldiers in the Continental Army. At the beginning of the war, the Congress permitted soldiers to enlist for only two months. Near the end of the war, however, Washington convinced Congress that enlistments had to be longer. When his time of enlistment was up, a soldier of the Continental Army simply went home. On more than one occasion, a thousand men marched off at once.

Furthermore, Washington had to plan battles for certain dates, because if he waited too long, some of the soldiers' enlistments would expire. Washington's attack against the Hessian (German) troops at Trenton, New Jersey, on the day after Christmas in 1776 was for this reason. By Christmas, his army had shrunk to only about 5,000 men and the enlistments of the majority of his soldiers would be up by the end of December. The brilliant victory at Trenton inspired many of his soldiers to re-enlist.

The states' militia included storekeepers, farmers, businessmen, traders, and other private citizens. They were poorly trained and grumbled a lot because they didn't like being called from their homes to fight. In fact, the militia complained so much that troops of the Continental Army called them "long faces."

Several of Washington's defeats were the direct result of lack of heart and outright cowardice of many of the troops in the militia. On numerous occasions, they simply turned and ran when they saw the redcoated British soldiers.

Another big problem was that of desertion. Many soldiers enlisted in order to collect bonuses offered by Congress. At times the daily desertions equalled the number who enlisted. Harsh punishment was meted out to those who deserted. Washington even had some hanged.

During 1780 Washington wrote:

We are, during the winter, dreaming of independence and peace, without using the means to become so. In the spring, when our recruits are with the Army in training, we have just discovered the necessity of calling for them, and by the fall, after a distressed and inglorious campaign for want of them, we begin to get a few men, which come in just in time enough to eat our provisions. . . .

In addition to all of these troubles, Washington had few capable generals to assist him. Unfortunately, Congress appointed the generals (often as political favors) without even asking Washington's advice. Generals such as Charles Lee and Horatio Gates both sincerely believed they should have been appointed as Commander in Chief of the Continental Army. These disgruntled generals sometimes deliberately disobeyed Washington's orders in order to make him appear as a poor general. Thomas Conway, a foreign-born general, even organized a conspiracy (the *Conway cabal*) to make Major General Horatio Gates Commander in Chief.

Furthermore, Washington sometimes hesitated about giving orders to generals who were older than himself. How could he get his generals to work with him — instead of against him? He employed the method of calling a council of his generals when planning a battle or campaign, and he accepted the opinion of the majority.

"Barefoot in the Snow"

Throughout the entire war, Washington's troops lacked food, clothing, ammunition and other supplies. If the British army had attacked the Americans encamped around Boston in 1775, Washington could have issued only enough gunpowder for nine shots to each soldier. His army often ran out of meat and bread. Sometimes literally hundreds of

his troops had to march barefoot in the snow because they had no shoes.

While Washington and his men were encamped at Valley Forge, he wrote: "The want of clothing, added to the misery of the season has occasioned (the troops) to suffer such hardships as will not be credited by those who have been spectators."

Here is how Major General Nathanael Green described Washington's army which had encamped at Morristown, New Jersey during the winter of 1779-1780: "Poor fellows! They exhibit a picture truly distressing — more than half naked and two thirds starved. A country overflowing with plenty are now suffering an Army, employed for the defense of everything that is dear and valuable, to perish for want of food."

Did the iron-willed Washington ever become discouraged during the long struggle between the Thirteen Colonies and the Mother Country? Yes, he, too, sometimes became despondent in spite of receiving much praise for his part in the conduct of the war. During 1777, the Marquis de Lafayette wrote to Washington: "...if you were lost for America, there is nobody who could keep the Army and Revolution for six months." And the *Pennsylvania Journal* also wrote the following during that same year: "Washington retreats like a general and acts like a hero. Had he lived in the days of idolatry, he had been worshipped as a god."

But in spite of praise, because of the dire lack of weapons, equipment, food and other badly needed war materiel, Washington's discouragement inevitably showed through at times. During 1776 he commented: "Such is my situation that if I were to wish the bitterest curse to an enemy on this side of the grave, I should put him in my stead with my feelings..." Three years later he wrote: "...there is every appearance that the Army will infallibly disband in a fortnight." And in 1781 he said: "...it is vain to think that an Army can be kept together much longer, under such a variety of sufferings as ours has experienced."

It was during the terrible winter encampment at Valley Forge in early 1778 that Washington appointed Baron Frederick von Steuben to reorganize the Continental Army. This competent Prussian general drilled the soldiers in a system of field formations. When spring arrived, Washington had a disciplined, well-trained army ready to renew the fight against the British.

The news of the alliance between France and the United States reached Washington and his men at Valley Forge on May 6, 1778. This good news cheered both Washington and his troops.

George Washington knew right from the beginning of the war that the powerful British navy gave his enemy a great advantage. British ships could land their army anywhere along the American coast, and Washington realized that he and his tiny, ragged army couldn't possibly defend every American port.

But Washington was an expert general. He quickly proved that he could stay one jump ahead of the slow-moving British army by executing quick retreats. In the meantime, he waited and *prayed* for the French to send a large fleet of warships to America. He hoped that the French navy would prevent the British escaping by sea, while he and his troops prevented their escape by land.

Praying at Valley Forge

And Washington's prayers were soon to be answered.

Many Americans are familiar with the incident of Washington praying at Valley Forge as mentioned by President Ford in his '76 state of the union message.

George Washington came from a very religious home. His father and mother were both members of the Church of England. When Washington was 21 years old, he was commissioned by the governor of Virginia to carry dispatches to the French commander in western Pennsylvania. After he had explained the dangerous nature of his mission to his mother, she counselled him: "My son, neglect not the duty of secret prayer."

According to contemporary reports, Washington had public prayers with his troops while they were encamped at different sites during the Revolutionary War.

Here is a contemporary description of Washington during the difficult winter of 1777-78 at Valley Forge: "He regularly attends divine service in his tent every morning and evening, and seems very fervent in his prayers."

It is said that Washington stayed with a Quaker minister, Isaac Potts, while encamped with his men at Valley Forge. Since there was not much privacy in the minister's home, Washington is reported to have gone to a nearby grove for his private prayer. On one such occasion, the Quaker minister reported that one day he "strolled up the creek, where he heard a solemn voice. He walked quietly in the direction of it, and saw Washington's horse tied to a sapling. In a thicket nearby was the beloved chief upon his knees in prayer, his cheeks suffused with tears."

Mr. Potts later remarked:

I always thought that the sword and the gospel were utterly inconsistent; and that no man could be a soldier and a Christian at the same time. But George Washington has this day convinced me of my mistake.

If George Washington be not a man of God, I am greatly deceived — and still more shall I be deceived, if God does not, through him, work out a great salvation for America.

And Washington's prayers were heard. America was given the victory over a much stronger enemy — when all indications were that Britain should have won that war!

Shortly after the British surrender at Yorktown, George Washington's mother wrote him:

Truly does this event proclaim that the Great Sovereign of heaven and earth governs the world. There are no accidents of fortune. Things are not left to the wills of men, to blind chance, to their own contingency, but are all inspired, guided, and ordered by Him. He is still the same and will order all things well. No snares, intrigues, or difficulties puzzle or prevent the ways and purposes of God.

A Mother's Counsel

Washington's mother wrote him the following letter of encouragement when the outcome of the war still hung in the balance:

It is not abundance men need, but satisfied minds. For wealth, none are nearer happiness nor further from the grave. In the twinkling of an eye all are turned out of the world, as naked as they came into it. A few fleeting moments make but a little difference. God is too just to do us wrong, too good to do us hurt, and too wise not to know what will do us good or hurt.

It is certainly clear from Washington's letters and Presidential proclamations that he had a deep and abiding belief in the overlordship of the Great Sovereign of the Universe.

Many Americans are persuaded that it was Washington's firm belief in the rightness of the American cause, and in the overruling Providential blessing and guidance of the Creator for his fledgling country that inspired Washington and his men to carry on during the dark moments of the war when it looked like all was lost.

In 1780 the tide of war turned. The British began to win a number of victories in the south. They overran all of South Carolina.

About this same time the Americans suffered a crushing blow. General Benedict Arnold smarting under wounded pride, and dissatisfied with the way the war was being run, plotted to betray to the British the important post of West Point where he was in command. A British officer implicated in this plot was captured and hanged. But traitor Arnold escaped and was eventually commissioned a brigadier-general in the British army.

Decisive British Defeat at Yorktown

At long last, a silver lining began to appear in the war clouds over the American colonies.

General Cornwallis led his British army of about 7,000 from North

Carolina to Yorktown in Virginia where he built a base capable of defending the city. General Washington, sensing Cornwallis's blunder, swiftly marched to Yorktown and surrounded the city — after first joining with the Comte de Rochambeau's French forces.

At the same time, a powerful French fleet under Admiral de Grasse sailed into Chesapeake from the West Indies. The French fleet drove off the British ships and De Grasse gained complete command of the sea near Yorktown. This prevented General Cornwallis's escape, and at the same time barred any reinforcements arriving to replenish his beleaguered army.

Cornwallis's army was now besieged in Yorktown by Washington's combined forces of about 16,000. With the French Admiral firmly in command of a naval blockade, Cornwallis could do nothing but wait for the inevitable, agonizing end.

After several days of merciless pounding by Washington's heavy guns, Cornwallis was unable to hold out any longer.

On October 19, 8,000 British troops marched out of Yorktown through a mile-long corridor of American and French soldiers. The victors were quiet and restrained. The vanquished were dignified, though humiliated by this crucial defeat of Britain in North America. An eyewitness reported that the defeated troops behaved "like boys who had been whipped at school. Some bit their lips; some pouted; others cried."

As the British troops surrendered laying down their arms, their band played, very appropriately, *The World Turned Upside Down!* The war was now as good as over. Britain had been humbled by one of the most appalling military defeats in her history.

"Oh God, It Is All Over!"

What were some of the reasons for the British defeat by the American colonies in the War of Independence (1776-83)?

The territory for which the war was fought was so vast (several times the size of England) that it was utterly impossible for the British to conquer and hold all of it.

Furthermore, America had able political and military leaders (especially George Washington) to guide them during their struggle for independence.

Unfortunately, the English lacked competent leaders at that critical time in history. King George III was undoubtedly very conscientious in what he did, and he tried his best. But he was not the greatest monarch England ever had. With all his problems, perhaps it is not surprising that he had suffered an attack of mental illness when he was only twenty-seven years old — only a few years after becoming king. Though he had a strong sense of duty, and was determined to be a good king, the many troubles and pressures were undoubtedly just too much for him.

King George III needed strong, able ministers, but didn't find *one* all during his struggle with the American colonies. Finally, in 1783, the very year Britain granted America her independence, he found an able Prime Minister in William Pitt (the Younger). But the war had already been lost.

During his reign Britain waged a constant struggle with France. All of these problems took their toll. In 1811 — nine years before his death — this pathetic old king went permanently mad. During his last years, the old king, now both blind and deaf, wandered around the beautiful rooms of his palace in a purple dressing gown, pathetically talking to the furniture and bowing to the chairs and table.

Although Pitt was the man who had called America's colonial leaders "the most honourable Assembly of Statesmen since those of the ancient Greeks and Romans," no one has ever been inclined to pay such a tribute to the British leaders during this epoch-making struggle.

During part of this colonial conflict, the Hon. Charles Townshend, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1766, virtually ran the government instead of the Prime Minister, William Pitt (the Elder). Pitt was so bothered by his gout that he couldn't carry out his duties effectively.

But although it was said of Chancellor Townshend that he could deliver brilliant speeches even when he was drunk, he was not an able minister. According to Earl Russell, Townshend was "a man utterly without principle, whose brilliant talents only made more prominent his want of truth, honour and consistency."

Lord North, Prime Minister from 1770 to 1782, also was mediocre at best. He vacillated, and often accepted bad advice — especially regarding the unwise taxation of the colonies. North once said: "Upon military matters, I speak ignorantly and therefore without effect." He talked incessantly of resigning. But King George, despairing of finding anyone better, admonished him to "cast off his indecision and bear up."

Prime Minister North, when he heard of Cornwallis's defeat at Yorktown, staggered as if struck by lightning as he murmured: "Oh God, it is all over!"

Britain's Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord George Germain, was responsible for the conduct of the army in the field during this Anglo-American struggle. He had once been courtmartialled for cowardice in 1760. Found guilty of the charge, Lord Germain was declared "unfit to serve His Majesty in any military capacity whatsoever." How incredible that such a man should have had charge of the conduct of the British army in the field (including North America) at this very juncture in history!

It might truly be said that America didn't win the war so much as the British lost it. Her ham-fisted, incompetent, bungling ministers and

military men did all of the wrong things to insure that under no circumstances could Britain win!

“The Patronage of Heaven”

After leading the American army to final victory, Washington surrendered his commission as Commander-in-Chief to the President of Congress on December 23, 1783. (This was after Britain had formally ended the war and granted America her independence.)

Mr. Washington gave a moving farewell address:

Mr. President: The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task; which however was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the *patronage of Heaven*.

The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend, in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of *Almighty God*, and those who have the superintendence of them to *his holy keeping*.

Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theater of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employment of public life.

“The Spectators All Wept”

A member of Congress who witnessed this speech said: “It was a solemn and affecting spectacle; such an one as history does not present. The spectators all wept, and there was hardly a member of Congress who

did not drop tears. The General's hand which held the address shook as he read it.

"When he spoke of the officers who had composed his family, and recommended those who had continued in it to the present moment to the favorable notice of Congress, he was obliged to support the paper with both hands. But when he commended the interest of his dearest country to Almighty God, and those who had the superintendence of them to his holy keeping, his voice faltered and sunk, and the whole house felt his agitations. After the pause which was necessary for him to recover himself, he proceeded. . . ."

General Washington didn't take the credit for the victory. He expressed "gratitude for the interposition of Providence." Furthermore, he felt it necessary to commend that new-born nation to the safe-keeping and "protection of Almighty God."

Can there be any doubt that the "Father of Our Country" looked to Divine Providence to guide America's destiny?

Treaty of Paris — 1783

The bitter antagonisms between the U.S. and Britain began to subside after the Revolutionary War. After all, the Mother Country had nurtured and protected Thirteen Colonies, but now, showing great magnanimity, she handed over to them all the territory in America east of the Mississippi River, south of Canada and north of the Florida territory. England kept Canada for herself, and she ceded Florida to Spain. (In 1769 Spain had joined with America in the Revolutionary War of Independence.)

Why did Britain give America all the land east of the Mississippi River? Land that had been ceded to Britain by France in the Treaty of Paris in 1763? Well, land-hungry Americans were now spilling westward across the Appalachians and into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and Britain knew she would not more be able to contain these restless Americans than she could stop the tides. Perhaps if she gave them the land between the Appalachians and the Mississippi, she thought this would give them sufficient room for westward expansion.

But if England didn't give them this land, who could say but what they might vent their aggressive, pent-up energy by *northern* expansion into Canada. And Britain didn't want to lose Canada. She had already lost prize colonies. Now she must do everything within her power to maintain her Canadian territory as an outlet for future British expansion in North America.

America's Founding Fathers

Who were the leading “Founding Fathers” of the United States? What kind of men were they? What vital roles did they play in the framing of the important state papers of America — the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation and the U.S. Constitution?

America has three great state documents which were written by the Founding Fathers during and shortly after the early struggles of this nation in the Revolutionary War period. Those valuable state papers are: The Declaration of Independence (1776), The Articles of Confederation (1781), and The Constitution of the United States (1787).

The Articles of Confederation (America's first Constitution) now has no validity, having been superseded by the present Constitution.

Only The Declaration of Independence and The Constitution have immediate relevance to us today. Therefore, let us consider the lives of a few of the more outstanding “Founding Fathers” — men who helped frame either The Declaration or the U.S. Constitution.

The Father of Our Country

George Washington (1732-1799) was unquestionably one of the most outstanding among the Founding Fathers. It was he who was chosen to be the Commander-in-Chief of America's armed forces during the Revolutionary War.

Also, it was he who was later chosen to preside over the Constitutional Convention — guiding that group of men through their debates which culminated in the ultimate draft of the present U.S. Constitution.

And, when the United States was ready to select its *first President*, it was only natural that such an outstanding man should have been selected.

Washington's life was very full and active. Even as a youth, he evinced a very sober-minded approach to life. Early in his life (1749) he worked as a surveyor. Then he spent several years in the army (1753-1758) fighting alongside British troops against the French. He rose from major to colonel in command of the Virginia militia in the French and Indian War.

He also served as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1759-1774, then was appointed a delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress, and served in that capacity during 1774-1775.

Washington was looked upon as the most brilliant American commander at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. He was appointed to be Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. army in 1775, and continued serving in that capacity until the end of the war in 1783.

He was sent as one of the delegates from Virginia to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. There he was chosen to preside over the Convention, and then, as President of the Convention, he signed the Constitution.

In 1789, Washington was chosen to become America's first President, and was inaugurated into that office on April 30, 1789, serving until 1797.

After refusing a third term as President and retiring to Mt. Vernon, he again served as Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Army in 1798-1799.

That brief sketch of his life will reveal just how busy a man he was. Much of his life was spent in the service of his country. During his eight years as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, he took *no pay* for his services.

There is a tendency for some to want to debunk the Founding Fathers of this nation. It is true that they (Washington included) were only *human*. They made their share of mistakes.

Of all the Founding Fathers, there is perhaps less "bad" that can be said about Washington than any of the others.

Thomas Jefferson, who knew Washington intimately, wrote this about him in 1814:

"His mind was great and powerful, without being of the very first order; his penetration strong, though not so acute as that of a Newton, Bacon, or Locke; and as far as I saw, no *judgment* was ever sounder. It was slow in operation, being little aided by invention or imagination, but *sure in conclusion*. . . . Perhaps the strongest feature in his character was *prudence*, never acting until every circumstance, every consideration, was maturely weighed; refraining when he saw a doubt, but, when once decided, going through with his purpose whatever obstacles opposed.

"His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known, no motives or interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred being able to bias his decision. He was indeed, in every sense of the word, a wise, a good and a great man. . . . On the whole, his character was, in its mass, perfect, in nothing bad, in few points indifferent; and it may truly be said, that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great, and to place him in the same constellation with whatever worthies have merited from man an everlasting remembrance."

[FROM SPARKS'S WASHINGTON, VOL. XII, P. 119.]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS it is the duty of all nations to acknowledge the providence of Almighty God, to obey His will, to be grateful for His benefits, and humbly to implore His protection and favor; and

Whereas both Houses of Congress have, by their joint committee, requested me "to recommend to the people of the United States a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, to be observed by acknowledging with grateful hearts the many and signal favors of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a form of government for their safety and happiness:"

Now, therefore, I do recommend and assign Thursday, the 26th day of November next, to be devoted by the people of these States to the service of that great and glorious Being who is the beneficent author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be; that we may then all unite in rendering unto Him our sincere and humble thanks for His kind care and protection of the people of this country previous to their becoming a nation; for the signal and manifold mercies and the favorable interpositions of His providence in the course and conclusion of the late war; for the great degree of tranquillity, union, and plenty which we have since enjoyed; for the peaceable and rational manner in which we have been enabled to establish constitutions of government for our safety and happiness, and particularly the national one now lately instituted; for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed, and the means we have of acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge; and, in general, for all the great and various favors which He has been pleased to confer upon us.

And also that we may then unite in most humbly offering our prayers and supplications to the great Lord and Ruler of Nations, and beseech Him to pardon our national and other transgressions; to enable us all, whether in public or private stations, to perform our several and relative duties properly and punctually; to render our National Government a blessing to all the people by constantly being a Government of wise, just, and constitutional laws, discreetly and faithfully executed and obeyed; to protect and guide all sovereigns and nations (especially such as have shown kindness to us), and to bless them with good governments, peace, and concord; to promote the knowledge and practice of true religion and virtue, and the increase of science among them and us; and, generally, to grant unto all mankind such a degree of temporal prosperity as He alone knows to be best.

Given under my hand, at the city of New York, the 3d day of October, A.D. 1789.

G. WASHINGTON.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

LET US unite, therefore, in imploring the Supreme Ruler of Nations to spread his holy protection over these United States; to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of our Constitution; to enable us at all times to root out internal sedition and put invasion to flight; to perpetuate to our country that prosperity which His goodness has already conferred, and to verify the anticipations of this Government being a safeguard to human rights.

G. WASHINGTON.

Washington's character traits are better known than are his physical characteristics.

About the year 1759, a fellow-member of the House of Burgesses, by the name of George Mercer, described Washington in the following words:

"He may be described as being straight as an Indian, measuring 6 feet 2 inches in his stockings, and weighing 175 lbs. when he took his seat in the Houses of Burgesses in 1759. His frame is padded with well developed muscles, indicating great strength. His bones and joints are large as are his hands and feet. He is wide shouldered but not a deep or round chest; is neat waisted, but is broad across the hips, and has rather long legs and arms.

"His head is well shaped, though not large, but is gracefully poised on a superb neck. A large and straight rather than a prominent nose; blue-grey penetrating eyes which are widely separated and overhung by a heavy brow. His face is long rather than broad, with high round cheek bones, and terminates in a good firm chin. He has a clear though rather colorless pale skin which burns with the sun. A pleasing and benevolent though a commanding countenance, dark brown hair which he wears in a cue. His mouth is large and generally firmly closed, but which from time to time discloses some defective teeth.

"His features are regular and placed with all the muscles of his face under perfect control, tho flexible and expressive of deep feeling when moved by emotions. In conversation he looks you full in the face, is deliberate, deferential and engaging. His demeanor at all time composed and dignified. His movements and gestures are graceful, his walk majestic, and he is a splendid horseman."

When Washington was unanimously elected Commander-in-Chief, he made it clear that he did not feel qualified for the job: "I do not think my self equal to the Command I am honoured with."

During the winter of 1777-1778, while he and his army were camped at Valley Forge, he was urged to let his troops take what they wanted from the surrounding area. But Washington refused to let the army plunder or ravage the countryside even though they were ill-clothed, ill-fed and in need of many things. Many deserted the army that winter. Only Washington's courage and tenacity kept many others from giving up.

The Whiskey Rebellion

President Washington was a man who could show magnanimity, but he was no pushover. He could be firm when firmness was needed.

The federal Government of the U.S. passed a federal tax on whiskey in 1791. Since many of the Scotch-Irish farmers made their own whiskey,

this excise-tax law on whiskey proved to be very unpopular. The small farmers decided they simply would not pay it. They would rebel against the federal tax.

What would the U.S. Government do? Would it tolerate the rebellion — and forever *destroy its credibility* as a government with any real power to enforce its laws? A lot was at stake in this issue.

The whiskey tax was only four pence per gallon on all distilled spirits. But to the farmers, it was a matter of principle. They didn't intend to pay this tax come what may.

The center of the rebellion was in western Pennsylvania. Those counties west of the Alleghenies rose in violent protest. The Allegheny Mountains separated the whiskey-distilling area from its markets in the east. A lot of grain (corn, rye, etc.) was being grown in western Pennsylvania, where farmers could ship whiskey to markets more easily and profitably than bulky grain. At that time, roads and transportation facilities were very poor.

When in 1794 open rebellion broke out in Pennsylvania, organized squads of armed infantry (recruited primarily from among the farmers) begin drilling. They vowed: "The Whiskey Tax will never be collected!"

The Whiskey Rebellion of 1794 proved to be the federal government's first real challenge. What would Washington do? This challenge to the federal government must have presented President Washington with a nightmarish dilemma. Here, the U.S. President (the very first leader of the new federated nation) was being challenged. America's "new experiment" in government was being put to its first serious test. Could laws passed by the U.S. Congress be enforced — especially if they were *unpopular*?

Many of those hostile, western farmers had been Washington's best soldiers in the recent Revolution.

Fortunately for the Union, Washington didn't hesitate or waver. As America's first President, he had sworn to uphold and execute the laws of the United States of America.

But how would the President put down the Whiskey Rebellion?

In order to enforce the federal tax law, government agents had to enter homes and collect money from small whiskey producers. Throughout the whole Union, the farmers protested this. In 1792, the U.S. Congress removed the whiskey tax from the smallest stills. This satisfied the farmers of North Carolina and Virginia, but the whiskey makers in western Pennsylvania still flatly refused to pay the tax.

President Washington called upon the governors of four states, and ordered them to organize fifteen thousand troops to occupy the area in rebellion, and restore order. They were to enforce the federal laws.

By the summer of 1794, the federal government was ready to act. It ordered Pennsylvania ringleaders arrested. A number of bitter fights

between U.S. marshals and the rebel farmers followed. Before the struggle was over, several had been killed or wounded. It was at this point, that President Washington ordered federal troops to squash the rebellion.

When the rebels saw that the federal government meant business, they quickly laid down their arms. Even though many were arrested, only two rebel leaders were convicted of treason and imprisoned.

But even these were soon pardoned by President Washington. He could afford to be magnanimous now that the Whiskey Rebellion had been quelled. Washington had proven his point. The rebellion had served as a timely "testing ground" concerning the use of federal power to enforce federal laws within a state.

It was fortunate for the U.S. — and for the world — that Washington had the foresight and the firmness to deal wisely, firmly with the rebels. Later presidents (Jackson, Lincoln and Eisenhower) would have to take similar action — but under different circumstances — to preserve the authority and the unity of the federal Union.

Washington's Death

Washington wrote his last note on December 1799. In that letter to Alexander Hamilton, he discussed the importance of establishing a national military academy. Then Washington went for his daily horseback ride around Mount Vernon. The day was cold and dreary — with snow turning into rain and sleet. When Washington returned home five hours later, he sat down to dinner without changing his damp clothes.

On the following day, the 13th, he awoke with a sore throat. Washington then went for a walk, after which he made his last entry in his diary: "Morning snowing and abt. 3 inches deep . . . Mer. 28 at Night." Those were his last written words. When his secretary, Tobias Lear, suggested he take something for his cold, he replied; "No, you know I never take anything for a cold. Let it go as it came."

Washington awakened Martha between 2 and 3 a.m. on the following morning, December 14, 1799. He informed her that he was quite ill and he was having great difficulty in speaking. When the new day dawned, Washington sent for James Craik, who had been his friend and doctor since he was a young man.

Even before the doctor arrived, Washington had called in his farm overseer Albin Rawlins and had him drain about a cup of blood from his veins (a common medical practice of the day). When his doctor arrived, he examined Washington and told him he had "inflammatory quinsy." Craik bled Washington again.

Later that same day, two more doctors arrived. Again, the dying man was bled. He was bled four times in all. Later that same afternoon,

Washington could hardly speak. He told the anxious doctors "I feel myself going. You had better not take any more trouble about me, but let me go off quietly. I cannot last long."

About 10 p.m. that same night, a greatly weakened Washington whispered: "I am just going. Have me decently buried, and do not let my body be put in the vault in less than two days after I am dead. Do you understand me?" His private secretary answered: "Yes, sir." Washington replied: "Tis well." Then he felt his own pulse, and died immediately afterward.

Doctor Gustavus R. Brown, one of the physicians who attended Washington before his death, wrote in 1800, admitting that he believed Washington's death had been caused by too much blood-letting. Nonetheless, he defended the treatment in the following words: "We were governed by the best light we had; we thought we were right, and so we were justified."

In actuality, the farm overseer and the doctors only succeeded in bleeding Washington to death. They extracted more than five pints — about 50 percent of his blood.

Shortly before his death, Washington said: "Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. I believed, from my first attack, that I should not survive it — my breath cannot last long."

When Washington died, the nation was plunged into mourning, and his body was interred with military honors in the family tomb at Mount Vernon.

Tributes to Washington

The most famous eulogy to Washington's honored memory was delivered by Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee, one of Washington's former officers, at the funeral ceremony held by Congress on December 26, 1799:

First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing scenes of private life: pious, just, humane, temperate, and sincere, uniform, dignified, and commanding, his example was as edifying to all around him as were the effects of that example lasting.

After Washington's death, his secretary wrote the following letter to President John Adams:

MOUNT VERNON, December 15, 1799

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Sir: It is with inexpressible grief that I have to announce to you the death of the great and good General Washington. He died last evening between 10 and 11 o'clock, after a short illness of about twenty hours. His disorder was an inflammatory sore throat, which proceeded

from a cold of which he made but little complaint on Friday. On Saturday morning about 3 o'clock he became ill. Dr. Craik attended him in the morning, and Dr. Dick, of Alexandria, and Dr. Brown, of Port Tobacco, were soon after called in. Every medical assistance was offered, but without the desired effect. His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life; not a groan nor a complaint escaped him in extreme distress. With perfect resignation and in full possession of his reason, he closed his well-spent life.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant.

TOBIAS LEAR

Following the death of Washington, the U.S. Senate proceeded to the house of President John Adams and it was there the President of the Senate *pro tempore* presented to the President of the United States the following address:

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

The Senate of the United States respectfully take leave, sir, to express to you their deep regret for the loss their country sustains in the death of General George Washington.

This event, so distressing to all our fellow-citizens, must be peculiarly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with yours. On this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man at such a crisis is no common calamity to the world. *Our country mourns her father. The Almighty Disposer of Human Events* has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to Him who maketh darkness His pavilion.

With patriotic pride we review the life of our Washington and compare him with those of other countries who have been preeminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied, but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtue. It reprov'd the intemperance of their ambition and darkened the splendor of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory. He has traveled on to the end of his journey and carried with him an increasing weight of honor. He has deposited it safely, where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it. Favored of Heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity. Magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. *Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example; his spirit is in Heaven.*

Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage. Let them teach their children never to forget that the fruit of his labors and *his example* are their inheritance.

SAMUEL LIVERMORE.

President of the Senate *pro tempore*.

December 23, 1799.

To which the President replied as follows:

UNITED STATES, December 23, 1799.

Gentlemen of the Senate:

I receive with most respectful and affectionate sentiments in this impressive address the obliging expressions of your regard for the loss our country has sustained in the death of her most esteemed, beloved, and admired citizen.

In the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event you will permit me only to say that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress and most trying perplexities; I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity, with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation, and constancy.

Among all our original associates in that memorable league of the continent in 1774, which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the General Government. Although with a constitution more enfeebled than his at an age when he thought it necessary to prepare for retirement, I feel myself alone bereaved of my last brother; yet I derive a strong consolation from the unanimous disposition which appears in all ages and classes to mingle their sorrows with mine on this common calamity to the world.

The life of our Washington cannot suffer by comparison with those of other countries who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of royalty could have only served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary.

Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds who, believing that characters and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it. Malice could never blast his honor, and envy made him a singular exception to her universal rule. For himself, he had lived enough to life and to glory. For his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal. For me, his departure is at a most unfortunate moment. Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of Providence over the passions of men and the results of their councils and actions, as well as over their lives, nothing remains for me but humble resignation.

His example is now complete, and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations as long as our history shall be read. If a Trajan found a Pliny, a Marcus Aurelius can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians.

JOHN ADAMS

Washington was no God. He was a mere man, but he did combine more of the character traits of honesty, justice, fortitude, impartiality, and humility than have most of our presidents.

It is impossible to study his life without coming to the conclusion that, in many ways, here was *a truly great man*.

He was not a great orator, or a gifted writer. His talents lay in

leadership, and in his ability to seek wise counsel, think clearly, arrive at a sound conclusion, then act decisively once he had decided on a course of action.

Benjamin Franklin

One of the most remarkable of the Founding Fathers was Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790). He was the fifteenth child and the youngest son in his father's family of seventeen children. Benjamin's father Josiah had immigrated to America in 1683 seeking religious freedom.

Franklin signed The Declaration of Independence when he was 70 years old and The Constitution of the United States at the tender age of 81.

He has been called a jack-of-all-trades and master of many! This man certainly was *a many-sided genius* — a truly remarkable person in many ways.

As a young man Franklin seems to have gotten into some bad company and sowed plenty of wild oats. He acknowledged being father to at least one illegitimate son, William Franklin, who later became the royal governor of New Jersey in 1764.

Learning valuable lessons in the school of hard knocks, Franklin spent a useful and productive life. His list of accomplishments is almost endless.

As a young boy he helped his father make candles and soap. In 1718-1723, he apprenticed himself as a printer to his brother, James Franklin. Then he ran away when he was seventeen, and arrived in Philadelphia almost penniless (1723).

Franklin went to London, England where he worked a while as a printer (1724-1726). But he was soon back in Philadelphia, publishing the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (1726-1729). In 1731 he founded the first subscription library, the Library Company of Philadelphia. He published *Poor Richard's Almanac* in 1733-1738, and served as Clerk of the Pennsylvania colonial legislature in 1736-1751.

Franklin was appointed Deputy postmaster of Philadelphia (1737-1753), served as Representative in the Pennsylvania colonial legislature (1744-1754), invented the Franklin stove (1740), discovered positive and negative electricity (1747), invented the lightning rod (1749), used a kite to prove that lightning is electricity (1752), helped found the Academy of Philadelphia (1749). (It later became the University of Pennsylvania.) He was appointed Deputy Postmaster General of *all* the American colonies (1753-1774), received honorary masters degrees from Harvard and Yale (1753), represented Pennsylvania in the Albany Congress, wrote the Albany Plan of Union for the colonies (1754), represented the Pennsylvania colonial legislature in London (1757-1762), and was awarded an

honorary degree of doctor of civil law by Oxford University (1762).

In 1763, Franklin made a 1,600-mile tour of the American colonies inspecting post offices. And in 1764-1775, he represented Pennsylvania, Georgia, New Jersey, and Massachusetts in London. Also in 1775, Franklin was appointed Postmaster General by the Continental Congress.

Perhaps Benjamin Franklin's greatest achievement was his service as a foreign minister to France in 1776-1785. In 1778 he negotiated and signed in Paris the treaty of alliance with France. Also, while still in Europe, he negotiated and signed the Anglo-American treaty in 1783.

Finally, on April 17, 1790, this many-sided genius was called before the bar of Justice to settle his account with "the Supreme Judge of the world." With his passing, America had lost one of its greatest men — one of the most outstanding of her Founding Fathers.

Some have thought Benjamin Franklin was not a religious person, because he was a Deist, and because of the unorthodox religious views of his youth. But Franklin later came to regret the religious skepticism of his early days.

It is true that when Franklin was young, he did sow his wild oats. His main weakness appears to have been sexual — "that hard-to-be-governed Passion of Youth." In 1725, the 19-year-old Franklin arrived in England, and quickly got a job as a printer. During the ensuing eighteen months in London, Franklin lived a rather carefree, Bohemian life.

He did, in fact, gain some notoriety in literary circles by publishing a pamphlet entitled: "A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain." In this dissertation he argued that God had no control over the events of the world, and that man had no moral responsibility for his conduct. Franklin later reversed these views.

Later in life Franklin made definite statements which clearly revealed that he most assuredly did believe that God intervenes in the lives of those who seek His "interposition."

It was while attending the Constitutional Convention in 1787 that Franklin, then 81 years old, expressed certain religious sentiments, clearly showing that he looked upon the Deity as very real, and that he believed that a Supreme Being does at times intervene on behalf of those who sincerely seek His intervention.

At the 1787 Continental Convention, the delegates had been hotly debating various proposed government models for many weeks. There seemed to be a complete deadlock. No one knew how to properly apportion the powers between the federal and the state governments. Also, there was much controversy over how many representatives each state would have in Congress. The smaller states wanted *equal* representation, but the big states wanted *proportional* representation. How could these difficult questions be resolved?

At this critical point, just as the delegates appeared near the point

of breaking up, Franklin made a short speech in which he suggested a solution to their impasse — the daily seeking of Divine guidance for their meetings:

Mr. President, the small progress we have made after four or five weeks close attendance and continual reasonings with each other — our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many noes as ayes — is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding.

We indeed seem to feel our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running about in search of it. We have gone back to *ancient history for models of government*, and examined the different forms of those republics which, having been formed with *seeds of their own dissolution*, now no longer exist. And we have viewed modern states all round Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

In this situation of this Assembly, *groping as it were in the dark* to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, *how has it happened, Sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of lights, to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Great Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayer in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, Sir, were heard, and they were graciously answered.*

All of us who are engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of *a superintending Providence* in our favor. To that *kind Providence* we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity.

And have we now forgotten that powerful friend? Or do we imagine that we no longer need his assistance?

“God Governs”

I have lived, Sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth — *that God governs in the affairs of men*. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, *is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid?*

We have been assured, Sir, in the *sacred writings*, that ‘except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it.’ *I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without his concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel*. We shall be *divided* by our little partial local interests; our projects will be *confounded*; and we ourselves shall become a reproach and by-word down to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war and conquest.

“Prayers . . . Every Morning”

I therefore beg leave to move — that henceforth *prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven*, and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in this Assembly *every morning* before we proceed to business, and that one or

more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.

Even though Franklin's motion was seconded by Roger Sherman of Connecticut, in the discussion which followed Alexander Hamilton (who was later killed in a duel) pointed out that if they did request a clergyman to offer "daily prayers" in the Convention, then the public would suspect that disagreements in the Convention were worse than they really were.

Then Hugh Williamson made the weak-kneed remark that there were *no funds* available to pay for the services of a clergyman.

What were the delegates to do? The matter of daily prayers was dropped — without even being voted on! In effect, Franklin's resolution was shunted aside!

Take Canada — not Guadeloupe

Is it possible that the people of Canada owe much to Franklin?

When Britain defeated France in the French and Indian War (1756-1763), France had offered Britain, as a settlement, either *Guadeloupe* in the West Indies, or the province of *Canada* in North America.

Franklin was in London at the time, and published a pamphlet in which he tried to persuade Britain of the merits of accepting Canada, rather than Guadeloupe. His pamphlet was entitled: "The Interest of Great Britain Considered With Regard to Her Colonies, and the Acquisitions of Canada and Guadeloupe." In his pamphlet, he showed that Canada was much bigger and more important than the sugar-rich island of Guadeloupe.

It is also a fact, that even after the British Government decided to take Canada as a settlement, rather than Guadeloupe, many in Britain were upset and vexed. They thought Britain was making a terrible mistake by not taking Guadeloupe instead of "the frigid, unproductive, God-forsaken land of Canada!"

Benjamin Franklin had been one of the prime movers for American independence. While attending the Second Continental Congress in July, 1776, John Hancock, president of the Congress, admonished the delegates: "We must be unanimous; there must be no pulling different ways; we must all hang together."

And the witty Franklin is said to have retorted: "Yes, we must indeed all *hang together*, or most assuredly we shall all *hang separately*."

Urged Adoption of Constitution

Once the U.S. Constitution had been arduously fashioned after long debate, it grew apparent that complete agreement on all of its points was

still impossible. The matter hung in grave peril. More sensible men, like Franklin, came to realize that the Constitution, in spite of its imperfections, was far superior to the old Articles of Confederation which created a very weak Union.

Franklin tried to get those who had reservations to put them aside and vote for the adoption of the Constitution, so America could have a much stronger central government. Benjamin Franklin appealed to the assembled delegates in the following words:

I confess that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do *not* at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them. For having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information, or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that, the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of others.

Most men, indeed, as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all truth, and that wherever others differ from them, it is so far error. Steele, a Protestant, in a dedication, tells the pope, that the only difference between our churches in their opinions of the certainty of their doctrines, is, 'the Church of Rome is infallible, and the Church of England is never in the wrong.' But

Then Mr. Franklin reveals the wisdom of his years:

In these sentiments, sir, I agree to this Constitution, with all its faults, if they are such; because I think a General Government necessary for us, and there is no form of government, but what may be a blessing to the people if well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other.

I doubt, too, whether any other Convention we can obtain may be able to make a better Constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their *prejudices*, their *passions*, their *errors of opinion*, their *local interests* and their *selfish views*. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, sir, to find *this system approaching so near to perfection* as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our councils are confounded, like those of the builders of Babel; and that our States are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats.

"I Expect No Better"

Thus I consent, sir, to this Constitution, because *I expect no better*, and because I am not sure, that it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born, and here

they shall die. If every one of us, in returning to our constituents, were to report the objections he has had to it, and endeavour to gain partisans in support of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the salutary effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favor among foreign nations as well as among ourselves, from our real or apparent unanimity.

Much of the strength and efficiency of any government, in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on opinion — on the general opinion of the goodness of the government as well as of the wisdom and integrity of its governors. I hope, therefore, that for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of posterity, we shall *act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution* (if approved by Congress and confirmed by the Conventions) wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavours to the means of having it well administered.

On the whole, sir, I cannot help expressing a wish that every member of the Convention who may still have *objections* to it, would with me, on this occasion, *doubt a little of his own infallibility*, and to make manifest our unanimity, put his name to this instrument.

With such words as these, is it any wonder that nearly all of the delegates present at the end of the Constitutional debates were persuaded to sign the new Constitution?

Franklin's omnipresent sense of humor is illustrated in the events which surrounded Thomas Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence. On July 3rd and 4th, convention delegates acted as a board of editors by deleting certain passages and rewriting others. Naturally, Jefferson felt a little sensitive about their "mutilating" his masterpiece.

But the wise old Franklin comforted his friend, by telling him a story about a hat-maker who put a sign in front of his shop, showing a picture of a hat, accompanied by the words, "John Thompson, Hatter, makes and sells hats for ready money."

A friend suggested the word "Hatter" was not needed. Another said that the words "makes and" were not necessary; and a third declared the sign would be simpler if it just said, 'John Thompson sells hats.'

But a fourth pointed out that when people saw the picture of the hat on the sign, they would not expect him to be giving hats away. All that was really necessary on the sign was his name and a picture of a hat!

Hopefully, Franklin's little story consoled Jefferson — making it easier for him to endure any editorial operations which the slash-happy delegates were performing on his new-born Declaration of Independence.

Building Character

Since Franklin was born of sturdy Quaker stock, it became quite natural for him to be diligent— work hard, be thrifty and industrious. These were common Puritan virtues.

In Franklin's *Autobiography*, he reveals that even as a young man, he set out to overcome all of his many faults.

After a period of self-analysis, he made a chart in which he listed the twelve moral virtues which he desired to add to his character: 1) Temperance, 2) Silence, 3) Order, 4) Resolution, 5) Frugality, 6) Industry, 7) Sincerity, 8) Justice 9) Moderation, 10) Cleanliness, 11) Tranquility, and 12) Chastity.

After making the chart, he dutifully began ticking off these virtues every day to see how he was doing. But Franklin soon realized he had bitten off more than he could chew.

He admitted having great difficulty with "Order," and "made so little progress in amendment, and had such frequent relapses, that I was almost ready to give up the attempt, and content myself with a faulty character . . ."

He continued: "In Truth, I found myself incorrigible with respect to Order; and now I am grown old, and my memory bad, I feel very sensibly the want of it. But, on the whole, though I never arrived at the perfection I had been so ambitious of obtaining, but fell far short of it, yet I was, by the endeavor, a better and happier man than I otherwise should have been if I had not attempted it; as those who aim at perfect writing by imitating the engraved copies, though they never reach the wished-for excellence of those copies, their hand is mended by the endeavor, and is tolerable while it continues fair and legible."

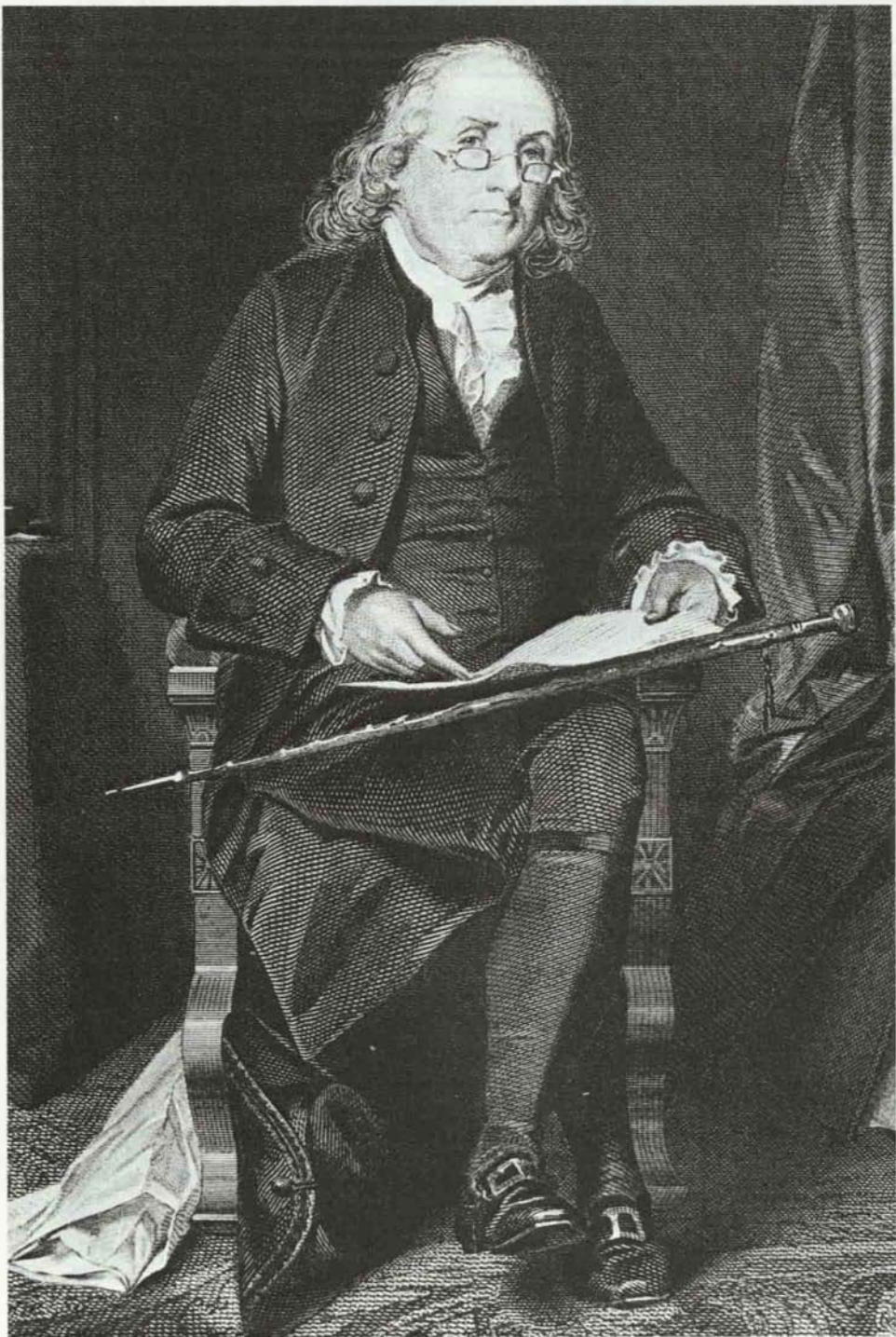
Franklin admitted that he originally had a list of only *twelve* virtues, until a Quaker friend explained to him that he was "generally thought proud" and suggested that he add a thirteenth point — *Humility!*

Benjamin Franklin then explained how difficult it had been for him to overcome his pride:

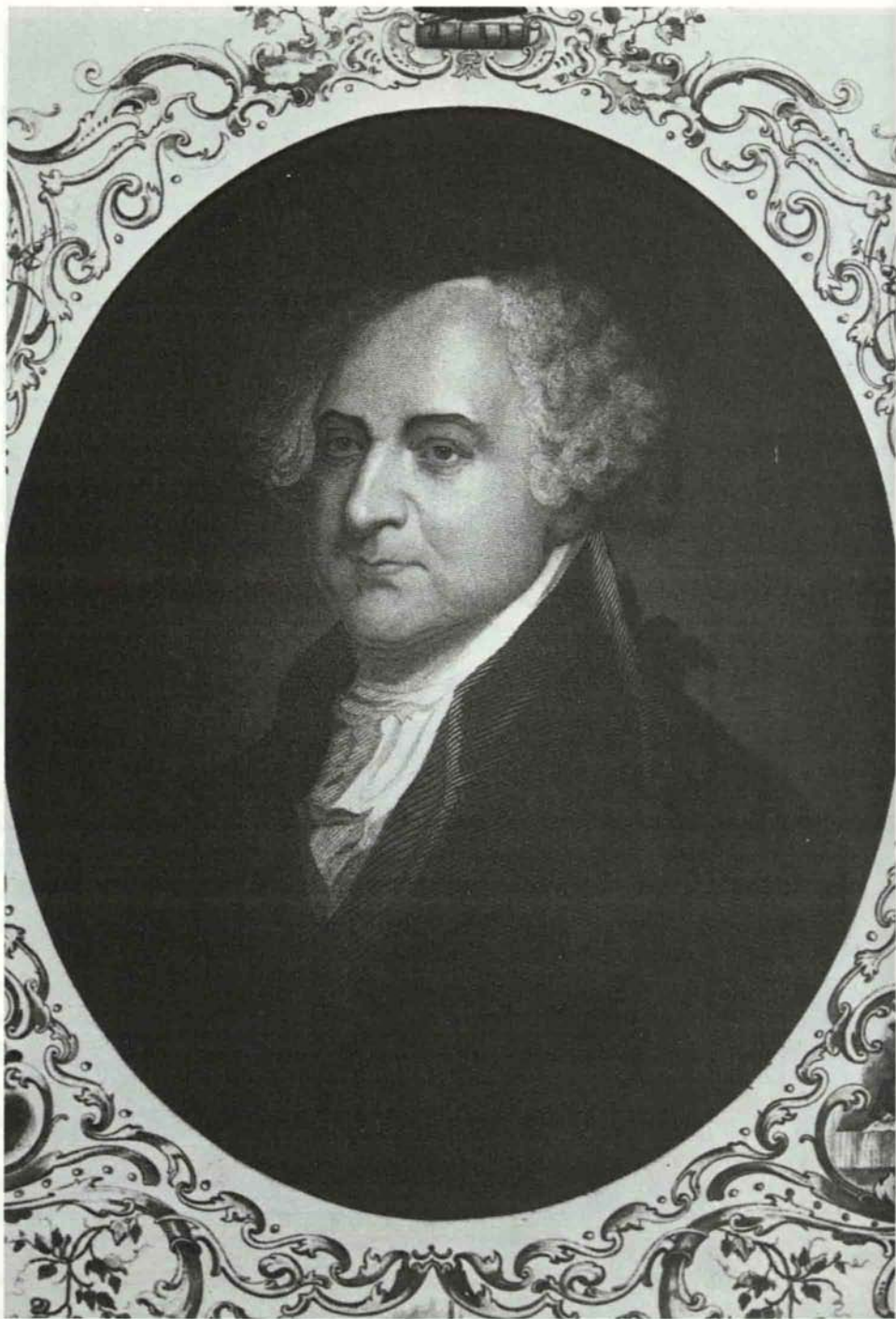
"In reality, there is, perhaps, no one of our natural passions so hard to subdue as *pride*. Disguise it, struggle with it, beat it down, stifle it, mortify it as much as one pleases, it is still alive, and will every now and then peep out and show itself; you will see it, perhaps, often in this history; for, even if I could conceive that I had completely overcome it, I should probably be proud of my humility."

Unfortunately, near the end of his life the elderly Franklin was confined to his home by gout, and by a painful stone in his bladder. Near the end of his pilgrimage he told a personal friend:

"Death is as necessary to the constitution as sleep; we shall rise refreshed in the morning. The course of nature must soon put a period to my present mode of existence. This I shall submit to with the less regret, as having seen, during a long life, a good deal of this world, I feel a growing curiosity to become acquainted with some other; and can cheerfully, with final confidence, *resign my spirit to the conduct of that great*



Benjamin Franklin was a many-sided genius: printer, inventor, postmaster, diplomat, author, statesman. — *H. Armstrong Roberts*



SECOND
John Adams, America's third president, acknowledged by his contemporaries as being of exemplary character and honesty. — *American Stock Photo*

and good Parent of mankind, who created it, and who has so graciously protected and preserved me from my birth to the present hour."

Franklin had a long, active, rewarding life. He had accomplished much. He was not well, and was growing somewhat weary with his infirmities. This wise old genius died at his home in Philadelphia on April 17, 1790, at the age of eighty-four.

John Adams

John Adams (1735-1826) is considered another of the giants among the "immortal" Founding Fathers. He was chosen as America's second President.

From the very beginning, John Adams was one of the prime movers of the Thirteen Colonies — urging them to declare their independence.

Suffering from religious persecution, John Adams' great-great-grandfather had sailed from England seeking religious freedom in America, and he had received a land grant at Braintree, Massachusetts in 1640.

John Adams also counted among his illustrious ancestors John Alden, of the group of devout Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth Rock from the Mayflower in 1620.

Immediately after the delegates at the Second Continental Congress had voted approval of the "Lee Resolution," which stated that "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states," a gleeful Adams wrote his wife an interesting letter.

A happy John Adams wrote: "The second day of July 1776, will be the most memorable epocha in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great Anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. . . ."

It was also John Adams who proposed (on June 14, 1777) that America adopt her own national flag: "Resolved, that the flag of the thirteen United States shall be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white on a blue field, representing a new constellation." Adams' resolution was unanimously approved by the Second Continental Congress on that day.

Notice the tribute which Thomas Jefferson made to his long-time friend, John Adams: "There is not upon this earth a more perfectly *honest man* than John Adams. Concealment is no part of his character; of that he is utterly incapable. It is not in his nature to mediate anything that he would not publish to the world. The measure of the general government are a fair subject for difference of opinion, but do not found your opinions on the notion that there is the smallest spice of *dishonesty*, moral or political, in the character of John Adams; for I

know him well, and I repeat that *a man more perfectly honest never issued from the hands of his Creator.*"

Again, Thomas Jefferson revealed the integrity of John Adams on another occasion. Jefferson had wanted Adams to espouse his Anti-Federalist Party. Hamilton and Jefferson were having a bitter feud. Hamilton was a strong Federalist and desired to have a very strong central government, with very weak state governments.

John Adams tried to remain neutral — shunning involvement in their party rivalries. Because Jefferson's friend John Adams wouldn't back him, he said Adams was "as disinterested as the Being Who made him."

John Adams won the Presidential election of 1796, and Jefferson won the Vice-Presidency.

Once again, Jefferson spoke of John Adams as a man "whose talents and integrity have been known and revered by me through a long course of years; have been the foundation of a cordial and uninterrupted friendship between us; and *I devoutly pray*", said Jefferson, "*that he may be long preserved for the government, the happiness and prosperity of our country.*"

In 1818, John Adams's wife died. They had been married for fifty-four years. This tragedy was partially offset in 1825 when John Adams' oldest son, John Quincy, became America's sixth President!

Though John Adams's last years were clouded by ill health, his mind remained clear. A few days before he died, he was asked what toast he intended to propose a few days later on the 4th of July. His reply: "Independence forever!"

But just a few days later — on the 4th of July — John Adams spoke his last words: "Thomas Jefferson still survives."

It seems like one of the ironies of history that John Adams and Thomas Jefferson (both good friends) died on the same day — the 4th of July, 1826 — exactly fifty years after the two of them had signed The Declaration of Independence!

Samuel Adams

It might also be remembered that John Adams' cousin, Samuel Adams, figured prominently in helping to secure American independence.

Sam Adams was not so well educated, was a poor businessman, and finally died bankrupt. But he had been one of the most influential persons both before and during the Revolution. He is sometimes called the "Father of the Revolution," for he probably did more to stir up the idea of independence in and around Boston (and elsewhere) than anyone else. He was also one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

John Hancock and Sam Adams were looked upon as the two main instigators of rebellion in the Thirteen Colonies. The British governor of Massachusetts offered Samuel Adams a bribe to stop his patriotic agitation. Furthermore, the governor told him that if he didn't stop, he could be arrested for treason and bundled back to England for a trial.

Adams replied: "I trust I have long since made my peace with the King of Kings. No personal consideration shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country. Tell Governor Gage, it is the advice of Samuel Adams to him, no longer to insult the feelings of an exasperated people."

Both John and Samuel Adams were delegates at the Continental Congress which met in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. The delegates reached a deadlock over which faith should provide religious guidance for the Congress. Samuel believed in religious tolerance, and even though he was a Puritan, he (according to a contemporary account) said "that he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from a gentleman of piety and virtue who was, at the same time, a friend to his country . . . and therefore he moved that Mr. Duché, an Episcopal clergyman, might be desired to read prayers to the Congress tomorrow morning."

Sam Adams' motion was approved, and the following day the clergyman was present, and read the rather militant Thirty-fifth Psalm.

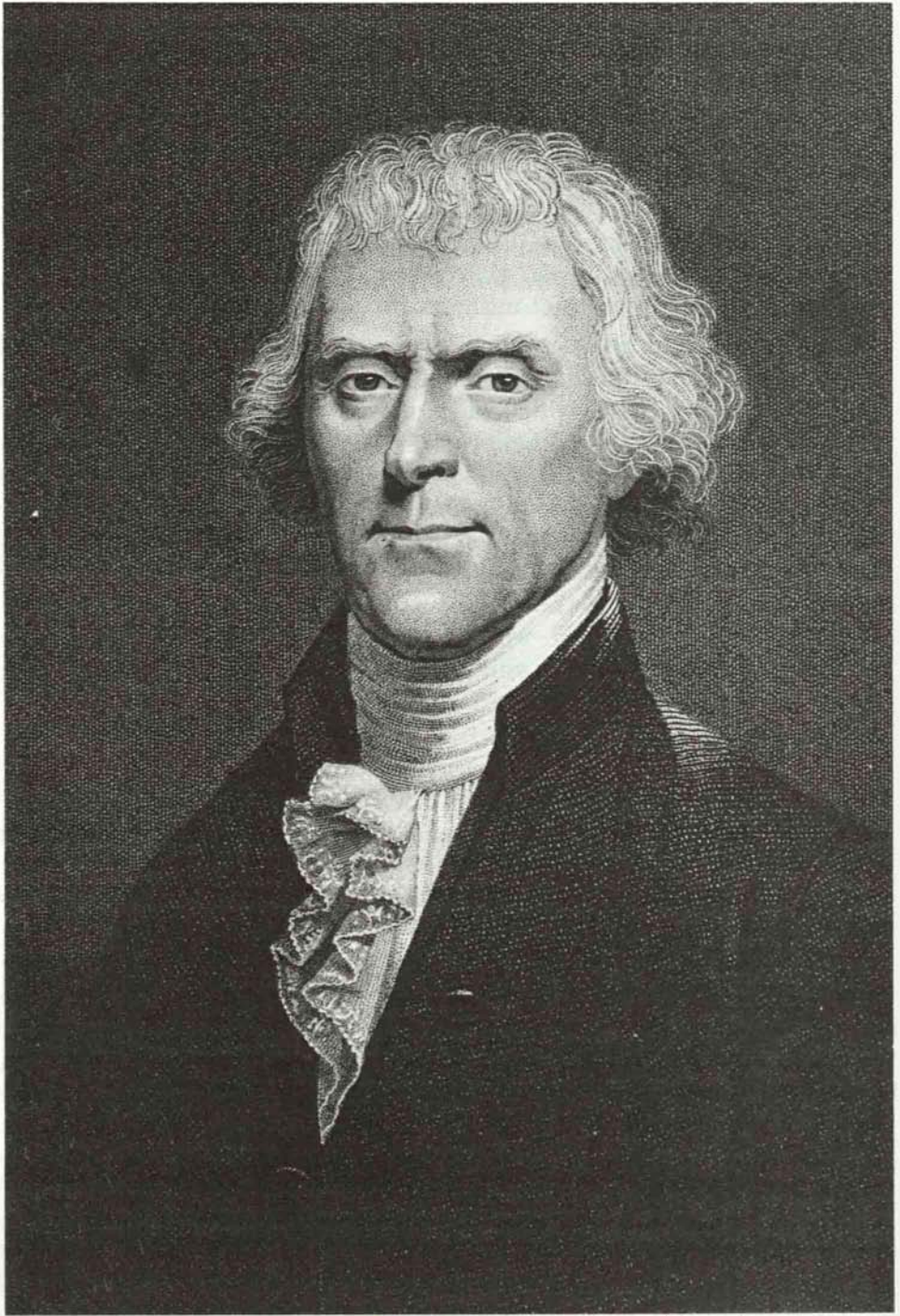
"Never . . . Abandoned by Heaven"

After fighting between Britain and America had begun, some of the delegates to the Continental Congress were wavering, and talked about the war situation being "desperate." Sam Adams is said to have admonished them:

"If this be our language, it is so, indeed. If we wear long faces, they will become fashionable. The people take their tone from ours, and if we despair, can it be expected that they will continue their efforts in what we conceive to be a *hopeless cause*? Let us banish such feelings, and show a spirit that will keep alive the confidence of the people, rather than dampen their courage. Better tidings will soon arrive. Our sense is just and righteous, and *we shall never be abandoned by Heaven* while we show ourselves worthy of its aid and protection."

How sad that this man spent the sunset days of his life in ill-health and indigence. His cousin John Adams wrote of him during this period of ill-health and poverty: "Sam Adams, a grief and distress to his family, a weeping, helpless object of compassion for years."

Samuel Adams had spent a great deal of time, energy and even some expense in the cause of American independence — and he never received any fee or reward of any kind. Neither did he want any.



Thomas Jefferson, America's ^{THIRD} second president and author of the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson was a strong believer in religious freedom. — American Stock Photo

Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, but didn't sign the Constitution — since he was Minister to France at the time.

Like Benjamin Franklin, Jefferson was a very versatile man — truly a many-sided genius who attained success in nearly everything he tried.

Jefferson practiced law, served as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and was appointed as a delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress where he served in 1775-1776.

Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and others were on a committee appointed by the Congress to draft the Declaration of Independence. But since Jefferson was known to have some ability at composition, the actual task of drafting the Declaration fell to his lot.

Even though various deletions, additions and corrections were made by the members of the committee and by the delegates to the Second Continental Convention, the final form of the Declaration of Independence was substantially the work of Jefferson.

Later, Jefferson served as member of the Virginia legislature, and was governor of Virginia from 1779-1781. He was a delegate from Virginia to the Congress of the Confederation (1783-1784), and in 1784-1785 he was appointed as a Representative of Congress in Europe to help negotiate trade treaties. Then he served as Minister to France from 1785-1789.

Jefferson served as Secretary of State in the U.S. Government under Washington, and was Vice-President of the U.S. from 1797 through 1801. He was America's third President, serving from 1801 to 1809.

One of his proudest accomplishments was helping to found the University of Virginia (1817-1825).

Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Jefferson's grandson, wrote the following description of his grandfather:

Mr. Jefferson's hair, when young, was a reddish cast, sandy as he advanced in years — his eye, hazel — dying in his 84th year, he had not lost a tooth, or had one defective; his skin, thin, peeling from his face on exposure to the sun, and giving it a tettered appearance; the superficial veins so weak, as upon the slightest blow, to cause extensive suffusions of blood, in early life, upon standing to write for any length of time, bursting beneath the skin: it, however, gave him no inconvenience. His countenance was mild and benignant, and attractive to strangers

Mr. Jefferson's stature was commanding, six feet two and a half inches in height, well formed, indicating strength, activity, and robust health; his carriage, erect; step firm and elastic, which he preserved to his death; his temper, naturally strong under perfect control — his courage, cool and impressive — no one ever knew him to exhibit trepida-

tion — his moral courage of the highest order — his will, firm and inflexible — it was remarked of him that he never abandoned a plan, a principle, or a friend. . . .

His habits were regular and systematic. He was a miser of his time, rose always at dawn, wrote and read until breakfast, breakfasted early, and dined from three to four — after breakfast read for half an hour in his public rooms of portico, in summer — visited his garden and workshops — returned to his writing and reading till one, when he rode on horseback to three or half past — dined, and gave the evening to his family and company — retired at nine, and to bed from ten to eleven.

He said in his last illness, that the sun had not caught him in bed for fifty years. He always made his own fire. He drank water but once a day, a single glass, when he returned from his ride. He ate heartily, and much vegetable food, preferring French cookery, because it made the meats more tender. He never drank ardent spirits or strong wines. . . .

His manner was dignified, reserved with strangers, but frank and cordial with his friends; his conversation cheerful, often sportive, and illustrated by anecdotes. He spoke only of the good qualities of men, which induced the belief that he knew little of them, but no one knew them better. . . .

“A Day of Fasting . . . Prayer”

Jefferson took a leading part in guiding the infant nation of America at the time of its birth.

When word reached Virginia in May, 1774, that the British planned to close the port of Boston on June 1 — in retaliation for the Boston Tea Party — colonials in other states sprang to action.

Jefferson, Patrick Henry and other Virginia legislators resolved:

“This house, being deeply impressed with apprehension of the great dangers to be derived to British America from the hostile invasion of the city of Boston in our Sister Colony of Massachusetts Bay, whose commerce and harbor are, on the first day of June next, to be stopped by an armed force, deem it highly necessary that the said first day of June be set apart, by the members of this House, as *a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, devoutly to implore the divine interposition, for averting the heavy calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights and the evils of civil war*; give us one heart and one mind firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights; and that the minds of his Majesty and his Parliament, may be *inspired from above with wisdom, moderation and justice*, to remove from the loyal people of America all cause of danger from a continued pursuit of measures pregnant with their ruin.”

The first Constitutional amendment (out of the Ten Amendments, known as the Bill of Rights) was close to Jefferson’s heart. Jefferson was in Paris at the time of the drafting and adoption of the U.S. Constitu-

tion. When he learned that George Mason had failed to get a "Bill of Rights" included as part of the Constitution, Jefferson was both alarmed and disappointed.

He did everything to coax, nag and cajole influential people who could assist in getting a Bill of Rights added to the Constitution. And his urgings were crowned with success in 1791 — when the present Ten Amendments, the Bill of Rights, were adopted and became a permanent part of the Constitution of the U.S.

The First Amendment guarantees, among other freedoms, the freedom of religion: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of *religion*, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Jefferson wanted to be remembered by three of his paramount accomplishments: his drafting of The Declaration of Independence, his statute for religious freedom in the Virginia legislature, and his part in helping to found the University of Virginia.

Jefferson's Religious Tolerance

Jefferson is well known through his paramount role in drafting the Declaration, but most people do not realize his part in helping to establish *religious freedom* in America.

Here are some of the sentiments — included in the Virginia statute for religious freedom for which Jefferson was primarily responsible:

Well aware that the opinions and beliefs of men depend not on their own will, but follow involuntarily the evidence proposed to their minds; that *Almighty God hath created the mind free*, and manifested his will that free it shall remain by making it altogether susceptible of restraint;

— *that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions* any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that therefore the proscribing any citizens as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument unless he profess or renounce this or that *religious opinion* is depriving him injuriously of these privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow-citizens, he has a natural right;

— that the opinions of men are not the subject of civil government nor under its jurisdiction;

— and finally that *truth* is great and will prevail if she is left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to *error*, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

We, the General Assembly, do enact, that *no man shall be com-*

pelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or beliefs; but that all men shall be free to profess and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities.

This document expresses more accurately than nearly any other writing, how Jefferson felt about religious liberty.

Thomas Jefferson was a firm believer that man ought to be close to the soil. He felt the “chosen people” were the farmers:

“Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people. . . . The mobs of great cities add just as much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body. It is the manners and spirit of a people which preserve a republic in vigor. A degeneracy in these is a canker which soon eats to the heart of its laws and constitution.”

Though Jefferson in no way wanted to see the Union dissolved, he nonetheless accorded those who wished to see a weakened Union their rights to hold this erroneous political opinion: “If there be any among us,” said he, “who would wish to *dissolve this Union*, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which *error of opinion* may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.”

It was during the presidency of Thomas Jefferson that America made her richest purchase of territory. Though Jefferson had spoken against a U.S. President taking too much power to himself and acting too independently of Congress, the temptation to complete the Louisiana Purchase was just too big a temptation for him to resist.

He therefore instructed the American minister to France to go ahead with the purchase. When the deal was concluded, the unbelievably-low final purchase of the vast territory amounted to only \$15,000,000.

Like Washington, Jefferson declined to run for a third term. After President-elect James Madison was inaugurated in 1809, Jefferson retired to his beloved Monticello (which he had designed and built), to his books, friends, servants and the serenity of the peaceful countryside. He later wrote that “never did a prisoner released from his chains feel such relief” as he felt when he left the White House in order to spend the twilight years of his life in peace and tranquility.

The Jefferson Memorial in Washington D.C. (commemorating the 200th anniversary of his birth) has engraved on it one of Jefferson’s most famous quotations:

“I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every tyranny over the mind of man.”

Like Washington and Franklin, Jefferson, too, had spent many eventful years in the service of his country. He, too, had accomplished much for his nation. But he was not immortal.

Shortly before his death, the 83-year-old Jefferson uttered his very last words: “*I resign myself to my God, and my child (the university of Virginia) to my country!*”

James Madison

There are many other notables among the Founding Fathers. James Madison (1751-1836) became the *fourth* President of the U.S. in 1809-1817.

He is called the “Father of the Constitution” because it was he who took a leading role in the Constitutional deliberations. He spoke more often than any other delegate at the Convention.

Here is what William Pierce, a fellow-delegate at the Constitutional Convention, said of James Madison: “He blends together the profound politician, with the scholar. In the management of every great question he evidently took the lead in the Convention, and tho’ he cannot be called an orator, he is a most agreeable, eloquent, and convincing speaker. . . . From a spirit of industry and application which he possesses in a most eminent degree, he always comes forward *the best informed man* of any point in debate. The affairs of the United States, he perhaps has the most correct knowledge of, any man in the Union.”

Madison’s greatest achievement while Secretary of State was his supervision of the negotiations which culminated in the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

Alexander Hamilton

Alexander Hamilton (1755 or 1757-1804) was also one of the Signers of the Constitution. He was nicknamed “The Little Lion” because of his great courage, and his diminutive stature.

He played an important role in the framing of the Constitution, for it was he who, more than anyone else, believed in a strong Union — a very strong central government.

Hamilton wanted to see George Washington made King of the United States, and he would have liked to have had himself appointed Prime Minister.

Perhaps his greatest contribution was in helping to frame and ratify the Constitution. Hamilton collaborated with James Madison and John Jay in writing the series of essays called “The Federalist,” in which they

all argued powerfully for the speedy ratification by all states of the Constitution.

Unfortunately this brilliant man's life was cut short by a bullet from Aaron Burr's gun. Burr had challenged Hamilton to a duel. Tragically, Hamilton was killed on the same spot where his son had also been slain in a duel three years earlier!

Hamilton might have become President had his life not been cut short by acquiescing to Aaron Burr's folly.

John Hancock

Another prominent figure among the Founding fathers was John Hancock (1737-1793). Along with Samuel Adams, he is credited with doing much to stir the spirit of independence in Boston.

John Hancock presided over the Second Continental Congress which met in Philadelphia and drafted the Declaration of Independence in 1776. He, as President of the Congress, was the first to sign — and signed with a large, flourishing signature. He said he wanted King George III to be sure and see his signature!

At the age of twenty-eight Hancock became the wealthiest merchant in New England. He increased his wealth through the means of smuggling — which was common practice at the time in the Thirteen Colonies.

Hancock risked his fortune in the patriotic cause of the War of Independence. But, unfortunately, his wealth also made it too easy for him to indulge his taste in rich foods, exotic wines, parties, dancing and other pleasures that are said to have hastened his death at the early age of fifty-six.

John Hancock lived in a very regal fashion, and his ostentation and vainglorious manner alienated many from him. His clothes were embroidered with gold and silver, and studded with gold buttons. He had a handsomely appointed coach which was pulled around Boston by six bay horses, and he was accompanied by liveried servants.

Perhaps it was his moral and financial support of the Revolutionary War, plus his being one of the two most wanted men by the British Governor, that made Hancock feel that he should have gotten the appointments which went to Washington.

In 1775, when it became apparent that America must have a Commander-in-Chief to coordinate her troops in the Thirteen Colonies, a search was made for the most suitable man for the job.

John Hancock believed he was the logical choice for such an important command. But John and Samuel Adams knew that his weak constitution, and his taste for high living, were not compatible with the hard life of a soldier leading the Continental Army. Accordingly, the

Adamses agreed before the meeting that George Washington was the man for the Job.

When John Adams rose on June 14, 1775, and proposed the choosing of a Commander-in-Chief to lead the Continental Army, and said that there was *only one man* who could be considered for the position, John Hancock's face lit up with obvious satisfaction.

But when John Adams proposed that that man was George Washington, Hancock (unable to conceal his emotions) showed great disappointment. Sam Adams quickly seconded the motion.

Later, when Hancock knew that the thirteen states were about to select the first President, he hoped he would be selected. Again, he was disappointed!

Apparently, he could have had the position of Vice-President had he wanted it. But he said, no thanks, since this would have meant that his wife would now become "second lady" of the land, and he had always considered her "first lady" and so would not lower her by accepting the vice-presidency.

In spite of all these things, John Hancock is rightly credited with having done much to move America along the road to independence, and, in many ways, he served unselfishly in that cause.

Blessed With Great Leaders

America produced a number of giants who rose up to face the serious challenges which confronted the Union during the War of Independence.

Many have marvelled at the wisdom and foresight displayed by the Founding Fathers in such documents as The Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.

Armed with the Government provided by our Constitution, this nation has for 200 years stood the storms of civil war, wars with foreign enemies, serious depressions, civil unrest and other tempests.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEN WE review the calamities which afflict so many other nations, the present condition of the United States affords much matter of consolation and satisfaction. Our exemption hitherto from foreign war, an increasing prospect of the continuance of that exemption, the great degree of internal tranquillity we have enjoyed, the recent confirmation of that tranquillity by the suppression of an insurrection which so wantonly threatened it, the happy course of our public affairs in general, the unexampled prosperity of all classes of our citizens, are circumstances which peculiarly mark our situation with indications of the Divine beneficence toward us. In such a state of things it is in an especial manner our duty as a people, with devout reverence and affectionate gratitude, to acknowledge our many and great obligations to Almighty God and to implore Him to continue and confirm the blessings we experience.

Deeply penetrated with this sentiment, I, George Washington, President of the United States, do recommend to all religious societies and denominations, and to all persons whomsoever, within the United States to set apart and observe Thursday, the 19th day of February next, as a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, and on that day to meet together and render their sincere and hearty thanks to the Great Ruler of Nations for the manifold and signal mercies which distinguish our lot as a nation, particularly for the possession of constitutions of government which unite and by their union establish liberty with order; for the preservation of our peace, foreign and domestic; for the seasonable control which has been given to a spirit of disorder in the suppression of the late insurrection, and generally, for the prosperous course of our affairs, public and private; and at the same time humbly and fervently to beseech the kind Author of these blessings graciously to prolong them to us; to imprint on our hearts a deep and solemn sense of our obligations to Him for them; to teach us rightly to estimate their immense value; to preserve us from the arrogance of prosperity, and from hazarding the advantages we enjoy by delusive pursuits; to dispose us to merit the continuance of His favors by not abusing them; by our gratitude for them, and by a correspondent conduct as citizens and men; to render this country more and more a safe and propitious asylum for the unfortunate of other countries; to extend among us true and useful knowledge; to diffuse and establish habits of sobriety, order, morality, and piety, and finally, to impart all the blessings we possess, or ask for ourselves, to the whole family of mankind.

In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

Done at the city of Philadelphia, the 1st day of January 1795, and of the Independence of the United States of America the nineteenth.

G. WASHINGTON.

By the President:
EDM: RANDOLPH.

Forging a Stronger Union

Most Americans know little or nothing about their country's first written Constitution. They could probably not even tell you what it was called.

America's Declaration of Independence, which was approved on the 4th of July, 1776, was *not* a constitution. It did not set up a Government over the Thirteen Colonies, or as they came to be known, the thirteen states. It merely announced that the Thirteen Colonies had dissolved all ties with the Mother Country, and were taking their rightful place among the nations as a free, independent nation.

Government or Anarchy?

But no nation can survive, much less thrive, unless it has some kind of active government. Without a viable government, any nation will descend into chaos and anarchy. *Government* is as vital to a national body as *air* is to the human body!

What were the colonists going to do with their independence? What form of government would they choose? Would the thirteen states each maintain its own sovereignty, or would they unite and give up some of their powers to a central government, thereby forming greater strength and stability?

The Second Continental Congress not only adopted the Declaration of Independence, but they also authorized the creation of their first constitution, the Articles of Confederation.

The first constitution of the U.S. was written in 1776-77, but was not ratified by all the states until March 1, 1781. All during this period the Continental Congress served as the supreme authority (weak as it was) of the thirteen united states. The Congress was known as the *Congress of the Confederation* — but it continued to be popularly referred to as the Continental Congress.

This first constitution of the U.S. formed the states into a kind of league. Americans knew they must form some kind of common government, but to begin with, they had only a very foggy idea of what kind of government they would devise.

The colonists were familiar with the central government of

England. But they, having seen many abuses of the government of Great Britain, were fearful of relinquishing too much power to a strong central government. Many believed that when fallible men gain political power, they *inevitably* try to get even more power, and in so doing, they usually corrupt the government and subvert the people's liberties.

Basically, they believed the maxim that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.

Since all of the thirteen states were fearful of losing their own sovereignty, and were equally distrustful of any national government becoming too powerful, they therefore created and ratified the type of *weak government* which would insure that their fears were never realized.

The Articles of Confederation was the result of such thinking. This constitution provided for a strictly "federal" type of government, but it had no real authority over the states or their citizens.

Under this first constitution, Congress had little authority, and was even denied the power of *taxation*. It didn't even have power to regulate *trade*, although it could make commercial treaties.

After much debate, it was decided that this first constitution should allow each state to have just one vote — thereby giving the small states equal power with the larger, more populous states. This proved an irritation to the larger states, who had argued for more votes because of their greater population.

The Articles of Confederation, however, did somewhat limit the independence of the individual states, while granting significant authority to the Congress in certain matters.

The Articles said that the citizens of one state were entitled to the full rights of the citizens of every other state. And the power of extradition of criminals from one state to another was provided for. Disputes among the states were to be settled by a court of arbitration. The Congress had sole power of declaring war, making peace and making appointments of certain officers.

Furhermore, it had complete control over diplomatic negotiations. The Continental Congress was empowered to borrow money, issue paper money, and determine the value of money coined either by the states or by the Congress.

The Articles of Confederation were ratified by all the states by March 1, 1781, and continued as America's constitution until superseded by our present U.S. Constitution on March 4, 1789.

Though the Continental Congress and the weak government it provided performed fairly well during the Revolutionary War of Independence, and for some short time afterward, nevertheless it soon became abundantly clear that the Continental government didn't have enough strength to long hold the union together.

The Articles of Confederation were, however, a step in the right direction. They stated:

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, WE THE UNDERSIGNED DELEGATES OF THE STATES AFFIXED TO OUR NAMES, SEND GREETING — Whereas the Delegates of the United States of America in Congress assembled did on the 15th day of November in the Year of our Lord 1777, and in the Second Year of the Independence of America agree to certain articles of Confederation and *perpetual Union* between the States of

Then follows an enumeration of the thirteen states. The second paragraph again states that the Union was to be *perpetual*: “ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION BETWEEN THE STATES”

The first three articles are perhaps the most important ones:

ARTICLE I. The Stile of this confederacy shall be ‘The United States of America.’

ARTICLE II. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every Power, Jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the united states, in congress assembled.

ARTICLE III. The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their Liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other, against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

The concluding Article reiterates that the union was intended to be perpetual:

ARTICLE XIII. Every state shall abide by the determinations of the united states in congress assembled, on all questions which by this confederation is submitted to them. And the Articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and *the union shall be perpetual*; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a congress of the united states, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every state.

“The Great Governor”

The final paragraph of the Confederation reveals that the Signers, as with the Declaration of Independence, acknowledged the overruling Providence of the Supreme Judge, “the Great Governor of the World.”

And Whereas it hath pleased *the Great Governor of the World* to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said articles of

confederation and *perpetual union*. Know Ye that we the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said articles of confederation and *perpetual union*, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained: And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the united states in congress assembled, on all questions, which by the said confederation are submitted to them. And that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the states we respectively represent, and that *the union shall be perpetual*. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia in the state of Pennsylvania the 9th day of July in the Year of our Lord, 1778, and in the 3d year of the Independence of America.

Then followed the forty-eight signatures of all who signed the Article of Confederation. The Signers included many of the same men who signed the Declaration of Independence — i.e. John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Witherspoon, Robert Morris, Richard Henry Lee, etc.

It is interesting to note that in no less than five instances did the writers of the Articles of Confederation speak of the “union” as being “perpetual.”

Unfortunately, these words were not incorporated into the final U.S. Constitution which, in 1789, superseded this first constitution. Had these vital words been incorporated as part of the present U.S. Constitution, the *Civil War* might never have occurred. The main issue in that internecine struggle concerned whether the Union was *perpetual*, or whether the separate states were free to *secede* from the Union — going their own way as they chose. If so, the Union was doomed from the very beginning!

But, fortunately, America’s Civil War President, Lincoln, understood that the U.S. Constitution, according to the *spirit* of the document, was meant to bind the states in *perpetual union*. Any other course would lead either to complete dissolution of the Union, or to Civil War.

Correcting the Weaknesses

But, alas, the domestic strains in the post-Revolutionary War era revealed serious flaws and weaknesses in the first constitution. The Articles of Confederation had reserved *too much power* to the individual *states*, and had given *too little* to the national or *federal government*!

In time, a long train of constitutional crises would reveal this fatal flaw in America’s *first constitution*, and would point clearly in the direction of a new constitution, which would invest the federal govern-

ment with greater power and authority, making it the supreme government of the land.

Fortunately, the fatal flaws in America's first constitution were so glaring, and the "Founding Fathers" were so well attuned to what was happening, that they soon spotted the weaknesses. And then they set about the monumental task of framing a better constitution which would correct the great weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation.

America's Constitution

America is the world's oldest republic and possesses the world's oldest written Constitution. America's Bicentennial offers proof to the world that her "experiment in democracy" was not a light and transient thing. How has the United States held together so long?

Those who are familiar with American history, and with the development of her government, admit that we have had our share of woes and troubles.

The framers of our present U.S. Constitution plainly admitted they had *not* devised a *perfect* Government! But it is difficult, if not impossible, to find any human government which has had so stable a government for a two-hundred-year period.

The very fact that America has not only survived, but has thrived for two hundred years should offer convincing proof that there is strength and vitality in the U.S. governmental system.

A house that is built on a poor foundation, does not stand for long. And neither would the great national house of America have stood for two centuries — if it's governmental structure had been built on great weaknesses.

U.S. Constitution — A "Most Wonderful Work"

The patriarch of all British prime ministers, William Gladstone, called the U.S. Constitution "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

What events led up to the framing of the Constitution? Who were the framers of this important document? What were their backgrounds, motives, prejudices?

At the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, Americans were intoxicated on the pride of their sovereignty. But each individual state still looked upon itself as a separate nation. The result? There were thirteen small, bickering nations which didn't have a clue as to how they could effectively get along.

Alexander Hamilton described the states as "a number of petty states, with the *appearance* only of union, jarring, jealous, and perverse,

without any determined direction, fluctuating and unhappy at home, weak and insignificant by their dissensions in the eyes of other nations.”

Shortly after the War of Independence, many thoughtful Americans came to the conclusion that their republic was too weak to have any real influence either in national or international affairs.

Men like George Washington and Alexander Hamilton came to the painful conclusion that the republic could not rightly be called “the United States.” Rather, they were the “Disunited States of America.”

Fatal Flaws

America’s first constitution, the Articles of Confederation, had served their purpose well during the war, but they had certain inherent, fatal flaws. The thirteen states had been little more than a league of friendly states, joined together for the purpose of fighting the war and winning their independence.

Now that they had won their independence, organizing the peace was in some ways an even more difficult task. The thirteen states had jealously guarded their rights, privileges and sovereign prerogatives when they were framing the Articles. They had reserved supreme power unto themselves, and had given only very limited power to Congress, the central authority. They had muddled through the war, but serious post-war squabbles and difficulties were now developing.

The States were acting more like independent nations than a Union. The American confederation had turned out to be little more than an assembly of ambassadors from thirteen petty, jealous, sovereign states.

In the post-Revolutionary War period, many territorial disputes arose between various states. There were a dozen different currencies. Each state levied its own taxes, while totally ignoring its neighbor. Some states even began developing their own foreign relations.

Petty squabbles developed in the area of trade. New York taxed vegetables and chickens which they imported from New Jersey. Virginia and Maryland wrangled over ownership of the Potomac River. Connecticut and Pennsylvania each claimed the Wyoming Valley (now part of north-east Pennsylvania), and even came to blows over it.

The various states imposed their own tariffs and boycotts, and were met with counter-tariffs and counter-boycotts.

Georgia, quite independently, fought its own little war with the Indians — even though declaring war and arranging peace was supposed to be the sole prerogative of Congress.

Furthermore, the state legislature refused to pay the debts they had assumed during the Revolutionary War.

There was no power or authority to manage business and trade.

Britain and other nations took advantage of the weaknesses of the American Union. In fact, Britain flatly refused to reopen the channels of trade to her former colonies.

Rebellion Seethed

And, worst of all, *rebellion* seethed. Some even began to once again think of taking up arms to solve their problems.

In Western Massachusetts, Captain Daniel Shays led mobs of farmers in rebellion against the state government in Boston. Economic woes were leading them to bankruptcy. There was no national army at the time to deal with the rebellion. It finally took a privately financed militia to put down the insurrection.

Many thoughtful Americans began to see the deep need for a *strong central authority* which would be able effectively to deal with these and other problems which were afflicting the Union.

Wealthy farmers and businessmen were especially desirous of seeing law and order. They wanted to make sure nothing would disturb the domestic tranquility — thereby hindering or destroying their prosperity.

With this in mind, a Constitutional Convention was convened in Philadelphia in 1787. Its purpose? The fifty-five delegates who convened there on May 25, had been instructed to *amend* the Articles of Confederation.

They believed that the Articles had to be changed, before America would have a strong government, capable of governing the thirteen states.

But shortly after the Convention began its deliberations, it became clear to the delegates that the Articles of Confederation were not in need of *revision*. They ought to be *scrapped* altogether!

Accordingly, beginning from scratch, the delegates drafted an entirely new Constitution, and included various vital points which had been in The Articles of Confederation.

Inventing a Government

From the very beginning, there were many heated debates. If these “Disunited States of America” were ever to become the “United States” there would have to be a *radical change* in the thinking of most of the members of the Constitutional Convention.

The delegates searched ancient history, modern history of Europe, and anything else which might give them a clue as to how to devise a government which would be strong, just, lasting.

Benjamin Franklin told the delegates: “We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined forms of those

republics which, having been formed with seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist. And we have viewed modern states all round Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances.”

What were they to do?

For nearly seventeen long weeks, the Convention continued its search for a wise constitution. But there was one central problem which seemed to baffle them: How could they form a strong central government, without the states giving up too much of their sovereignty.

The crucial problem was to find a workable balance of power between the states and the central government.

The fatal flaw of the Articles of Confederation had been that it reserved too much power to the *states* (making them supreme), and delegated far too little power to the *central government*.

Some looked upon any transfer of power from the states to the national government as a form of “emasculatation of the states.”

Various solutions to this difficulty were proposed. Alexander Hamilton was a brilliant advocate of an overwhelmingly powerful federal government. He dazzled the delegates by his wealth of ideas, his deep knowledge of the history of governments, and by his flashy personality. He argued for a strong central government with absolute veto over the states. He advocated snuffing out most of the state’s power and authority altogether.

At the opposite pole of the political spectrum was George Mason of Virginia. He favored the *weakest possible central government* compatible with a confederacy. But since this is what the Articles of Confederation had given the Union, and since their pitifully weak Union had been too impotent to deal with the important problems confronting the nation, it was therefore clear that Mason’s proposals were not in keeping with the need of the Union.

Balancing the State and Federal Powers

James Madison, commonly referred to as the “Father of the Constitution” was also a Virginian. He offered a workable solution to this dilemma, somewhere in between the two extreme views of Hamilton and Mason.

He presented before the Convention delegates the Virginia Plan, an entirely new idea in government.

Madison saw that no Confederacy which had set up a *conflict of authority* between the *provincial* and *national* governments had ever really worked.

He outlined a system which would effectively divide the powers between the *state* and the *national* governments. *It would make the*

national government supreme, but would also reserve certain important powers to the states; and it would define those powers so clearly as to make serious conflict unlikely or impossible.

There must be a practicable balance between the state and national governments.

Both federal and state governments would continue to exist for the benefit of their citizens, but their spheres of influence and jurisdiction would differ.

Madison's basic proposal finally carried the day. The delegates decided his idea of a balanced state and national government might really work. At least they hoped so. It was decided, therefore, to make the U.S. Constitution the "supreme law of the land." The U.S. federal government would be supreme over the states, but certain vital aspects of government (local taxation, divorce laws, local highways, etc.) would be reserved to the states.

Federal Checks and Balances

But, there still had to be some way of making sure that the federal government didn't become too powerful. How could the delegates make sure that a restraining bit could be kept in the mouth of the federal government?

The solution to this problem lay in devising a workable *threefold division* of the power of the federal government into executive, legislative and judicial branches.

Each of the three branches would serve as a check and a balance on the other two branches.

The president would be the chief executive. But the Congress, being the supreme legislative authority, would be empowered to keep a watchful eye on the president to see that he didn't abuse his powers.

The Congress, as the direct representatives of the people, would actually hold the ultimate power in their hands. But the president, as chief executive, would keep an alert eye on the powerful Congressmen, making sure they didn't abuse *their* powers. His presidential veto would be a powerful tool which he could use to keep Congress in line.

Supreme Court Interprets the Laws

And, heading the judicial branch of the government would be the Supreme Court. It would be invested with the all-important task of keeping a watchful eye both on Congress and on the president.

The Supreme Court would be the official interpreter of the "supreme law of the land," the Constitution.

Also, the Supreme Court would have the final say as to whether any

acts of the president, or any laws passed by the federal or state governments were unconstitutional.

This high tribunal would serve as a *watch-dog* of the American liberties. Its decisions would be final. If it declared any law *unconstitutional*, then that would be it. In fact, since its beginning the Supreme Court has declared over seventy laws passed by Congress as unconstitutional, and it has declared unconstitutional many hundreds of laws passed by the state legislatures.

A Fallible Supreme Court

But the nine members of the Supreme Court are all very human. Could they make mistakes? Yes! And they have.

As an example, the Supreme Court once declared the right to keep blacks and whites apart on trains was constitutional. Decades later, it reversed this decision and proclaimed the right of blacks to sit with whites on trains, in restaurants, theatres, schoolrooms, or anywhere else.

The Supreme Court, being composed of fallible humans, is influenced by the thinking of the times. And when a well-spring of public sentiment wells up and expresses a certain strong belief, and when the general prevailing spirit and attitude of the nation moves in a certain direction, then various members of the Supreme Court are bound to be influenced in their thinking by such sentiments — national attitudes.

It only takes a majority (just five) of the nine members in the Supreme Court to make a decision binding on the nation.

What happens when the president, Congress, inferior courts or private citizens disagree as to what they think the Constitution means? The Supreme Court has the final say in the matter. They study each issue carefully, weighing the factors involved.

Of course, they also look at many past judgments of their fellow Justices.

Chief Justice John Marshall once said: "It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department and nobody else to say what the law is."

Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes declared that: "The Constitution is what the judges [of the Supreme Court] say it is." And so it is! Of course, Congress can if necessary add amendments to the Constitution and thus act as a "watch dog" for the Supreme Court, too.

Congressmen and Representatives

The second most important issue debated in the Constitutional Convention concerned representation in the Congress and just how many Congressmen would represent each state.

The smaller states wanted each state to have "equal representation." But the larger ones wanted to invoke the principle of "proportional representation." Those states, like Virginia, New York and Pennsylvania, which had larger populations would therefore have more Congressmen, and consequently would have more power in the Congress.

This problem was finally solved by a compromise proposal which would satisfy both parties. Each state would have *equal representation* in the upper House — i.e. two senators per state in the Senate.

But the states would follow the principle of "proportional representation" in the lower House — i.e. the House of Representatives would permit more representatives from populous states, fewer from those more sparsely populated.

In the end, it appeared that the main objections were overcome. Few, if any, of the delegates to the Continental Convention were completely happy. They all had to make some compromises. But they finally concluded that it was better to ratify an imperfect Constitution, than to give up in disgust, returning home, only to be faced with having to continue living under the weak Articles of Confederation.

Another issue which troubled the delegates concerned how to count the *slaves*. They were universally denied the right to vote, but it was finally decided that three-fifths of the slaves could count toward "proportional representation" in figuring out the total number of representatives for each state.

Another point of debate centered around whether or not the Constitution should contain a "Bill of Rights." The Constitutional Convention decided not to add such a bill to the Constitution which they approved in 1788. It was, however, added to the Constitution in 1791.

Why the New Constitution

Again, why did the leaders of America deem it necessary to devise a new government? Why did they feel it necessary to discard the Articles of Confederation and frame a new Constitution?

These questions are eloquently answered in the preamble to this famous document: "We the People of the United States, *in Order to form a more perfect Union*, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The framers of the Constitution gave six reasons for the new Constitution: 1) the need for a more perfect union, 2) justice, 3) domestic tranquility, 4) common defence, 5) welfare, 6) liberty.

By forming "a more perfect Union," the "Founding Fathers" hoped to procure these six vital elements of national survival and greatness.

The Constitution only contains seven articles. Section I of Article I puts Congress first — emphasizing that the real power of the nation would reside in the hands of the people's Congressmen: "All *legislative Powers* herein granted shall be vested in a *Congress* of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

Section I of Article II says: "The *executive power* shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. . . ."

Article II, Section I empowers the judicial branch of government: "The *judicial Power* of the United States, shall be vested in one *supreme Court*, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. . . ."

Ratifying the New Constitution

After over four months of debates, deliberations, compromises, drafting and redrafting of the Constitution, it was signed on September 17, 1787.

By June 21, 1788, nine states had ratified the new Constitution — thus making it the "supreme law of the land." The other four states soon followed suit. The last state to ratify the Constitution was Rhode Island in 1790. The other twelve states had threatened to treat her as a *foreign nation* if she didn't get on with it and ratify the Constitution!

Washington was unanimously elected as America's first President on February 4, 1789. He was sworn into office on April 30th. For the first time in her history, America had a chief executive — an actual head of state.

The "Bill of Rights"

But increasing numbers agreed there ought to be a "Bill of Rights" tacked onto the Constitution. Though this idea had been turned down at the Convention, some states now made it clear that they would only sign the Constitution with the definite understanding that a Bill of Rights would be added. In fact, one state even tacked onto the Constitution its own Bill of Rights.

Pressure continued mounting as more and more clamoured for such an addition to the Constitution.

In 1791, James Madison proposed *twelve amendments*. By December 15, 1791, the last ten of his twelve amendments had been approved by enough of the states to make them a permanent addition to the Constitution. They are known as the Bill of Rights and form a vital part of America's Constitution.

Amendment I says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an

establishment of *religion*, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of *speech*, or of the *press*; or the right of the people peaceably to *assemble*, and to *petition the Government* for a redress of grievances.”

This first amendment is undoubtedly the most important. It guarantees freedom of religion, press, speech, assembly. These are very important guarantees.

Since the first Ten Amendments were added in 1791, there have been sixteen more. The 18th amendment (prohibiting the manufacture, sale etc., of intoxicating beverages) was repealed by the 21st amendment.

America's important state papers (The Declaration of Independence, The Articles of Confederation and The U.S. Constitution) can be viewed at Exhibition Hall in Washington, D.C. They are our most prized national documents.

The U.S. is determined to guard well these precious charters of liberty. A fire-proof, bomb-proof, reinforced-steel-and-concrete vault has been constructed under the floor of the Exhibition Hall, where America's three most important documents can quickly be lowered electrically if need be. America is quite concerned about preserving these original documents intact — for the benefit of posterity.

This Republic has survived and *thrived* — for two centuries — having grown in population, wealth, size and power as no other nation has ever grown.

During that two-hundred year period, the U.S. has been convulsed by many troubles, (wars, depressions, civil disturbances) but it has always weathered the storms.

Will America be able to remain a strong, vibrant republic for another 200 years?

At the end of the Continental Convention, a little old lady asked Benjamin Franklin: “Well, Doctor, what have we got, a Republic or a Monarchy?” Franklin replied, “A Republic, madam, *if you can keep it!*”

Will the peoples of the U.S. be able to keep their republic in the troubled times that lie ahead?

The U.S. Coat of Arms, Seal, Flag and Motto

Why did the U.S. think it necessary even to have a national coat of arms? When did America adopt her present Great Seal?

At the time when the U.S. declared independence in 1776, it was the prevailing practice in much of the civilized world — in Europe especially — to have a national coat of arms.

Devising a Seal

On the very day the U.S. declared its independence, the Second Continental Congress appointed a committee of three (Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson), “to bring in a device for a seal for the United States of America.”

But the task of providing a suitable “Great Seal” proved to be a difficult one. For six weeks Franklin, Jefferson and Adams searched, discussed and debated what would make a suitable “seal” for their new-born country. They considered many different symbols, coats of arms and various devices. They even considered the national shields of England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany and France.

They also looked at mythological symbolism, such as Hercules choosing between virtue and sloth. And they seriously considered biblical representations such as Moses crossing the Red Sea.

What, according to *John Adams*, America’s second President, were some of the important details of this committee’s attempt to arrive at a suitable coat of arms? Some of their suggestions are revealed in the *Familiar Letters of John Adams to His Wife*:

“For the seal he (Du Simitière) proposes the arms of several nations from whence America has been peopled, as English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, German, etc., each in a shield.

“On one side of them, Liberty with her pileus, on the other a rifler in his uniform, with his rifle-gun in one hand and his tomahawk in the other; this dress and these troops with the kind of armor being peculiar to America, unless the dress was known to the Romans Dr. F. proposes a device for a seal: *Moses lifting up his hand dividing the Red Sea*, and Pharaoh in his chariot overwhelmed with the waters. This motto, ‘Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God.’

“Mr. Jefferson proposed the children of Israel in the wilderness, led by a *cloud* by day and a *pillar of fire* by night; on the other side, Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon chiefs from whom we claim the honor of being descended, and whose political principles and form of government we have assumed.

“I proposed the choice of Hercules, as engraved by Gribelin, in some editions of Lord Shaftesbury’s works. The hero resting on his club. Virtue pointing to her rugged mountains on one hand, and persuading him to ascend. Sloth, glancing at her flowery paths of pleasure, wantonly reclining on the ground displaying the charms both of her eloquence and person, to seduce him into vice. But,” admitted John Adams, “this is too complicated a group for a seal or medal, and it is not original.”

We find *Thomas Jefferson* telling us in his papers (now in the Library of Congress) what was proposed for the American Seal:

“*Pharaoh* sitting in an open chariot, a crown on his head and a sword in his hand passing thro’ the divided waters of the Red Sea in pursuit of the *Israelites*: rays from a *pillar of fire* in the *cloud*, expressive of the *divine presence* and command, reaching to *Moses* who stands on the shore and, extending his hand over the sea, causes it to overwhelm Pharaoh. Motto, Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God.”

Benjamin Franklin’s note concerning the proposed seal reads as follows: “*Moses* standing on the shore, and extending his hand over the sea, thereby causing the same to overwhelm *Pharaoh* who is sitting in an open chariot, a crown on his head and a sword in his hand. *Rays* from a *Pillar of Fire in the clouds* reaching to *Moses* to express that he acts by Command of the *Deity*. Motto, Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God.”

Thus, we see that John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were all thinking seriously about using the main characters in the Red Sea episode, mentioned in the Scriptures, as the emblems on a picturesque seal for their infant nation.

They spent over *six weeks* debating various proposals, but could not agree on what form the seal should take. Their committee report to the Congress was finally tabled.

Congress appointed two further committees before a satisfactory Great Seal was devised and adopted — *six full years* later!

The final design which was presented to, and adopted by, the Continental Congress on June 20, 1782 incorporated the suggestions of several people. It was, however, primarily the creation of William Barton and Charles Thomson (both of Philadelphia).

Official Description

The official description (or blazon) of this coat of arms is still part of the law of this land, and reads as follows:

“ARMS. Paleways (vertical lines) of thirteen pieces, argent and gules; a chief, azure; the escutcheon (shield) on the breast of the American eagle displayed proper, holding in his dexter (right) talon an olive branch, and in his sinister (left) a bundle of thirteen arrows, all proper, and in his beak a scroll, inscribed with the motto, ‘*E Pluribus Unum.*’

“For the CREST. Over the head of the eagle, which appears above the escutcheon, a *glory*, or, breaking through *a cloud*, proper, and surrounding *thirteen stars*, forming a constellation, argent, on an azure field.

“REVERSE. *A pyramid unfinished.* In the zenith, an *eye* in a triangle, surrounded with *a glory* proper. Over the *eye* these words ‘*Annuit Coeptis.*’ On the base of the pyramid the numerical letters MDCCLXXVI. And underneath the following motto, ‘*Novus Ordo Seclorum.*’ ”

What does all this heraldic jargon mean? What does it symbolize?

The design on the “obverse” side (the face) of the Great Seal is, in the main, the work of the American heraldist, William Barton, and of the secretary of Congress, Charles Thomson, who made certain modifications in Barton’s plans.

This modified seal was presented to the third committee appointed to select a design for a U.S. Seal. They worked with Thomson to arrive at the final result. This final design of the Great Seal of the United States was then presented to, and approved by, the Continental Congress on June 20, 1782. Since that time the Great Seal has never been officially modified. It has, however, had certain unauthorized artistic variations made in it, which were later corrected.

A total of seven dies have been cut — for the purpose of making official imprints of this Great Seal. These dies were cut in 1782, 1825, 1841, 1854, 1877, 1885, and the last one in 1904. The first two dies were cut in brass, and the last five in steel.

The present die (cut in 1904) is an almost exact reproduction of the 1885 die, and was corrected to conform to the legal design specifications of the 1782 act of Congress.

Symbolism Explained

What is the true meaning of the symbolism which was designed into the Great Seal of the United States? Since William Barton was the main designer of the *face* of the Great Seal (Charles Thomson designed the *reverse* side of the seal), let us see his description of its symbolism.

The following description of the Great Seal is found in Charles Thomson’s own handwriting, in his “Remarks and Explanation,” and is endorsed by him — showing its authenticity:

The Escutcheon (shield) is composed of the chief and pale, the two most honorable ordinaries. The pieces, paly, represent the Several States all joined in one solid compact entire, supporting a *Chief*, which united the whole and *represents Congress*. The Motto alludes to this union. The pales in the arms are kept closely united by the chief and the chief depends on that Union and the strength resulting from it for its support, to denote the Confederacy of the United States of America and the preservation of the Union through Congress.

The *colours* of the pales are those used in the flag of the United States of America; *White* signifies purity and innocence, *Red*, hardiness and valour, and *Blue*, the colour of the Chief signifies vigilance, perseverance and justice. The *Olive branch* and *arrows* denote the power of *peace* and *war* which is exclusively vested in Congress. The *Constellation* denotes a new State taking its place and rank among other sovereign powers. The Escutcheon is borne on the breast of an American Eagle without any other supporters, to denote that the United States of America ought to rely on their own virtue.

On the bottom of the pyramids are the Roman numerals MDCCLXXVI — referring to 1776, the year in which America declared her independence, and began as a new nation.

The Bald Eagle

It should also be noticed that the “eagle” which appears on the Great Seal is specified to be the American bald eagle, also called the white-headed eagle. Eagles are known for their strength, endurance, vision, grace, and their martial qualities. They are also known for their independence, and for the exemplary care which they bestow on their young.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the eagle clutches an *olive branch* (containing 13 leaves and 13 olives) in its *right* talon. And the face of the eagle is turned toward the olive branch — symbolizing that this “king of birds” desires *peace* rather than war.

In the left talon, this bald eagle on our Seal clutches thirteen arrows — symbolizing her power to make war. It is also significant that during a period of declared war, the official seal of the U.S. is altered in such a way that the eagle turns its head toward the arrows — showing that the nation is engaged in mortal combat.

The Eye of God

The following quote clearly explains the overall symbolism of the Great Seal:

“The symbolism of the obverse (face) of the Great Seal is conventional and well known: the American bald eagle; the motto ‘*E Pluribus*

Unum' ('One from many'); the *olive branch* of peace and the *arrows* of war; and symbols of the 13 colonies. That of the reverse (back side) is less familiar. The design incorporates the date of the founding of the nation, 1776; an *unfinished pyramid*, suggesting the firm and durable building of the new nation, not complete, however, and having room for other states; a *single eye* surrounded by the sun's rays, suggesting the *eye of providence* surrounded by the light of the universe; and two mottoes, '*Annuit Coeptis*' (He [i.e., God] *has favoured our undertakings*') and '*Novus Ordo Seclorum*' ('A new order of the ages'), both adapted from Virgil" (*Ency. Brit.* vol. 20, 1973 ed.)

It is of interest to understand the symbols which are on *both* sides of the Great Seal. When the original committee was appointed to devise a seal, its members, Franklin, Jefferson and Adams, all thought seriously about using the Red Sea episode, the biblical symbols of the cloud-and-pillar-of-fire which led the infant nation of Israel.

The Unfinished Pyramid

What do the symbols on the reverse side of the Great Seal signify? Again, let Charles Thomson, one of the two main designers of the Seal, tell us in his own words:

"Reverse. The *Pyramid* signifies Strength and Duration: The *Eye* over it and the Motto allude to *the many signal interpositions of providence* in favour of the American cause. The date underneath is that of the Declaration of Independence and the words under it signify the beginning of the new American Era, which commences from that date."

Seven dies have been cut of the face or obverse side of the Great Seal, but a die of the *reverse side* of the Seal has *never been cut*.

Both the obverse and reverse sides of the seal may be seen on the back of the one-dollar bill.

The pyramid (as an emblem of strength and durability) on the Great Seal has 13 courses of stone, symbolizing the original thirteen states of the Union.

Suspended over this *unfinished pyramid* is the ever-watchful "Eye of Providence" enclosed in its traditional triangle. The upper motto is comprised of the Latin words *Annuit coeptis*, meaning *He (God) has favored our undertakings*.

The lower motto has the words *Novus ordo seclorum*, meaning *a new order of the ages* (has begun) — referring to the year 1776.

Is it just a coincidence that the "glory," "golden radiance," or "breaking through a cloud," is on the face of the Great Seal? Did its designers associate these symbols with the "cloud" and the "pillar of fire" which led the infant nation of Israel out of tyrannical bondage of Egypt?

Why was the *pyramid*, the foremost monument in Egypt, used on the reverse side of the Great Seal?

Furthermore, what significance has the use of the "eagle" on our Seal? Was the eagle used because the Founding Fathers realized that Providence had watched over the forming of the United States? An eagle is known to gather its young on its wings, drop them from a high altitude, then (if need be) swoop down under the eaglets to catch them and carry them back up for another try. In this way the eagle exercises a watchful, providential-like care over its young while they are learning to fly.

When the nation of Israel was released from its Egyptian bondage, was led into the wilderness of Sinai, and was on the eve of receiving the Ten Commandments at the foot of Mt. Sinai, the Eternal One told them: "Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on *eagles' wings*, and brought you unto myself" (Exodus 19:4).

Did the Founding Fathers — Franklin, Adams and Jefferson — influence the Continental Congress to adopt these symbols of the eagle, the cloud and the *glory* (or golden radiance) and the pyramid because of their having drawn a parallel between Israel's deliverance from Egyptian bondage, and their own deliverance from colonial bondage to Britain?

It is certainly a matter of the record, that men like Washington, Franklin and Jefferson repeatedly acknowledged the Supreme Being, and appealed to Him for guidance and for His Providential care.

In Washington's farewell address to the Congress in 1783, he said:

"I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life by *commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God*, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping!"

There is certainly much more behind the artistic symbolism of the Great Seal of the United States of America than most Americans ever remotely dreamed of.

The Great Seal can only be used by the President of the United States, but numerous other seals and coats of arms are based on this Seal and have been used both by civil and military authorities, and have long appeared on flags, uniforms, in architectural motifs and on stationery. U.S. diplomats abroad use the coat of arms above the entrances to their offices.

The Great Seal is a work of art, of beauty — having great symbolical significance for our great nation!

Symbolism in "Old Glory"

Surely every patriotic American has been cheered by the majestic fluttering of "Old Glory"!

What is the symbolism behind this beautiful flag?

The original flag of the U.S. was adopted during the Revolutionary War. On June 14, 1777, John Adams introduced the following resolution to the Second Continental Congress:

“Resolved, that the *flag* of the thirteen United States shall be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white on a blue field, representing a new constellation.”

His resolution was unanimously passed on that date by Congress.

From that day till now, there have been many alterations in the U.S. flag — as more states were added to the union. But the basic ideas and symbolism incorporated in that very first flag still remain in today’s flag.

In 1776 there were only thirteen states in the union, so that flag had only thirteen stars, and stripes. Congress decided to keep the original number of stripes — symbolizing the beginning of our nation with only thirteen states — when any future additions were made to “Old Glory.” Additional stars would then be added to the flag as more states joined the Union. Today, there are fifty states in the Union, and fifty stars in our national flag.

“In God We Trust”

What is the origin of our national motto: “In God We Trust”?

This motto originated during the Civil War, as an inscription for U.S. coins, but it was used by Francis Scott Key (in a slightly different form) when he composed “The Star Spangled Banner” in 1814.

During the dark days of the bloody Civil War, when brother fought against brother, Union morale had sunk pretty low because of numerous defeats on the battlefields.

Realizing the peril to the Union caused by these military reverses, a minister named M.R. Watkinson, of Didleyville, Pennsylvania, sent a written appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase: “From my heart,” wrote the clergyman, “I have felt our national shame in disowning God as not the least of our present national disaster.”

“Recognition of The Almighty”

He then suggested “recognition of the Almighty God in some form on our coins.”

Shortly afterwards, Secretary Chase ordered designs prepared with the now-familiar words “In God We Trust.” He then backed coinage legislation which authorized the use of this slogan.

“In God We Trust” first appeared on certain U.S. coins in 1864. This slogan later disappeared from U.S. coins, then reappeared and continued

until 1955, at which time Congress ordered it placed henceforth on all coins and paper money.

That is how America came to adopt her "national motto."

The Great Expansion

Most people consider 1776 as the birth date of the United States. But, in a sense, perhaps 1783 could also be reckoned as America's birth date.

Even though the U.S. declared her independence in 1776, she didn't actually win that independence until 1783 — seven years later!

In 1783, Britain agreed at the Treaty of Paris to cede all territory east of the Mississippi, between Canada and the Florida territory, to the United States. Before that date, America didn't actually legally own one foot of territory. And had Britain put all her might behind the war effort, and had she had able ministers to execute the war, the U.S. might have lost the war, and might therefore never have become the legal inheritor of America.

Seventy Years of Phenomenal Growth

It took seventy years for America to acquire all of the territory which later became the contiguous forty-eight states. Our first territory was actually legally acquired in 1783 — when Britain ceded to America all the land east of the Mississippi, and our last territorial acquisition was from Mexico in 1853 — the “Gadsden Purchase.”

How did the straggling original Thirteen Colonies obtain all of the land in what is now continental United States, south of the 49th parallel?

There is no other instance in history when any people acquired so much fertile, choice land in so short a time, were able to hang onto it and carve themselves out a nation. This history of America's phenomenal expansion, from thirteen struggling colonies along the eastern seaboard of the U.S. to a continent-girdling nation, is a fascinating story.

When the Revolutionary War began in 1776, the U.S. population was only about two and a half million — including one-half million African-descended slaves.

But when the first official U.S. census was taken in 1790 (just fourteen years later) the U.S. population had soared to nearly four million!

About 80% of the white population was British descended, with the

remaining 20% being comprised of Germans, French, Dutch, Swiss and Scandinavians.

What were the reasons for such a phenomenal growth in population? Firstly, Americans were prolific people — nearly all had large families — averaging about six children per family at that time.

Secondly, many people, especially from Europe, continued to immigrate to America in hopes of *religious* and *political* freedom, and with a view to improving their economic fortunes.

A National Capital

The first Congress under the new Constitution assembled in New York City (its temporary capital) in the spring of 1789. On April 30, George Washington was inaugurated as the nation's first president.

From 1790 to 1800, Philadelphia served as the second national capital.

America now had a new, durable government, a Chief Executive, Congressmen and other governing officials. But she had no national city from which to govern — no permanent capital. The decision was made to set aside a tract of land beside the beautiful Potomac River for the future site of the seat of the national government.

But the U.S. capital was not completed enough to be used as a national capital until 1800 during the administration of John Adams. It was named Washington after the "father of our country."

Rise of Political Parties

The rise of political parties began immediately — right during the presidency of George Washington.

Washington and other leaders of the new nation hoped no political parties would arise. But the Federalist and the Democratic-Republican parties began taking shape in Washington's day.

The Federalists rallied under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton and his Federalists believed in a strong central government. The merchants, manufacturers and other businessmen generally backed the Federalist party. The Democratic-Republican party believed strongly in state's rights, and they wanted to see the national government kept as weak as possible commensurate with it being able to function properly. They were afraid of a too powerful central government.

The members of the Democratic-Republican party rallied around their champion, Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson looked upon the farmers as "God's chosen people." He, therefore, received the strong support from the farmers and planters. And we must remember that about ninety-five percent of all Americans lived on farms at the time.

Washington tried to steer clear of political parties — thinking they were detrimental to good government.

The Federalist Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton established a national mint and a system of coinage, and he also persuaded Congress of the necessity of passing a moderate tariff law to encourage U.S. manufacturing.

The new Congress also placed an excise tax on distilled liquors. This caused a minor furor especially among some of the Scotch-Irish settlers in the western part of Pennsylvania. This was their main source of income. They did not intend to pay the whiskey tax.

But Alexander Hamilton, a strong Federalist, persuaded Washington to call out 15,000 troops to put down the rebellion. Though very few were injured in the "Whiskey Rebellion," the U.S. government gained great prestige by acting firmly to support its claim to be able to tax Americans.

America's first Congress under the new constitution adjourned in September 1789 — after first requesting the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, to prepare a report on the public credit.

The Continental Congress had been plagued by its inability to borrow money during and after the Revolutionary War. Since the old Continental Congress lacked the power to levy taxes, it also lacked the ability to pay its debts. And the nation's public debt in 1789 stood at the staggering sum of \$56,000,000 — \$12,000,000 of which was owed to foreign creditors.

The Secretary of the Treasury proposed to redeem the public debt at its face value — even though much of the debt was in the hands of private speculators. But how could he accomplish this? Hamilton hit upon the brilliant idea of creating a bank which would be chartered by Congress, but would be owned jointly by private investors and by the federal government. This new bank (chartered in 1791) would have authority to issue bank notes, backed by gold and government bonds — which would be used to redeem the public debt, thereby providing the nation with an acceptable national currency. Through this means, the entire U.S. debt would be funded at a uniform rate of interest, and would be retired gradually through tax receipts.

A bank of the United States operating in this fashion could restore the public credit to a position of trust, and worthless securities could be turned into fluid capital for developing the nation. Thus, the national debt became a national blessing. But there were many who distrusted Hamilton's scheme to establish a national bank of the United States. Even Washington was dubious.

James Madison, an outspoken critic of the bank idea, had serious misgivings about the constitutionality of the bank. He argued that nowhere did the Constitution specifically empower Congress to charter a

bank. Alexander Hamilton, however, argued that the authority to create a national bank was "implied" in the power to levy taxes, coin money, pay debts, etc. Thomas Jefferson also opposed Hamilton's plan — arguing that Congress should not exceed its expressly delegated powers.

This controversy over the constitutionality of creating a federal U.S. Bank, was one of several issues which helped to create political parties. Those who followed Hamilton's logic, felt the federal government was empowered to create the bank, and they became known as Federalists. Those who opposed this view were called "Republicans" — implying that their opponents believed in a monarchy instead of the Republic.

Both parties, however, believed in the new Republic and its republican form of government. They did violently disagree as to how much power could be, should be, or had been given to the federal government. This controversy continued for many years.

In the end, Alexander Hamilton got his way. In 1791, the new Congress chartered the U.S. Bank for 20 years. The bank was given power to take care of the government's money, to issue bank notes to provide a solid currency, and it could also make loans to the government when needed. The Federalists rejoiced when Congress created the U.S. Bank, and so did the wealthy and powerful citizens who backed such an idea.

Clashing with Europe

During Washington's presidency, America had a difficult time in keeping out of Europe's squabbles. The President had advocated a policy of neutrality — keeping clear of foreign entanglements: "Tis our true policy," said Washington, "to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

When France and Britain went to war in 1793, this resulted in divisions in the U.S. France had just helped America win her independence, and she hoped to have America's support against Britain. Thomas Jefferson had spent some years in France, as America's minister to France, and he sympathized with her, as did his followers, the Democratic-Republicans. But Alexander Hamilton and his followers, the Federalists, favored Britain.

One other complicating factor was the fact that America and Britain still disputed their U.S.-Canadian boundary. And America didn't like Britain interfering with her shipping. Furthermore, Britain had refused to give up her forts in the Northwest Territory — as she had promised in the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

President Washington, still trying to avert war with either Britain or France, dispatched John Jay to London to settle the Anglo-American

disputes. Jay arrived at a settlement with the British called the Jay Treaty, by which Britain surrendered its western posts, and broadened her trading privileges toward America.

Washington also sent his special commissioner (Thomas Pinckney) to Spain to complete another important agreement with that country. Pinckney signed a treaty with Spain by which she gave America unlimited use of the Mississippi River.

It must be remembered that France had ceded the land west of the Mississippi to Spain in 1762. Spain therefore controlled the port of New Orleans, and consequently traffic on the Mississippi River. It was vital to America to have free use of the Mississippi for shipping her cotton, sugar, lumber, furs, hides and other commodities to Europe.

Franco-American Hostility

When Washington refused a third term, John Adams was elected President of the United States. During Adam's administration, America experienced more troubles with Europe — France in particular. French ships captured American vessels, and for a time France and America carried on an undeclared naval war. But why the French hostility to America?

It must be remembered that America and Britain had signed the Jay Treaty in 1794. France regarded this treaty as a virtual alliance between the U.S. and England. The Anglo-American Jay Treaty of 1794 also frightened Spain into signing the Treaty of San Lorenzo el Real in 1795 with the U.S. By this treaty, Spain adjusted the border of Spanish Florida, and she also permitted Americans to deposit their goods at the port of New Orleans, and then America could tranship them to Europe or to any part of the world.

France became so annoyed at the U.S. that she broke off diplomatic relations. When John Adams became president, he immediately dispatched a three-man commission to Paris to negotiate the difficulties between the two countries. They were met in Paris by three agents who demanded a bribe before they would negotiate. The American commissioners flatly refused to offer any bribes and quickly returned home. News of this affair provoked much anti-French sentiment in America, and whipped up a strong wave of American patriotism.

Congress severed relations with France in the spring of 1798, and authorized the capture of French vessels which were guilty of making raids on American ships. At the same time America took steps to enlarge the army, and recalled Washington, appointing him Commander-in-Chief of the American army. Alexander Hamilton was appointed as second-in-command to Washington.

Fortunately, John Adams kept a cool head and refused to let the

bellicose Hamiltonians push him into a war with France. The war with France was confined to a number of small naval engagements. In May 1800, President Adams dismissed all the war-mongering Hamiltonians from his cabinet, and appointed a new Secretary of State, John Marshall. Adams then negotiated a new peace treaty with France in 1800, and France and America terminated their old alliance of 1778.

President John Adams considered his maintaining peace with France (after America had come so close to going to war with her) as his most signal accomplishment as president. But his peace treaty with France was unpopular in some circles in the U.S., and even caused a split in his own party which undoubtedly cost him the presidential election of 1800.

Jefferson Becomes President

In the presidential election of 1800, the Republicans chose Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr for their candidates for president and vice-president. They won the election, but a controversy arose over the question of who would be president and who would be the vice-president. Though Burr was clearly intended to be the vice-president by the electorate, he utterly refused to withdraw from the contest. It finally took thirty-six different ballots in the House of Representatives before the Jefferson-Burr deadlock was resolved — giving the presidency to Jefferson. Shortly after this mixup, Congress adopted (in 1804) the 12th Amendment, which was created to prevent a future presidential-vice-presidential deadlock.

Even though Aaron Burr served out his term as Vice-president, he felt frustrated by Alexander Hamilton, who had thrown his weight against him in the presidential deadlock, and caused Jefferson to be made President. Burr deeply resented this.

When Burr ran for Governor of New York and was defeated, again, through the influence of Alexander Hamilton's opposition to him, he became greatly agitated, and challenged Hamilton to a duel.

Burr's single shot found its mark. Hamilton lay mortally wounded, and died the next day.

Aaron Burr fled from justice — for he was soon charged with murder. Burr travelled into the western part of the U.S. and spoke to different leaders. He is said to have plotted with James Wilkinson, the military governor of Louisiana since 1803, to invade Mexico. Other reports asserted he planned to set up a rival nation west of the Mississippi, and even travelled to France to enlist the aid of Napoleon in this endeavor.

Burr was eventually captured, tried, and was acquitted on a technicality. The prosecution did not have two witnesses to attest to the fact of overt conspiracy.

A strange, power-hungry, ambitious man, Burr continued plotting and scheming until his death. His own wife divorced him on the very day he died. Such was the miserable end of a man of great ambition, but lacking in the character trait of deep loyalty to his nation.

The Aura of Democracy

When Thomas Jefferson was elected president, he made a genuine attempt to give his administration the appearance of real democracy. During his inauguration, he walked to the Capitol, instead of being driven in a splendid carriage, drawn by six horses, as had George Washington on the day of his inauguration. And he had his annual presidential message sent to Congress by a messenger, rather than lecturing Congress (as kings in Britain had done to their Parliaments) by appearing in person.

President Jefferson is noted for his nationalistic policies during his presidency. He stood for peace, democracy, states' rights, economy in government and he was also greatly interested in promoting agriculture. Jefferson believed government should be more alert to the voice of the common man. During his term in office he cut government expenses, reduced the navy, sought to avoid war, and finally managed to pay off much of the national debt.

The World's Greatest Bargain!

The U.S. purchase of Louisiana was the grandest monument of Jefferson's nationalism.

Never in the history of the world did any nation purchase so much valuable land at so little a cost — less than four cents an acre!

How did this valuable purchase come about? What were the conditions in America and in the world which led up to it? Why was France — like Esau selling his birthright blessings for a bowl of soup — willing to virtually give away this choice land?

Background to Louisiana Purchase

It is impossible to understand why the U.S. was able to purchase all of the Louisiana Territory without comprehending the political developments in Europe and the Americas which made this purchase possible.

One must remember that French explorers had explored and claimed for France the whole Mississippi basin (between the Rocky and the Allegheny Mountains) in the 1600s and 1700s. This vast Mississippi watershed area was named "Louisiana" after France's Sun King, Louis XIV.

At the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, France ceded to Spain in 1762 all of the Louisiana Territory west of the Mississippi, and in 1763 she gave all of her Louisiana lands east of the Mississippi to Great Britain.

But when Napoleon Bonaparte became leader of France, old French nationalism was revived. On October 1, 1800, Napoleon persuaded a reluctant King Charles IV of Spain, to cede Louisiana back to France. The King of Spain gave his verbal assent to cede this land back to France on condition that she would never turn over Louisiana to a third party.

This treaty of San Ildefonso, also known as the Treaty of Retrocession, gave France control of the Louisiana Territory, including the important port of New Orleans, as well as the strategically important mouth of the Mississippi River.

It must be remembered that by the early 1800s many Americans had settled in the lands west of the Appalachians, and east of the Mississippi. In this rich land, farmers were producing flour, tobacco, hogs, butter, cheese, leather, furs, apples, salt, potatoes, cider, whiskey, grains, and lumber, and shipping these products down the Mississippi to New Orleans, from where they were shipped to Europe and the Caribbean. It was vitally important to these western farmers that the door of New Orleans be kept wide open to them — otherwise they would be strangled economically.

In 1795, Spain agreed (by the treaty of San Lorenzo) to grant the United States the right to ship goods through the mouth of the Mississippi without paying any duty. Also, she granted the U.S. the right of deposit (or temporary storage) at New Orleans.

Closing the Door

But, what would happen if Spain closed this vital door to American goods? American fears were soon to be realized. In 1802, Spain revoked the right of deposit, creating much tension in the western part of the U.S.

At the time, the governor of Mississippi territory warned the Secretary of State, James Madison: "The late act of the Spanish Government at New Orleans has excited considerable agitation in Natchez and its vicinity: — It has inflicted *a severe wound* upon the Agricultural and Commercial interests of this Territory, and must prove no less injurious to all the Western Country."

Madison then warned Napoleon that Americans were not weak-kneed men, afraid to act. A war fever was exciting Americans to action over this important issue.

At the time, Napoleon was planning to establish a New French

Empire west of the Mississippi for the express purpose of counterbalancing the Anglo-Saxon empire to the east. While dreaming these dreams, he sent 35,000 of his best troops to Santo Domingo to subdue a rebellion which broke out in that French West Indian colony.

But Napoleon's troops met with disaster. Many were decimated by yellow fever and by native guerrilla warfare. He lost about 24,000 of his soldiers. Napoleon had intended to subdue Santo Domingo and then send his troops to take possession of the Louisiana Territory, where he planned to establish firm French control.

Shortly after Jefferson became President in 1801 the U.S. minister in England, Rufus King, sent him word that Spain planned to give part of its American colonies back to France.

The President knew France was ambitious, and he feared that Napoleon might interfere with the trade of the western provinces by refusing American vessels passage in the mouth of the Mississippi, effectively controlled by New Orleans. On orders from the President, the U.S. Secretary of State warned France that the U.S. fully expected to have an outlet to the sea. Then Robert Livingston was appointed minister to France, and sailed for that country in 1801 in order to open up negotiations. He was given instructions to hand to the French which stated in clear terms that the U.S. was not willing to see the American colonies of Spain transferred to any country except America.

Spain Cedes Louisiana to France

And in November 1801, the U.S. minister in England sent Jefferson a copy of the treaty in which Spain ceded Louisiana to France.

Not knowing how much territory Spain had ceded to France, Jefferson instructed Livingston to prevent the cession of Louisiana to France — if possible.

If, however, it was too late to prevent this, the U.S. minister was to try and persuade the French to transfer the Floridas, (especially West Florida) to the U.S. Since New Orleans lay on the east side of the Mississippi, it would then automatically become U.S. territory. But Napoleon Bonaparte spurned Livingston's proposals.

Next, President Jefferson instructed his friend, Pierre du Pont de Nemours, to carry certain dispatches to Livingston and to assist him in influencing the French government against gaining control of the American colonies.

Du Pont was instructed: "... you may be able to impress on the government of France the inevitable consequences of their taking possession of Louisiana This measure will cost, and perhaps not very long hence, a war which will annihilate her on the ocean. . . ."

Finally, du Pont was to warn France, that if she annexed Louisiana, the U.S. would ally itself with England against France.

Napoleon's Fear

Napoleon knew that war with Great Britain would shortly break out, and he was warned that America might seize Louisiana as soon as France became engaged in a European war, and he also knew that the British navy might seize the territory.

But what Napoleon feared most was an Anglo-American alliance. He knew that Britain had beaten France on the battlefield and on the high seas in her past wars. And he also knew that America (with some French aid) had humbled the British at Yorktown in the War of Independence. President Jefferson had already warned: "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans, we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

What would these two nations be able to do together — if they united against Napoleon? The thought disquieted the French dictator.

Napoleon was also told that the United States was seriously considering the possibility of sending 50,000 troops to seize New Orleans. And American newspapers at the time seemed to substantiate this.

What could Napoleon do? Should he go ahead with his idea of establishing a French Empire in the Louisiana territory to counterbalance the Anglo-Saxons east of the Mississippi? If so, would this tie down so many of his troops in America that he would be unable to execute his military designs in Europe? And since he was bound to lock horns with Britain in his struggles in Europe, was it not better to decide on a course of action which would possibly prevent America joining with Britain?

If France would sell all of Louisiana to America, might not this prevent the U.S. from joining with Britain? And would not this sale of Louisiana provide badly needed funds which Napoleon Bonaparte could use to help finance his European war?

With these thoughts in mind, Napoleon notified the finance minister François de Barbe-Marbois, on April 10, 1803, to offer all of the Louisiana Territory to the U.S. for sale.

President Jefferson had sent James Monroe to Paris as minister plenipotentiary, and he had instructed Monroe and Livingston to see if they could purchase either New Orleans or West Florida. Congress had voted \$2 million which the two envoys, Monroe and Livingston, could use in the purchase of the east bank of the Mississippi (including the port of New Orleans). If France rejected this offer, they were to try to obtain at least the right of deposit at New Orleans.

But no one dreamed that France was about to offer to sell all of the vast area of Louisiana.

Napoleon was a man of action. Once he decided to sell all of Louisiana to America, his minister approached the U.S. minister, Livingston. "What would you give," said the French minister, "for the whole of Louisiana?"

This unexpected offer staggered Livingston — who then blurted out that the U.S. would be willing to pay \$4 million.

This was rejected as much too low.

James Monroe (as America's minister plenipotentiary) arrived in Paris shortly after this. Congress had already voted \$2 million to be spent on the purchase of West Florida, and President Jefferson had privately counselled Monroe and Livingston to be willing to offer up to \$9,375,000 for the port of New Orleans and the Floridas.

But now that Napoleon had countered with an offer to sell them the entire Louisiana Territory, what were they to do?

Seizing a Golden Opportunity

Monroe and Livingston knew this was a golden opportunity which they must not pass up — regardless of their instruction, and regardless of the constitutionality of their being able legally to make such a purchase.

The American and French ministers finally agreed on the purchase price — 60 million francs.

For this vast Louisiana Territory, it was agreed that the U.S. would pay the ridiculously low sum of \$11,250,000 outright. But America would also assume the claims of U.S. citizens against France to the amount of \$3,750,000. The total amount would come to just about \$15,000,000. What a pittance to pay for the vast territory of 828,000 square miles (more than 500 million acres)!

Out of this Louisiana Territory were carved part or all of thirteen states: All of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Oklahoma, and parts of Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana and Wyoming.

Never in the history of the world has there been any bargain to equal in value or in size the Louisiana Purchase. The true value of this territory in today's value would be almost beyond calculation. The rich Mississippi valley area and the fertile Kansas-Nebraska-Iowa wheat and corn belt comprise a major part of the world's richest bread basket.

When signing the final documents of the purchase, America's minister in Paris, Robert Livingston, is reported to have exclaimed: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank."

And Napoleon Bonaparte is said to have remarked: "This accession of territory [by the U.S.] affirms forever the power of the United States,

and I have just given England a maritime rival that sooner or later will lay low her pride.”

Was the Purchase Legal?

Were the President of the U.S. and the American ministers in Paris legally authorized to make the purchase? Or was the purchase unconstitutional?

President Jefferson was uncertain about what course of action to take to justify the Louisiana Purchase. The U.S. Constitution did not specifically authorize the acquisition of land.

Jefferson, in the past, had professed to be a strict constitutionalist, and was fearful of a president or Congress assuming powers which were not specifically delegated to them. He had preferred to go according to the strict letter of the Constitution. But the Louisiana Purchase was too big a prize — too big a temptation — for him to turn down. He would have to find some way to justify his assuming power to authorize the U.S. ministers in France to make such a fantastic purchase.

Though the U.S. Constitution did not specifically authorize the U.S. Presidents to purchase or acquire land, it did provide for the making of *treaties*. On this ground, Jefferson felt he could safely conclude that it was constitutional for the U.S. ministers to have made such a purchase.

Even so, a President of the U.S. is not even supposed to conclude a treaty with a foreign nation without the “advice and consent of the Senate,” and Jefferson did not profess to have been advised by the Senate, and neither had they consented to the purchase. Seemingly, it was an illegal act.

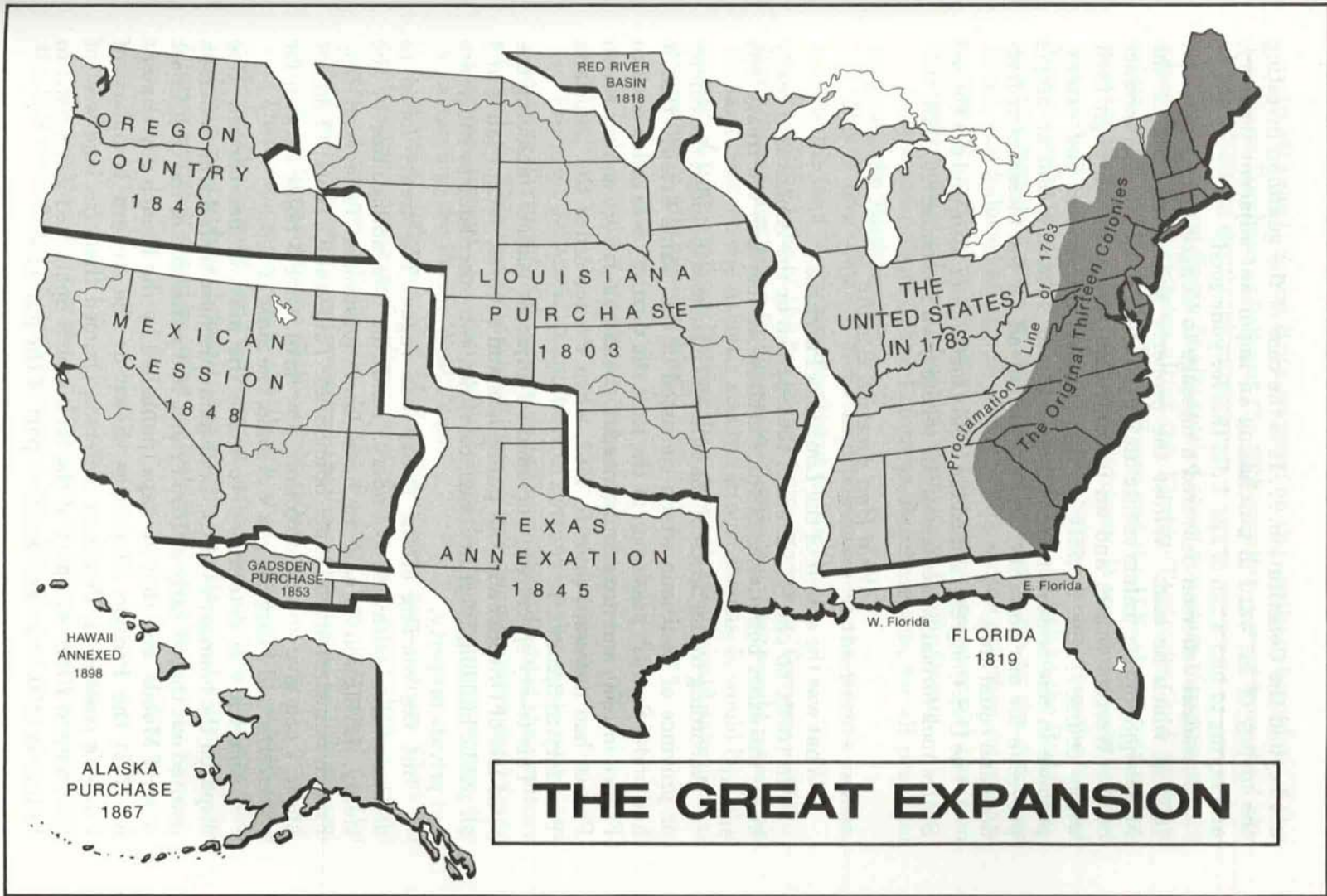
President Jefferson, realizing he was treading on thin constitutional ice, relative to the legality of such a purchase, acknowledged that he had “stretched the constitution until it cracked.”

Congress Ratifies Louisiana Purchase

Would the President be able to rally support for, and ratification of, the Louisiana Purchase?

The U.S. and French ministers had signed the legal documents authorizing the purchase on May 2nd, 1803, but the actual treaty was dated April 30th. The treaty document didn't reach Washington until July 14, 1803.

Jefferson admitted: “This treaty must of course be laid before both Houses. . . . They, I presume, will see their duty to their country in ratifying and paying for it . . . the Executive in seizing the fugitive occurrence which so much advances the good of their country, have done an



HAWAII
ANNEXED
1898

ALASKA
PURCHASE
1867

GADSDEN
PURCHASE
1853

TEXAS
ANNEXATION
1845

LOUISIANA
PURCHASE
1803

RED RIVER
BASIN
1818

OREGON
COUNTRY
1846

MEXICAN
CESSION
1848

THE
UNITED STATES
IN 1783

W. Florida
E. Florida
FLORIDA
1819

Line of 1763
Proclamation
The Original Thirteen Colonies

THE GREAT EXPANSION

act beyond the Constitution. . . . It is the case of the guardian investing the money of his ward in purchasing an important adjacent territory, and saying to him when of age, I did this for your good."

President Jefferson delivered a message to Congress on October 17, 1803 in which he said: "Whilst the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters secure an independent outlet for the produce of the Western States and an uncontrolled navigation through their whole course . . . the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our Treasury, and an ample provision for our posterity, and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws."

The U.S. Congress ratified the treaty on October 25th, and the United States took formal possession of the territory on December 20, 1803.

What Had America Bought?

What was the extent of the Louisiana Purchase?

In truth, no one (the French, the Spanish or the Americans) really knew the exact boundaries of the Purchase at the time the treaty was signed.

According to the terms of the sale, the purchase included the colony or province of Louisiana which consisted of the "same extent" that it had under Spanish possession at the time the territory was ceded back to France in 1800, and it was comprised of the same territory as that which France had possessed prior to 1762, when France ceded the Louisiana Territory to Spain.

This treaty specifically included all adjacent islands (including the vital Isle of Orleans) and "all public lots and squares, vacant lands and all public buildings, fortifications, barracks, and other edifices which are not private property."

But the wording of the treaty was vague. The treaty failed to delineate the southwest boundary. Realizing the ambiguities of the treaty, Livingston is said to have later questioned Talleyrand (the French minister) on the exact boundaries. Talleyrand's reply: "I do not know. I can give you no direction; you have made a noble bargain for yourselves, and I suppose you will make the most of it."

America was determined to make the most of her bargain. She disputed the boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase with Spain. Jefferson pointed out that as early as 1696 France had possession of the Gulf Coast west of Mobile, and that in maps (published by the French government in 1755) the Perdido River was shown as the eastern boundary of France's possession. President Jefferson claimed that this land west of the Perdido River was part of the land which Spain had given back to France in 1800, and was, therefore, part of the purchase.

In 1818 the U.S. and Britain agreed on the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase as being at the 49th parallel — west from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky mountains.

The U.S. and Spain finally settled their boundary disputes in 1819 when Spain sold America all of the Florida Territories, and America relinquished her claims to Texas. Spain and the U.S. also agreed on the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase. It was finally settled that the western boundary would follow the Sabine River from the Gulf of Mexico to the parallel of 32° N. Then it ran due north to the Red River, and followed it to 100° W. From there it went north to the Arkansas River, and followed along this stream to its source and then followed a course (N. or S. — unknown at the time) to a parallel of 42° N. From this point it was to follow a line due west to the Pacific Ocean.

The eastern limit of the Louisiana Purchase was, for all practical purposes, the Mississippi River.

This is how America came into possession of the world's richest, most fertile land — the breadbasket of the earth.

From the time of the purchase of the Louisiana Territory onward, many Americans began to believe that some day they would possess all the land between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. It would be just a matter of time until, as Destiny had decreed, they would take formal possession of all this vast land.

Lewis and Clark Expedition

President Jefferson lost no time in opening up the newly purchased Louisiana Territory. This purchase had more than doubled the territory of the U.S. This new land would have to be explored and opened up to American settlers — which would soon begin streaming across the Mississippi to the Pacific West Coast.

In 1804, Jefferson sent Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the Louisiana Territory. And they were instructed to continue their explorations all the way to the Pacific. They journeyed up the Missouri River, and finally reached the Columbia River and journeyed down it all the way to the Pacific (1804-1806).

Their explorations into the Pacific area gave the U.S. a basis for a claim to Oregon and the Pacific coast. Also, their explorations provided priceless geographical information. Within less than half a century, the Oregon territory would be ceded to the U.S. by Britain.

The War of 1812

James Madison was elected President in 1808. Under his presidency the U.S. drifted steadily into war with Great Britain.

What brought about the second Anglo-American war?

Britain and France were at war in the late 1700s and early 1800s; and since American ships continued trading with both countries, both Britain and France interfered with American shipping. But the main thing which galled Americans was the British practice of "impressment." American sailors (some were British born, and some were Americans by birth) were taken off American ships on the high seas and were forced to serve on British vessels. From 1804 to 1810 over 4,000 American sailors were impressed in this way.

Furthermore, besides this Anglo-American maritime conflict, British officials were thought to have encouraged the Indians of the Northwest territory to attack the Americans. They had at least supplied them with guns and ammunition. Various conflicts between the Americans and the Indians (armed and apparently incited by the British) ended with the Americans occupying more Indian territory — especially in Ohio and Indiana. In the part of America immediately east of the Mississippi, the war spirit was fueled primarily by the British-Indian "conspiracy."

And in the South the planters complained of low cotton prices as a result of the British blockade.

But much of the "war spirit" of the time was the result of a deep sense of *nationalism* — the idea that America must be willing to *fight* to preserve the *independence* and *sovereignty* which she had won from the British only a few decades earlier. American pride and honor had to be defended. The U.S. could not continue to let the British capture their sailors on the high seas and force them to serve in the British navy.

A number of young "war hawks," such as John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay, prodded Congress into declaring war on Great Britain in June 1812.

Though Congress was willing to declare war, they were not eager to do much to provide the finances for strengthening the army and the navy. Consequently the U.S. was badly prepared for the Anglo-American War of 1812 when it came.

What were U.S. objectives in the war? The U.S. hoped to take over Canada, to prevent the British from supplying the Indians with arms, or offering them encouragement.

Also, America wanted to prove to Britain and to the world that she would not stand idly by and allow her sailors to be impressed by the Royal Navy. U.S. pride and prestige were at stake.

The war itself was a misnomer. Nothing seemed to work out for either side. Militarily, the conflict proved futile for both sides. The U.S. suffered defeats both on land and at sea. Great Britain was able to effect a complete blockade of America, because of her vastly superior navy. But most humiliating of all, the British captured Washington, D.C., and

burned the public buildings, in retaliation for similar American acts in Toronto!

In the northern area of conflict, the British won several victories, and so did the U.S. Neither side won and held any strategic advantages in the other's territory, and as the war drew on it was obvious that a *stalemate* had been reached. Certainly, the U.S. had not really put her heart into equipping herself to fight the war to a victorious conclusion.

And when the Napoleonic wars ended in Europe, Britain sent some of her veteran soldiers to Canada to assist in the fighting. This offset a growing U.S. advantage at a time when the Americans were about to get the upper hand.

Britain made many demands at the meetings in Ghent, Belgium, thinking most of the trump cards were in her hands. But the Duke of Wellington, who had won a brilliant victory over Napoleon in Europe, advised the British peace negotiators at Ghent that the military situation in the Anglo-American conflict was not all that favorable to the British.

And since the Americans refused to accept Britain's demands, it was finally agreed that Britain and America would return to the situation which had existed before the war (*status quo ante bellum*).

On December 24, 1814 Britain and America signed a peace treaty at Ghent — officially ending the inconclusive war.

The war had ended in a complete stalemate, and the U.S. gained none of her stated military objectives. But there was at least one salutary effect: With the end of the Napoleonic war in Europe, Britain ceased her vexatious policy of "impressment" of Americans into the Royal Navy.

At least two war heroes emerged from the conflict. Oliver Hazard Perry had destroyed the British squadron on Lake Erie during the war and Andrew Jackson had won a brilliant victory over the British at New Orleans two weeks after the peace treaty had been signed.

The young American nation had flexed its muscles, and was feeling a youthful surge of power.

"The Star-Spangled Banner"

During the War of 1812, when the redcoats retreated after burning Washington, they took William Beanes with them.

Francis Scott Key received permission from President James Madison to intercede for Beanes. Accordingly, Key was sent to the British fleet in Chesapeake Bay to secure his friend's release. His friend had been captured after the defeat of the U.S. forces at Bladensburg, Maryland. In September, 1814, Key boarded a prisoner-exchange boat, and was subsequently detained on his ship during the shelling of Fort

McHenry — one of the forts which successfully defended Baltimore during the War of 1812. While his boat was being held in temporary custody during the night of September 13-14, Key witnessed the British fleet's merciless bombardment of Fort McHenry. Francis Scott Key's anxiety was at high pitch as he witnessed the incessant bombardment during that awful night.

Early the next morning, however, he joyously beheld the American flag still proudly flying over the fortress. It was this jubilant sight of "Old Glory" waving proudly over Ft. McHenry which inspired him to write "The Star-Spangled Banner."

After being released that same day by the British, he turned the text of his poem over to a Baltimore printer, who borrowed the tune which now accompanies the anthem from a popular English drinking song, "To Anacreon in Heaven." This patriotic anthem soon became popular throughout the nation. Later, both the army and navy adopted "The Star-Spangled Banner" as the national anthem; but the United States Congress didn't officially adopt it as the national anthem until 1931.

Key never really took his poetry seriously, though he wrote enough to fill a volume, *Poems of the Late Francis S. Key, Esq.* (1857). Much of Key's poetry was of a religious nature, and included the old hymn, "Lord, with Glowing Heart I'd Praise Thee." The author of "The Star-Spangled Banner" died on January 11, 1843.

U.S. — British Accord

After the War of 1812, and after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1814, America and Britain entered a period of greater trust and closer commercial ties.

James Monroe became America's fifth president (1817-1825). America was now more concerned with growth than with her internal politics and squabbles.

There was so much domestic tranquility in the nation at the time that the period of his presidency became known as the "Era of Good Feeling."

In 1818, the two nations agreed to a permanent boundary between the U.S. and Canada at the 49th parallel, beginning from the Lake of the Woods (on the north border of Minnesota) and extending west to the Continental Divide. Britain and America also amicably agreed to a joint occupation of the Oregon Territory west of the Rocky Mountains. This territory included parts of western America as well as western Canada.

With France humbled in defeat in Europe, America did not have to worry about French interference in the continent. But the U.S. still had to concern herself with Spain, who owned the Floridas (east and west) and controlled most of the southwest portion of America.

In 1818, a crisis was precipitated with Spain by a remarkable escapade of the hero of New Orleans, Andrew Jackson, the military commander of the Southern Department of the Army.

General Andrew Jackson, in hot pursuit of Seminole Indians who had raided into Alabama, burst across the border into Spanish Florida. When the marauding Indians sought protection in Spanish Florida, General Jackson stormed and captured Spanish forts at St. Marks and Pensacola.

During this escapade, Jackson captured two British citizens who were trading with the Indians (presumably supplying them with munitions), tried them by court martial and executed them. Their execution provoked both the British and the Spanish. President Monroe promptly disavowed the military invasion of Florida by Jackson, and he also disapproved of Jackson's assumption of jurisdiction over British citizens on Spanish soil.

The Florida Purchase

But the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, who was then conducting tedious negotiations with the Ambassador of Spain concerning the border between Louisiana and Texas saw this as a golden opportunity to be exploited.

Adams sent a belligerent note to the Spanish in which he warned them to keep their Indians under strict control, or suffer the consequences. The consequences being that General Jackson might just be unleashed on them again. Secretary Adams then concluded his note with an offer to purchase Florida from the Spanish.

Spain seems to have recognized that Florida had become little more than a very expensive hostage to American expansionism. Spain, therefore, resolved to give up Florida (at a price) in exchange for a definite boundary in the West which would prevent any further invasions by rambunctious American frontiersmen. Adams countered by offering, on behalf of the U.S., to abandon all our claims to Texas in exchange for a line to the Pacific.

Spain agreed, and the Adams-Onís Treaty (or Transcontinental Treaty) was signed by America and Spain in February 1819. America agreed to purchase Florida from Spain for \$5 million. This treaty clearly defined the U.S. boundary in the west — from the mouth of the Sabine River, up the Red River of Texas, the 100th meridian, the Arkansas River, the Continental Divide, and then the boundary was to follow the 42nd parallel west to the Pacific Ocean.

This Transcontinental Treaty with Spain greatly strengthened America's claims to the Pacific. Also, her acquisition of Florida consolidated American territory east of the Mississippi.

The energetic nation was still bursting at the seams. Would her dynamic peoples, imbued with the spirit of adventure, exploration, and ever seeking new frontiers, be able to be contained within these limits of the United States? Not for long.

The Monroe Doctrine

Perhaps the most important foreign policy statement the U.S. ever made was given by President James Monroe. But one cannot understand his enunciation of American foreign policy without a grasp of political developments in Europe and in the Americas at the time when he enunciated his now-famous "Monroe Doctrine."

After the defeat of Napoleon in 1814-1815, most of the Latin American colonies took advantage of the general turmoil in the mother countries in Europe, and sought their complete independence.

By the year 1821, Mexico had won her independence, and most of the other Central and South American colonial territories had also gained their independence, and had either become republics, or were well on the way.

During the delicate Spanish-American negotiations in 1818 and 1819, American leaders felt they should tread softly in expressing their feelings toward Spain and her Spanish colonies in South and Central America.

But after the United States purchased Florida in 1819 for \$5 million, her leaders felt they could speak their mind on the subject of European intervention in the western hemisphere. The United States recognized the republics in Mexico and other Latin American countries in the early 1820s.

Meanwhile, in Europe the nations of Russia, Austria and Prussia joined themselves in a "Holy Alliance" to protect and restore any or all of the monarchies of Europe which were endangered by the "virus of republicanism." They joined forces to "put an end to the system of representative government, in whatever country it may exist in Europe."

After Napoleon's downfall in 1815, the monarchy was restored in Spain, and it appeared that the Holy Alliance might also try to restore Spanish authority in her American colonies in Central and South America as well.

This prospect alarmed both Britain and America. For Britain had profited from trade with the former Spanish colonies once they broke away from Spain and became separate republics. The British Foreign Minister, George Canning, proposed that Great Britain and the U.S. issue a joint warning to European nations bent on aggression in the Americas.

The idea of a joint Anglo-American alliance to oppose the "Holy Alliance" at first appealed to President Monroe. Ex-Presidents Madison and Jefferson endorsed the idea. Jefferson argued: [With Great Britain] "on our side, we need not fear the whole world."

But President Monroe's influential Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, had a different, and presumably better, idea. He reasoned that the United States ought not "come in as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war." He urged that the U.S. should make its own declaration. Regardless of whether America joined Britain in a joint declaration, Adams reasoned, Britain would surely use her sea power to prevent European intervention in the Americas. The U.S. would have the advantages of joint action, without entangling herself in a foreign alliance with Britain. Furthermore, he argued, if America made her own separate declaration, this would mean that such a policy declaration enunciated by the U.S. could apply to Great Britain, as well as to the other countries of Europe.

President Monroe was persuaded by Adam's logic, and decided to make a foreign policy statement to this effect, when he spoke to Congress in his State of the Union message on December 30, 1823. In that message President Monroe explained that there were three points which America planned to follow. They were: 1) the U.S. would not intervene in strictly European affairs; 2) there should be no further European colonization in the Americas, or meddling in their affairs; and 3) Europe should not interfere in the political lives of the governments of the New World.

These were strong words. In effect, the U.S. said she would in the future guarantee the sovereignty of all countries in the New World, and warned other nations to *keep out!* America was the new giant (the "Colossus to the North") in the Western Hemisphere who would be the sole arbiter in all their disputes.

Though the U.S. was willing to tolerate any existing colonies in the New World, the U.S., according to President Monroe, would not tolerate the founding of any more colonies in either North or South America; and America would not allow the transfer of colonies from one European nation to another.

Any European intervention in the New World would be looked upon as an unfriendly act.

Here are President Monroe's own words, delivered in his annual message to Congress on December 2, 1823:

We owe it to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers (Europeans) to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments

who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. . . .

President Monroe then went on to further expand this new foreign policy statement of the United States: “. . . It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent (North or South America) without endangering our peace and happiness. . . . It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. . . . It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.”

This “Monroe Doctrine” reflected the thinking of a substantial and influential segment in the American political arena of the time. After its enunciation, the “Monroe Doctrine” became the cornerstone of American foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere.

There was a certain amount of *idealism* embodied in this “Monroe Doctrine.” The United States had thrown off what it considered to be the tyrannical yoke of British imperialism, and she had been able to stand on her own two feet and had prospered. It was hoped and believed that the new American republics which had recently declared themselves independent of their mother countries in Europe would also prosper if the European powers didn’t meddle in their internal affairs.

There were undoubtedly some selfish motives behind this new doctrine as well. The United States had come of age. (However, she was still not yet big and powerful enough to feel she could withstand the political or military pressures of the more powerful European nations — should they seek to interfere in the Western Hemisphere.)

The nations of Central and South America had taken a leaf from the American Book of Independence, and they had even patterned their republics, at least to a degree, after the pattern in the U.S. Constitution. America naturally hoped the Latin Americans would prove that the form of republican, democratic government which they had espoused would be able to survive and even thrive in Latin America.

Presidents Polk and Teddy Roosevelt would later further amplify the “Monroe Doctrine” and apply it in real life situations in Central and South America and especially in the islands of the Caribbean.

The Russian Bear Enters California

Although it is generally known that Russia once owned Alaska, and sold this valuable property to the United States for a pittance a few

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

THE SENATE and House of Representatives of the United States have by a joint resolution signified their desire that a day may be recommended to be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnity as a day of thanksgiving and of devout acknowledgments to Almighty God for His great goodness manifested in restoring to them the blessing of peace.

No people ought to feel greater obligations to celebrate the goodness of the Great Disposer of Events and of the Destiny of Nations than the people of the United States. His kind providence originally conducted them to one of the best portions of the dwelling place allotted for the great family of the human race. He protected and cherished them under all the difficulties and trials to which they were exposed in their early days. Under His fostering care their habits, their sentiments, and their pursuits prepared them for a transition in due time to a state of independence and self-government. In the arduous struggle by which it was attained they were distinguished by multiplied tokens of His benign interposition. During the interval which succeeded He reared them into the strength and endowed them with the resources which have enabled them to assert their national rights and to enhance their national character in another arduous conflict, which is now so happily terminated by a peace and reconciliation with those who have been our enemies. And to the same Divine Author of Every Good and Perfect Gift we are indebted for all those privileges and advantages, religious as well as civil, which are so richly enjoyed in this favored land.

It is for blessings such as these, and more especially for the restoration of the blessing of peace, that I now recommend that the second Thursday in April next be set apart as a day on which the people of every religious denomination may in their solemn assemblies unite their hearts and their voices in a freewill offering to their Heavenly Benefactor of their homage of thanksgiving and of their songs of praise.

Given at the city of Washington on the 4th day of March, A.D. 1815, and of the Independence of the United States the thirty-ninth.

JAMES MADISON.

years after the Civil War, it isn't widely realized that the Russians had also penetrated far south of Alaska. They had, in fact, explored what is now western Canada, claiming the region for Russia, and had reached the west coast of California.

By the late 1700s the Russian-American Fur Company had been established on the Aleutian Islands and on the coast of Alaska. These colonies yielded rich profits in furs, but they lacked the necessary trade connections by which to obtain vital items of food and other necessary supplies.

For the solution to their problem, the Russians began to cast their eyes southward — looking to northern California where the warmer climate would make food production feasible.

In 1806, Count Nikolai Rezanov, the Czar's chamberlain, sailed to San Francisco to seek negotiations with the Spanish officials. Rezanov well knew that the Spanish officials were forbidden to trade with foreigners. His trip to northern California was undoubtedly tainted with political ambitions for Russia. His ultimate purpose was to establish a Russian colony in the area north of San Francisco. His untimely death prevented his establishing a colony in California.

But his friend and companion, Ivan A. Kuskov, was able to carry out Rezanov's plan. In 1809, Kuskov sailed from Sitka in Alaska down to Northern California in order to make temporary settlements. One was made at Salmon Creek Valley (about 6 miles inland) and another at Bodega Bay.

The Russians sowed and in August they harvested a bountiful crop of wheat, and took the precious store and 2,000 otter skins with them back to Alaska.

In 1811, Kuskov again came to California as governor of the permanent settlements which Russia planned to establish in northern California.

There is no proof that Kuskov went through any ceremony of taking formal possession of any territory on behalf of Russia, yet he did make settlements at Kuskov, in Salmon Creek Valley, and in 1812, at Fort Ross, 12 miles north of the mouth of the Russian River.

The Russians strengthened their settlements. Fort Ross was strongly fortified, and Russian flags flew over it and other forts in the area. Title to the surrounding territory had been obtained from the Indians who inhabited that region of California.

All of the Russian settlements flourished, but it was Fort Ross which became the real center of Russian activities in northern California. The name Ross, selected from lots placed at the base of an image of Christ, was bestowed upon the settlement when it was dedicated on September 11, 1812. It is an obsolete, poetical name for "Russians."

It must be remembered that at the time of the dedication of Fort

Ross in 1812, the Christian Russians were communicants of the Greek Orthodox Church. That explains why the name was "selected from lots placed at the base of an image of Christ."

A considerable trade was carried on between the Russian settlements in northern California and their Spanish neighbors between 1810 and 1822. Though officially prohibited, the Spanish officials winked at this Russian-Spanish trade. Each wanted articles of trade which the other possessed. The Russians and Spaniards seem to have gotten along remarkably well during this period.

But Spanish officials feared the Russian advance in northern California, and this seems to have spurred Spanish authorities into exploring and settling the regions north of San Francisco Bay, in what are now Marin, Sonoma and Solano counties.

America Warns the Russians

When President Monroe enunciated the "Monroe Doctrine" in December, 1823, the U.S. President was not only thinking about the newly liberated Spanish colonies in South and Central America.

President Monroe undoubtedly also had in mind the growing threat of the spreading Russian colonies in North America when he announced the now-famous Monroe Doctrine. Fort Ross in Alta California presented a real challenge to future American expansion toward the Pacific — America's "manifest destiny." Fort Ross was highly fortified. It had high palisades, and was protected by cannon. (Some of them were said to have been left in Russia by Napoleon's retreating Grand Army in the winter of 1812). The palisades were built of heavy redwood timbers, and mounted with these cannon, and there were two blockhouses, surmounting the corners of the palisade facing the sea toward the southwest, and the land on the northeast corners.

When Fort Ross was first dedicated in 1812, there were only about 100 Russians plus about 80 Aleuts. The Russian settlement never attained a population of more than 400.

President Monroe's warning, given in 1823, seems to have helped the Russians decide to pack up and leave. Russia agreed, in 1824, to limit all future settlements to Alaska. Even so, the Russians continued in the Fort Ross area nearly 20 more years.

In 1829 the Russians received official orders from Russia for their complete withdrawal from all colonies in California. By that time nearly all the sea otter had been exterminated by the Russians. This left the farming community as the only going operation in the settlements.

In 1841, the Russians sold their entire properties in the area to Johann August Sutter of New Helvetia (Sacramento) for \$30,000, and returned to Alaska.

John Quincy Adams

John Quincy Adams served as America's next President (1825-1829). The years of his presidency proved to be uneventful. Adams believed in a strong national government, proposed certain internal improvements, and also advocated a stronger U.S. navy. But he did not distinguish himself as a strong president. However, he had been a very good secretary of state.

Hero of New Orleans

Flamboyant Andrew Jackson became America's next President (1829-1837). Jackson was a very decisive man. He did not believe in compromise. He had been the hero of the battle of New Orleans in the War of 1812, and had also taught the Seminoles and the Spanish a lesson by chasing the Indians from Alabama back into Spanish Florida.

Jackson's slogan, "Let the People Rule," expressed the mood of the people whom he represented. It is said that when he moved into the White House, that all of his backwoods friends, relatives and acquaintances flocked to the nation's capital. And they are even said to have scarred the White House furniture with their boots in their wild celebrations along with their hero.

It was during Jackson's presidency that a serious challenge to the national government occurred. In 1828, Congress voted tariff duties in a bill which was supported by many of the states outside the South. The Southerners opposed this "Tariff of Abominations" because they considered it injurious to their economy.

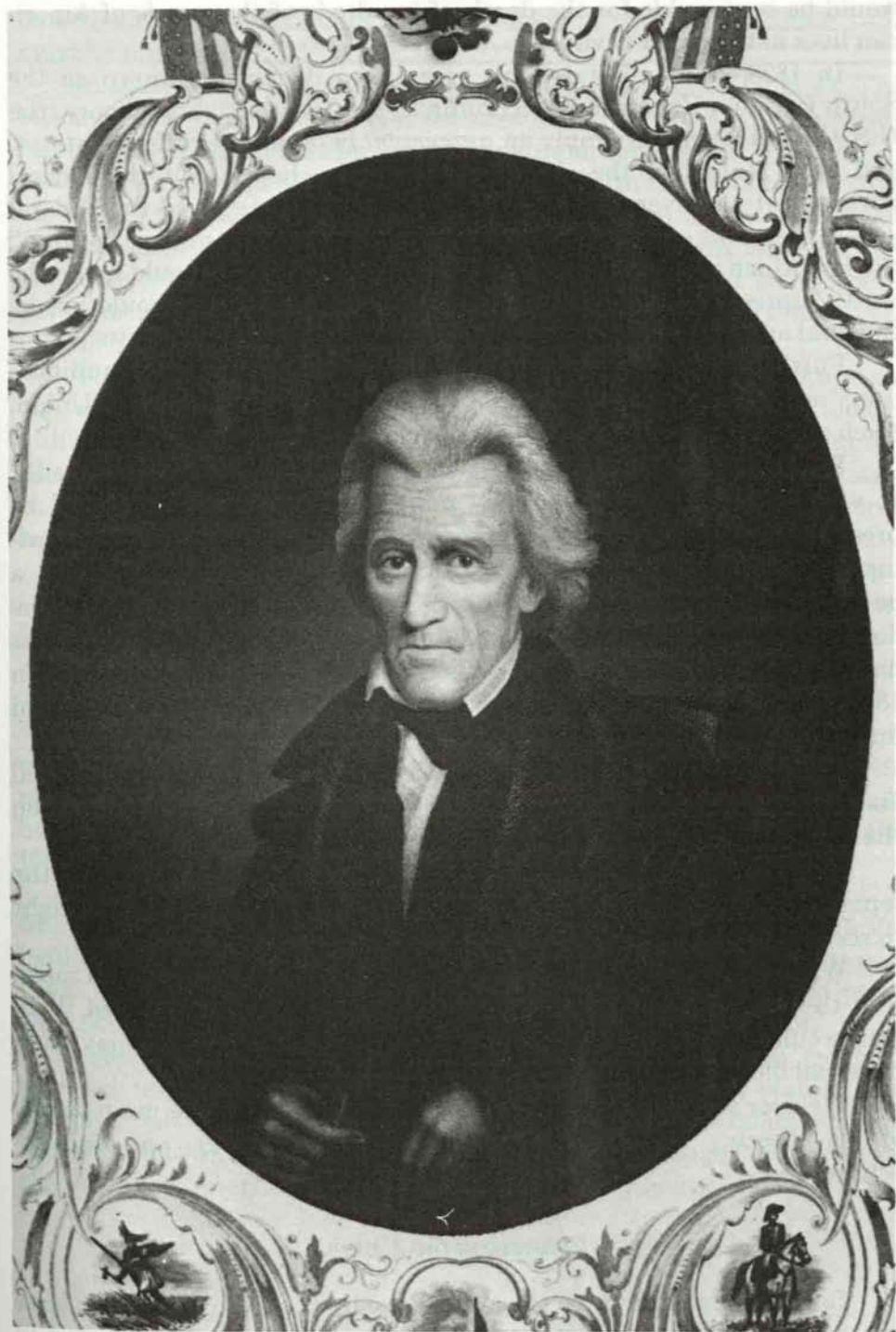
South Carolina's fiery John C. Calhoun strongly asserted that each state had the right to nullify, or totally abolish, the law within its own state.

But there were many who didn't believe that individual states had the right or power, according to the U.S. Constitution, to nullify federal laws within their own states. One of the champions of the federal power over the states was Daniel Webster. He was a powerful orator, and is said to have looked and spoken like God.

Webster argued powerfully that the national government had full sovereign powers in the area of tariffs and other fields, and that any act that weakened the Union was a high crime against the American Republic.

The North was accused of trying to dominate the South, and the Southerners were especially apprehensive that the North might try to interfere with (or even abolish) their "peculiar institution of slavery."

John C. Calhoun became the chief exponent of the "states' rights" theory of the Constitution. This theory, within a few more decades,



Andrew Jackson, "Old Hickory," won fame at the battle of New Orleans. He was America's seventh president. — *American Stock Photos*

would be responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of American lives in the bitter Civil War.

In 1828, Calhoun stated his views in a document known as the South Carolina Exposition. According to the "states' rights" theory, the U.S. Constitution was simply an *agreement* between the different states, and each state had the right to determine when it felt the federal government was overstepping its powers. If a state believed the Federal government was exceeding its powers, then it could "annul" or "nullify" the law which it felt was unconstitutional. In effect this would make the states supreme, and would mean that the Supreme Court would not be the final arbiter in interpreting the Constitution and all U.S. laws.

Furthermore, argued Calhoun, in addition to the right of "nullification," each state had the inherent right to *withdraw* from the Union. Each state had the right of "secession."

But this was dangerous stuff. If each state had the right to "secede" at will, there could never be any guarantee that the Union could be preserved. There would always be the ever present danger that a dissenting state would simply withdraw from the Union at will. And such a policy could and would seriously disrupt the union. It would disturb the domestic tranquility of the nation — and could in fact, lead to serious differences and to outright war. This is actually what later happened in 1860 and 1861 when a number of states seceded from the Union and formed a separate Confederacy.

In the famous Webster-Hayne Debate of 1830, Webster refuted Hayne's view that the Constitution was merely an *agreement* between the states which each state could *break* when it so willed.

Daniel Webster maintained that the Union was made, not by the separate states, but by the people; therefore, no state had the legal right to secede.

What would secession of the individual states mean? It would mean that the Union would be wrecked beyond repair, and this, argued Webster, would mean "a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched it may be in fraternal blood."

Webster's final words during the debate underline the main theme of his speech: "*Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.*"

Preserving the Union

John C. Calhoun was the Vice-President at the time. He gave Jackson a birthday banquet, and he hoped Jackson would come out in favor of his states' rights views.

But when Jackson was called upon to propose a toast, he rose,

looked directly at Calhoun, and proposed: "Our Federal Union — it must be preserved."

In 1832, Henry Clay introduced a new tariff bill into Congress. This bill abolished some of the worst features of the Tariff of Abominations, but it still left high duties on imported manufactured goods.

It was then that a special convention in South Carolina passed what was called the "Ordinance of Nullification." This ordinance stated that the new tariff was not to be law, and any duties which it imposed were not to be collected in South Carolina. It also declared that if the federal government tried to collect them, the state would simply leave the Union.

This was open defiance of the law! President Jackson gave a vigorous reply to this defiant act. He proclaimed that the whole idea of nullification was wrong, and he warned the people of South Carolina that, if need be, he was fully determined to send troops into their state to preserve the Union. President Jackson promised to hang Calhoun if he led South Carolina into seceding from the Union.

Fortunately a head-on collision between federal and state authority was avoided. For in 1833 a new U.S. tariff act was passed which provided for a gradual reduction of all rates of duties. South Carolina then repealed her Ordinance of Nullification, and the secession crisis was over — at least for the present.

But the idea of the states' right to secede from the Union at any time they chose, and do their own thing had been planted firmly in the minds of many Southerners. This same issue would soon raise its ugly head again and result in the biggest fraternal bloodletting which this Union had ever experienced.

For the time being, however, the storm had abated, and the U.S. would have almost thirty years of comparative domestic tranquility before the full fury of the secession issue would spill over into the ugly Civil War — a bloody war in which brother fought brother to prove whether or not the states had the right to secede from the Union.

President Jackson believed that the opposition to the federally imposed tariff was merely an excuse for nullification. He stated, with uncanny gift of prophecy, that the real object of Calhoun and his followers was secession, and then, with uncanny foresight, he predicted that the "next pretext will be the negro, or slavery, question."

Jackson's Policy Toward the Indians

President Andrew Jackson was what many would describe as a man's man. He was tough as bootleather. "Old Hickory," as he was called, had been through many hardships during his life. His father died when he was two years old. At thirteen, Andrew became a soldier, was

captured in a skirmish, and was scarred for life by a fierce saber blow from a British officer. At fourteen Jackson was an orphan — with no surviving brothers or sisters. He studied law, and finally became a country judge.

Much of Jackson's life, however, was spent protecting new settlements in Mississippi and Florida from Indian attacks. He learned to be wary of the Indians, for, on more than one occasion, he had seen what savage Indian tribes had done. He and his companions had learned to take their rest back to back with their rifles cocked, ready for action, just in case they should be attacked by the Indians.

His natural distrust and suspicion of the red men was only inflamed by finding in their possession British-made rifles which had killed his men. Britain's alliance with the Indians in the short War of 1812 only hardened his feelings both toward the British and the Indians.

When Andrew Jackson became President, he decided to take care of the "Indian problem" east of the Mississippi once and for all.

In 1830, the states of Mississippi, Georgia and Alabama outlawed the tribal kingdoms of the Indians, and President Jackson ram-rodged a bill through Congress ordering all Indian tribes, whether hunters or farmers, peaceable or warlike, to be moved west of the Mississippi.

The Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws and Cherokees were all to be moved out west to reservations.

Their Indian chiefs appealed to the Supreme Court, then presided over by John Marshall. Marshall upheld their claim, that there was no constitutional right to remove them from their native lands. But President Jackson merely called his decision "too preposterous" and continued to see that they were moved across the Mississippi. He simply ignored the Supreme Court decision and ordered the U.S. Army to "get them out."

The removal of many thousands of Indians from their eastern ancestral lands to reservations in the west was a traumatic experience. Thirty thousand Cherokees trod this "trail of tears" and were coaxed, or if reluctant, were chained and driven as far west as Oklahoma. Along the way, a quarter of them died.

Before passing too severe judgment on this Presidential decision to have the Indians removed, it might be well to reflect on what prompted it.

There had been distrust, suspicion and bloodshed between the Indian tribes and the white settlers ever since Jamestown was settled in 1607. Andrew Jackson himself had had to drive back marauding Indian tribes from white settlements, and had seen the death, the destruction and anguish which followed in the wake of savage Indian attacks.

Even though his act of removing the Indian tribes to the west of the Mississippi was judged to have been unconstitutional, yet it may have saved much bloodshed and suffering in the long run.

In his book, *The American People*, Bernard A. Weisberger makes this significant statement regarding the treatment of the "red man" by the white European settlers of North America:

"When the Israelites found their way into the Promised Land, their program for dealing with the local inhabitants was simple and approved by God. They slew the natives or drove them from the choicest spots. The European settlers in America applied something of the same human-relations technique to the 'inferior' Indians, but when they dealt with white predecessors they did not consider that they had such an option — at least, not often. . . ."

It has been argued that when the Indians were put securely on reservations, there was much less friction, bloodshed and strife between them and the white settlers than before. No one, however, will defend the many injustices which were inflicted upon the Indians. Broken treaties, cruel and inhuman treatment, deprivation of land, changing reservations — these were all too common in our early history.

“Manifest Destiny”

Never in the history of any nation has a country acquired so much valuable land in such a short period of time as the U.S. acquired during a seventy year period from 1783 to 1853!

When America declared her independence from Britain in 1776, she didn't yet legally own one square foot of land in North America. It was still not known whether Britain would win that war, and therefore would refuse to grant America a title to land in North America.

But, after suffering military defeat in America, Britain offered the United States a very generous settlement — all the land between Canada and Florida east of the Mississippi. This vast stretch of land was granted to the U.S. in 1783 by the terms of the Treaty of Paris. And from 1783 until 1853 — a period of exactly 70 years — America was to acquire all of the rest of what now constitutes the original 48 contiguous states.

How did this great expansion take place?

Trouble in Texas

Martin van Buren became America's eighth President (1837-41). His administration wasn't very eventful.

William Henry Harrison succeeded him in office (1841), but he suffered from poor health and *died one month after taking office*.

John Tyler (1841-45) served as president during a comparatively uneventful time in U.S. history. During his term in office, the slavery issue was again beginning to make trouble in the nation. At this time the question of the annexation of Texas frustrated America. This, too, was tied in with the *slavery* issue. The slave states (mainly in the South) wanted Texas to be admitted as a slave state, whereas the northern states opposed slavery and wanted Texas to be admitted to the Union only as a free state. This vexatious problem was soon to boil over.

How did Texas become a state?

Mexico won its independence from Spain, and became a republic in 1821. The President of Mexico, Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, invited Americans into Texas to help develop the territory. American speculators gladly agreed to settle large tracts of land.

Stephen F. Austin was the first who, in 1821, received a grant to settle 300 families on the Colorado River.

Shortly afterward, a "Texas fever" developed — as thousands of southeasterners moved with their slaves to the new cotton lands of east Texas. The Mexican government winked at the American's use of slaves.

Within ten years there were about 30,000 Americans in Texas and only about 3,500 Mexicans. Friction began to develop when the Americans demanded greater representation, and also when the Mexican government sought to abolish slavery.

Serious disagreements led to growing bitterness and this enmity flared up into a full-scale revolution when Santa Anna decided to strengthen his garrison in Texas.

By this time, Texas, with so many Americans, quite naturally felt a stronger tie with the U.S. than with the Republic of Mexico. The fact that the Florida Treaty of 1819 (between the U.S. and Mexico) had given up all claim to Texas made no difference so far as these Texans were concerned.

When President Santa Anna decided to strengthen his control over Texas, the Texans replied by declaring themselves independent.

At that critical point, the Texans decided to take matters into their own hands. Their leaders met at San Felipe on November 3, and formed a provisional government. The Texans captured San Antonio from the Mexicans in December, 1835. The Mexicans promptly agreed to withdraw into Mexico. All seemed to be going well for the Americans up to this point. But tragedy was soon to strike.

The Alamo Massacre

Mexico's dictator, Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, recaptured San Antonio on March 2, 1836. Even so, a small number of defenders in the doomed city stubbornly resisted, and determined not to surrender to the despised dictator. At this point, Texans meeting at Washington-on-the-Brazos declared their independence and promptly established the Republic of Texas. They elected David G. Burnet provisional president. Sam Houston was given command of the army. (He was a former U.S. Congressman and governor of Tennessee, and was Texas's most remarkable figure).

When Santa Anna realized that the Texans had declared their independence from Mexico, this only stiffened his resolve to bring the rebels to heel. He would teach them a lesson or two which they would never forget — at least that's what he thought.

Santa Anna and his army of about 4,000 Mexicans began their siege of the Alamo on February 23. At that time the Alamo was defended by only 150 men, including the renowned Davy Crockett, James Bowie and Col. William B. Travis, the commander. A badly needed reinforcement of 32 men succeeded in slipping through Santa Anna's lines on March 1,

but further help was prevented from reaching the Alamo — mainly through confusion, dissension and ineptness of the provisional government.

Before the assault on the Alamo, the Mexican dictator Santa Anna ordered that no prisoners be taken. The defenders, however, stoutly defied Santa Anna's demands for surrender. They were hopelessly outnumbered and were now running out of ammunition. The siege which commenced in February continued on through the early days of March. By the 5th, the besieged garrison in the Alamo couldn't return Mexican fire simply because ammunition was low. This convinced Santa Anna that the fort could be successfully assaulted. He decided to attack the Alamo in the early hours of the morning of March 6th. On that fateful morning, the Mexicans finally succeeded in scaling the strong walls and stormed through a breach in the outer wall of the courtyard of the Alamo.

But the Texans had determined that they would fight to the death rather than surrender to the Mexican dictator. After running out of ammunition, the defenders used their muskets as clubs and fought until all but six of them were dead.

Santa Anna, in no mood to show pity, promptly ordered the six remaining defenders executed. Some historians say Davy Crockett was one of the six. What is certain however is that both of America's border heroes Davy Crockett and James Bowie died in the Alamo slaughter.

No male defenders of the Alamo survived. The only survivors of that fierce battle were Mrs. Dickinson (the wife of an officer), her baby, her Mexican nurse and a Negro boy.

At 8 a.m. Santa Anna reported the Mexican victory to his government. But he had paid a very heavy price in his battle to subdue the 180-odd defenders of the Alamo. By the time the last of the doomed defenders perished in hand-to-hand fighting, Santa Anna and his army had lost between 1,000 and 6,000 badly needed men. This costly victory would lose Texas for Santa Anna, for not only did he lose from 1,000 to 6,000 of his soldiers, he also lost time. He was delayed long enough to give Sam Houston badly needed time to perfect plans for the defense of the Americans living in Texas. To this day, the Alamo is a defiant symbol of the Texans' heroic stand in the cause of freedom.

After the fall of the Alamo, Col. James W. Fannin, commanding 300 men at Goliad, was ordered to retreat. While retreating, his army was overtaken by the Mexicans on the afternoon of March 19. After a hopeless battle, his greatly outnumbered army was forced to surrender. The Texans were returned to Goliad. But on March 27, under direct orders from Santa Anna, Fannin's entire force was mercilessly slaughtered in cold blood.

The bloody battle at the Alamo and the Goliad massacre gave the

Texans two impassioned battle cries. "Remember the Alamo!" and "Remember Goliad!" resounded across the Jacinto River when they met the Mexican army for the last time. The enraged Americans were now looking for Mexican scalps. A brief, bizarre climax to the revolution — the battle of San Jacinto — was fought on April 21, on the banks of the San Jacinto River, near present-day Houston. After long, weary days of retreat, General Sam Houston turned on his Mexican pursuers and routed their entire army. Houston's outstanding victory was the result of a brilliant tactical maneuver in which he surprised the sleepy Mexicans during their afternoon siesta. In all, about six hundred Mexicans were killed and two hundred wounded during the brief twenty-minute battle at San Jacinto.

San Houston's army also captured Santa Anna and 700 others within a 24-hour period. Fewer than a dozen Mexicans escaped. Of about 800 Texans who took part in the battle, only nine were killed and 30 wounded.

Santa Anna was freed — after first being forced by Sam Houston to sign a treaty granting Texas her independence.

The Texans then drew up their own constitution, patterned on that of the U.S., and promptly applied for admission to the Union. Though President Jackson was sympathetic to Texas, he wanted to avoid conflict with Mexico. Texas was denied admission to the Union at that time. Andrew Jackson did, however, officially recognize the Lone Star Republic, as Texas was called because its flag had but one star, in 1837. For years afterward, Texans sought admission into the Union, but were repeatedly denied, partly because of the slavery issue. Many Texans had slaves, and if Texas joined the Union as a slave state, this would upset the states which opposed slavery.

After Texas became an independent republic in 1836, a new wave of immigrants flooded in. By 1844, there were about 140,000 Americans living in Texas, and they were still clamoring for annexation.

Annexation of Texas

James Knox Polk became America's eleventh President (1845-9). Under his presidency, the U.S. expanded its territory immensely.

In June 15, 1845, Texas was finally assured of U.S. protection if she agreed to annexation. General Zachary Taylor gave tangible evidence of this U.S. protection when he was ordered to defend a line "on or near the Rio Grande."

On November 10th, John Slidell was sent to Mexico by President Polk as minister plenipotentiary to restore, if possible, peaceful relations between the U.S. and Mexico. But the Mexican government officials refused to see him.

Relations between America and Mexico were by now seriously strained. The U.S. decided to go ahead and admit Texas to the Union. On December 29th, 1845, the Lone Star Republic was admitted to the Union, as the twenty-eighth state.

But war clouds were gathering over the U.S.-Mexican border. War between the U.S. and Mexico was now imminent!

The Oregon Territory

President Polk was able to settle peacefully the Anglo-American dispute over the Oregon Territory. The U.S. claimed territory as far north as British Columbia, and Britain claimed the Washington and Oregon territory.

A treaty between Britain and the U.S. had been signed in 1818, and renewed indefinitely in 1828, providing for the joint occupation of the Oregon Country west of the Rocky Mountains between 42° and 54° 40' N. latitude.

But British subjects had spilled over the 49th parallel into what is now U.S. territory, and Americans had crossed this same parallel and established themselves in what is now Canadian territory.

The only settlement in the region before the 1830s was the British Hudson's Bay Company outpost at Fort Vancouver.

American settlements in the Oregon Territory were stimulated by the glowing reports of merchants, and of missionaries who had established a Presbyterian mission in the Willamette Valley in 1835.

The seventy-eight year old ex-President, John Quincy Adams waxed ecstatic about the Oregon Territory. He said that the United States, which claimed all the Oregon Country, planned to "make the wilderness blossom as the rose, to establish laws, to increase, multiply, and subdue the earth, which we are commanded to do by the first behest of Almighty God."

A depression after 1837 stimulated the "Oregon fever" and launched an endless train of covered wagons which followed the Oregon Trail up the Platte River, across the plains, and on across the mountains at the South Pass, and which finally made their way down the Snake River to the Columbia River, where they settled, mostly in the Willamette Valley.

There were about 5,000 Americans in the area south of the Columbia River by 1845. By this time, the settlers were already agitating for admission to the Union.

When James K. Polk campaigned for the Presidency in 1844, his slogan was "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." Many Americans wanted to take by force all the Oregon Territory, including most of Western Canada. But after he became President, it appeared to both the U.S. and to

Britain that it would be far better to negotiate their differences, rather than coming to blows over their Oregon Territory claims.

In the end the U.S. and Britain both had to do some compromising. Britain and America finally agreed to settle their border on the 49th parallel which ran between the U.S. and British Northwest Territory. All territory north would be British, and all to the south would be American — except Vancouver Island. It was agreed that Vancouver Island would remain under the British flag.

The Oregon Treaty was signed on June 14th, 1846. The United States was given legal title to all of the territory south of 49° N. latitude comprising Idaho, Oregon, Washington, and parts of Montana and Wyoming.

America Coveted More Land

The United States had by now rapidly expanded from the original thirteen States on the eastern seaboard across the broad expanse of the entire North American continent!

With the U.S. acquisition of the Oregon Territory in 1846, America now stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific along the 49th parallel in the north. And with the annexation of Texas in 1845, American territory now reached well beyond the Mississippi River into the *southwestern* part of the continent.

But there was still a sizable chunk of North American real estate which the U.S. coveted, and which she somehow seemed to feel she was *destined* to possess. There was, however, a problem. Mexico happened to hold title to this vast area in 1846.

Would the American eagle be content to settle down on the territory which the U.S. had already acquired and cease to nourish any further expansionist ideas?

Or would the seemingly boundless energy of the restless Americans soon spill over into the Mexican-held territory of California? This question worried America's neighbor south of the border.

"Sea to Sea" Grants

What were some of the factors which contributed to America's persistent expansionist ideas?

When the original Thirteen Colonies were granted royal charters by the British Crown, about half of them had been given "sea to sea" grants.

Royal grants giving "sea to sea" rights (from the Atlantic to the Pacific) had been given to Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia.

These colonies felt they had claims from the Atlantic to the Pacific, though they didn't realize at first just how far away the Pacific Ocean really was. In actual practice, these grants only extended to the Mississippi River, since France and Spain claimed all of the land West of the Mississippi during America's early history.

When Britain ousted the French from North America in 1763, France ceded to Britain all of her New World territory in Canada, and all of the land between Canada and Florida, east of the Mississippi.

After the signing of the Treaty of Paris, Britain prohibited the American colonists in the Thirteen Colonies to advance further west than the Appalachian (or Allegheny) Mountains. She did this so that the Indians would not be further provoked into hostilities with the *British* colonies in eastern America.

But Britain might just as well have tried to stop the tides as to hold back the restless, energetic, adventuresome American frontiersmen behind the Appalachian Mountains. They were determined to venture to the west of those mountains, and neither British decrees nor Indian attacks could prevent their westward expansion.

The 49th Parallel

In 1818 America and Britain agreed that the U.S.-Canadian border should be settled at the 49th parallel — from the Lake of the Woods in Minnesota's northern border to the Continental Divide in the west.

This Anglo-American treaty also allowed America and Britain to jointly occupy the Oregon Country west of the Rockies (between 42° and 54° 40' N. latitudes).

America now had a window on the Pacific! Was it not just a matter of time until the U.S. would possess all the territory south of the 49th parallel to the Rio Grande River — between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans?

Belief in “Manifest Destiny”

During the 1840s, the idea of America's “Manifest Destiny” swept the nation like a religious revival.

John L. O'Sullivan was the first to join together the words “manifest” and “destiny” in a magazine article in 1845. These words were soon taken up by other writers and also by politicians who used them as a ringing slogan to further their expansionist aims of extending America's dominion “*from sea to shining sea.*”

O'Sullivan, writing in *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, prophesied of “the fulfillment of *our manifest destiny to over-*

spread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions."

Impatient with those who didn't want America to take immediate possession of the Oregon Territory, O'Sullivan, in 1845, urged Americans to action: "Away, away with all those cobweb tissues of rights of discovery, exploration, settlement, continuity, etc."

He argued that America's claim to this additional territory was "the right of *our manifest destiny to overspread* and possess the whole of the continent which *Providence has given us for the development of liberty and federative self-government.*"

O'Sullivan believed that Britain would not, or at least should not, settle Oregon, but in noble American hands "it must fast fill in with a population destined to establish . . . a noble young empire of the Pacific."

When trouble began brewing with Mexico, and the public clamored to annex Texas, O'Sullivan again invoked Manifest Destiny. In December, 1845, writing in the *New York Morning News*, O'Sullivan argued for the annexation of Texas.

The idea of America's Manifest Destiny was invoked in support of the annexation of Texas in 1845, the gaining control of the Oregon Territory (settled by U.S. Anglo-American Treaty in 1846), and in support of the war with Mexico in 1846 — so America could seize the southwest territory of California, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico.

An Expansionist President

So when James K. Polk was inaugurated on March 4th, 1845 as America's 11th President, he determined to play a decisive role in seeing to it that America fulfilled her Manifest Destiny of acquiring control of all of the American continent from "sea to sea."

Actually, President Polk (at 50, the youngest President the U.S. had ever had) only reflected the militant spirit of the war hawks who sought immediate possession of the Oregon Territory.

President Polk quickly approved the long-delayed annexation of Texas in 1845, and then endorsed the dividing of the Oregon Territory at the 49th parallel between the U.S. and Britain in 1846.

Many believe he was at least partly responsible for engineering the war with Mexico in 1846-48 — for the express purpose of acquiring the southwestern portion of America — thus rounding out America's territorial "needs."

America's Tenuous Claim

Thoughtful Americans were asking themselves whether or not an expansionist war with Mexico should be undertaken on the tenuous claim that the boundary of Texas extended to the Rio Grande.

But some bold Americans even asked: “Should not America acquire all of Mexico?”

There is no question that Americans were in a land-grabbing mood during the 1840s. But did Americans really believe they had been called as “the chosen people” to perform an important mission?

“Overnight the magic words (Manifest Destiny) swept the nation because they expressed the mood of the people in the mid-1840s. More than a land-grabbing expansionism, Manifest Destiny was connected with the *American experiment in government* and the age-old *sense of a mission*. It was the mission of the United States to spread the blessings of *liberty, republican institutions, and the Protestant Church* across the continent. . . .” (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1970 edition).

Mexico was highly offended when America admitted the Republic of Texas into the Union in 1845. Texas’ state boundary with Mexico was ill defined. Both Mexico and the U.S. claimed a large area on the Rio Grande. She had previously warned the U.S. that she would declare war if the U.S. ever annexed Texas.

The annexation of Texas merely brought to a head the deep-seated, mutual distrust, suspicion and enmity which had long simmered between the U.S. and Mexico. The brutal slaughter of the Texans at the Alamo had convinced many Americans that the Mexicans were ruthless brutes.

Then when Mexico severed diplomatic relations with America in 1845, and utterly refused to talk to President Polk’s special emissary, the insult proved to be the final straw that broke the camel’s back.

From Mexico’s point of view, they were stung by the loss of such a valuable piece of property as Texas, and many Mexicans were totally unwilling to grant Texas her independence — much less to recognize U.S. sovereignty over that territory.

Mexican nationalists demanded that America be taught a lesson. And since the U.S. army didn’t do too well in the war of 1812 — had proven itself militarily impotent, having failed to capture Canada — Mexico thought her army would be a match for any force the U.S. could field. At that time the Mexican Army of 40,000 was five times larger than the U.S. Army.

But in spite of this numerical superiority, Mexico hesitated to declare war, until a border dispute finally provided the spark to ignite the Mexican War! The bitter dispute over the *boundary* between Texas and Mexico added enough heat and fuel to the fire to ignite the smoldering ashes of conflict.

As an independent Republic, Texas had claimed the Rio Grande, though the real boundary (when Texas was part of Mexico) had been the Nueces River. Mexico claimed, rightly, that the Texas border had never extended farther than the Nueces River.

But in addition Mexico owed U.S. citizens about \$3 million in compensation for lives and loss of property during Mexico's revolution. Many Americans were demanding that the U.S. collect these debts by force in the 1840s.

On top of all this, there was a growing feeling in America that the country had a Manifest Destiny to expand westward into the Mexican-owned lands. American frontiersmen had already penetrated into California.

At the same time it was clear to many that Mexico was too weak to properly govern her northern territory. Mexicans and Americans living in the California Territory were dissatisfied with the weak government provided from Mexico City. Their discontent mounted, and it appeared that the Californians were almost ready to declare their own independence.

All they needed was the slightest excuse to spark them into doing so.

War With Mexico

When President Polk sent John Slidell to Mexico City as American minister in the fall of 1845, he was authorized to offer to pay Mexico \$25 million, and America would cancel all claims for damages — if Mexico would accept the Rio Grande boundary, and if she would sell New Mexico and California to the United States.

If Mexico utterly refused to sell this territory, Slidell was to offer to cancel all American claims on condition that she agree to the Rio Grande boundary.

Unfortunately, the Mexicans were then in a very weak bargaining position. Mexico was undergoing one of her periodic revolutions and neither the old nor the new president was willing to offer any concessions for fear of being denounced as a coward. The Mexicans flatly refused to see the American minister, who then advised President Polk that Mexico needed to be "chastised."

In the meantime, the U.S. President had ordered Major General Zachary Taylor with his 3,000-man army stationed on the Nueces River to advance to the Rio Grande.

By April, 1846, General Taylor's army was camped near the mouth of the Rio Grande, and this provocative action caused Santa Anna to move his army northward to meet the U.S. challenge. A detachment of Mexican cavalymen crossed the Rio and ambushed a small force of the U.S. Army on April 25th. A week later, the Mexican Army crossed to the north side of the River.

Soon the Mexican and American armies were in mortal combat. On May 8, 1846 Taylor's small army met and defeated the larger Mexican

forces (commanded by General Mariano Arista), about eight miles northeast of Brownsville, Texas. Then, on the 9th, Taylor's 2,300-man army defeated Arista's 5,000-man force in Cameron County, near Brownsville. These two victories opened the way for Taylor to invade Mexico itself.

On May 18th — without waiting for a formal declaration of war — General Taylor invaded Mexico, and occupied Matamoros. He captured Monterrey on September 24th.

America Declares War

News of the May 8th Mexican-American battle reached Washington on May 9th. On May 11th, President Polk asked Congress to declare war on the grounds that Mexico had wantonly “invaded our territory and shed American blood upon the American soil.”

In truth, the first skirmishes occurred on *disputed soil* — soil whose true ownership was then in doubt.

Congress unanimously supported the war, but there were some who suspected this was a southern conspiracy to add Mexico to the U.S. as *slave territory*.

By the end of 1846, General Taylor had occupied Victoria and Saltillo, and had secured northeastern Mexico under American control.

America hoped these military reverses would persuade Mexico to come to the negotiating table. But Mexico still refused to negotiate.

President Polk then decided it best to land an American army at Veracruz, on Mexico's east coast, and strike a swift blow at the very heart of Mexico itself — Mexico City!

General Taylor was ordered to send his best troops to join with General Scott, America's senior military officer, who was to lead the troops which were to land at Veracruz and drive for Mexico City.

Taylor, suspecting political motives, refused to obey the order. Rather he continued his own military operations, and met Santa Anna and his army at Buena Vista, in the mountains beyond Saltillo. Here, Taylor and the small U.S. army badly defeated the Mexicans. Taylor was thereafter the hero of the Mexican-American war. Later, this popularity won him the presidency.

Meanwhile, General Winfield Scott, America's highest ranking U.S. Army officer, with a force of about 10,000 landed at Veracruz on March 9th, 1847. It took him nearly three weeks to capture Veracruz. Then on April 8th he began his advance toward Mexico's capital.

On April 17 and 18th the U.S. army stormed a mountain pass at Cerro Gordo, and pushed quickly on toward Mexico City. On August 19th and 20th, the American army won the battles of Contreras and Churubusco. A two weeks' armistice followed. Then American forces

won another battle at Molino del Rey and stormed and captured the mountain hilltop fortress of Chapultepec.

General Scott and the American army entered Mexico City on Sept. 14, 1847. The war was over, but there still had to be a settlement.

Even though America had won a succession of brilliant victories, President Polk could not get the Mexican government to negotiate a peace treaty.

Santa Anna resigned as President shortly after General Scott occupied Mexico City. A new government was then formed which was willing to accept America's demands.

America's demands were essentially what she had asked for before the war had erupted. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (a small village near Mexico City) was signed on February 2nd, 1848. In the treaty, the U.S.-Mexican border was established at the Rio Grande and Gila Rivers. And the U.S. agreed to pay Mexico \$15 million for the newly ceded territory. Mexico agreed to cede to the U.S. present-day California, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico with parts of Colorado and Wyoming.

By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the U.S. gained over 525,000 square miles of new territory.

The Conquest of California

Even before the Mexican War began, both the Mexicans and the American settlers in California were provoked with Mexico City's weak, ineffectual government in California, with many of the Californians thinking about declaring independence from Mexico.

The Mexican-American War gave them the final initiative to free themselves from Mexican rule, and as soon as the Mexican War commenced, American settlers in California declared their independence. They staged their own "Bear Flag Revolt" against Mexico.

John C. Fremont, who just *happened* to be in command of an American "surveying" expedition joined the rebels. And an American Naval squadron soon arrived at Monterrey.

When American forces arrived in California from Kansas by way of Santa Fe (where they had just taken over New Mexico without firing a single shot), the settlers had just about finished ousting the Mexicans.

The Gadsden Purchase

The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo made the U.S. responsible for preventing Indian raids into northern Mexico. But, unfortunately Apache depredations grew worse after the treaty. How could America prevent further Apache raids into Northern Mexico?

The proposed solution to this problem was tied up with another problem which confronted the U.S. The 1848 treaty with Mexico had established the natural boundary of the Rio Grande as the border between El Paso and the Gulf of Mexico. This boundary seemed like a natural and easily defensible boundary.

But the U.S.-Mexican treaty of 1848 did not establish a positive border west of El Paso to the Pacific. The treaty merely declared that the boundary west from El Paso should coincide with the line shown on Distunell's map (1847 edition). But Distunell's map was found to be highly inaccurate. It placed El Paso 34 miles north of its actual site. This serious error gave Mexico an unexpected advantage.

So the U.S. and Mexico could not agree as to just where their border should run between El Paso and the Pacific. How could they settle the dispute?

During this period of American history, the decision was about to be made to build a transcontinental railroad. Where would the railroad be built? Across the center of America, or would it take a northern or southern route?

The U.S. Secretary, Jefferson Davis, strongly advocated a southern route for this transcontinental railroad. He believed the more practical route to California was across the Mesilla Valley and then up through the Gila River Valley, which at the time was completely on the Mexican side of the 1848 U.S.-Mexican border.

Jefferson Davis recommended that the president of the South Carolinian railroad, James Gadsden, be sent to Mexico as U.S. minister in May, 1853, for the express purpose of trying to purchase some of the Mexican land through which the proposed southern rail route would run.

Gadsden had various proposals which he could offer Mexico, and a settlement was finally reached and a treaty concluded on December 30, 1853. According to the terms of the treaty, Mexico was to relinquish her control over the Mesilla Valley, and she would also cede about 19,000,000 acres south of the Gila River. By this treaty, Mexico also agreed to drop all her claims for Indian depredations. But what would the price tag be? Gadsden agreed to give Mexico \$15,000,000 for this land.

Even though Gadsden had made a good bargain with the Mexicans, his treaty sparked violent sectional debates in the U.S. senate. Northerners feared that the southerners wanted to extend slavery into the new lands, and they were, therefore, hostile toward this purchase.

The northerners wanted to see the transcontinental railroad built in a more northern latitude, and therefore argued that the Gadsden Purchase handed America a hunk of worthless territory.

But in spite of this opposition to the purchase, the treaty was finally

ratified by Congress on April 25, 1854 — but only after the purchase price had been reduced from \$15,000,000 to \$10,000,000.

How many square miles were included in the Gadsden Purchase? This territory included about 29,640 square miles, though some estimate the size to be only 26,185 square miles, and others have estimated its size to be as high as 45,535 square miles.

The territory included in the Gadsden Purchase was bounded on the east by the Rio Grande, on the west by the Colorado River, and on the north by the Gila River.

Though America finally decided to build her first transcontinental railroad further north, nonetheless the acquirement of this new territory gave the U.S. and Mexico a clearly definable border, and finally ended U.S.-Mexican border friction.

America's purchase of this new territory in 1853 gave the U.S. all of the original territory encompassed in the original 48 states — stretching from the Pacific in the West to the Atlantic in the east, and from the 49th Parallel in the north to the Rio Grande in the south.

America's belief in Manifest Destiny had caused her peoples to push westward, northward and southward until the U.S. had acquired all the land which she felt she needed to round out her national borders. Now America was content to let her borders with Mexico and Canada remain where they were.

The California Gold Rush

In 1848, the very year America gained legal control over California, gold was discovered. James Wilson Marshall discovered gold at Sutter's Mill on January 25th, 1848 — not far from San Francisco.

The news of this rich gold find electrified America. Gold fever swept over the country. As the news spread, men from all over America left their jobs, their homes and even their families and headed for California to stake out their claim before it was too late.

A large-scale gold rush was fully under way by 1849. Men (mainly from back east, where most of the population was) left their homes and their belongings behind (except what they could cart with them) and headed west. Most of the Forty-niners journeyed to California by land. Leaving Independence, Missouri, they journeyed along the Oregon Trail until they met the California Trail, which led them to the gold fields of northern California. Some went on foot. Others rode on horseback, or in covered wagons. Some chose to go by boat to Panama, then crossed the Isthmus and caught another boat north to San Francisco.

But regardless of how they came, they continued to stream into California. Seeking instant wealth, some struck it rich. But many didn't make it. Multitudes fell victims to sickness, Indians, or died from ex-

posure to the harsh elements along the way. Some died from hunger and thirst.

Almost overnight boom towns mushroomed everywhere. San Francisco grew from a very small sleepy little town to a city of 25,000 within the first year of the discovery of gold. Sacramento also had a phenomenal growth in population, and many who failed to make a fortune at gold mining settled down in California as farmers or ranchers. The population of California between 1848 and 1860 jumped from 26,000 to 379,994.

Since gold was plentiful and relatively cheap, and there was a great scarcity of commodities (due to the sudden influx of people), prices skyrocketed. Reportedly, a night's rest on a simple cot could cost as much as \$15.00 — a lot of money at the time. And a hardly livable shack could sometimes be rented for \$100.00 a week or even more.

Gambling, prostitution, hard drinking and crime also skyrocketed. Some were even willing to murder to get their hands on a little more of the shiny metal. Fortunes were quickly made, and often as not, just as quickly lost.

But before most of the Forty-niners arrived at Sutter's Mill, the richer claims had already been established, and men fought and elbowed each other for what was left.

The man who had owned the huge acreage on which the gold was discovered, John Sutter, lost everything he had. His vast ranch was invaded, his livestock were stolen or burned when he tried to keep the invaders out. He eventually died in poverty.

And the man who discovered the gold, James Marshall, was swindled out of just about every claim he had staked out. He was threatened and intimidated by those who used strong-arm tactics to gain control over much of the vast gold wealth. When Marshall took the offenders to court to get justice, he was always blocked by men who had been bribed by the very men who had swindled him.

John Marshall died at the age of thirty-seven, dispirited and penniless — in total financial ruin. He was buried within sight of the sawmill where he had unluckily turned up the glittering metal which would ruin both him and John Sutter.

American Foreign Policy

For decades after the Revolutionary War, the United States was satisfied with attending to her own domestic growth and tranquility. After the espousal of the Monroe Doctrine, America more or less stayed out of foreign entanglements. But as her industrial and commercial power grew, and she traded throughout the world's ports, her sense of world involvement and participation grew.

A presentiment of the future was portrayed in America's first dealings with the mysterious nation of Japan.

Japan's Early History

Europeans first learned about Japan from Marco Polo, a Venetian traveller, who had travelled to China in the late 1200s. While in China, he learned of this mysterious country. Marco Polo called Japan *Cipango*, and affirmed that it was a land of gold and great riches.

The people of Nippon (as it was later called) were a proud people with a very ancient history. The Emperor of Japan looked upon himself as a god, and was so considered by his peoples. And the Japanese peoples thought of themselves as children of the sun goddess. Since they believed their country was the first to be created, they thought it was the fairest land on earth, and they believed themselves to be the *chosen people* of the gods. They were chosen for a great destiny. Shintoism, meaning "The Way of the Gods," eventually became their national religion. Its basic features included ancestor-worship and nature-worship.

The Japanese concluded that since their emperor was divine, the gods especially favored Japan and kept a protective eye over their nation. They believed that since the emperor and his people were descended from the gods, they were *superior* to all other peoples.

The Great Mongol conqueror, Kublai Khan, sent a force to Kyushu in 1274 to conquer Japan, but it was defeated by the Japanese. The Kublai Khan again tried to invade and conquer Japan in 1281. But his second attempt also failed. A destructive typhoon dashed his fleet, totally destroying his plans of invasion. The Japanese were jubilant, believing that the typhoon was sent by their god. They called the typhoon *kamikaze* (meaning *divine wind*).

In 1338, the Ashikaga family gained governmental control in Japan. They continued ruling the country for the next 250 years until civil war finally put an end to their dynasty.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98) became a mighty warrior and succeeded in gaining control of Japan in 1585. He is sometimes referred to as the Napoleon of Japan. He planned conquests which would have extended his empire to include China and India. But his armies failed to conquer Korea, and when he died in 1598, his soldiers withdrew back to Japan.

His chief deputy in eastern Japan, the great warrior Iyeyasu (1542-1616), became *shogun* (military ruler) of Japan. His family (the famous Tokugawa family) continued to rule Japan until the emperor's imperial power was restored under Emperor Mutsuhito in 1867.

Christians Expelled

The Portuguese became the first Europeans to reach the islands of Japan in 1543. And in 1549 Saint Francis Xavier, a Spanish Jesuit priest, arrived in Kagoshima in southern Kyushu. He was a zealous priest and immediately began preaching and teaching the Christian religion. The Japanese welcomed this Catholic priest, and many thousands soon became converted to Roman Catholicism. Later, other missionaries from Spain and Portugal followed, and traders also sailed to Japan to open up trade between that country and the West. Traders from Holland and England arrived in Japan in the early 1600s.

Japanese officials and nobles at first welcomed these foreigners. It was not long however before the Japanese rulers became deeply suspicious. Would these missionaries and traders soon bring European armies to conquer their islands?

During the late 1700s the occasional arrival of foreign ships in search of trade or supplies startled the Japanese. The rulers of Japan began to interpret the arrival of ever-increasing numbers of foreign ships as a threat to their national independence.

The Japanese, fearing that Christianity might be used to their enemies' advantage, decided to extirpate that religion from Japanese soil. The Nipponese rulers decided to gradually get rid of the Christian movement. The great warrior Iyeyasu ordered all Christian priests to leave Japan in 1614. He also ordered all native Japanese to give up Christianity. And then in 1637, government troops massacred several thousands of Japanese Christians at Shimabara.

Japan Sealed Shut

In that same year, Japan's rulers forced all foreign traders, except the Dutch (who had *not* helped spread Christianity), to leave Japan. From that day forward until the mid-1800s, Japan became shut up in its own national cocoon. She became a hermit country, almost totally cut off from the world.

Only one Dutch ship was permitted to put into Japanese ports each year. Ships from all other nations were banned. Japanese citizens weren't allowed to leave the country, and those who lived abroad were forbidden to return.

At this time, one thing alarmed the Japanese — the ever-growing Russian menace. Russian expansion had already placed them firmly on the eastern coast of Asia in the 17th century. The Russians were becoming more active on their Pacific seaboard — especially in Kamchatka, Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands.

The Russians had made coastal raids on Japan and the rulers of the

island kingdom began to fortify their defenses — especially in the north.

In 1808 the British ship the *Phaeton*, entered Nagasaki harbor and, after receiving an unfriendly reception, seized hostages in order to secure its supplies — and then managed to escape before countermeasures could be taken by the Japanese.

But most ominous of all, was the news of Britain's victory over China in the first "Opium War" of 1839-42. Japan worried that she might be the next victim of British aggression.

These and other incidents caused the Japanese to close their nation tightly against outsiders, hoping to avoid foreign domination.

Abuse of American Sailors

It was about this same time that the U.S. government became gravely concerned over Japan's mistreatment of American sailors who had been shipwrecked in Japanese waters. America still believed in Manifest Destiny and had enough national pride to be willing to assert herself aggressively toward any nation which needed to learn a lesson.

The U.S. government decided to open the Japanese cocoon. Accordingly, Commodore James Biddle was dispatched to Japan in 1846 for the express purpose of opening up that nation to American diplomatic and trading interests.

But Commodore Biddle failed to understand the Japanese. When he presented copies of the new U.S.-Chinese treaties, and requested similar arrangements with the Japanese, his requests were totally ignored. Biddle's peaceful departure after receiving such rude treatment convinced the Japanese that they had won a victory. They had, however, been deeply impressed with the size and strength of the four U.S. warships. They now fully realized that such warships had the capability of forcing a blockade on Yedo (Tokyo) harbor, thereby preventing the delivery of Japan's ocean-borne food supplies from Osaka.

America now realized that the polite, civilized, soft approach had not worked. Would the Japanese understand and respect a greater show of strength? It was certainly worth a try.

But who would be the right man to entrust with such a crucial mission? It would need to be someone who was experienced, courageous, wise, and who, if need be, could act decisively to drive home the American point of view.

It was during the presidency of Millard Fillmore (1850-53) that America decided to see if she could change Japan's attitude of traditional isolationism.

America's emissary on this important mission to open up Japan was Matthew Calbraith Perry.

Perry was from a family of famous naval men. Matthew's brother,

Oliver had distinguished himself in the War of 1812 by forcing the British naval fleet on Lake Erie to surrender. During the battle, the British attack had been so fierce that 83 out of 101 men on Perry's ship were either killed or injured. The ship was also badly damaged. In spite of this, Perry was able to abandon the ship under heavy enemy fire and transfer to another American ship — from which he continued the battle and finally forced the British to surrender. Oliver Perry also served the U.S. Navy against the Barbary pirates in 1815-16, and in 1819 he was sent to clear the West Indian waters of pirates. He was stricken with yellow fever and died at Port of Spain, Trinidad.

Matthew had also distinguished himself, by serving in the War of 1812 on the *Revenge* under his brother's command, and it was he who was chosen to head the important mission to open up Japan in 1853-54.

Matthew was an officer of the *Cyane*, which in 1820 helped to found an American Negro colony in Africa. His first independent command was the *Concord*, in which he took America's envoy to Russia in 1830. He became a captain in 1837. Later, Matthew Perry took command of the *Fulton II*, the first U.S. war vessel run by steam.

Perry also commanded the African Squadron, helped in wiping out the slave trade, and protected the American Negro settlements in Africa.

During the Mexican War, Perry commanded the *Mississippi*, and served as commander-in-chief of the U.S. squadron off the coast of Mexico. His squadron was the largest the American navy had sailed up to that time. Perry worked closely with the forces commanded by General Winfield Scott in the siege and capture of Veracruz. His squadron was responsible for the bombardment of Veracruz while General Scott and his army landed.

A Most Important Mission

But Matthew Perry's most important assignment was to the Orient.

For some time European and American ships had wanted to be able to put into port in Japan. This was steadfastly denied them. Steam ships needed bunkering facilities. Shipwrecked men who landed in Japan continued to be treated very badly.

Some European ships had tried to put into Japanese ports to open up diplomatic relations with that country and had been fired upon.

Commodore Perry believed the Japanese did not respect weakness. He was a man of action, valor and wisdom. In March, 1852, during the last year of President Fillmore's presidency, Perry was appointed commander of a naval expedition to be sent to Japan. Its task was to establish diplomatic relations and trade with the Japanese, and to obtain humane treatment for shipwrecked sailors.

After carefully studying the situation, Perry decided that Japan's

traditional isolationism would be altered only if a superior naval force were displayed, and if the Japanese officials were approached boldly with a "resolute attitude."

Accordingly, he decided "to demand as a *right*, and not to solicit as a favour, those *acts of courtesy* which are due from one civilized country to another. . . ."

On July 8, 1853, Perry sailed boldly into Yedo harbour (now Tokyo Bay) with four warships. When the Japanese unceremoniously ordered his ships out of the harbor, he flatly refused to obey. He did, however, send word that if the Japanese government did not delegate a high official to receive the documents in his possession, he would "go on shore with a suitable force and deliver them personally, be the consequences what they might."

Perry's boldness succeeded! Two Japanese princes were sent to receive the documents.

Commodore Perry told the high Japanese officials they should seriously consider the American demands contained in the documents. Before departing, he informed them he would return with a bigger naval force a year later, expecting a reply to America's demands. Perry's warships then sailed for China.

Perry returned to Japan, arriving in Yedo Bay in February, 1854, with more ships. The Japanese had been impressed by the boldness of this American, and they felt it wise to have a satisfactory reply waiting when Perry returned. The Japanese response was very favorable. A few weeks after Perry's second arrival (in February, 1854) the Japanese signed the Kanagawa Treaty near Yokohama, granting the U.S. trading rights in two Japanese ports — Shimoda and Hakodate.

Japan Emerges from Her Cocoon

What was the importance of this Japanese-American treaty?

Japan not only opened up her ports to Americans (and to other nations) but the treaty also assured better treatment of shipwrecked sailors, and permitted U.S. ships to take on fuel and supplies at two Japanese ports.

This bold show of force also revealed to the Japanese their own vulnerability. They were impressed not only with Perry's ships, but by western technology which was far superior to Japanese.

The Japanese became convinced they were two hundred and fifty years behind Western civilization in almost every facet of economic and industrial progress. Shortly after the treaty of 1854, Japan began to import wholesale Western technology, and in only one generation she emerged as a powerful industrial nation. No nation had ever leaped from a feudalistic society into the modern world in so short a time.

Japan's fantastic industrial expansion made her one of the most highly industrialized nations in the world. She would soon be able to compete with the nations of the West on equal terms. Her ships, guns, planes and other implements of war would soon convince a startled world that Japan had suddenly become one of the world's leading industrial nations.

Perry's successful mission to Japan helped contribute to the collapse of Japan's feudal regime, and helped propel the Japanese along the road toward modernization. But there were thorns in the Japanese rose. Japan had been roused out of its feudalistic slumber. An energetic, modernized Japan would later send temblors through all the Orient, and threaten the fabric of world peace.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the Senate of the United States, *devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and of nations, has by a resolution requested the President to designate and set apart a day for national prayer and humiliation;* and

Whereas it is the duty of nations as well as of men to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God, to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon, and to recognize the sublime truth, announced in the Holy Scriptures and proven by all history, that those nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord;

And, insomuch as we know that by His divine law nations, like individuals, are subjected to punishments and chastisements in this world, may we not justly fear that the awful calamity of civil war which now desolates the land may be but a punishment inflicted upon us for our presumptuous sins, to the needful end of our national reformation as a whole people? We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of Heaven; we have been preserved these many years in peace and prosperity; we have grown in numbers, wealth, and power as no other nation has ever grown. But we have forgotten God. We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us, and we have vainly imagined, in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virtue of our own. Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God that made us.

It behooves us, then, to humble ourselves before the offended Power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness.

Now, therefore, in compliance with the request, and fully concurring in the views of the Senate, I do by this my proclamation designate and set apart Thursday, the 30th day of April, 1863, as a day of national humiliation, fasting, and prayer. And I do hereby request all the people to abstain on that day from their ordinary secular pursuits, and to unite at their several places of public worship and their respective homes in keeping the day holy to the Lord and devoted to the humble discharge of the religious duties proper to that solemn occasion.

All this being done in sincerity and truth, let us then rest humbly in the hope authorized by the divine teachings that the united cry of the nation will be heard on high and answered with blessings no less than the pardon of our national sins and the restoration of our now divided and suffering country to its former happy condition of unity and peace.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 30th day of March, A.D. 1863, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

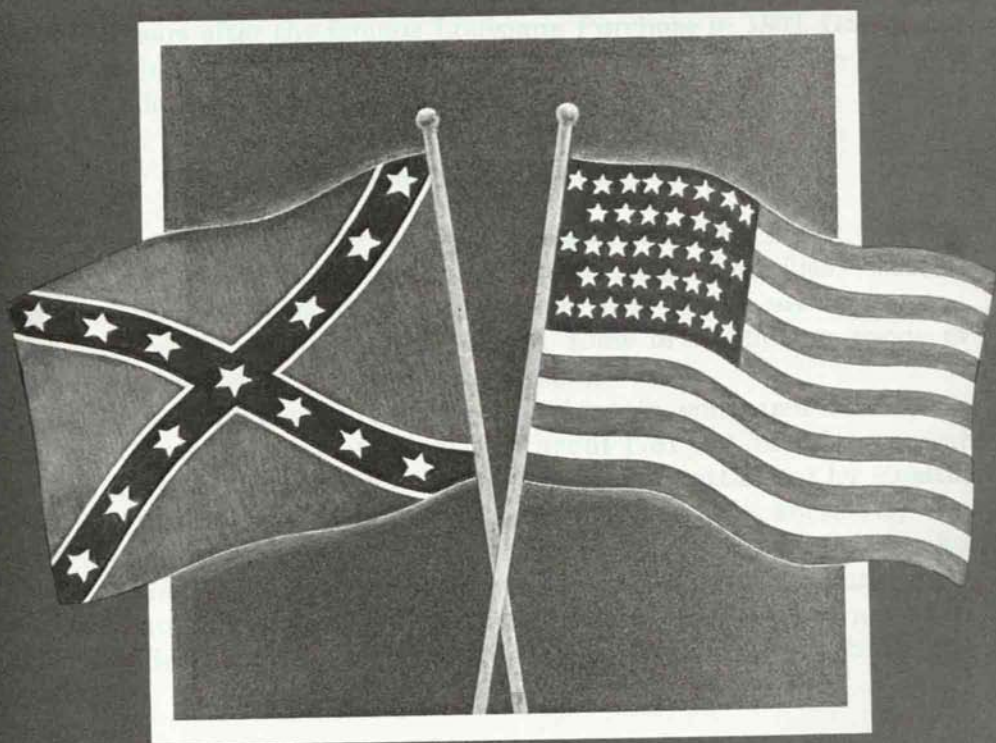
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

BOOK II

**BECOMING
A WORLD
GIANT**



America's Greatest President

America has never produced another leader with the character of "Honest Abe." His utter honesty, his humility and his farsightedness are to this very day still proverbial.

Many lesser presidents would undoubtedly have been willing to let the rebellious states go their own way. They would not have believed in standing firm, regardless of the cost, in order to preserve the Union inviolate.

Abraham Lincoln (1809-65) was born in a log cabin in Kentucky only six years after the famous Louisiana Purchase in 1803. One of the best sketches of this remarkable man was written by Lincoln himself, and was addressed to J. W. Fell, December 20, 1859:

A Short Autobiography

"I was born February 12, 1809 in Hardin County, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families — second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, and others in Macon County, Illinois.

"My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky about 1781 or 1782, where a year or two later he was killed by the Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were *Quakers*, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.

Readin' and Writin'

"My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union. It was a

wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond 'readin', writin', and cipherin', to the rule of three.

"If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the rule of three, but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education, I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity.

The Black Hawk War

"I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twenty-two. At twenty-two I came to Illinois, Macon County. Then I went to New Salem, at that time in Sangamon, now in Menard County, where I remained a year as a sort of clerk in a store. Then came the Black Hawk war; and I was elected a captain of volunteers, a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since.

"I went to the campaign, was elated, ran for the legislature the same year (1832), and was beaten — the only time I ever have been beaten by the people. The next and three succeeding biennial elections I was elected to the legislature. I was not a candidate afterward. During this legislative period I had studied law, and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846, I was once elected to the lower House of Congress. Was not a candidate for reelection.

"From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practised law more assiduously than ever before. Always a Whig in politics: and generally on the Whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri compromise aroused me again. What I have done since then is pretty well known.

"If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said I am, in height, six feet four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average of one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair and grey eyes. No other marks or brands recollected."

Lincoln's account of his own life and of his own person tallies very well with what others have said of him.

An acquaintance of Lincoln's mother described her as follows:

"Abe got his mind and fixed morals from his good mother. Mrs. Lincoln was a very smart, intelligent, and intellectual woman; she was naturally strong-minded; was a gentle, kind, and tender woman, a Christian of the Baptist persuasion, she was a remarkable woman truly and indeed."

Are All Men Created Equal?

Abraham Lincoln disagreed strongly with the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court which was made public on March 7, 1857. (That decision opened up all of America to slavery.) He appealed to the framers of the Declaration of Independence as his authority for believing the decision was in error.

Very few have understood the meaning of the words "all men are created equal" as found in the Declaration of Independence. Here is Lincoln's clear, simple and convincing explanation of the meaning of those important words:

I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include *all* men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral developments, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what respects they did consider all men created equal — equal with 'certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' This they said, and this they meant.

They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact, they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the right, so that enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit.

Abraham Lincoln well knew equality will never be fully attained by mortals in this life!

They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society, which should be familiar to all, and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere.

The assertion that 'all men are created equal' was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be — as, thank God, it is now proving itself — *a stumbling-block* to all those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, they should find left for them at least *one hard nut to crack*.

Americans are still striving to attain to true equality under the law, but this goal still eludes the grasp of every American. There is, however, much more equality in this land than there was during the days of the War of Independence. And there is much more equality among Americans now than there was during the Civil War.

How Lincoln Became Famous

Lincoln was not nationally known until the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates took place in 1858. The *Kansas-Nebraska Act* of 1854 had made it legal for slavery to be established in the Kansas and Nebraska territories — if the settlers wanted it.

Lincoln and many others in the North didn't like to see this extension of slavery into the North (previously it was confined to a line drawn due east-west between Arkansas and Missouri, and westward to the Pacific). Lincoln firmly believed that slavery was a moral, social and political evil. He would have no compromise.

But his opponent, Stephen A. Douglas (the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party) advocated the doctrine of "popular sovereignty." Each state would decide for itself whether or not to make slavery legal. Douglas said he was not all that concerned as to whether or not it was moral. During the summer of 1858, Lincoln and Douglas engaged in the now-famous debates. They spoke in seven different cities in Illinois, and debated the issue of whether slavery should be extended into the free territory. Even though Douglas continued to speak in favor of "popular sovereignty," Lincoln stuck by his guns — saying that slavery was a "moral, social and political evil."

Lincoln lost the senatorial election to Douglas, but he had won fame as a powerful speaker — the foremost advocate against extending slavery into any new territories. From that time forth he began to stand tall in the eyes of the Republican party. They kept their eyes on this backwoods "railsplitter" who could out-reason and out-debate anyone in either the Republican or the Democratic party.

The Slavery Issue

Lincoln's views against slavery were clearly set forth in his speech before the Republican State Convention of Illinois on June 16, 1858:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: If we could first know where we *are*, and *whither we are tending*, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of *putting an end to slavery agitation*. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only *not* ceased, but has constantly augmented.

In my opinion, it will not cease until a *crisis* shall have been reached and passed. '*A house divided against itself cannot stand.*' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.

Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

How prophetic those words, spoken three and one half years before the Civil War began, proved to be.

Did Lincoln favor *forcing* the Southern states to give up slavery? Many thought this was his object, but he repeatedly denied this. He did, however, hate slavery with a passion. Perhaps he got some of his sentiments from his Quaker ancestors. Lincoln was not an abolitionist, but many Quakers were.

Lincoln's antipathy toward slavery was again revealed in his speech (the sixth in his debates with Douglas) on October 13, 1858:

We have in this nation the element of domestic slavery. It is a matter of absolute certainty that it is a disturbing element. . . . The Republican party think it wrong — we think it is a moral, a social, and a political wrong. We think it is a wrong not confining itself merely to the persons or the States where it exists, but that it is a wrong which in its tendency, to say the least, affects the existence of the whole nation.

Because we think it wrong, we propose a course of policy that shall deal with it as a wrong. We deal with it as with any other wrong, insofar as we can prevent its growing any larger, and so deal with it that in the run of time there may be some promise of an end to it.

Lincoln Understood the Difficulties

It must be remembered that Lincoln was not an abolitionist. He fully understood the difficulties, social complexities and the many ramifications of slavery in the Southern economy. And, he seems to have groaned with inner sympathy for the people of the South in their problems of handling this delicate, yet menacing, issue.

Another of Lincoln's well-reasoned observations, which appeared in the Ottawa Joint Debate, August 21, 1858 shows his deep grasp of the whole spectrum of the slavery issue:

Before proceeding, let me say I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses North and South.

Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew, if it were out of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their Slaves, go North, and become tip-top Abolitionists; while some Northern ones go South, and become most cruel slave-masters.

Lincoln continued to reveal his deep understanding, and his feeling for the Southerners:

When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself.

If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia — to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible.

If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough to me to denounce people upon.

But Lincoln was a basically honest man and a realist. Notice his candid remarks on this vexing problem:

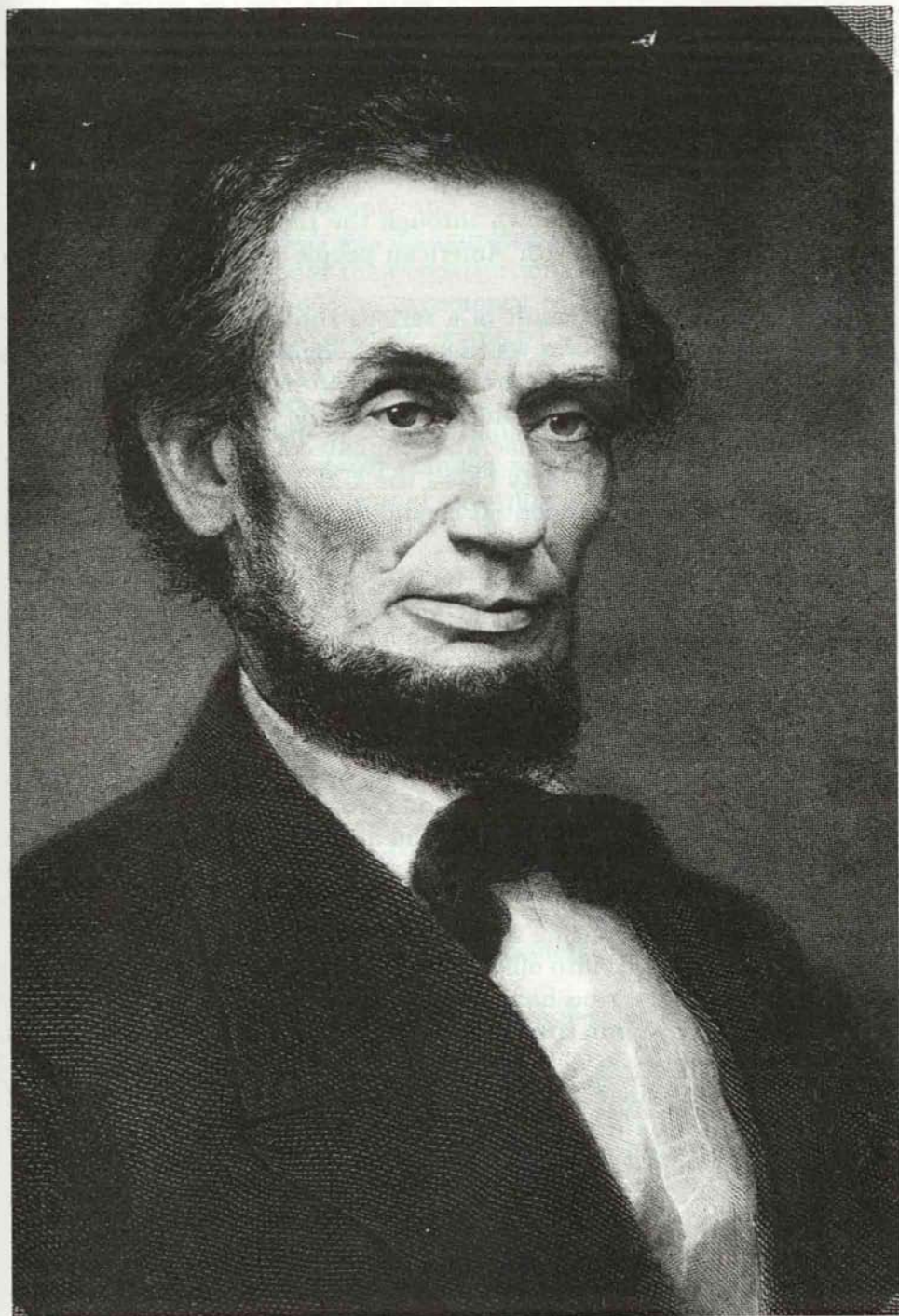
What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question, if, indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South.

But Abraham Lincoln was adamant in his firm conviction that the slaves should be given their constitutional rights:

When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives, which should not, in its stringency, be more likely to carry a free man into slavery, than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one.

Only months before being chosen as a Republican presidential candidate for the election of 1860, Lincoln gave a thought-provoking speech before the Cooper Institute in New York City. His words at that address greatly stirred the audience including such distinguished persons as William Cullen Bryant and Horace Greely.

The day after Lincoln's address, Mr. Greely's *New York Tribune*



Abraham Lincoln, wise, melancholic, compassionate. During America's greatest national crisis, the U.S. was fortunate to have her greatest President at the helm of state. — *Harold M. Lambert*

acknowledged this railsplitter's formidable speaking ability by commenting: "No man ever before made such an impression on his first appeal to a new New York audience."

Lincoln Elected President

Lincoln, though well known through the Lincoln-Douglas debates, was not all that popular with American people generally. How did he come to be elected?

His election was the result of a serious rupture in the Democratic party. The leading Democrat was Senator Douglas from Illinois. He had favored "popular sovereignty" in the new territories.

But his ideas had angered and alienated the proslavery wing of his party. Though Northern Democrats nominated Douglas for President, the southern Democratic party chose the U.S. Vice-President, John C. Breckinridge, as their Presidential candidate for the 1860 election. This split the party right down the middle.

And to make matters worse for the ambitious Douglas, another party was formed calling itself the Constitutional Union party. They nominated former Senator John Bell of Tennessee as their man for the Presidency.

Though Lincoln won just under forty percent of the popular votes (Lincoln got 1,865,593 compared to 2,823,975 for all of his opponents) he easily won the Presidential election. He received 180 electoral votes, Breckinridge received 72, Bell got 39 and Douglas received only 12 votes.

Most of Lincoln's popular votes, and all of his electoral votes, came from the North. The Southerners had already warned that if Lincoln were elected, they would secede — and go their own way.

Lincoln had an agonizing wait after his election in November, 1860. He was not inaugurated into office until March 4th the following year.

The Southerners, who had already threatened secession if Lincoln were elected, carried out their threat. South Carolina was the first to take the fatal plunge on December 20, 1860. On that date their legislature passed the Ordinance of Secession declaring that their state had thereby repealed the acts by which the state of North Carolina had ratified the U.S. Constitution and had dissolved "the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states, under the name of the 'United States of America.' "

President Buchanan, in his message to Congress on December 3, 1860, denied the states the constitutional right of secession. But President Buchanan asserted that the U.S. Constitution gave him no right to attempt coercion. He hoped a compromise settlement could be reached.

But between January 9 and February 1, six other states (Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas) like dumb sheep,

followed South Carolina's lead. The governors of these six states immediately (without any kind of negotiations) seized all U.S. government buildings, forts and arsenals in their states — except Fort Pickens in Pensacola harbor and Fort Sumter at Charleston, South Carolina.

In February all the delegates from the seceding states met in Montgomery, Alabama and established a provisional government with Jefferson Davis as their President, and Alexander H. Stephens as Vice-President. Jefferson Davis was inaugurated as President on February 18. Southerners did not doubt their constitutional right to secede, but many Southerners did question the expediency of doing so. But others also held sentiments similar to those expressed by Howell Cobb before the Georgia legislature: "We can make better terms out of the Union than in it." The Southern states knew that they would have to act unitedly. For a single state to secede by itself would have been an invitation to disaster. The Southern states planned to secede from the Union, suspend the functions of the federal government in their state, then consider the matter of re-entry into the Union if and when they felt sufficient guarantees were given.

The Constitution which the Confederate States adopted on March 11 was very similar to the U.S. Constitution, but it made provision for individual state sovereignty. It also included a provision to guarantee that in all territory belonging to the Confederacy, but lying outside the limits of the several states, "the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the Territorial Government."

Before the Confederates fired on the stars and stripes, many Northerners, quite unlike Lincoln, were disgusted with the Southerners and were ready to let the South go in peace. Neither side really wanted war. But they had reached a total impasse. The South believed it had the constitutional right to secede, but the leaders in the North (Buchanan and Lincoln) didn't see it that way.

In the North, a strong feeling began to develop that they should let the "erring sisters depart in peace."

Though President Buchanan did not believe he had the right to assume, under the Constitution, the power to coerce the wayward sisters back into the Union, President-elect Lincoln had totally different ideas.

Lincoln realized the Union was in deadly peril. He fully understood that a bloody conflict lay not far down the road — *unless* the Southerners repented of their actions.

Looking to "That Divine Being"

Lincoln expressed his sadness and acknowledged his need for Divine assistance in his colossal task of serving as President of the U.S. during

America's supreme Civil War crisis. Less than a month before his inauguration, he gave a short farewell address to his friends at Springfield, Illinois, and asked their prayers:

My friends: No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington.

Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

President Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4, 1861. His First Inaugural address will long live as one of the crowning literary majesties of the English language. This great, and truly noble man, now had saddled on his shoulders the crushing burden of taking up the reins of government of a nation torn by civil discord.

President Lincoln knew that at that very moment, brother was on the verge of drawing sword against brother, father against son, in a mindless fraternal slaughter which would soon stun the nation and horrify a shocked world.

Bitterly Criticized

During 1861 and 1862 there had been many battlefield reverses and much general apprehension in the nation that the war was not going too well. During the summer of 1862, there was much criticism and bitter denunciation of Lincoln. General McClellan's Peninsular Campaign had ended in utter failure.

The radical abolitionist groups had denounced Lincoln for not immediately emancipating all the slaves. They even accused the President of being pro-slavery. And they accused his wife of being disloyal. Her youngest brother, her three half brothers, and her two half sister's husbands were all serving in the Confederate army. Mrs. Lincoln had to continually endure suspicion and the charge of being disloyal.

Lincoln's reply to Horace Greely's somewhat critical sentiments, as published in the *New York Tribune*, gives clear and unmistakable evidence from Lincoln himself that his main purpose was to *save the Union* — not to destroy the institution of *slavery*.

This reply to Horace Greely was written one month before Lincoln

made known his Emancipation Proclamation. Notice Lincoln's clear and convincing reasoning:

Dear Sir: I have just read yours of the 19th, addressed to myself through the *New York Tribune*. If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not, now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not, now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was."

If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them.

My paramount object in this struggle is to *save the Union*, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would also do that.

What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forebear, I forebear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so far as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Emancipation Proclamation

About one month after writing that letter President Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation. He decided to do this without the advice of his cabinet. After writing it out he read it to them.

By midsummer, 1862, the military situation had gone from bad to worse. It was feared that to make the proclamation without a military victory would be interpreted as "our last shriek on the retreat."

Secretary Seward therefore counselled Lincoln to wait until the North had achieved a victory, then make the Emancipation Proclamation. That is what Lincoln decided to do.

The commander of the Confederate army in Virginia, General Rob-

ert E. Lee, invaded Maryland in September, 1862 with about 50,000 troops. He hoped for a victory which would thereby gain foreign recognition for the Confederacy.

But a copy of Lee's battle plans fell into the hands of Union soldiers, and this among other things, helped to prevent General Lee attaining the victory he had planned. At the battle of *Antietam*, the Northern forces almost cracked the Southern lines. Both armies suffered heavy losses and General Lee had to retreat back into Virginia after this bloody encounter. He had suffered nearly 11,000 casualties, while the North suffered about 12,500.

This Confederate retreat gave Lincoln the opportunity he had been looking for. Now, Lincoln believed, was the opportune time to issue his Emancipation Proclamation.

Lincoln's generals, Northern abolitionists, powerful Republican congressmen and many others had been urging the President to free the slaves. Many in the North were now solidly behind such a move.

Although the battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862 had not given the Northern army a clear-cut triumph, nonetheless Lee was repulsed and had to retreat. This was good news for the North.

Accordingly, President Lincoln issued a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22 in which he warned the states in rebellion that if they didn't surrender by January 1, 1863, he would issue the final proclamation which would free their slaves.

This preliminary warning gave the rebellious states about one hundred days in which to comply with the President's command. Otherwise the President would procede.

Southerners greeted the preliminary proclamation with sneers and utmost scorn. How could Mr. Lincoln free their slaves, when he was not now their President?

Lincoln knew that issuing the final proclamation on January 1, 1863 would accomplish several objectives: It would cause Europeans (the English and French in particular) to have greater sympathy for the Northern cause. The proclamation would also make it possible for many negro slaves to enter the military forces of the Union. Such a proclamation, it was hoped and believed, would in time weaken the South by causing Southern slaves to desert and seek the protection and patronage of the Union.

Furthermore, such a proclamation would tend to unite the Northerners more strongly behind Lincoln.

What were the main features of the Emancipation Proclamation which became effective on January 1, 1863?

Firstly, it *freed all the slaves that were in the states (or in parts of any states) in rebellion against the Union.*

Secondly, it asked all former slaves to abstain from violence (except

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

THE YEAR that is drawing toward its close has been filled with the blessings of fruitful fields and healthful skies. To these bounties, which are so constantly enjoyed that we are prone to forget the source from which they come, others have been added which are of so extraordinary a nature that they can not fail to penetrate and soften even the heart which is habitually insensible to the ever-watchful providence of Almighty God.

In the midst of a civil war of unequaled magnitude and severity, which has sometimes seemed to foreign states to invite and to provoke their aggression, peace has been preserved with all nations, order has been maintained, the laws have been respected and obeyed, and harmony has prevailed everywhere, except in the theater of military conflict, while that theater has been greatly contracted by the advancing armies and navies of the Union.

Needful diversions of wealth and of strength from the fields of peaceful industry to the national defense have not arrested the plow, the shuttle, or the ship; the ax has enlarged the borders of our settlements, and the mines, as well of iron and coal as of the precious metals, have yielded even more abundantly than heretofore. Population has steadily increased notwithstanding the waste that has been made in the camp, the siege, and the battlefield, and the country, rejoicing in the consciousness of augmented strength and vigor, is permitted to expect continuance of years with large increase of freedom.

No human counsel hath devised nor hath any mortal hand worked out these great things. They are the gracious gifts of the Most High God, who, while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy.

It has seemed to me fit and proper that they should be solemnly, reverently, and gratefully acknowledged, as with one heart and one voice, by the whole American people. I do therefore invite my fellow-citizens in every part of the United States, and also those who are at sea and those who are sojourning in foreign lands, to set apart and observe the last Thursday of November next as a day of thanksgiving and praise to our beneficent Father who dwelleth in the heavens. And I recommend to them that while offering up the ascriptions justly due to Him for such singular deliverances and blessings they do also, with humble penitence for our national perverseness and disobedience, commend to His tender care all those who have become widows, orphans, mourners, or sufferers in the lamentable civil strife in which we are unavoidably engaged, and fervently implore the interposition of the Almighty hand to heal the wounds of the nation and to restore it, as soon as may be consistent with the divine purposes, to the full enjoyment of peace, harmony, tranquility, and union.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 3d day of October, A.D. 1863, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

in self-defense), and requested them to labor faithfully for reasonable wages: "And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared free to *abstain from all violence*, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages."

Thirdly, this proclamation made it possible for a large reservoir of blacks to be inducted into the military.

"And I further declare," said the President, "and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service."

Invoking the "Favor of Almighty God"

The President's Emancipation Proclamation concluded with an appeal to mankind and to the Almighty: "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and *the gracious favor of Almighty God.*"

Soon after the proclamation was issued, the North was solidly behind the President (including some who had dragged their feet before it was made), and the proclamation was also instrumental in gaining sympathy from Britain and France who tended to sympathize with the slaves and with the North even more *after* the proclamation.

The proclamation gave the final go ahead to recruiting Negro soldiers. About 180,000 Negroes donned the Union uniform during the remaining two years of the war. This helped to strengthen the armed forces of the North, and at the same time weakened Southern morale.

Overall, the Emancipation Proclamation proved to be a plus for Lincoln's administration. Lincoln himself is said to have referred to it as "the central act of my administration, and the greatest event of the nineteenth century."

The Deathblow to Slavery

It has oft been pointed out that the Emancipation Proclamation didn't free any slaves in the North. It only freed those slaves in the rebel states — where the President actually had no power to enforce the proclamation. It should be borne in mind that this was not intended by Lincoln to have an immediate gigantic impact. This proclamation was expected to be enforced in time — by the Northern armies. They could free the slaves no faster than they conquered the South. But the government of the United States fully intended to free all slaves everywhere in the country as soon as it was practicable.

This Emancipation Proclamation had, it was believed by Lincoln and his countrymen, dealt the real *deathblow* to human bondage in America.

Officially, however, the real end of slavery came after Lincoln's assassination when Congress ratified the 13th Amendment in December, 1865.

Amendment XIII declared:

"SECTION I. Neither *slavery* nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SECTION II. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The Opening Shots

When the Southern states seceded, Lincoln delayed to take any precipitous action because he knew that if he waited until the South fired the first shots, this would unify the North behind the Union cause.

When the Confederates demanded that Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor be surrendered, Lincoln refused. Instead, President Lincoln sent supplies to replenish the provision at the Fort. On April 12, 1861 Confederate forces opened fire on Fort Sumter and the following day it was forced to surrender. The Civil War had begun.

President Lincoln met the challenge with energy and resoluteness. He immediately called out the militia to suppress the "insurrection." Also, he promptly enforced a blockade of Southern ports, and gave the Union army the right to suspend the privilege of *habeas corpus* in any areas where there were active Southern sympathizers.

Many people objected to his war-time measure, but Lincoln excused it, saying that it was necessary for the defense and preservation of the Constitution and the Union.

Only two days after the Confederates fired on Fort Sumter, Lincoln called for the induction of 75,000 men into the army. He got more men than there was equipment to supply them.

Lincoln Fires His Commanders

Lincoln didn't hesitate to remove a general who did not impress him with battlefield results. He appointed General George B. McClellan to command the main army on the Potomac. When McClellan didn't gain any brilliant victories, or do much of anything at all, Lincoln relieved him of his command and replaced him with General John Pope.

General Pope was no better, and suffered a serious defeat, so Lincoln recalled McClellan and asked him to defend Washington. "Little

Mac" turned back General Lee at Antietam, but didn't follow through and so Lincoln again had him relieved of his command.

Lincoln then put General Ambrose E. Burnside in command. Burnside was defeated at the Battle of Fredericksburg, so Lincoln appointed General Joseph Hooker to succeed him. He too met defeat at the Battle of Chancellorsville, so Lincoln finally had him replaced by General Ulysees S. Grant. Commanding generals in the Union Army were rotated like musical chairs because of their lack of inspiration, leadership and prowess.

Some time before Lincoln replaced General Hooker, he wrote him the following letter:

General: I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appeared to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you.

I believe you to be a brave and skillful soldier, which of course I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable if not an indispensable quality.

You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer.

I have heard, in such a way as to believe it of you recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship.

The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticizing their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it; and now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and *give us victories*.

Such a letter does a great deal to reveal the character of the man who wrote it. You can see that Lincoln was no pushover. On the other hand, you see revealed a man who was always willing to overlook human faults, if they did not get too much in the way of the man carrying out his serious responsibilities.

The events of the Civil War had not gone very well for the Union, when in 1863, Abraham Lincoln proclaimed that October 3 be set aside as a day of nationwide Thanksgiving. The President solemnly proclaimed:

The year that is drawing toward a close has been filled with the blessings of fruitful fields and healthful skies. To these bounties, which are so constantly enjoyed that we are prone to forget the source from which they come, others have been added, which are of so extraordinary a nature that they cannot fail to penetrate and soften the heart which is habitually insensible to the everwatchful providence of almighty God.

In the midst of a civil war of unequalled magnitude and severity, which has sometimes seemed to foreign states to invite and provoke their aggressions, peace has been preserved with all nations, order has been maintained, the laws have been respected and obeyed, and harmony has prevailed everywhere, except in the theatre of military conflict; while that theater has been greatly contracted by the advancing armies and navies of the Union.

Needful diversions of wealth and of strength from the fields of peaceful industry to the national defense have not arrested the plow, the shuttle, or the ship; the ax has enlarged the borders of our settlements, and the mines, as well of iron and coal as of the precious metals, have yielded even more abundantly than heretofore. Population has steadily increased, notwithstanding the waste that has been made in the camp, the siege, and the battlefield; and the country, rejoicing in the consciousness of augmented strength and vigor, is permitted to expect continuance of years with large increase of freedom.

No human counsel hath devised, nor hath any mortal hand worked out these great things. *They are the gracious gifts of the most high God*, who while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy.

It has seemed to me fit and proper that they should be solemnly, reverently, and gratefully acknowledged as with one heart and one voice by the whole American people. I do, therefore, invite my fellow-citizens in every part of the United States, and also those who are at sea and those who are sojourning in foreign lands, to set apart and observe the last Thursday of November next as *a day of thanksgiving and praise to our beneficent Father* who dwelleth in the heavens.

And I recommend to them that, while offering up the ascriptions justly due to him for such singular deliverances and blessings, they do also, with humble penitence for our national perverseness and disobedience, commend to his tender care all those who have become widows, orphans, mourners, or sufferers in the lamentable civil strife in which we are unavoidably engaged, and *fervently implore the interposition of the almighty hand to heal the wounds of the nation*, and to restore it, as soon as may be consistent with the Divine purposes, to the full enjoyment of peace, harmony, tranquility, and union.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Gettysburg

Two great victories had been won by the Union armies in 1863. General Lee's Confederate army was defeated by General George G.

Meade's Union army at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania during the first three days of July.

Then, in the western theater of the war, Vicksburg, Mississippi fell to Grant's victorious troops on July 4th. This was the last Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi River. After Lincoln heard that Vicksburg had been taken by the Union forces, he is said to have remarked: "The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea."

It was decided to dedicate a cemetery on a portion of the Gettysburg battlefield. The date set for the ceremonies was November 19, 1863. Edward Everett, one of America's greatest orators was scheduled to be the principal speaker at the ceremonies. Everett spoke for two solid hours. President Lincoln was asked to say a few words. And that is exactly what he did. He spoke for only three minutes, but his words continue to echo down through time like thunder claps.

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address is considered one of the finest masterpieces of English prose ever written! In the three short minutes Lincoln said the words every school boy has heard or recited since:

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now, we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we can not dedicate — we can not consecrate — we can not hallow — this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract.

The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they have, thus far, so nobly carried on.

It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that this government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

The Man Lincoln

What sort of a man was Lincoln?

Lincoln's law partner, William H. Herndon, has given us a good description of him. He knew Lincoln for about thirty years.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS a joint committee of both Houses of Congress has waited on the President of the United States and requested him to "recommend a day of public humiliation, prayer, and fasting to be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnities and the offering of fervent supplications to Almighty God for the safety and welfare of these States, His blessings on their arms, and a speedy restoration of peace;" and

Whereas it is fit and becoming in all people at all times to acknowledge and revere the supreme government of God, to bow in humble submission to His chastisements, to confess and deplore their sins and transgressions in the full conviction that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and to pray with all fervency and contrition for the pardon of their past offenses and for a blessing upon their present and prospective action; and

Whereas when our own beloved country, once, by the blessing of God, united, prosperous, and happy, is now afflicted with faction and civil war, it is peculiarly fit for us to recognize the hand of God in this terrible visitation, and in sorrowful remembrance of our own faults and crimes as a nation and as individuals to humble ourselves before Him and to pray for His mercy—to pray that we may be spared further punishment, though most justly deserved; that our arms may be blessed and made effectual for the reestablishment of law, order, and peace throughout the wide extent of our country; and that the inestimable boon of civil and religious liberty, earned under His guidance and blessing by the labors and sufferings of our fathers, may be restored in all its original excellence:

Therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do appoint the last Thursday in September next as a day of humiliation, prayer, and fasting for all the people of the nation. And I do earnestly recommend to all the people, and especially to all ministers and teachers of religion of all denominations and to all heads of families, to observe and keep that day according to their several creeds and modes of worship in all humility and with all religious solemnity, to the end that the united prayer of the nation may ascend to the Throne of Grace and bring down plentiful blessings upon our country.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed, this 12th day of August, A.D. 1861, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-sixth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

“It is now the time to describe the person of Mr. Lincoln: he was about six feet four inches high, and when he left the city, was fifty-one years old, having good health and no gray hairs or but few on his head; he was thin, wiry, sinewy, raw and big heavy-boned, thin through the breast to the back and narrow across the shoulders, standing he leaned forward; was what may be called stoop-shouldered, inclining to the consumptively built, his usual weight being about one hundred and sixty or eighty pounds. . . . His organism and structure were loose and leathery; his body was well shrunk, cadaverous and shriveled, having very dark skin, dry and tough, wrinkled and lying somewhat in flabby folds; dark hair, the man looking woe-struck. The whole man, body and mind, worked slowly, creakingly, as if it needed oiling. Physically he was a very powerful man, lifting, as said, with ease four or six hundred pounds. . . .

“Lincoln’s head was long and tall from the base of the brain to and from the eyebrows. His head ran backward, his forehead rising as it ran back at a low angle, like Clay’s and unlike Webster’s, almost perpendicular. The size of his hat, measured on the hatter’s hat block was $7\frac{1}{8}$, his head being from ear to ear six and a half inches. Thus measured it was not below the medium or average size.

“His forehead was narrow but high; his hair was dark, almost black, and lay floating where his fingers put it or the winds left it, piled up and tossed about at random; his cheekbones were high, sharp, and prominent; his eyebrows heavy and prominent; his jaws were long, upcurbed, and massive, looked solid, heavy, and strong; his nose was large, long, and blunt, a little awry toward the right eye; his chin was long, sharp and upcurved; his eyebrows cropped out like a huge jutting rock out of the brow of a hill; his face was long, narrow, sallow, and cadaverous, flesh shrunk, shriveled, wrinkled, and dry, having on his face a few hairs here and there; his cheeks were leathern and saffron-colored; his ears were large and ran out nearly at right angles from the sides of his head, caused by heavy hats in which he carried his big cotton or other handkerchief, his bank book, his letters, and his memoranda, generally, and partly by nature; . . . his head was well-balanced on his shoulders, his little gray eyes in the right place.

“There was the lone mole on his right cheek just a little above the right corner of his mouth and Adam’s apple on his throat. Beneath this rough and uncouth exterior was a very fine, and exceedingly fine physical organization, a fine and delicate network of nerves being woven through it along which feelings and thoughts travelled and flashed quicker than lightning.

“Thus I say stood, walked, looked, felt, thought, willed, and acted this peculiar and singular man; he was odd, angular, homely, but when those little gray eyes and face were lighted up by the inward soul on fires

of emotion, defending the liberty of man or proclaiming the truths of the Declaration of Independence, or defending justice and eternal right, then it was that all those apparently ugly or homely features sprang into organs of beauty, or sank themselves into the sea of his inspiration that on such occasions flooded up his manly face. Sometimes it did appear to me that Lincoln was just fresh from the presence and hands of his Creator."

Deeply Religious

Those who knew Lincoln realized here was an honest man, a man who had deep convictions, yes, and a man who was deeply religious. He never belonged to, and seldom attended a church. But he kept the Bible lying on his office desk while President, and is said to have read it often for inspiration. Many of his speeches betray a familiarity with the Scriptures that few, if any, other presidents have known.

And Lincoln was compassionate. It is said that while he was President, he saw a little old lady who needed someone to carry her heavy suitcase. But no one offered to assist. He gladly hoisted the heavy case upon his shoulder and took it to its destination — apparently without letting her know who he was.

On one occasion he learned of a soldier's widow who was being taken advantage of. She had gone to a lawyer to get the pension money which the government owed her. It amounted to about \$400. The lawyer then charged her \$200 for his services. Lincoln took it to court, and won the case. The jury made the lawyer refund all but \$50 dollars to the widow.

In 1832, while still a young man, Lincoln had purchased a partnership in a store in New Salem, Illinois with William F. Berry. They purchased the store on credit. Later, Lincoln recalled that their partnership "did nothing but get deeper and deeper in debt." After a few months the store failed.

Then Berry died in 1835. This left Lincoln liable for all the debts (about \$1,100) accrued in the partnership. Even though it took him several years to pay off the debt, he finally did it — thereby winning the nickname of "Honest Abe."

Lincoln and Herndon continued their law partnership for many years — from 1844 until Lincoln entered the White House. Even then, just before he left Springfield for Washington, Lincoln (knowing it would be to the advantage of Herndon) asked that his name be retained on the sign which advertised their law partnership.

Abraham Lincoln often charged very little for his services as a lawyer — especially when he was dealing with widows or with poor people, and he sometimes rendered free service when he knew his clients could ill afford to pay anything.

Though Lincoln generally appeared to be a humble man, often travelling with the common people on the train, and always avoiding show, he learned to have confidence in his own talents and abilities.

He realized, however, the wisdom of seeking the advice and counsel of others, and believed in appointing able men to assist him in his Presidency.

Shortly after his election, he appointed a number of able men to his cabinet. Salmon P. Chase and William H. Seward had been his principal rivals for the recent presidential nomination. Lincoln appointed Chase Secretary of the Treasury, and gave Seward the job of Secretary of State.

Other cabinet members included Edwin M. Stanton (Secretary of War), Gideon Welles (Secretary of the Navy), Caleb B. Smith (Secretary of the Interior), Montgomery Blair (Postmaster General), and Edward Bates (Attorney General).

Though Lincoln often sought advice, he didn't feel compelled to accept it unless he, in his own convictions, felt it was good.

Reportedly, on one occasion when the President sought advice from his cabinet, he informed them of his intended course of action, then asked for their counsel. All, without exception, were opposed to his plan of action. And some members of his cabinet felt they were much more able than the homely looking, awkward President — who somehow managed to get into the White House.

But these Cabinet members felt confident that the nation would be steered on a good course and was in safe hands so long as they were in his cabinet, and so long as they could pretty well run things.

On this occasion, after seeking the advice of the Cabinet, and after they *all* advised against his intended course of action, Lincoln announced: "Well, gentlemen, I see there are five *noes* and one *aye*. The ayes have it. And if I need your advice again, I shall call you. Good day, Gentlemen!"

But the President did accept the advice of others when he felt it was sound. Without first consulting his cabinet, he had drafted and soon intended to issue his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. He assembled his cabinet and told them he was not there to get their advice but was there to *inform* them that he intended to issue the Proclamation in the immediate future.

Various suggestions were made, including that of the Secretary of State (William H. Seward), who said he approved of issuing the proclamation, but suggested that Lincoln wait until the Union had won a victory, *then* make it.

Here is Seward's advice: "Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, is

so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help; the government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government."

Mr. Seward continued: "Now, while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue, until you can give it to the country supported by military success, instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war!"

The President later admitted: "His (Seward's) idea was that it would be considered our last *shriek*, on the retreat. The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State struck me with very great force. It was an aspect of the case that, in all my thought upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for a victory. . . ."

When General Lee's Confederate army had been repulsed at Antietam, and Lee retreated back into Virginia, Lincoln felt the Union had achieved enough of a victory to go ahead and make the proclamation.

Wise Advice to a Friend

Lincoln once wrote a letter to his step-brother which reveals great wisdom. When Lincoln's financial fortunes improved, his poor relatives often called upon him for assistance. And he is known to have given them considerable assistance — especially his step-mother whom he loved and respected very deeply.

But his relatives sometimes took advantage of him. Lincoln, though compassionate, was no pushover. The wisdom found in the following letter to his step-brother is outstanding:

Dear Johnston:

Your request for eighty dollars I do not think it best to comply with now. At the various times when I have helped you a little you have said to me, 'We can get along very well now'; but in a very short time I find you in the same difficulty again. Now, this can only happen by some defect in your conduct.

What that defect is, I think I know. You are not lazy, and still you are an idler. I doubt whether, since I saw you, you have done a good whole day's work in any one day. You do not very much dislike to work, and still you do not work much, merely because it does not seem to you that you could get much for it.

This habit of uselessly *wasting time* is the whole difficulty; it is vastly important to you, and still more so to your children, that you should break the habit. It is more important to them, because they have longer to live, and can keep out of an idle habit before they are in it, easier than they can get out after they are in.

You are now in need of some money; and what I propose is, that you shall go *to work*, 'tooth and nail,' for somebody who will give you

money for it. Let father and your boys take charge of your things at home, prepare for a crop, and make the crop, and you go to work for the best money wages, or in discharge of any debt you owe, that you can get; and, to secure you a fair reward for your labor, I now promise you, that for every dollar you will, between this and the first of May get for your own labor, either in money or as your own indebtedness, I will then give you one other dollar.

By this, if you hire yourself at ten dollars a month, from me you will get ten more, making twenty dollars a month for your work. In this I do not mean you shall go off to St. Louis, or the lead mines, or the gold mines in California, but I mean for you to go at it for the best wages you can get close to home in Coles County.

Now, if you will do this, you will be soon *out of debt*, and what is better, you will have a *habit* that will keep you from getting in debt again. But, if I should now clear you out of debt, next year you would be just as deep in debt as ever.

You say you would almost give your place in heaven for seventy or eighty dollars. Then you value your place in heaven very cheap, for I am sure you can, with the offer I make, get the seventy or eighty dollars for four or five months' work. You say if I will furnish you the money you will deed me the land, and, if you don't pay the money back, you will deliver possession. Nonsense! If you can't now live with the land, how will you then live without it?

You have always been kind to me, and I do not mean to be unkind to you. On the contrary, if you will but follow my advice, you will find it worth more than eighty times eighty dollars to you.

How Fortunate the Union

How fortunate the United States was to have a wise, humble, honest, far-sighted man of deep religious and moral convictions for their President at that time.

Many people (including not a few leaders) would have been willing to compromise, to let the southern states go their own way — let the wayward sisters depart in peace.

But, in 1861, the Union was in deadly peril. The real issue was not that of *slavery* — as Lincoln repeatedly affirmed — but was whether or not the Constitution granted each state the right to *secede* — thereby rupturing the Union beyond repair.

Though there is nothing which specifically authorizes or forbids a state in the Union to secede — yet Lincoln and other Northern leaders felt the true intent of the Constitution was that the states would be bound in *perpetual* Union.

It is true that during the latter part of the Civil War, the emphasis (after the Emancipation Proclamation) was placed on freeing the Negroes from their slavery. But the President led the United States into a Civil War — after the stars and stripes had been fired on — for the

express purpose of *preserving the Union* — not for the purpose of freeing the slaves.

During the first two or three years of the war, things went badly for the North. They suffered defeat after defeat, and at that time had just about reached the end of their rope. Some were ready to compromise — to grant the South their independence — thus permanently dividing the nation. But not the President. He never wavered.

Even though it took over six hundred thousand lives to prove that the Union was to be *perpetual*, the United States has continued to grow and prosper ever since the Civil War. This unparalleled growth has only been possible as a result of the states remaining united. It took the Civil War to prove that the Union was meant to be perpetual. And it took a strong President to withstand superhuman pressures from all sides, and to doggedly direct the Union to persevere to the end in order to preserve that Union intact.

Like Washington, Lincoln was no god, nor even an angel. But he was a wise, compassionate, far-sighted President. He was just what this nation needed to guide her through the most traumatic period in her history.

America's Bloody Civil War

Why did America have to suffer the ordeal of a bloody Civil War? What would cause brother to draw sword against brother, father against son?

What were the main issues which divided North and South? Could not their differences have been settled peacefully?

America's Civil War was the costliest (in human lives) this nation has ever fought — over 617,000 died and over 400,000 were wounded — well over a million in all.

During World War I, only 116,000 died, and America's World War II deaths of 405,400 were well below the Civil War deaths.

About 140,000 Union men actually died in *battle*, and 224,511 died from sickness and disease, accidents and other causes. All told, Union deaths amounted to about 364,511. Far more died from non-combat causes than in actual battle. The Confederate States lost about 164,821 in the war. Their actual battle deaths amounted to about 75,000, with 89,821 non-battle fatalities.

Why this horrible price in human lives? What had happened in the United States that made the States willing to fight a bloody fraternal war?

Causes of Civil War

There were many causes which lay behind the eruption of the Civil War. Many (if not most) historians think the main issue was slavery. Perhaps, in the eyes of the Southerners, slavery was the main issue. But this was not considered to be the main issue which provoked the war, at least among the North's leaders such as Lincoln and his ministers. To Lincoln, and to many Northerners, slavery was merely the catalyst. The issue of the Negro slavery merely triggered the far greater issue — that of *secession!*

Did individual states have the right to *secede* from the Union at will? Southerners generally supported the "states' rights" view which held that the Union was merely a *league of sovereign states*, each of which had the right to withdraw from the Union when it so desired.

It must be remembered that the "secession" issue was very old in U.S. history. Various *threats* and actual *attempts* to secede were made in 1798, 1812, 1832 and lastly in 1860-61.

The first secession threat followed the adoption of the Alien And Sedition Acts in 1798. These acts gave the federal government what some political leaders felt were bold-faced tyrannical powers. As a result of these acts, the Kentucky And Virginia Resolutions (1798 and 1799) clearly asserted that the government was merely a "compact" and the individual states, therefore, had the right to *nullify* unacceptable federal legislation.

By extension, this argument provided constitutional justification for secession in case the federal government attempted to enforce legislation which *any state* deemed was constitutionally unacceptable.

Steps to secede from the Union were actually taken by certain New England states during the War of 1812.

As early as 1832, the burning issue of *the national tariff* had brought the secession issue to a head. In that year South Carolina nullified the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832, and warned that she would secede from the Union if the federal government attempted to force the state into obeying the laws. What actually prevented South Carolina from seceding from the Union at that time? President Andrew Jackson was firmly against secession, and he threatened to hang their leader, John C. Calhoun, if South Carolina withdrew from the Union. Jackson issued a proclamation which declared that no state had a constitutional right to secede from the federal Union. In proposing a toast in 1830, President Jackson said: "Our Federal Union — it must be preserved."

John C. Calhoun believed that the Constitution was an agreement between the states which any state could break at will. He thought a state was sovereign and had the power of "nullification" if it so chose.

But Daniel Webster argued in the Congressional debates of 1830 that no state had the right to *secede*. Secession would smash the Union. And if the Union were destroyed, this meant "a land rent with civil feuds or drenched it may be in fraternal blood." Webster's final words were: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

And note carefully, that it was *not* the *slavery issue*, but the despised *national tariff* (which many Southerners thought hurt their economy), which nearly ruptured the Union in 1828-32. Slavery was not even an issue at the time. But the threat had been made, and would continue to be made for the next three decades.

Then when the extension of slavery into the Louisiana, Mexican and other new territories erupted in the 1840s and 1850s, this once again brought the *secession issue* to a head.

Papering Over the Cracks

Strong leaders in the Congress (Daniel Webster, Patrick Henry, John C. Calhoun, Stephen A. Douglas and others) had tried to avert bloodshed over this issue.

But instead of going to the real heart of the issue of slavery, they merely nibbled at its edges — merely papered over the serious ideological cracks which were appearing in the Union.

During the period from 1820 to 1854, the leaders tried the political expedient of compromise. After a series of lesser compromises, the Missouri Compromise of 1821 declared that one slave state must be added to the Union for every new free state.

The final compromise occurred in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 by which any territory (such as Kansas or Nebraska) could choose, if they so desired, to legalize slavery. Stephen A. Douglas was the champion of “popular sovereignty.” But neither Northerners nor Southerners were totally satisfied with this Congressional Act. Northerners didn't want a further extension of the South's “peculiar institution of slavery” and the Southerners were determined to see that the new territories became “slave” states.

What was it which finally killed the idea that it was possible by *compromise* to settle the slavery issue?

In 1857, the Supreme Court issued its famous *Dred Scott decision*. By this new ruling, slavery was, in effect, declared legal in any of the new territories — or so far as that mattered, according to the Constitution, it could not be legally prevented in any state which wanted it.

To Northerners, this was the last straw. They believed they had lost the legal battle to prevent the extension of slavery into the North. But the South was jubilant! They believed (what they had always known to be true) that the supreme law of the land, the U.S. Constitution, protected their “peculiar institution.” And the final interpreter of the Constitution, the Supreme Court, had ruled in their favor — saying that slavery could not be prohibited in the United States.

King Cotton

Thus the North and the South had reached a complete impasse. The economy of the North was based primarily on industry (with also considerable agricultural underpinnings) while that of the South was based almost wholly on agriculture.

In the South, King Cotton ruled supreme. When Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in 1782, suddenly the rapid expansion of the cotton industry was made possible. Previously, it took one slave a whole

day to remove the seed from a pound of cotton lint. Now with even a small hand-operated cotton gin, it was now possible for one slave to remove ten or twenty times that amount. And with new innovations in the cotton gin, the South could easily handle all the cotton they could ever hope to grow.

Southerners could now rapidly expand the cotton industry. This not only required new land, but it would take many more slaves to help plant, and pick the cotton. An inexhaustible supply of slaves was needed to reap this ever-increasing crop. And cotton soon became America's chief export to Europe — her number one dollar earner.

This fact convinced many Southerners that they could get along very well without the North. Furthermore, they came to believe that if the slavery issue provoked a showdown between North and South, they would have no trouble selling all their cotton to Europe, especially to France and England. They believed that the English and French were so dependent upon American cotton, that they would support a secessionist Southern cause — should the South decide to withdraw from the Union. Since nearly all American industry was located in the North, the South knew they could not hope to win a war unless they had the support of Europe. They would have to import massive shipments of weapons, machines and various products in order to provide their troops with the necessary equipment to fight the North.

A Fatal Plunge

With these views in mind, South Carolina was the first to secede from the Union in November 1860. By early 1861, the time of Lincoln's inauguration on March 4, six other Southern states had joined South Carolina in rebelling against the Union.

In 1860, President Buchanan pronounced secession illegal, but he concluded he was not empowered by the Constitution to coerce the rebel states to return to the Union. He opposed the secession, but in effect he said he was helpless either to prevent it or to do anything about it. This weak-kneed pronouncement merely strengthened the Southern view that they were acting according to their constitutional rights. They believed they were strong enough, diplomatically or militarily, to handle the situation.

Abraham Lincoln had made his views crystal clear on both the issues of *slavery* and *secession*. He strongly opposed the extension of slavery into any new territories, but he was willing to "let it alone" in those states where it had already taken root. He hoped, however, it could eventually be eradicated from America, but he thought this would take much time and patience. Lincoln was no abolitionist, and he stressed this fact repeatedly.

His convictions on the secession issue were even deeper, and had been stated with great clarity. To him it was unthinkable that the Union should let itself be dismembered by secessionists — regardless of their reasons for withdrawing from the Union.

“My Paramount Object”

President Lincoln believed the *collapse of the Union* would be a great catastrophe for the American nation. He clearly stated his view: “Physically speaking, we cannot separate.”

In August 1862, Lincoln wrote: “*I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. . . . If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them.*”

“*My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. . . .*”

Lincoln's Deliberate Slowness

Any apparent hesitancy or supposed wavering which Lincoln might be thought to have indulged in during the early months of his presidency was deliberate — not an act of timidity. For Lincoln had good reason not to act precipitously when he was inaugurated President on March 4th, 1861. A number of states hadn't yet decided which side they would join, and Lincoln didn't want to do anything which might cause them to join the rebel states.

Secondly, the whole U.S. army only numbered about 17,000 men at the time when the South fired on the stars and stripes at Fort Sumpter in Charleston Harbor on April 12th, 1861.

Also, as previously stated, Lincoln had the wisdom to order the Union forces to hold their fire — and thereby make the Confederates fire the first shots. This would solidify the entire North behind the President and the Union.

So, when the Confederates decided on a show-down by firing on and taking Fort Sumpter, on April 12th, Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 troops to beef up the Northern army, and, then on April 19th, he proclaimed a blockade of the entire South. This blockade was one of the

crucial aspects of the North-South struggle. The Union navy was able, right from the beginning of the war, to seize the initiative, and was finally able to effect a *complete* blockade of the South. This blockade slowly strangled the South. For they had little industry, and had to depend on Europe for their main supply of weapons, machinery and other war materials.

Both the North and the South had expected an easy, quick victory in the struggle. Southern men, more used to outdoor life than their Yankee kinsmen, believed one of them could lick four or five Yanks. Northerners boasted that the war would be over by Christmas. Both were woefully wrong. The war would turn out to be a long, drawn-out, bloody struggle which would witness brother fighting against brother, father against son.

In President Lincoln's First Inaugural Address on March 4, 1861 he said: "In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right?" If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with his eternal truth and justice, *be on your side of the North*, or on yours of the *South*, that truth and that justice will surely prevail. . . ."

President Lincoln even confessed in his Second Inaugural Address on March 4, 1865: "Neither party (North or South) expected for the war the *magnitude* or the *duration* which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. *Each looked for an easier triumph*, and a result less fundamental and astounding."

Lincoln continued: "*Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. . . .* The prayers of both could not be answered — that of neither has been answered fully.

"The Almighty has his own purposes. . . . Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. . . ."

The Real Battle Begins

The first major engagement of the Civil War occurred on July 21, 1861 when a Union army of 35,000 attacked a Confederate force of 20,000 at *Bull Run*, 30 miles south of Washington, D.C.

General Thomas Jackson's stubborn refusal to retreat won him the nickname of "Stonewall" Jackson. His unwillingness to retreat was partly responsible for the ultimate routing of the Union army and a confederate victory.

Stonewall Jackson and his troops stood their ground, thwarting several Union assaults, after which the Union forces broke and fled to Washington in wild retreat. This humiliating defeat for the North underlined the unpleasant fact that the war would *not* be short.

The North won minor successes on August 28-29 when the Federal navy captured the Confederate strongholds — Fort Hatteras and Fort Clark. These minor triumphs were followed on November 7 by an amphibious assault of the Union forces on the Southern deep-water base at Port Royal, near Charleston, South Carolina.

“Unconditional Surrender Grant”

In February 1862, a determined effort was made by the Union forces in the western theater of the war to capture the Southern fortifications controlling the vital water traffic on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers in the Mississippi Valley. Fort Henry surrendered on February 6, and Fort Donelson fell six days later.

During those attacks, the staunch Brigadier General Ulysses S. Grant commanded the Federal army. The Confederate commander at Fort Donelson asked for “the best terms of capitulation.” Grant’s reply: “No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted.” This tough attitude won Grant the nickname “Unconditional Surrender Grant.”

Union forces still hoped to capture Richmond, and bring the Civil War to a quick end. General George B. McClellan prepared to move his army from the Washington area down the Potomac to Fort Monroe; then he planned to march overland via the peninsula between the York and James Rivers.

But, for this plan to succeed, the Union forces had to continue to maintain naval superiority. This was seriously challenged in the famous battle at Hampton Roads on March 9, 1862 — between the ironclad gunboat *Monitor*, and the Confederate armored ship *Merrimac*. Neither side achieved a decisive victory, but the *Merrimac* continued to threaten Federal ships using the James River. This prevented McClellan’s attempted strike at the Confederate capital at Richmond.

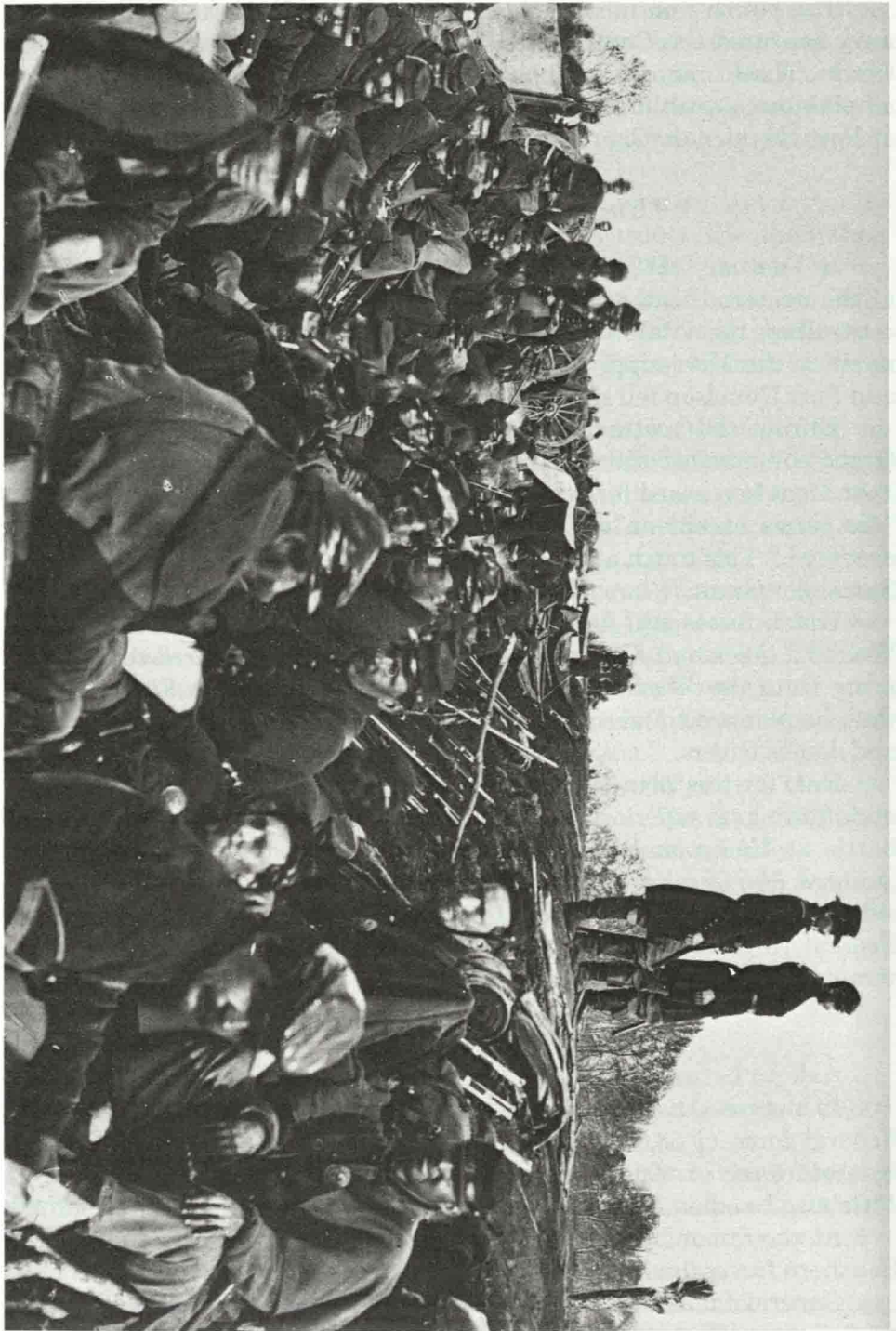
Bloody Shiloh

In the west, the second great battle of the war was taking shape. A Federal force of 38,000 under General Grant was attacked by a Confederate force of 40,000, under the command of General Johnston at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee on April 6th.

At the famous Battle of Shiloh (named after a nearby church) the Southern forces finally retreated, but in good order.

General Johnston’s surprise attack spoiled Grant’s plans for a quick, easy victory. Casualties were high on both sides — about 13,000 Union and 10,500 Confederates.

The next area to see action was farther south. Captain David G.



Weary Union soldiers wait for their next marching orders during the bloody Civil War. — U.S. Signal Corps Photo

Farragut, commanding a Union fleet of 23 ships, boldly sailed past Fort St. Philip and Fort Jackson in the mouth of the Mississippi River, and captured New Orleans on April 25, 1862.

Next, back on the eastern front, General McClellan, the commander of the Union Army of the Potomac, again moved over 100,000 troops from Alexandria, Virginia (near Washington D.C.), and sailed down to Fort Monroe and began advancing up the peninsula toward Richmond.

But the Confederate General "Stonewall" Jackson with more than 15,000 Confederate troops executed a diversionary attack along the Shenandoah Valley. From May 15 to June 9, General Jackson carried out a number of well-executed advances and feints west of Washington — for the purpose of distracting the Union armies.

General Jackson defeated the numerically superior Federal armies in a series of engagements at Front Royal, Cross Keys and Port Republic.

But while the Confederate Jackson's brilliant maneuvering was in progress, the Union Army of the Potomac besieged and occupied Yorktown, then continued menacingly on toward the Confederate capital of Richmond.

General McClellan's advance toward Richmond was momentarily halted at Williamsburg on May 5, 1862 by a Confederate rearguard action. But the Union forces resumed the offensive, crossed the Chickahominy River and clashed with Southern forces near Fair Oaks, where they defeated the Confederates.

General Lee in Command

During that engagement, General Johnston of the South was wounded, and was replaced by General Robert E. Lee — who was probably the Civil War's most brilliant commander.

After the Confederate defeat, the Southerners retreated to Richmond.

But the South now had a valiant, wise General in charge. General Robert E. Lee, reinforced by General Jackson's troops, decided to launch an immediate offensive against the North. Seven days of savage battles followed: Mechanicsville (June 26), Gaines' Mill (June 27th), Savage's Station (June 29), Glendale (June 30), and Malvery Hill (July 7th). After the seven days of bloody battles, Union troops retreated, and the threat to Richmond was removed — at least for the time being.

Battle of Antietam

Now General Lee decided to strike directly toward Washington. But General McClellan dispatched a large Union force to counter Lee's



General Robert E. Lee was offered command of the Union forces, but could not draw the blood of his fellow-Southerners. Lee served as General of Confederate troops during the Civil War. — *Wide World Photo*

move. The two armies collided on August 29-30 at Manassas Junction, not far from where the first bloody battle of Bull Run had been fought a year earlier.

Even though the Union army (with 63,000) outnumbered the Confederates (54,000) under Lee, the northerners were completely routed. Lee continued his advance. The following month one of the bloodiest struggles of the war was fought at Sharpsburg on the *Antietam*, a small stream in Western Maryland. At Antietam, Lee's army of 50,000 faced McClellan's force of 85,000 on September 17th, 1862.

Both sides suffered heavy casualties — about 12,500 (Union), and 10,750 (Confederate) casualties. Even though the outcome was indecisive, Lee's heavy losses forced him to retreat into Virginia, thereby lifting the danger of a direct frontal assault on Washington or other northern cities.

The North looked upon the battle at Antietam as a kind of victory — which was just what they had been hoping and praying for. Lincoln was especially eager to obtain a victory so he could announce his Emancipation Proclamation. Also, he had been severely criticized by the press and by many Congressmen for the way the war was being conducted. Even the London *Times* had mockingly referred to the awkward looking President as “the Baboon.”

A few days later, on September 17th, Lincoln issued his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. He gave the South 100 days to lay down their arms and cease their rebellion. Otherwise, he assured them, he would issue (and make legally binding on all *rebel* states) the Emancipation Proclamation which would free all of their slaves.

Most Southerners merely sneered and scoffed. They knew Lincoln didn't have the power to enforce the proclamation in their states. The final decision would be made on the battlefields — not in the White House. At least, that is what they believed.

Union Defeat at Fredericksburg

During 1862, the North made another major effort to capture the Confederate capital of Richmond. General Ambrose E. Burnside (who had replaced McClellan) marched his 115,000 troops from Antietam toward Richmond.

As the Union army attempted (on December 13) to cross the Rappahannock River at Fredericksburg, Virginia, they were confronted by General Lee's army of about 80,000, entrenched on the other side. The Union army was repulsed with heavy casualties of over 12,000, while the Confederates sustained only about 5,500. This Union defeat was such a stunning blow to the North that President Lincoln at General Burnside's own request, relieved him of his command, and appointed

General Joseph ("Fighting Joe") Hooker commander of the Army of the Potomac.

Meanwhile, in the western theater of the war, following the Battle of Shiloh in Tennessee on April 6, 1862, the Confederates advanced into Kentucky. On October 8, 1862, after sustaining a costly defeat in a fierce battle at Perryville, Kentucky, they were forced back into Tennessee.

The Confederate forces of about 35,000 then moved south, and encountered a Federal army of about 45,000. The battle began on the very last day of 1862 and continued until the 2nd of January, 1863. A draw resulted. The Confederates then withdrew and the Union forces took possession of Murfreesboro. Once again, casualties were very high. Union losses were about 13,000. The Confederates lost about 10,000.

The North Captures Vicksburg

The Union forces in Mississippi had tried repeatedly to take the Confederate stronghold of Vicksburg. All attempts had failed. Then on March 29, General Grant launched another offensive. By the 19th of May, Union forces had surrounded Vicksburg's 30,000 Confederate defenders. The Southern commander, Pemberton, finally surrendered Vicksburg on July 4th after a long 47-day siege.

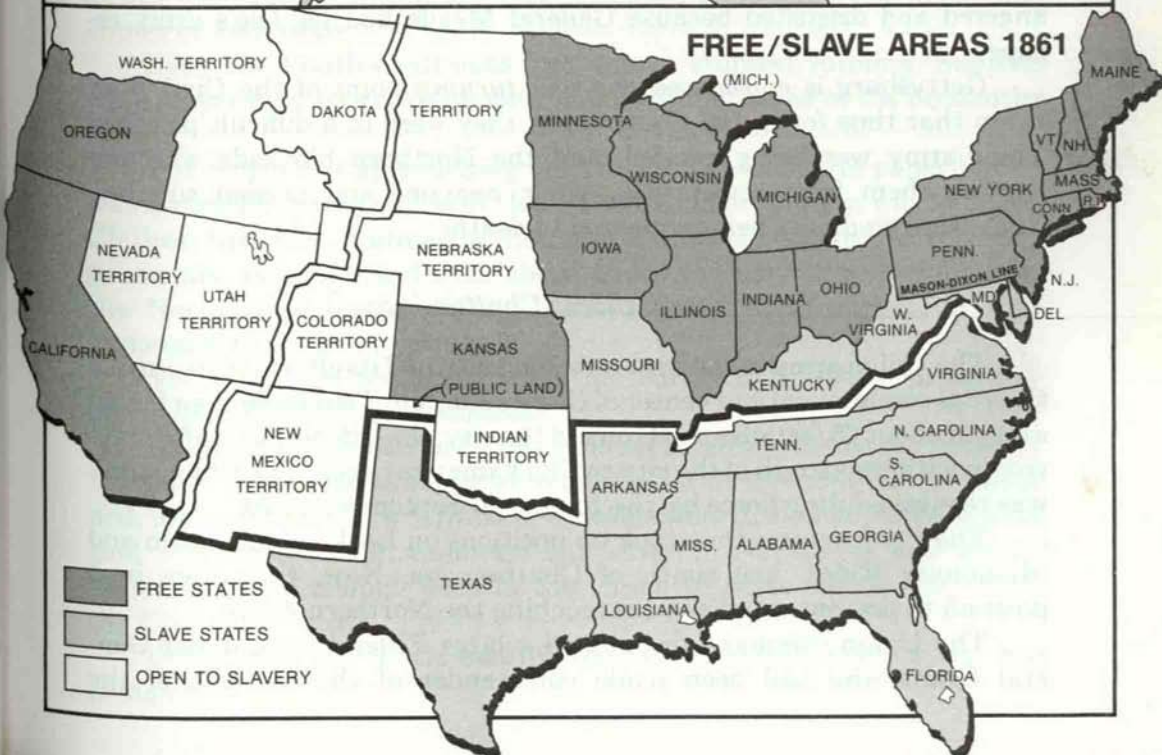
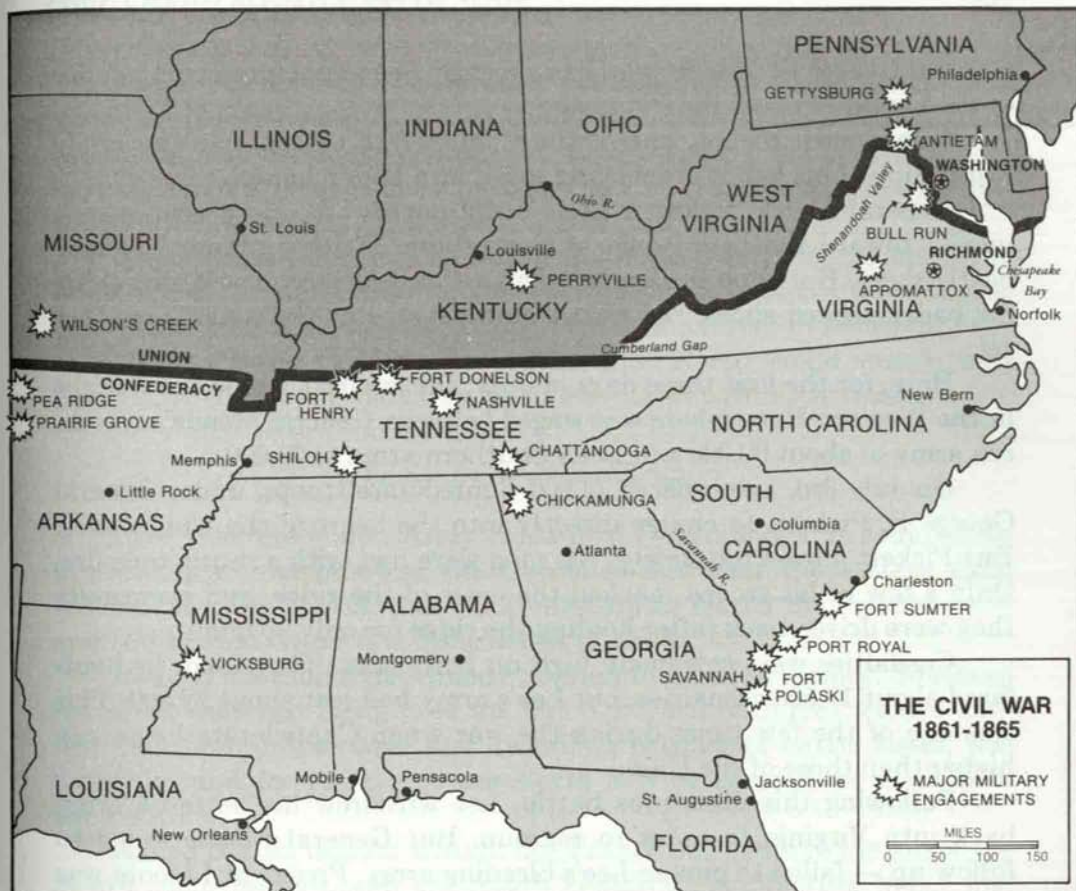
Port Hudson, Louisiana was captured by Union forces on July 8th. The Union army had now split the Confederacy into two parts. The North now firmly controlled the Mississippi. Shortly afterward, Lincoln commented: "The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea."

Back in the east, a series of battles had been fought from May 2 to May 4, 1863 between the Army of the Potomac and General Lee's army at the small Spotsylvania County village of Chancellorsville. General Lee's army of only 60,000 opposed General Hooker's Union army of about 134,000. Although the South won, casualties were very high — especially on the Northern side. Union forces suffered about 18,000 casualties while the Confederates had about 13,000.

But Lee's brilliant victory over the Union army was overshadowed by an ominous event for the South. General "Stonewall" Jackson, Lee's ablest general, was accidentally shot and killed by his own troops during the fighting.

Turning Point of the War — Gettysburg

After the victory, Lee became convinced that he could successfully invade the North again. During the early part of June, the Confederate army marched up the Shenandoah Valley into Pennsylvania. But they were soon opposed by a large Union army under the command of Major



General George G. Meade, who had recently been appointed commander of the Union Army of the Potomac.

Unbeknown to Lee, one of the Confederate officers had carelessly lost a copy of his battle orders, and it fell into Union hands.

General Meade followed Lee's army northward. Both armies now moved toward the little town of Gettysburg. Neither planned to give battle there. But shooting began when a Confederate brigade, searching for badly needed shoes, ran into Union cavalry at Gettysburg on July 1st.

Here, for the first three days in July, the greatest battle ever fought in the Western Hemisphere was waged between General Meade's Northern army of about 90,000 and Lee's Southern army of 75,000.

On July 3rd, Lee ordered 14,000 Confederate troops, under General George E. Pickett, to charge directly into the heart of the Union lines. But Pickett moved too slowly. His men were met with a murderous fire. Only a few of his troops reached the crest of the ridge, and eventually they were driven back (after holding the ridge for only 20 minutes).

Casualties were extremely high on both sides. The North had suffered about 17,500 casualties, but Lee's army had lost about 22,500. This was one of the few times during the war when Confederate losses ran higher than those of the Union.

Following this disastrous battle, Lee withdrew his battered army back into Virginia in order to regroup. But General Meade failed to follow up — failed to pursue Lee's bleeding army. President Lincoln was angered and disgusted because General Meade had let Lee's army escape.

Gettysburg is considered the real *turning point* of the Civil War. From that time forth, the South knew they were in a difficult position. Their army was being mauled, and the Northern blockade was preventing them from replenishing their weapons and needed supplies. They were gradually being squeezed to death.

Union Captures Chattanooga

The Union army in the west now concentrated its efforts on capturing the vital communications center of Chattanooga in Tennessee. As a Union army of about 65,000 advanced toward the city, the defending Confederate troops withdrew south of the city to Chickamauga Creek. The Union army was repulsed during fierce battles fought on September 19-20.

The Confederates then took up positions on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, just south of Chattanooga. Now, they were in a position to prevent supplies from reaching the Northern Army.

The Union command dispatched a large Federal force under General Grant who had been made commander of the Division of the

Mississippi. Under Grant's decisive generalship, a fierce battle was joined on November 23-25. Union troops stormed and captured Lookout Mountain, and Missionary Ridge fell to Northern soldiers after a wild bayonet charge. During these battles, the Union suffered 11,500 casualties and the South sustained about 17,000.

It was a costly defeat. The Union victory at Chattanooga, one of the South's most strategic centers, was a staggering blow to Southern hopes. They knew that the way now lay open for Union forces to sweep into the very heart of the Confederate states. The North could march into Georgia, Alabama and the other Southern states with little resistance.

The South Near Bankruptcy

Now that the Union Army controlled Chattanooga, it could move into Georgia, Alabama and the Carolinas and split the eastern Confederacy in two. This is what the Confederates feared they would do — and this is what Grant and his generals ordered.

In early 1864, all signs already pointed to a Union victory. Southern resources were fast being used up, but Northern resources seemed endless. Southern armies were fast dwindling because of battle losses, war weariness and desertion. And the North now occupied large sections of the South.

Added to this, neither Britain nor France had come to the aid of the South (as expected), and the South couldn't manufacture many machines or munitions.

Even the South's railroads had almost stopped running. Supplies were desperately short. Many were going without some of the necessities of life.

The South was approaching bankruptcy. Confederate paper-money was becoming practically worthless. The transport system was in chaos. Clothes, furniture, railroad rolling stock, railroad engines, machinery, paper, ink, matches, and even shoes had previously been bought from the North. Now many of these items were in short supply, or were impossible to get at any price.

Yet, while the South suffered, the North continued to prosper — partly as a result of war contracts!

Railroads continued to be flung across America, industry expanded, financiers prospered, the westward expansion of the population continued, pioneers broke new farmland, oil-wells were drilled in Pennsylvania, gold was discovered in Colorado and silver in Nevada — and 800,000 immigrants had enough faith in the Union to enter the country while the Civil War raged.

Other than the battle deaths, the North hardly knew a war was going on.

In short, while the Southern states were suffering desperate hardship in a struggle for the bare necessities for life, the North piled up profits, and reinvested them in the opening up of the continent.

Grant Made Supreme Commander

The war had been going well for the North during 1863. Abraham Lincoln decided he didn't want to lose the fruits of those victories. He therefore appointed General Grant Commander-in-Chief of the Union armies on March 9, 1864. Many had criticized Grant after the Union sustained heavy losses at the Battle of Shiloh, and urged the President to replace him. Lincoln refused, saying: "I can't spare this man — he fights!"

Lincoln had appointed several generals, but always found some serious flaw in the way they conducted the war. One after the other (McClellan, Hooker, Burnside, Meade), they were relieved of their command as Lincoln sought a good general.

Now, Lincoln believed he had a general who would *fight* — and win victories for the North. So he appointed Grant to coordinate all the Union armies.

Grant may not have been a brilliant General, but he had dogged perseverance. He knew how to hit hard, and then hit again and again. This made him a formidable enemy by anyone's standard.

General Grant quickly drew up a clear, strategic plan for victory. He would pursue Lee relentlessly — keeping up the pressure until his army was exhausted. On May 4th, a strong Union force of about 100,000 under Grant's direct command crossed the Rapidan in a very desolate part of northern Virginia. This area was overgrown with almost impenetrable thickets.

On May 5th, General Lee launched his counter attack against Grant in what has since been called the *Battle of the Wilderness*. The subsequent engagement caused much confusion on both sides. Fires sweeping through the underbrush only added to the confusion and disorder. Lee stopped the Union advance. Grant's first attempt to surround Lee had failed.

The fighting shifted from the wilderness to the small village of Spotsylvania, Virginia. For five long, weary days, Lee's valiant troops withstood the Union's concentrated onslaughts. Staggering losses were sustained by both sides — Union losses amounted to about 10,000 and Confederate losses about 9,000.

By now General Lee was being subjected to relentless pressure. He withdrew to Cold Harbor (about 10 miles from Richmond), where the Confederates had strong earthwork defenses.

But Grant would not let up. On June 3rd, his Union troops released

a massive frontal assault to crush Lee's battered army. Again the Northerners were driven back, this time with a loss of about 6,000 troops.

General Grant then changed tactics and made a sudden advance against Petersburg (a rail and road center, south of Richmond) on June 14th. He followed up with another attack on the city on June 18, but was beaten back by the Confederates. Further attempts were also repulsed, as the South's stronghold held firm. To break the stalemate, the Union forces decided to try something new. They tunnelled under Petersburg's defenses and exploded a powerful mine, causing many Confederate deaths. Still, the tunnel didn't enable them to take the city. Grant called the "tunnel" plan a "stupendous failure." Grant finally put the city under siege from June 20, 1864 through April 1, 1865.

During the entire Wilderness campaign, the South sustained 39,000 casualties, while the North suffered the staggering loss of 55,000 men.

It was during Petersburg's siege that General Lee dispatched a raiding expedition through the Shenandoah Valley in June, 1864, following General Stonewall Jackson's earlier example. Lee hoped this would force Grant to send some of his besieging troops to defend Washington, D.C.

This Confederate foray (led by General Jubal A. Early) attacked one of the forts on the very outskirts of Washington. During this attack, President Lincoln stood on a parapet watching the battle, while bullets spattered around him. He is the only U.S. President ever to be under enemy fire while in office.

Eventually the infantry force commanded by General Early was defeated at Winchester, Cedar Creek and Fisher's Hill, and ceased to be a nettlesome threat in the North. In the meantime, the siege of Petersburg continued.

While General Grant continued hammering away at Lee in the east, Admiral David G. Farragut sailed into the harbor of Mobile, Alabama, and continued to completely blockade the city. By January, 1865, the port of Wilmington, North Carolina had fallen into Northern hands. Charleston, South Carolina still held out.

Atlanta Falls to Sherman

Grant had ordered General Sherman's army to advance on Atlanta, Georgia in May, 1864. Leaving Chattanooga with his army of about 100,000, he headed straight for Atlanta. A number of running fights occurred — as General Joseph E. Johnston opposed him with a force of about 60,000.

Many in the North were becoming war-weary. The South tried to hold out, hoping that the fall election in the north would oust President Lincoln and his government. Then they thought they could negotiate an honorable settlement.

Though the Union and Southern forces had many encounters, General Johnston and his Confederates always managed to escape. Their largest battle took place at Kennesaw Mountain on June 27. It resulted in a Union setback. About 2,000 Union men were lost, while the Confederates suffered only 270 casualties. But the setback was only temporary.

General Sherman seized Atlanta's only railroad in order to cut the Confederate supply line. On September 1, General Hood (who had replaced General Johnston) evacuated the city, and Sherman took it the next day. His capture of Atlanta, thus opening up the heartland of the South, came just in time to help Lincoln win the autumn election.

Sherman's "March to the Sea"

General Sherman began his famous (or infamous, as viewed by Southerners) "march to the sea" in November. His troops had left Atlanta in flames. Now, General Sherman and his troops began their devastating march toward Savannah. Sherman's deliberate, calculated plan was to destroy as much property as possible — thereby weakening the will of the South to resist further.

As he and his army of about 60,000 marched toward the sea, they destroyed just about everything in their path — including strictly civilian property. They swept forward on a 60-mile front, carrying destruction and utter devastation along with them. The Union army stripped houses, barns, fields, and burned and looted as they went. They tore up railroad tracks and made fires with the ties. They heated the rails until they were red-hot and bent them around trees to make "Sherman hair-pins" or "Sherman neckties." The total amount of destruction done by Sherman's army as it marched through Georgia has never been accurately calculated.

General Sherman reached Savannah and occupied it on December 21st. He sent President Lincoln a Christmas message: "... General Sherman makes the American people a Christmas present of the city of Savannah with 150 heavy guns and 25,000 bales of cotton."

General Hood, after retreating from Atlanta, led his Confederate army northwest into Tennessee in a vain attempt to cut Sherman's line of supply and communication. But Sherman had foreseen this possibility, and forestalled any successful attempt by dispatching 30,000 Union troops to reinforce the Northern army at Nashville, Tennessee.

These Union and Confederate armies met in battle on December 15-16 near Nashville. During this two-day battle, the Union army cut General Hood's Confederate troops into shreds. Confederate losses were nearly 4,500 men. The North lost slightly under 3,000. This defeat destroyed Hood's army as a fighting force, and ended any serious military threat by the Confederates in the West.

But in the east, the mopping up process continued.

After occupying Savannah, Georgia for a while, General Sherman decided to march northward. By so doing he could accomplish two important goals: Firstly, he wanted to punish the South Carolinians for their part in leading the rebels in the secession. Secondly, he wanted to join up with Grant's army and help deal the final *coup de grace* to Lee and any other Confederate forces who might come to his defense.

From Savannah, Sherman marched through South Carolina, burning and plundering. Apparently the devastation following his march through South Carolina was even worse than his march through Georgia. Soon both North and South Carolina were in the hands of Federal troops.

A Desperate Lee

In the meantime, things were worsening by the hour for General Lee in Northern Virginia. Though the Confederates had been able to maintain their positions at Petersburg and Richmond, their effective resistance was weakening.

Desertions continued and it was difficult for Lee to get new supplies for his army.

Grant's Union army now totalled about 125,000, while Lee's dwindling Confederate army had been reduced to 57,000. Lee knew he was in a desperate situation. General Grant began encircling Lee's army on March 29th. After a number of inconclusive engagements, at Five Forks, the Confederate line was finally breached, forcing Lee to withdraw his troops from Petersburg and Richmond. General Lee then planned to rendezvous with General Johnston in the south.

Lee's hastily retreating army followed the Appomattox River. Grant and his men followed in hot pursuit. For four days the two opposing armies fought a running battle.

A peace conference held in Hampton Roads on February 3, 1865 failed. President Davis of the Confederacy still insisted that the North recognize the independence of the South. So the war went on.

Grant pursued Lee relentlessly and finally managed to block his retreat. By this time, with his army being reduced by desertions, and his supply lines all cut, General Lee realized that to continue fighting would mean useless sacrifice of lives. He sent a message to Grant asking for an interview so terms of surrender could be considered.

Lee's Surrender

The Civil War was just about over. The two great generals Lee and Grant met in a farmhouse at the little country settlement of Appomattox Court House on Sunday, April 9, 1865.

This meeting between Grant and Lee was one of the most dramatic scenes of America's history. Lee, a true Southern gentleman, was attired in an immaculate uniform, complete with swords. Cigar-chewing General Grant wore a dirty, mud-spattered private's coat. Only his shoulder straps revealed his rank.

Grant offered Lee generous terms of surrender, and Lee accepted them with deep appreciation. The victorious general granted the Confederate soldiers a full day's rations, and released them on parole. Furthermore, Grant allowed them to keep their horses. Southern officers were also permitted to retain their side arms.

The terrible, bloody Civil War was just about over. When General Johnston got word of Lee's surrender, he surrendered to General Sherman on April 26, near Durham, North Carolina.

President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, fled south, but was captured by Union troops.

On May 4, General Richard Taylor surrendered the Confederate forces in Alabama and Mississippi. And then, finally, General Edmund Kirby-Smith and his army laid down their arms on May 26th.

The war, which had been fought to *preserve the Union*, was over at last. Families could be reunited, and the states could be reunited. Reconstruction could begin.

But the Civil War left a deep-seated legacy of fear, mistrust, suspicion, hatred and galling bitterness in its wake. It would take several generations for the wounds of the Civil War to completely heal.

One hate-filled Southern sympathizer, John Wilkes Booth, son of Brutus Booth, crept into the President's box at Ford's Theater on April 14, 1865 — just five days after Lee's surrender — and shot Lincoln at point blank range. The President died the following day.

After fatally shooting Lincoln, the assassin leaped down upon the stage, brandishing a huge knife as he shouted "Sic semper tyrannis! (Thus always to tyrants!) The South is avenged." Booth broke his leg in the leap, but he escaped through a back door, mounted a waiting horse and fled to Virginia where he was found hiding, and was shot, twelve days later.

Why the Union Won

Why did the North win the war?

The North was comprised of 23 states with a population of about twenty two million.

The eleven slave states which seceded from the Union and formed the Confederacy, had a population of only nine million. About three and one half million of those were slaves, leaving approximately five and one

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declaration have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to *saving* the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to *destroy* it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

MARCH 4, 1865.

half million whites. The North had a numerical white population about four times that of the whites living in the South.

As has already been mentioned, nearly all *industry* was located in the North. The South had counted on Cotton Diplomacy (King Cotton ruled their economy) to give them enough leverage in Europe to pressure Britain and/or France to supply them with needed munitions and other industrial goods. But, though many in Britain sympathized with the South, neither France nor Britain dared intervene on the part of the Confederacy.

When the war broke out, England had enough bales of cotton on hand to last her until well into the Civil War period. By the time her cotton supplies were running low, the Union had declared the slaves free, and this caused many in Europe to look with favor on the North. At least popular sentiment in Britain was with the North, and against the Southern slave holders.

Another plus for the Union was the fact that the North had the only creditable navy. Though the South did damage Northern shipping at the beginning of the war, the North early seized the initiative on the seas, and maintained it throughout the war. All of the South was soon blockaded, and this prevented her from exporting her cotton and other products; and at the same time, it also kept her from importing needed machines, munitions and other articles necessary to keep the Southern war machine and economy humming.

Before long, the South was in economic shambles — about bankrupt! Southern paper currency soon became almost worthless. Inflation reached astronomic proportions. Needed articles of food, clothes, furniture — and most importantly, war materials — were not getting through. The South came to realize they were being slowly strangled to death. But they were helpless to prevent this, for they had no navy with which to break the blockade.

A Strong Union President

The North had a much stronger leader in its President, than had the South. Lincoln proved to be a strong, wise, patient far-sighted leader, who was not afraid to assume whatever powers he felt he needed to *preserve the Union*.

But President Jefferson Davis, though an able man, didn't have the power and authority to knock the heads of the Southern governors together so they would support him with enough taxation, army recruits and whatever else was needed. They had broken away from the Union because they had a jealous concern for their "states' rights." And they were not going to give up those rights even to the President of the Confederacy.

Thus the North were more united politically, and toward the end of the war, militarily, than was the South. On March 9, 1864, Lincoln had appointed Grant the supreme commander over all the Union armies. Jefferson Davis only appointed General Lee supreme commander of all Confederate armies on Feb. 6, 1865 — just shortly before the war ended — far too late to do any good!

The South had only two or three distinct advantages at the beginning of the war. The South had very able generals right from the beginning. Robert E. Lee was considered America's best general. President Lincoln, recognizing this fact, had offered him the command of the Union army — if he had wanted it. General "Stonewall" Jackson was also rated an excellent general.

The North had some good generals, but Lincoln hired, then fired several mediocre generals (McClellan, Burnside, Hooker, Meade) before he finally found Grant — a man who would really fight.

From the very beginning, the South also had a much larger reservoir of toughened soldiers — especially cavalymen — than did the North. Since the South was almost wholly agricultural nearly all her soldiers were from the farm, and were more used to the outdoor life. Consequently, they made tougher, better soldiers than did many of the North's city boys.

Most of the North's soldiers came from the big industrial cities, where they had been weakened by city living. Furthermore, Southerners grew up being used to riding and shooting. Their familiarity with the gun and the saddle gave them a clear-cut advantage over city-bred soldiers.

Confederate cavalry charges were much more successful than those of the Union — on the eastern front. But in the western theater of the war, where many of the Union soldiers also came from the farms, Northern cavalymen did just as well as the Confederates.

Northerners who sympathized with the South were called "copperheads" and were very unpopular in the Union. During the war years President Lincoln suspended the Constitutional right of *habeas corpus* in those areas where there were known to be active sympathizers with the South. This caused much grumbling, but Lincoln defended his action as necessary to the preservation of the Constitution and the Union.

What was accomplished by the Civil War? The war left a legacy of hatred and bitterness. But, were there any positive results of that bloody war?

"A Perpetual Union"

There were many honest people in both North and South, before the Civil War, who agreed that the Constitution did not prevent a dissatisfied state from withdrawing (or seceding) from the Union.

In actual fact, the Constitution does *not explicitly* say that a state can or cannot secede from the Union. There is nothing in the present Constitution that specifically says the Union was to be *perpetual*.

America's first constitution, The Articles of Confederation, did repeatedly state "the union shall be perpetual." But the Founding Fathers, who, in 1787, framed the present Constitution, overlooked including the vital word, "perpetual," in the important document. Had they clearly, explicitly said that the "Union shall be perpetual," the Civil War might never have been fought, and the slavery issue might have been settled peacefully.

The Civil War settled once and for all whether the Union was intended to be perpetual, or whether any dissenting state could *secede* at will. The answer? No!

But the secession issue was not settled in Congress or by the Supreme Court. Rather it was settled by the Executive branch of government. It was settled on the battlefield. President Lincoln believed the intent, even if not clearly stated, of the Constitution was that the Union would be *perpetual*. He believed it was *unconstitutional*, and was, therefore, illegal for any state to *withdraw* from the Union.

No one now argues that the Union is not to be perpetual. And no one now argues that any state has the right to secede from the Union. All now know, as a result of the Civil War, that any state which tries to withdraw from the Union will quickly be brought back into the Union with whatever force necessary to preserve the Union.

Another positive good which resulted from the Civil War — slavery was abolished! Lincoln realized that he could take this step, because fraternal blood had already been shed. So, in December, 1865, Congress passed Amendment XIII, thereby abolishing slavery in the U.S. and in all of her territories.

But any beneficial results of the Civil War had been obtained at a colossal price — over six hundred thousand dead, and many hundreds of thousands wounded. And a legacy of grief, bitterness and *resentment* lingered in the South, and also in the North, for many decades after the Civil War.

Many fine old Southern homes and mansions were destroyed, and the Southern economy lay in smouldering ruins in 1865 — due largely to General Sherman's deliberate policy of trying to destroy the South's economy. This meant Southerners would remain comparatively poor and backward for a long time to come.

General Sherman's deliberate, systematic destruction is said to have haunted him throughout the remainder of his life. Speaking before the graduating class of the Michigan Military Academy — fifteen years later — Sherman lamented: "I am tired and sick of war. Its glory is all moonshine. It is only those who have neither fired a shot nor heard the

shrieks and groans of the wounded who cry aloud for blood, more vengeance, more desolation. War is hell.”

Let us hope that we Americans have learned our lesson — and will never again be tempted — under any pretext — to engage in another bloody Civil War. *Union* gives domestic strength, peace, growth, prosperity, and power and prestige abroad. Division and disunity bring confusion, chaos, hatred and bloodshed.

Hopefully, we all now firmly believe that our Union is a *perpetual union!*

The Rising Colossus

It is inevitable that devastation, chaos, fear, hatred and bitterness follow in the wake of war. The Civil War was no exception.

No amount of legislation could wave aside the ideological, economic and social differences which had separated North and South before the war. These differences still remained when the war ended in 1865.

But the Union now held all the trump cards. The Confederacy had been beaten on the battlefield, and many of its cities and towns had been utterly destroyed. Also, on the economic side, many of the big plantations and farms had become overgrown with weeds while the cream of Southern manhood was away fighting the war. It would take many years to nurse the South back to economic health.

President Abraham Lincoln had been tragically assassinated by John Wilkes Booth while attending a performance at Ford's Theater, only five days after Lee had surrendered at Appomattox Court House. Had Lincoln lived to preside over the immediate post-war reconstruction era, things might have gone much more smoothly. But the assassin's bullet put an end to Lincoln's plans of a moderate policy toward the defeated South.

President Andrew Johnson

Vice President Andrew Johnson succeeded to the presidency (1865-69). Unfortunately, he was not the giant that Lincoln was. Like Lincoln, Johnson had been born in poverty and he never attended one day of school. He taught himself to read in his teens, and, with his wife's encouragement, learned to write.

Johnson's tailor shop became a place of debate for the local people of Greenville, Tennessee. He was elected alderman, mayor, and was elected to the state legislature. He then became a U.S. Congressman, governor of Tennessee, and eventually was elected to the Senate — where he championed the cause of the small farmer and the mountaineer against the Northern tycoons and Southern plantation aristocrats.

When Tennessee seceded from the Union, Johnson was the only one

among the Southern senators who stayed behind in Washington — and was quickly branded a traitor back in Tennessee.

Lincoln chose Andrew Johnson as the man to run as vice-president with him, and both he and Lincoln won the election of 1861. When the assassin's bullet cut short Lincoln's life, this honest, yet simple man found himself catapulted into the White House.

But President Johnson didn't have adequate training to make a good, wise president. He proved no match for the powerful men who controlled Congress at the time. A long tug-of-war between the President and Congress resulted — with Congress winning most of the battles.

Chaos in the South

President Andrew Johnson favored following Lincoln's plan of leniency toward the defeated South. He surveyed the situation in the Southern states after the war, and saw they were in need of much help — not condemnation and punishment as many Northerners wanted to mete out to them.

Though the North prospered during the Civil War (partly as a result of war contracts) the South was invaded, and much of it was destroyed during this conflict. In fact, in 1865, much of Dixieland lay in ruins. It had been utterly shattered by the four-year war.

After the collapse of the Confederate government, law and order had broken down; and in many areas of the South, armed gangs of desperadoes roamed the countryside. These desperadoes included *deserters* (from both Union and Confederate armies), *criminals* and *looters* — whose criminal acts of violence and robbery terrorized the South during the chaotic period following the Civil War.

The economy of the South was in shambles. Trade was at a virtual standstill, most factories were closed, banks were shut, many roads were destroyed, and the railroads were unable to function because many of their engines and rolling stock had been destroyed during the war, or was now too dilapidated to run.

The huge cotton fields were choked with weeds. King Cotton was no longer King — but was itself reduced to a penniless beggar. It took ten years for the cotton production in the South to reach its pre-war level.

The war had also paralyzed the schools and churches, and there was no political institution to run the Southern states. The Civil War had brought wrack and ruin to much of the South and had shattered the whole Southern way of life. Lincoln's wartime Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863 had destroyed forever the essential feature of the Southern way of life — slavery. Things would never be the same in the South from that day forward.

How could the devastated land of Dixie be brought back to economic life? How could its political institutions be rebuilt — without the inclusion of the South's "peculiar institution" of slavery? And how could the rebel states be brought back into the Union?

The natural legacy of fear, distrust, hatred and bitterness which followed in the wake of the Civil War would make any healing of the Union difficult, prolonged.

How could the South, and the Union, cope with three and one half million freed slaves? To place three and a half million slaves in a meaningful social and economic position alongside the whites would have been a formidable task even without a war. But with the devastation and the bitterness which flowed from the Civil War, this task would be rendered much more difficult.

It is true that many slaves, once freed, believed their future life would be one long, happy holiday — a sort of prolonged picnic. And it is also true that some of the freed slaves resorted to robbery and plunder. But undoubtedly the majority realized they would have to get work and walk a tight rope if they were not to be treated harshly by their former masters — in spite of any Union decrees, and despite the help of federal agents to enforce the Emancipation Proclamation.

An outburst of lawlessness followed the emancipation of the slaves; and there was an increase in the Negro death-rate, which resulted from poverty and disease. Under the system of slavery (detestable as it was) the Negro slave had been given food, shelter, and a certain amount of security.

But *emancipation* guaranteed him none of these. Everywhere the newly-freed slave turned, he found race prejudice. A presidential proclamation could not wipe out overnight two hundred and fifty long years of bigotry and discrimination!

Southern whites, who had always looked upon the black man as inferior, could not quickly change their minds and attitudes toward blacks. It would take a long time for the whites to come to the place where they could look upon the blacks as their potential equals.

Out of this seemingly indestructible prejudice came the Black Codes of 1865, which grew up in the former slave states. The general aim of these Black Codes was to "keep the Negro in his place." The Black Codes acknowledged the slave's freedom (the Federal Government eventually forced this on the South — with an army), and these codes guaranteed the blacks certain rights.

But they were clearly *discriminatory* in many ways. Negroes could not bear arms, testify against whites in court, or mix socially with whites. Furthermore, blacks were unable to find many jobs other than as farmhands or domestic servants.

And they were required to have a steady job — or else they could be

arrested for vagrancy. The Black Codes were specifically designed to keep blacks under the permanent control of the whites. These codes, therefore, aroused a fierce outcry in the North.

The Freedmen's Bureau

How would the victorious North deal with the problem of the freed slaves?

The Freedmen's Bureau was established in March, 1865 to deal with this problem. It provided relief work for blacks, but was designed primarily to look after the freed slaves. The Bureau did offer relief work to both whites and blacks — and saved many thousands from starvation.

The Freedmen's Bureau found jobs for many of the former slaves, and it also established thousands of public schools, and many hospitals. Yet, it was bitterly detested in the South in spite of any good which it did. Perhaps part of this hatred of the Freedmen's Bureau was because it was an instrument of the conquering Yankee Government. And it was, therefore, considered a tool to perpetuate the power of the Republican party in the South.

And many of the Bureau's employees, especially its officers, were dishonest and corrupt. Even President Grant later referred to them as "a useless and dangerous set."

When the Civil War ended, many Northerners were ready to get revenge — were ready to punish the Southerners for seceding from the Union and starting a bloody Civil War.

But President Lincoln favored a moderate policy — a policy of reconciliation — not of revenge. He, in his second inaugural speech in March, 1865, had called upon the American people "to bind up the nation's wounds."

On a Collision Course

Even though President Andrew Johnson was very bitter toward Jefferson Davis and other Confederate leaders, he didn't want to see the South treated harshly. He himself had owned slaves, and he didn't want to see the blacks and whites suddenly become equals. He fully planned to carry out Lincoln's policy of moderation toward the defeated South.

But President Johnson and the Republican-controlled Congress were soon to collide head on. A number of radical congressional leaders were determined to see that the South had to pay for its act of rebellion. They insisted, even if the President didn't agree with them, that the South be punished for its insurrection.

Under the strong leadership of such men as Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, Congress had its own plan of reconstruction. The

Congress rejected the President's plan of moderation. They were determined to put the South under military rule — in order to force on the South those changes which they thought should be made.

But President Johnson got the jump on Congress. In May, 1865, while Congress was recessed, Johnson issued *a general amnesty*, pardoning all who had taken part in the rebellion, except the main leaders, former Congressmen and officers in the U.S. armed forces.

Furthermore, according to his very generous offer, all Southern states could elect their own governments and choose their own representatives in Congress. All of the rebel states ratified the Thirteenth Amendment which abolished slavery — except Mississippi. So by the end of 1865, every Southern state had its own government. Reconstruction had begun.

But the struggle between Johnson and the Congress had just begun. Since Congress was not in session, the President had decided to go ahead with his own program of Reconstruction without seeking their advice or counsel. This rankled them. Furthermore, they felt he was too lenient on the former rebels.

Congress, therefore, flatly refused to admit the new members from the Southern states and drew up their own plan of Reconstruction. In 1866, Congress passed a Civil Rights act — giving equal rights to all citizens regardless of their color. President Johnson promptly vetoed the bill, and Congress quickly overrode his veto. The purpose of this Civil Rights Bill was to counteract the Black Codes which the Southern states had enacted as a means of keeping the blacks in their place.

Congress then passed the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866 — which gave the first clear-cut definition of what constituted U.S. citizenship. Tennessee was the only state to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, and thus to rejoin the Union. All the other Southern states voted against it. Though the amendment was temporarily defeated, this act of Southern defiance did much to hurt the South.

Congressional Reconstruction

Now the radicals in Congress began their program of Reconstruction for the South. In the Reconstruction Acts of 1867, they divided the ten unreconstructed states into five military districts, each under the command of a major general. These military men would serve as military governors until the reconstructed states returned to the Union.

But before a rebel state could rejoin the Union, it would have to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. President Johnson vetoed the Reconstruction Acts, but the Republican-controlled Congress easily passed them over his veto — and they were put into immediate effect through-

out the South. The Reconstruction Acts were backed up by five military governors, with 20,000 troops at their disposal.

The Radical Republicans had won their battle over the President in their attempt to impose a "hard peace" on the defeated South. They were now in a position to punish the South for their acts of rebellion.

Now, the Congress went gunning for the President — who had kept vetoing their programs. Johnson had never acted like a Southerner during the Civil War, but now it seemed like he had joined the Confederacy. They would now punish him also. But how?

In 1867, the Radicals had passed two laws — both of them clearly unconstitutional: 1) *The Tenure of Office Act* prevented President Johnson from dismissing certain officials, including Cabinet members. They were especially fearful that the President would sack the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, who would be needed to direct their plans in using the army to enforce their program on the South.

2) To further curb the President's power, Congress then passed the *Command of the Army Act* — which prohibited the President from issuing orders to the army — except through the commanding general, whom the President couldn't remove without Senate approval.

President Johnson promptly proceeded to dismiss Edwin M. Stanton, his Secretary of War, who had apparently revealed Cabinet secrets to radicals.

Impeaching the President

Congress then retaliated by impeaching the President. In 1868, Congress began impeachment proceedings. They charged Johnson with violating the Tenure of Office Act, accused him of not enforcing the Reconstruction Acts, and claimed he treated Congress disrespectfully.

When the Senate voted on the impeachment issue in May, 1868, thirty-five members voted for impeachment, and nineteen against. This was *one* vote short of the necessary two-thirds majority required for an impeachment to succeed. The leader behind Johnson's impeachment, Thaddeus Stevens, died in August — a disappointed man!

The prestige of the office of the president would have been seriously tarnished, and the power of that high office greatly limited — had the radicals succeeded in convicting the President by a two-thirds Senate vote. This is the only time any U.S. President has ever been impeached.

During Johnson's impeachment, he was also accused of partiality toward the South, of having been drunken when he was inaugurated vice-president, and was even accused of being implicated in Lincoln's assassination. (Johnson had been quite ill just before his inauguration as

vice-president, and apparently took a drink to steady himself — and was therefore accused of being drunk.)

“*Black Reconstruction*”

“Black Reconstruction” is a label which was given to the brief period when Radical Republican governments were in power in the Southern states which had rebelled.

But in no state did any Negroes ever control the government. The black slaves had been freed by U.S. proclamation in 1863, but most of them were illiterate. They were not, therefore, in any position to take over the government in any of the states. Since they were outnumbered in the South by about two to one, they didn't even have sufficient numerical strength to take control of government in the former Confederate states.

During this time of “military government” in the South, there was much discontent and violence. It was during this period that *carpetbaggers* came into prominence. The term “carpetbaggers” refers to Northerners who moved into the South during this Reconstruction period immediately following the Civil War.

Who were these “carpetbaggers”? What did they stand for? Some of them were honest businessmen wishing to invest their money in the South and make their fortunes there. Others were schoolteachers who often had “high ideals” but also frequently combined their ideals with “smug hostility” toward Southerners and all things Southern.

But some of the carpetbaggers were openly seeking either plunder or political office. Therefore all carpetbaggers became greatly detested by Southerners. In fact the term “carpetbaggers” was a Southern term which suggested that these people could stuff all their belongings into a carpetbag, or suitcase.

They aroused bitter feelings in the South when they entered politics. The radical Republican Party of the North had put the Southern States under military rule in 1867, and at the same time temporarily took away the voting rights from many prominent Southern whites. Furthermore, the Northerners encouraged the newly-emancipated slaves to vote for the Republicans. Several carpetbaggers even became governors, and others served either in the state or national legislatures.

It is only fair to add, however, that the so-called “carpetbag” governments did accomplish a great deal of good in the South. They helped to build roads, levees, public school systems, they helped to guarantee Negroes their civil rights, and they helped to draw up “enlightened constitutions.”

But they were not successful in the long run, for they often proved

to be wasteful, inexperienced or corrupt. Eventually, they lost all power in the South.

Scalawags

But, more detested than the “carpetbaggers” were a group or class of Southerners called “scalawags.”

Who were the scalawags?

Any Southerner who worked *with* Northern Republicans and with Negroes to control politics in the South after the Civil War was disparagingly called a “scalawag.” The word “scalawag” was originally applied to *worthless cattle*. The majority of “scalawags” were planters and businessmen who had opposed withdrawal (secession) from the Union. Many of them were embittered toward Jefferson Davis and the leaders of the rebellion — for they (these so-called “scalawags”) not only had opposed secession, but they also had lost much of their wealth, power and prestige through that fraternal war.

Undoubtedly some “scalawags” sought personal gain and aggrandizement, but others sincerely believed the South had to get rid of its prewar social and racial views if it wished to survive and prosper. They therefore, helped bring about educational and social reforms and helped pass laws allowing Negroes to vote. They gradually disappeared from the old South during the 1870s as Democrats regained control.

The Ku Klux Klan

Many Southerners bitterly resented and stubbornly resisted Northern programs to force down their throats laws and a way of life which they didn't wish to accept.

Various clubs and secretive organizations arose to oppose federal government reforms, and the advancement of the blacks. The *Ku Klux Klan* began in 1865 when a circle (*kuklos*) of young men in Tennessee dressed in white sheets and hoods for a party. During the party, they enjoyed themselves in an amusing frolic of scaring Negroes. This gave birth to the idea of using this means to intimidate blacks throughout the South.

In 1867, Ku Klux Klan groups were organized throughout the entire South, under the command of a Grand Wizard. Members of the Klan rode by night through Negro camps, beat up scalawags and carpetbaggers, and whipped and hanged Negroes. They used intimidation to scare colored voters away from the voting polls. *The Knights of the White Camelia* were also organized to prevent Negroes from voting.

These organizations used threats, pressure and outright violence to obtain their ends. The federal government finally had to move vigorously against them. Their effective power was eventually broken in the

South, but not before they had achieved a measure of success in forcing Negroes and carpetbaggers out of Southern politics.

Semi-military organizations such as the *Red Shirts of South Carolina*, and the *White League of Louisiana* were created by Southerners to help them regain political control.

Another means of preventing blacks from voting was through complicated *literacy tests* and *poll taxes*. Still another device used was the "Grandfather Clause." This political device was especially helpful when the politicians found that property qualifications, poll taxes and literacy tests also prevented many poor whites from voting. The state of Louisiana passed the "Grandfather Clause" preventing ex-slaves from voting. If one's grandfather hadn't voted (before 1867) then he was out of luck. Since blacks didn't vote before the Reconstruction Act of March, 1867, this effectively prevented them from voting.

Supreme Court Decisions

Though the Supreme Court finally invalidated the crude "Grandfather Clause" technique of excluding black voters, yet it upheld the Southern demand for social separation of the races.

The Supreme Court (in civil rights cases of 1883) held that the Fourteenth Amendment prevented only discriminatory political acts of states — and didn't outlaw social discrimination by individuals.

Segregation

According to this interpretation, Congress had exceeded its authority in passing the Civil Rights Act of 1875 — requiring individuals to furnish equal access to such facilities as theaters, hotels, transportation. The Court instructed blacks to appeal to their state legislatures in order to secure equal public accommodations.

The Supreme Court's decisions permitted discrimination on racial grounds, and Southern legislatures, during the following decades, gradually required the separation of the races at public facilities, restaurants, and on trains.

Finally in 1896 the Supreme Court ruling (*Plessy V. Ferguson*) said that so long as the facilities were substantially "equal" — even if they were *separate* no constitutional rights were abridged. This racial separation, the Court said, did not imply inferiority, nor could either legislation or the Constitution "eradicate racial instincts or . . . abolish distinctions made upon physical differences. . . ." But one of the Supreme Court members, Justice Harlan, dissented. He declared: "Our Constitution is color-blind." He thought the idea of equal accommodations for blacks and whites was a "thin disguise" which would not really mislead anyone.

Booker T. Washington, head of Tuskegee Institute, had indicated the black man's acceptance of segregation. He appealed to his fellow blacks to educate themselves, learn trades, establish businesses and produce members of society who could earn for themselves equality.

He branded the idea of social equality the "extremist folly," and apparently accepted the Jim Crow laws which required segregation in the South. He said: "In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet *one* as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

Booker T. Washington did not believe it proper that the black man be deprived of his right to vote — by whatsoever means. He opposed any measure that permitted "an ignorant and poverty-stricken white man to vote" while at the same time it kept a "black man in the same condition" from casting his vote.

The fact remains, that after the Emancipation Proclamation, and even after a number of amendments were passed, social, economic and political equality were not available to most blacks especially in the South.

As Reconstruction progressed, and as time healed the old divisions, many in the North gradually turned against the use of military force as a means of forcing Republican policies down the throats of the South. And, doubtless, they must have come to see that only persuasion, not force, can effect a complete, lasting change in people's hearts and minds and attitudes.

How America Stole Alaska

One of the most notable achievement of President Andrew Johnson's administration was in the realm of foreign affairs. His Secretary of State, on behalf of the U.S., made one of the most fantastic purchases ever made in the history of the world. Secretary Seward bought Alaska *for only two cents per acre!*

How did the purchase of Alaska come about?

The Russian Tsar, desiring to know if Siberia was connected to North America, commissioned a Dane named Vitus Bering to explore the area. Bering sighted St. Lawrence Island in August, 1728, but failed to sight the American mainland. He probably actually sighted the mainland (Alaska) in 1732, though effective discovery of Alaska (known as Russian America) and the exploration of its southern coast awaited his second voyage in 1741.

Russia eventually claimed all of Alaska and established settlements, making advances to the south. She claimed the western part of what is now Canada, and planned to occupy a site on Vancouver Island.

This worried Mexico, who at the time claimed all of the western

part of America as far north as Vancouver Island. It also alarmed Britain and the United States.

As we saw in a previous chapter, the Russians established a colony in northern California in 1812. Eventually, they had a thriving colony of about four hundred settlers in northern California. This colony was established for the purpose of supplying food to the starving Russian settlements in Alaska.

In 1823, President Monroe had issued his now-famous Monroe Doctrine, in which he warned other nations not to attempt to colonize in the Western Hemisphere. He, in effect, said this domain was under the watchful eye of the American Eagle, and any nation who tried to colonize, or who attempted to interfere in the Americas, would collide head on with the United States.

America's war with Mexico (1846-48) put an exclamation point after the Monroe Doctrine. At the conclusion of that war, the U.S. acquired the southwest part of America (California, Arizona, New Mexico, etc.) from Mexico — primarily as a result of the spoils of victory.

Nations in Central and South America (as well as the European powers) took notice of the increasing strength and vigor of the "Colossus to the North" — as America came to be called by her southern neighbors.

The Tsars also seem to have been impressed with America's growing strength, and with Russia's extreme vulnerability in Alaska and in her possessions to the south.

It seems clear that when President Monroe issued his Monroe Doctrine, he clearly had the growing menace of the Russian Empire in Alaska and along the whole Pacific Coast in mind. Monroe was especially concerned about the Russian Colony at Fort Ross in Alta California.

Russia agreed (in 1824) to limit all future settlements on the North American continent to Alaska. But, for nearly twenty years the Russians remained in northern California.

The Russian Bear Departs

In 1841 the Russians sold — lock, stock, and barrel — their California colony at Fort Ross to Johann August Sutter for \$30,000. They left their fort and their livestock behind, and retreated to Alaska.

During the 1800s friction developed in the fishing waters around Alaska. There were about 300 whaling vessels in the waters off Russian America by the mid 1800s, and the majority of them were American. When the Crimean War erupted in 1854, Russia's Pacific colonies were placed in a very vulnerable position. Britain and Russia were antagonists in that war. The British were strongly entrenched in Canada, and could threaten Russian America if they chose.

These facts led Imperial Russia to seriously consider selling Russian America (Alaska) to the United States. The Russian minister in Washington was instructed in 1857 to hint that Russia might be willing to sell its colony. Russo-American negotiations for the sale of Alaska were commenced in 1859, but the sudden outbreak of the American Civil War caused a delay in further negotiations. Then in February, 1867, only two years after the Civil War ended, Russia's minister returned to Washington with imperial instructions to enter into negotiations concerning the sale of Russian America.

Why Russia Sold Alaska

It is difficult to understand why Russia sold Alaska. Uppermost in the minds of the Russians seems to have been their desire, through the sale of Alaska, to embroil Britain and the United States in a controversy over the American territories — thereby diverting British attention, and British sea power, from the straits of Constantinople.

With this in mind, the Russians were apparently eager to push the sale, and a Russo-American treaty was hastily completed on March 30, 1867. A price of \$7,200,000 had already been agreed upon. This unbelievably low price amounted to about two cents per acre! The Senate approved the purchase on April 9th, but the appropriation didn't pass Congress until the following year — July 1868.

Shortly after Russia sold Alaska to America, most of the Russians packed up and went back to Russia.

But America's purchase of Alaska stirred up a storm of protest in the United States. Many Americans — exhibiting an uncanny ability to see all the way to the end of their noses — believed Alaska was a snow and ice covered, worthless wasteland. They referred to it as "Seward's Icebox," and "Seward's Folly."

Subsequent events have proved Alaska (meaning "Great Land") to have been an extremely wise and valuable purchase. The annual income from fishing, mining, lumbering and trading is many times the cost of the original purchase.

And now, America's richest oil deposits are on the north slopes of Alaska. When the trans-Alaska pipeline is completed, America will have another secure source of energy, which will make her less dependent on Mideast oil — and therefore much less vulnerable to international blackmail.

The strategic importance of Alaska cannot be calculated in dollars. One of Alaska's islands (Little Diomedede Island) is only about two and a half miles from Russia's Big Diomedede Island.

In addition to the economic and strategic value of Alaska (America's largest state — comprising about one-sixth of all the U.S.) — is the

recreational value of the "great land." Each year many thousands of Americans travel to Alaska in order to hunt, fish, ski and partake of other rugged outdoor sports activities.

What blinded the eyes of the Russians to cause them to sell Alaska to America for only two cents an acre? Surely the Russians have been kicking themselves ever since for having let the United States steal this rich piece of real estate from them.

Did America acquire Alaska because of the far-sightedness of her leaders — because of their great wisdom? Or, did some Guiding Hand direct America's expansion — as Americans energetically went about fulfilling their hopes and dreams of Manifest Destiny?

Surely America's destiny was intended to include the fabulous land of Alaska — America's "last frontier."

The Grant Administration

The next president of the United States, after Andrew Johnson, was Civil War hero General Ulyses S. Grant.

Grant had served well in the Mexican War — but resigned his captaincy a few years afterward — apparently because of whispers of drunkenness. During the next eight years, he failed at job after job. When the Civil War broke out, he was working as a laborer and clerk in his father's leather shop — taking orders from two of his younger brothers.

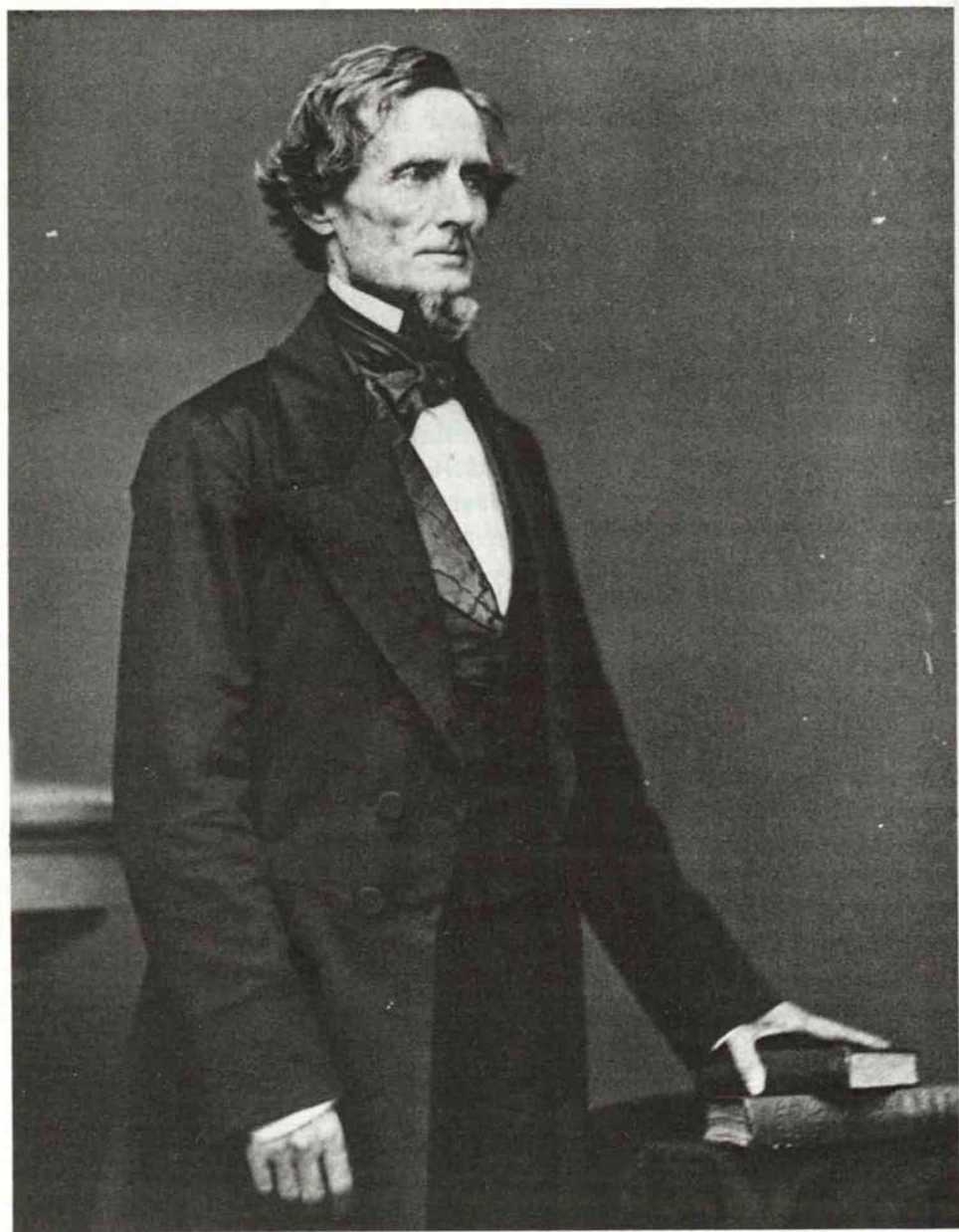
During Grant's administration, graft and corruption occupied the minds of many. Scandals rocked his government. Apparently he was too easily influenced by gifts, and was unable to judge men's intentions and their honesty.

Numerous scandals rocked the nation during this period. Greed was rampant. Even Congress was guilty of the "Salary Grab" (or "Back Pay Grab") when Congress voted its members and the President an increase in salary — and backdated it by two years.

Both Democrats and Republicans dabbled in crooked deals. Nearly \$100,000,000 was stolen from the New York City treasury by "Boss" Tweed, (head of the notorious Tweed Ring in New York) before the members of his gang fled to Europe.

Another scandal, the Whisky Ring, led directly to Grant's private Secretary, Babcock. Grant defended Babcock's innocence, but dismissed him from his post.

The Secretary of War was found selling certain trading privileges on the Indian reservations. All these "crooked deals" were not necessarily Grant's fault, but he proved unable to come to grips with the colossal mess — the widespread bribery and corruption which afflicted the political and economic side of the nation.



Jefferson Davis served as President of the Confederate states (1861-65).
— U.S. Signal Corps Photo

President Hayes

Rutherford B. Hayes (1877-81) became President in March, 1877, after a long three months' wrangle over who should be President — because of confusion in the voting system.

Eventually all the disputed votes were awarded to Hayes, and he was inaugurated as President. Shortly after his inauguration, in March 1877, the last Federal troops were withdrawn from the South. Reconstruction could now be considered over. The nation was at last at "peace." The Democrats had become the real masters of the South. Their white supremacy policies would continue. The North had come to realize they could not force Southerners to accept the blacks as equals. A long process of time, education, Supreme Court decisions, and even more federal troops would be necessary to effect this long-denied "equality" in the South.

America Becomes a World Power

After the purchase of Alaska, the United States was on the threshold of becoming a world power.

During the thirty-five years which followed the Civil War (1865-1900), America achieved a meteoric rise to industrial and military power seldom if ever paralleled in the history of the world.

Britain produced one and a half times more goods than the U.S. in 1860, but by 1900, America had overtaken her and now produced twice as many goods as she did.

Even during the Civil War, the United States continued to grow — expanded its industries, built new railroads, factories and prospered.

No major wars or international developments occurred under the presidencies of: James A. Garfield (1881), Chester A. Arthur (1881-5), Grover Cleveland (1885-9), Benjamin Harrison (1889-93), Grover Cleveland (2nd term — 1893-7). But during this period there was continued *industrial*, and *agricultural* expansion. Several new states were added to the Union between 1865 and 1900: Nebraska, Colorado, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming and Utah. Many large corporations (or *trusts*) arose during this period. Immigrants continued to pour into the U.S. from Europe. It was during the latter part of the 19th century that immigrants first began to arrive in large numbers from eastern and southern Europe. Before this time the bulk of immigrants had come primarily from the countries of northwest Europe.

Prelude to Spanish-American War

Following the Civil War of 1861-65, America was to enjoy a third of a century of uninterrupted peace — except for a few skirmishes with certain Indian tribes.

But Americans had long been troubled by the way Spain was conducting affairs in Cuba. Many influential Americans had long disapproved of the Spanish administration in Cuba. They charged the Spaniards who ruled that island with being corrupt, tyrannical and cruel.

Spanish restrictions on trade and industry, high taxes and indifference toward education and social welfare had kept Cuba a poor and backward island.

The Spanish government had been so weak and its policies so badly carried out that the Cubans rose in revolt in 1895 — demanding their *independence*. Spain began sending troops (200,000 in all) to crush the revolt. The Governor of Cuba, Valeriano Weyler, crammed large numbers of civilians into concentration camps, where many thousands died from hunger, exposure, and disease due to unsanitary living conditions.

Conditions in the Spanish-operated concentration camps were horrendous and Spanish cruelties and atrocities were detestable. But America's "yellow journalism" greatly exaggerated the evils of Spanish rule in Cuba. This was especially true of Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, — and William Randolph Hearst's recently founded *New York Journal*. A news correspondent in Cuba is said to have wired Hearst a message saying that there was no war in Cuba. He got a swift directive from Hearst: "You furnish the pictures, and I'll furnish the war!"

The American people held an intense and traditional sympathy for a colonial people struggling for independence — ever since America won her's in 1776. These sentiments caused a popular demand for America to take action in Cuba that would put an end to the oppressive and cruel Spanish rule, and would free the Cubans so they could rule themselves as they saw fit. Many influential leaders of the nation — especially in Congress — began to clamor for war.

President Grover Cleveland had been able to resist giving in to the popular demand for war with Spain, and President William McKinley was himself strongly opposed to war. But the clamor became louder and louder. Increasingly, it became harder to resist all the pressures of moving America toward the brink of war.

In November, 1897, President McKinley used U.S. influence to pressure Spain into granting Cuba limited self-government within the Spanish Empire. But it was a case of too little too late. The rebel insurgents demanded *complete independence*. So the struggle went on.

"Remember the Maine!"

In the meantime, pro-Spanish mobs in Havana began rioting in protest against self-government. This moved America to send the battleship *Maine* to Havana in order to protect American lives and property. The *Maine* arrived in Havana harbor on January 25th, 1898. Three

weeks later, on February 15th, a deafening explosion blew up the battleship and killed over 260 American seamen.

Who or what had caused the *Maine* to explode? Was it purely an accident? Did *Cuban insurgents* blow up the *Maine* so America would think the Spanish did it — and declare war on Spain? Or, did Spanish agents actually blow up the *Maine* in order to remove this American threat from Havana harbor? No one will ever know.

But the Americans were firmly convinced this was wanton murder of 260 U.S. lives, and Spain would have to pay for this act of savage brutality! “Remember the *Maine!*” became a popular slogan of the time, and some lengthened this to, “Remember the *Maine*, to hell with Spain!” Americans were now fighting mad, and right or wrong, they were rolling up their sleeves ready for action.

Somehow, many Americans believed the previous pronouncement of the Monroe Doctrine gave them the *right* — nay, the *duty* — to interfere in the affairs of the nations of Central or Southern America — whenever they thought it wise to do so.

Even though Spain offered to submit the question of who blew up the *Maine* to arbitration, the American public had already acted as judge and jury: Spain was guilty, and there were no if's, and's or but's about it! America's outraged public instantly blamed Spain, and demanded immediate war!

Pressure had now built up to the point where even President McKinley (who had *tried* to avoid war) was unable to resist any longer. In March, 1898, he sent three notes demanding that Spain grant full independence to Cuba. Spain granted an armistice, but flatly refused to grant independence. War was now inevitable.

War Is Declared

President McKinley at last yielded to the war party in Congress, and sent a special message to Congress declaring that “the war in Cuba must stop.” On April 11, he asked Congress for the authority to use armed force “to secure and full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba.”

Congress' response was swift and emphatic. On April 20, it passed resolutions declaring that “the people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent,” and demanded that Spain immediately relinquish authority over Cuba and withdraw its forces from the island. Congress also authorized the President to use the army and navy to enforce America's demand.

A fourth resolution clearly renounced any idea of annexing Cuba. (But it is a fact that the U.S. had planned to annex that island several years earlier!)

Spain severed diplomatic relations with the U.S. and declared war on America on April 24th; and the U.S. followed this with a declaration of war on Spain on April 25th (made retroactive to the 21st). At last war had come! President McKinley immediately called for 125,000 volunteers.

From the beginning, the war was pathetically one-sided. The U.S. wasn't fully prepared for war, but Spain was even less prepared for combat — especially with so formidable a power as the U.S.

Dewey Blockades Manila

The island of Cuba was not the scene of the first battle. Manila Bay, in the Philippines, was the first area of conflict. Commodore George Dewey was ordered to sail America's Asiatic Squadron from Hong Kong to Manila Bay. This U.S. fleet of six warships destroyed the entire Spanish fleet of ten vessels, silenced the shore batteries, and captured Cavite without the loss of a single American life, and with no serious damage to any of the U.S. warships.

Commodore Dewey then blockaded Manila harbor while he patiently waited for the arrival of U.S. troops.

In the meantime, America's North Atlantic squadron, commanded by Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, began a partial blockade of Cuba — while prowling the Caribbean Sea on the lookout for the Spanish fleet under command of Admiral Pascual Cervera Topete.

The Spanish fleet was located on May 28th in the harbor of Santiago in eastern Cuba, and the American army began laying siege to that city. As soon as the siege had begun, the governor of Cuba ordered Admiral Cervera to run the naval blockade in order to save his ships.

The Spanish fleet sailed out of Santiago harbor and along the Cuban coast, all the while under hot pursuit by American naval vessels under command of Commodore Winfield S. Schley. A running battle followed, in which all the Spanish ships were either sunk or forced to beach, and their crews were taken prisoners.

Santiago Surrenders

Meanwhile, American forces under Major General William R. Shafter landed 15,000 troops near Santiago. The Spanish forces offered little resistance to the troop landings. Colonel Leonard Wood and Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and their "Rough Riders" took part in that campaign, thereby becoming national heroes. Santiago surrendered on July 17th.

On July 25th, Major General Nelson A. Miles began an invasion of Puerto Rico. His troops met almost no opposition.

In the meantime, several contingents had arrived in the Philippines, as Commodore Dewey continued his blockade of Manila Bay. On August 13th, American forces entered and occupied Manila. This kept Filipino patriots out of the city. Commodore Dewey did not know that an armistice had been signed the previous day, for the cables had been cut.

It was as a result of the Spanish-American War that America acquired her "empire." There is nothing to suggest that the U.S. President, the Congress, or the people entered the war seeking an empire! America just somehow stumbled into her empire — much as Britain had done with her empire.

What were the actual results of the Spanish-American War?

The war proved disastrous for Spain. She lost her last remaining colonies both in the Caribbean, and in the Pacific. Spain also lost many killed and wounded, and her national pride was dealt a serious blow.

What did the U.S. gain from the war with Spain? Firstly, the peace treaty, signed in Paris on December 10, 1898, granted Cuba its independence. And Spain ceded Guam, Puerto Rico and the Philippines to the United States. In return for this, America agreed to pay Spain the face-saving sum of \$20,000,000.

The Spanish-American War only lasted three months, and the price in human casualties was rather light. Only about 400 were killed in combat, while nearly 5,000 died by disease. During that war, America learned that she was not prepared (in the medical field) to fight a foreign war. This caused her to make certain needed changes.

Furthermore, the Spanish-American War underlined the need for America to build a canal across the Isthmus of Central America so she would be better able to move her ships and supplies in any future war.

America's New Empire

The war left America with a number of colonies and overseas territories which she would have to administer. This caused the United States to begin thinking *globally*, not just nationally.

In fact, it was the Spanish-American War which made America into an *imperial power* — and at the same time revealed to herself and to the world that she had achieved the stature of a world power. America already realized that she far outstripped all other nations in industrial production. And she had gone from fifth or sixth as a naval power to the second most powerful maritime power — second only to Great Britain. At last, Americans were beginning to wake up to the fact that they had the means to be a top rank power in the world.

Beginning with the Spanish-American War of 1898, the U.S. had shown the world that it also had the will to use its new-found power on a global scale.

Being a world power, of course, carries with it certain accompanying headaches. The U.S. would soon learn that lesson. Many Americans were strongly against the U.S. becoming an imperial power. They did not want to annex the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, Hawaii, or any other overseas territories.

America's attempt to subdue the Philippines was her first example of the cost of running an empire. She was forced to employ 70,000 U.S. troops over a three-year period in order to subdue the Filipinos. America found little difficulty in ousting Spain from the Philippines, but it took a great deal of time, money and bloodshed to convince the Filipinos of the benefits of the American civilization.

America believed the Spaniards had not wisely ruled the Philippines, and the Filipinos certainly didn't love their masters. What should America do with the Philippines? The U.S. knew that the Filipinos were not well enough *educated* and didn't have sufficient training to rule themselves. So it just seemed natural that the mantle of government should fall on U.S. shoulders.

Also, the U.S. could see that there would be many benefits in having a strong Pacific base in the Philippines — as America's back door to Asia. Furthermore both Japan and Britain expressed approval of U.S. annexation of the Philippines.

The Spanish-American War also stimulated more enthusiasm for a stronger U.S. Navy, which would soon expand from fifth or sixth to second place among the world's war fleets. Without a strong navy, no nation could maintain an overseas empire, or protect its trading rights in far-flung corners of the globe.

Finally, the war forced the world — both friend and foe — to see that America was a very powerful nation. This greatly enhanced America's image abroad. The other nations began to have more respect for this rising colossus of North America. No one had better try pulling the tail feathers of the mighty American Eagle!

The Industrial Giant

Never in the history of the world has any nation seen such rapid expansion in its industry as occurred in the U.S. from 1861 to 1900. How did America become the number one industrial nation in the world?

In order to understand America's rapid rise as an industrial nation, we need to briefly examine the history of the Industrial Revolution.

Many historians say the Industrial Revolution began in the latter part of the 18th century. Others think it began about 1750 and ended around 1850; so let us consider from 1750 to 1850 as the approximate period of the Industrial Revolution.

But what brought about the Industrial Revolution? How did this revolution affect the nations of Europe — and also America?

When the Industrial Revolution began (in the last half of the 1700s), fewer than ten percent of all the people of Europe lived in cities. At that time more than nine out of ten lived in small towns, villages or on farms. But within less than a century the majority had moved to the bigger industrial towns and cities.

The Industrial Revolution began in Britain. But why in Britain? During the early part of the revolution, iron and coal played a very important part. Britain had an easily accessible supply of both, and this proved a big boon to her.

Furthermore, Britain had become the number one colonial power shortly after the mid-1700s. From 1763 (when France ceded to Britain all her colonial possessions in North America) Britain held undisputed title as the world's most powerful colonial nation. This gave Britain a vast market for her manufactured goods, and at the same time, it gave her an unlimited supply of raw materials. In addition, Britain had greater political stability and freedom than most any other country of Europe.

France was weakened by the French Revolution of 1789, and could not devote her full attention to industrialization. In addition to this, much of France's strength went into the manufacture of luxury items — especially for the French Court. But since the wealthy men in Britain controlled Parliament during most of the 1700s they saw to it that every incentive was given to business and commerce. And British industrialists concentrated on manufacturing those items which were more necessary

such as textiles and iron products. Soon Britain was producing these items much more cheaply than any nation on earth.

The British are a very talented and gifted people — evincing unusual inventive ability. This is not to say that the French, Germans, Italians, Russians and others aren't also inventive. But it is a fact that the vast majority of the major discoveries and inventions which furthered industry during the 1700s, 1800s and 1900s were invented by Britons or Americans. This is a simple, indisputable fact.

World's Great Inventions

But why were most of the major inventions during this period invented by Britons or Americans? From the end of the Civil War in 1865 to 1900, the U.S. Patent Office granted over a half million patents. Some call this period America's golden era of inventiveness.

In 1712, a Briton named Thomas Newcomen established the steam engine as a practical machine. (It was an Englishman named Thomas Savery who had invented the steam pump in 1698 — to assist in pumping water out of the mines; and, another Englishman, Edward Somerset, had developed an "atmospheric engine" about 1698.) Later, John Smeaton applied engineering principles to raise the efficiency of Newcomen's atmospheric steam engine to its maximum performance.

But it was James Watt (of Scotland) who really developed the steam engine into an efficient, and wonderfully useful means of power. It was while Watt was repairing a model of the Newcomen engine at the University of Glasgow in 1764-65 that he got the inspiration of how to build a really efficient steam engine. In 1769 he took out his first patent.

But even so, his steam engine might never have come to anything had not a Birmingham industrialist named Matthew Boulton provided him with the capital and business acumen to develop his machine.

Boulton and Watt started manufacturing engines, and by 1786, they were prospering. By 1800, they had manufactured 500 engines for British and American business. The steam engine was now firmly established as an efficient, reliable and relatively inexpensive means of power.

Before the steam engine was developed, power was supplied by wind, water, or by burning wood. And animals also supplied some power — especially for transportation.

But with the steam engine nearly perfected, the way was now opened for a means of inexpensive power to be used in industry — and also in transportation. Without the steam engine, there would either have been no Industrial Revolution, or else it would have developed much more slowly. It is certain that Watt's steam engine played a tremendously important role in furnishing power for that revolution.

The Textile Industry

The industrialization of Britain's textile industry exemplifies how the Industrial Revolution changed other industries during the 1700s and 1800s.

For many hundreds of years before this revolution, spinning had been done in the home, on a simple spinning wheel. In 1738 two Britons, Lewis Paul (a Middlesex inventor) and John Wyatt (a Lichfield mechanic) patented an improved roller-spinning machine, but it was not a very satisfactory machine.

In the 1760s two new machines revolutionized the British textile industry. The *spinning jenny* was invented by James Hargreaves (a Blackburn weaver and carpenter). The *water frame*, or *throstle*, was invented by Sir Richard Arkwright (a former Preston barber).

Then a Lancashire weaver named Samuel Crompton developed the *spinning mule* between 1774 and 1779. This spinning machine combined features of the *spinning jenny* and the *water frame*, and eventually replaced both machines. The introduction of the spinning mule finally ended the home spinning industry.

During the 1740s the first textile mills appeared in Britain. England had 120 mills (several had also been built in Scotland) by the 1780s.

But Britain's weavers couldn't keep up with her spinners. Almost all weaving was done on handlooms until the early 1800s, because no one had been able to solve the problems of mechanical weaving. Finally, a Lancashire clockmaker, John Kay, invented the *flying shuttle* in 1733. This helped the industry, but didn't completely solve Britain's weaving problems.

An Anglican clergyman, Edmund Cartwright, developed a steam-powered loom in the mid-1780s; and John Horrocks (a Lancashire machine manufacturer) built an all-metal loom in 1803. Further improvements were made by other British machine makers during the early 1800s.

Britain had the unbelievable number of 120,000 power looms by 1835, and most of those power looms were used for weaving cotton which she imported primarily from America.

The Steamboat

John Fitch (1743-98) appears to have been the first to perceive the possibility of using steam engines in a *steamboat*. He designed and built a steamboat, and operated it successfully in 1787. He later built several models of steamboats, but his last one was wrecked, and thereafter his backers refused to finance his work any further.

Robert Fulton (1765-1815) is best known for developing the steam-

boat. He formed a partnership with Robert R. Livingston (U.S. minister to France), and the two men launched a steamboat of Fulton's design on the Seine in 1803.

After Fulton and Livingston returned to America, they set about building a newly designed steamboat. This steamboat made its trial runs on August 9, 1807. It was powered by a Boulton and Watt engine. Only eight days later, the historic 150-mile steamboat trip from New York to Albany was made.

Fulton, a clever mechanic with a very fertile imagination, was the real leader in developing a viable steamboat. He used the best ideas he could glean from both Europe and America. It was through his efforts and inspiration that the steamboat was actually developed as a commercially profitable means of transportation.

The development of the steamboat was to have tremendous significance in opening up the North American continent. It proved especially valuable as a means of transportation on the Great Lakes and on America's larger rivers. Before the advent of the steamboat, large barges were used to float American products down the Mississippi to New Orleans. But the barges were too cumbersome to tow back upstream. Therefore, new barges had to be built each time a shipment was transported down the Mississippi. This meant very high shipping charges.

But with the debut of the steamboat, passengers and products could be carried both up and down America's large rivers, reducing costs considerably.

The Cotton Gin

It was during the first half of the Industrial Revolution (from 1750 to 1800) that the *thresher* was invented in Scotland.

Another very important invention was the *cotton gin* — invented by Eli Whitney (U.S.) in 1793. Before the invention of the cotton gin it took one person a whole day to remove the seeds from one pound of cotton lint. This was a slow and laborious task, performed mostly by slaves. England could use more cotton than America could supply at the time.

How did the young Whitney come to invent the gin? He had heard some Southerners discussing the problem of removing the cotton seed from the lint, and he began immediately thinking about a solution. Since he had been a tinkerer, and was quite gifted in mechanical things, his mind naturally turned to a mechanical solution to the problem.

One day he saw a cat sitting by the fence which enclosed a poultry yard. This naughty cat held a paw through the fence, waiting for a chicken to pass. When a chicken strolled past, his paw darted forward like greased lightning — missing the chicken, but retrieving a paw full of feathers.

Young Eli Whitney began to wonder why this principle of friction (used in separating the feathers from the chicken's body) could not be applied to the separation of the lint from the seeds of cotton.

He had previously tried out various shapes of cylinders, pulling knives over them — but nothing seemed to work.

Now, after seeing the cat catch the feathers in its paw, he went back into the workshop to apply this friction principle in his experiments. He used a simple box to begin with. Then he suspended a wooden cylinder that revolved when a handle was cranked. Many evenly spaced spikes were placed on the surface of the wooden cylinder. When the handle was cranked, the cylinder turned and the spikes clawed at the cotton inside the box. It shed the seeds behind the cylinder, but let the lint come frothing out the front of the machine. At last, the world had a cotton gin. Even this simple model could do the work of ten slaves. Before long, his improved cotton gin could do the work of 50 men working by hand.

Whitney made and patented numerous other cotton gins; but when others heard about the principle of the cotton gin, they built their own gins. Even though Whitney applied for patents, he received practically nothing for his invention since there were so many types of gins which others had invented.

The cotton gin proved to be a boon to America and to the world. It made the work of separating the lint from the seeds infinitely easier, and meant that much more cotton could be grown.

Eli Whitney also invented interchangeable parts in 1798 and made mass production possible. His invention of standardized (uniform) parts enabled him to mass produce gins for the U.S.

Food Canning Process

Another very important invention was that of the food canning process. A Frenchman, Nicolas Appert, invented this process during the years 1787-1810. This made it possible to preserve foods for use during the winter and other seasons when those particular fruits or vegetables were not in season. Also, it was much easier and cheaper to transport canned foods.

John Fitch (who is credited with having made the first steamboat) also was one of the first ones to invent and develop the *screw propeller*. John Ericsson (Swedish-U.S.) and others are also credited with this invention during the period of 1796-1837. This was a much more efficient means of propulsion than the old splash paddle wheels which had driven the early steamboats.

The Steam Locomotive

The invention of the *steam locomotive* by Richard Trevithick of Great Britain in 1804 was destined to have a most profound impact on the Industrial Revolution. The first railway was the Stockton to Darlington line, opened in 1826. The line from Manchester to Liverpool was opened five years later. Before long there was a "railway mania" under way in Britain. Many new rail lines were built between 1844 and 1848 — the peak of the rail building craze. By the end of 1848, there were 5,000 miles of railway in operation.

America was also experimenting with steam locomotion on rails as early as 1825. This experimentation continued for several years. But it was the opening of the first few miles of the Baltimore and Ohio and the South Carolina railroads in 1830 which marked the real beginning of the railway era in America. By 1835, more than 200 railway charters had been granted to eleven states. Over one thousand miles of railroad had been opened for operation in the U.S. at that time. Soon railroads would snake their way across the U.S. and meander all over the continent.

The first transcontinental line (the Union Pacific) was completed in 1869 and by 1884 there were three more!

The railroad mileage in America in 1860 — on the eve of the Civil War — was 30,000. But by 1900, the U.S. had 192,000 miles of railway.

In 1875, only ten years after the Civil War ended, the first refrigerated car was on the rails. America's railroads made it possible for her to develop her vast unsettled lands much faster than she could otherwise have done.

America's transcontinental railway lines advertised in Europe for immigrants. Soon the railways were carrying a continual stream of immigrants westward to be settled in the new territories and in the western states. Also, valuable produce, livestock and all sorts of materials were transported quickly, and relatively cheaply by rail. The railway did much to develop America during the last half of the 19th century, and the early part of the twentieth.

Improved Roads

It was two British engineers, John L. McAdam and Thomas Telford (both Scotsmen) who first made important advances in *road construction* during the early 1800s. John McAdam was the originator of the macadam type of road surface, which consists of crushed rock packed into thin layers with tar on top of it. Thomas Telford developed a technique of using large flat stones for road foundations.

By using these new road-building techniques, both Britain and

America were able to speed up road construction, so that roads could be built all over the two countries.

In 1824 Joseph Aspdin of Great Britain invented *Portland cement*, thus assisting in the field of construction. Then Edwin Budding (of Great Britain) invented the *lawn mower* in 1830.

The American, Jacob Perkins, invented *gas refrigeration* in 1834, and the same year, another fellow-American, Cyrus H. McCormick invented the *reaper* which greatly aided farmers in reaping their grain harvests. This was quickly followed by the invention of the *steel plow* by John Deere (U.S.) in 1837.

An American named Charles Goodyear invented *vulcanized rubber* in 1839.

Transportation had now been speeded up, but *communication* was still limited to surface travel until Samuel F. B. Morse (of the U.S.) invented the *electric telegraph* in 1836. The first message flashed from the U.S. capital in Washington to Baltimore, Maryland was: "What hath God wrought!" — quoted from the Bible (Numbers 23:23). Morse also invented the famous Morse code.

In 1842, Crawford W. Long of the U.S. discovered the use of *ether*. This was soon to be of great value as an anesthetic during the terrible Civil War.

Then in 1845, an American, Elias Howe, invented the *sewing machine*. During that same year, Richard M. Hoe, also from the U.S., invented the *rotary printing press*. And Robert W. Thomson of Great Britain invented the *pneumatic tire*.

Of importance to farmers was the *corn picker*, invented by Edmund W. Quincy (U.S.) in 1850. A Frenchman named Ferdinand Carre invented an *ice-making machine* in 1850-55. And another Frenchman, Henry Giffard, invented the *dirigible airship* in 1852. Henry Bessemer of Britain invented the *Bessemer converter* in 1855 — greatly aiding the steel-making industry. Also, in 1855, a German named Robert W. Bunsen, invented the *Bunsen burner*.

The Gas Engine

In 1860, just one year before the Civil War began, a Frenchman invented the *gas engine*. Another Frenchman, Ernest Michaux, invented a *bicycle* with pedals.

During the period of 1861-70 the *electric generator* was invented by Antonio Pacinotti (Italy) and Zenobe T. Gramme (Belgium). This invention was to have tremendous importance on the future of industry.

Alfred Nobel of Sweden invented *dynamite* in 1867. He apparently had no idea that his invention would be put to such terrible purposes as the making of shells and bombs for destruction in war. Also, in 1867, the

typewriter was invented by Christopher L. Sholes, Carlos Glidden and S. W. Soule of the U.S. Then the *air brake* was invented by George Westinghouse (U.S.) in 1868.

One of the most useful of all inventions, the *telephone* was invented by Alexander Graham Bell of the U.S. in 1876. The following year, 1877, Carl Gustaf de Laval (Sweden) invented the *mechanical cream separator* — of great importance to dairy farmers.

One of the most prolific inventors was Thomas A. Edison (U.S.) who invented the *phonograph* in 1877. He was probably the world's foremost, and most prolific, inventor! Anna Baldwin (U.S.) invented the *vacuum milking machine* in the following year, 1878. Charles F. Brush (U.S.) invented the *arc light*. And during the same year, America's master inventor, Thomas A. Edison, invented the *incandescent light*.

The *fountain pen* was invented by Lewis E. Waterman (U.S.) in 1884. Also, that same year George Eastman (U.S.) invented the *photographic roll film* in 1884, and the first "Kodak" camera in 1888.

Television was invented over a long period of time (1884-1930) by numerous inventors from different countries: John L. Baird (Britain), Charles Francis Jenkins, Vladimir Zworykin, Paul G. Nipkow, Philo T. Farnsworth and others.

The First Automobile

The first *gasoline automobile* was invented by Karl Benz and Gottlieb Daimler (both from Germany) in 1885. This invention was destined to greatly transform the lives of hundreds of millions.

Motion pictures were invented (1889-1896) by Thomas A. Edison, Charles Francis Jenkins, William Friese-Greene, Thomas Armat, Louis and Auguste Lumiere and others.

Why the Anglo-American Monopoly

The vast majority of the inventions covered during this period were invented either by *Americans* or *Britons*. The French were next, then the Germans.

Why were so many important inventions invented by American and British inventors?

This was due in great measure to the fact that these nations had a stable political and economic climate in which to work. Also, America and Britain had access to vast resources which gave them a tremendous advantage. In addition to these advantages, some believe that these British descended peoples have an unusual degree of innate inventive ability.

How did America become number one? How could this nation

which had a population of only two and a half million in 1776, and little industry, become the world's number one industrial power?

Firstly, America undoubtedly received, to use President Lincoln's words, "the fairest portion of the earth" and "the choicest blessings of heaven." She had been blessed with good, fertile land, and also with an abundance of minerals, water and other natural resources. Then the sheer size of the nation is also a great advantage.

Secondly, America's peoples have always been a dynamic, and aggressive people; and they have always wanted to get ahead in life. It has never been their desire to stand still — to stagnate!

Thirdly, America's political and religious institutions have encouraged freedom of thought, speech, and the press. This free flow of ideas has given a boost to inventiveness. This has inspired the American peoples to want to work hard in order to preserve these precious liberties for posterity.

America's Industrial Revolution

The first industrialization (outside the continent of Europe) occurred in Britain's North American colonies. The colonies developed a wide range of industries, but it was *shipbuilding* that first became the most important. When the Revolutionary War broke out, about one third of all of Britain's ships were being built in America.

The manufacture of *iron* was also a major industry in the colonies before 1776, and some iron was even exported to Britain. After the Revolutionary War, a small arms industry sprang up in the U.S. By the early 1800s, machines and machine tools could produce standard parts which were required for mass production.

But the Industrial Revolution didn't really get going in the United States until the 1800s. Industrialization increased very rapidly throughout the eastern U.S., beginning in the 1830s.

It was during the 1830s that two remarkable future industrial giants were born — Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller. These two men would later become multi-millionaires. Both rose from rags to riches, and played an important part in America's dynamic development in the nineteenth century.

Andrew Carnegie

Andrew Carnegie was born in Dunfermline, Scotland in 1835. When young Andrew was 13 years old, his family moved to America.

Andrew's family settled in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania (now a suburb of Pittsburgh). The young Andrew worked as bobbin boy in a

cotton factory for only \$1.20 a week. When Andrew was 17, he became a telegraph operator.

Then Carnegie got a job as a railroad clerk in the office of the Pennsylvania Railroad. By hard work, he was able to work his way up and became a train dispatcher. Eventually he was promoted to division manager — when only 24 years old.

The young Carnegie had already purchased stock in the Woodruff Sleeping Car Company — the forerunner of the Pullman Company.

Carnegie rendered valuable service organizing the telegraph department of the Union Army during the Civil War. During the war he also entered the iron business (in 1864), but he didn't begin making steel for several years.

After seeing the merits of the Bessemer process, Carnegie built the Edgar Thomson works in Braddock, Pennsylvania so he could make Bessemer steel. He later established other steel plants, and eventually merged all his steel interests into the giant Carnegie Steel Company. It became one of the mightiest industrial enterprises in America. In 1901, Carnegie sold it to U.S. Steel Corporation.

In Carnegie's famous essay, "The Gospel of Wealth," which was published in 1889, he expounded his view that the life of a rich man should be divided into two periods: 1) the period of acquiring his wealth and 2) the period of distributing his riches in such a way that any surplus would be used for the general welfare. When Carnegie reached middle age, he had become one of the richest men in the world, but he gave away most of his wealth for the benefit of humanity. Overall, he is estimated to have given away about \$350 million. He gave millions of dollars to schools and universities, and thousands of communities were provided libraries. If the local authorities would donate the land, and keep the library up, he would build and equip it.

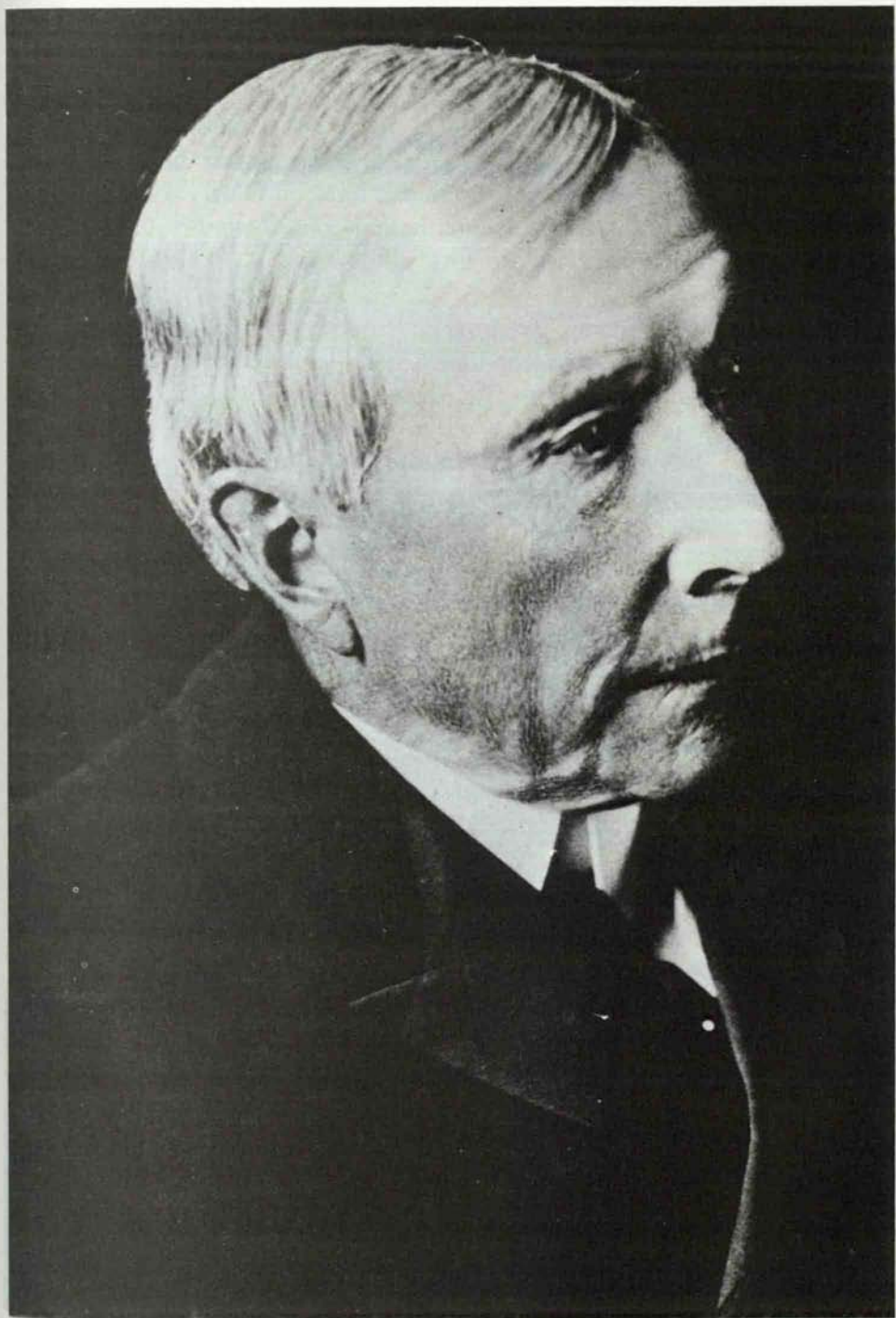
Many have criticized Carnegie, but no one can say that he didn't give much of his vast wealth to benefit mankind — both before and after his death. When he died in 1919, he was 84 years old.

John D. Rockefeller

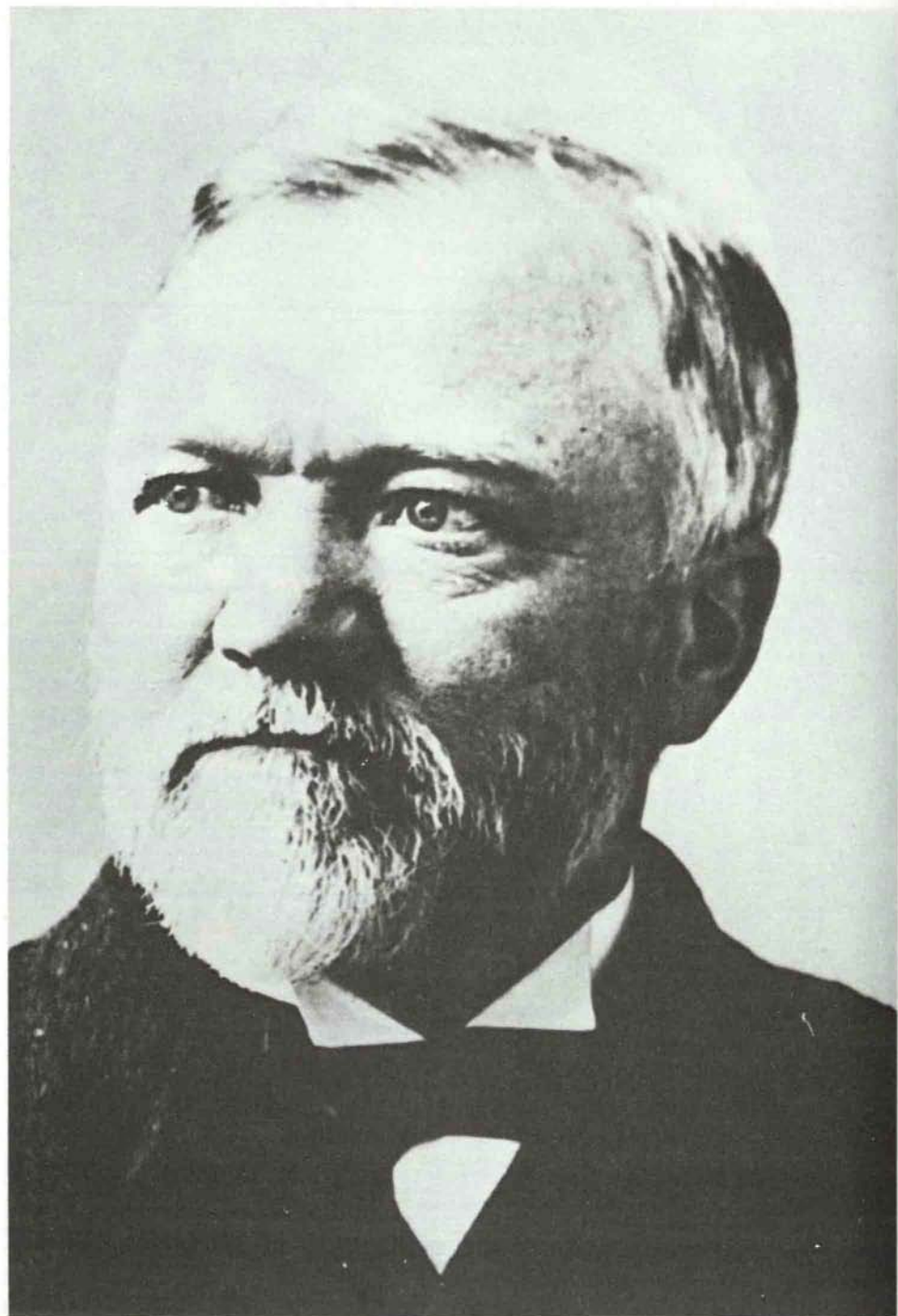
John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937) was born only two years after Andrew Carnegie. Carnegie had made much of his fortune in steel, but Rockefeller would make most of his in the oil industry.

Like Carnegie, Rockefeller's story is one of rags-to-riches. He was born the son of a peddler who lived in Richford, New York. His family decided to move to Cleveland, Ohio when young John was only 14 years old.

First, young Rockefeller worked as a clerk in a small produce firm.



Andrew Carnegie made much of his fortune in the steel industry. When he died, he gave multiple millions to help build libraries, schools and various foundations. —



John D. Rockefeller's vast fortune was made in his extensive oil holdings. He gave much of his wealth to philanthropic institutions. — *American Stock Photo*

He later formed a partnership in a grain commission house, and plowed back the profits from the business into an *oil* venture when he was only 23 years old.

The oil industry was just in its infancy at the time, but much confusion and chaos reigned in the business. Rockefeller set out to organize the oil industry, and accomplished his goal in just 15 years.

In 1859, Edwin Drake drilled America's first commercially successful oil well. In 1863, Rockefeller and his associates began organizing a vast oil industry.

Rockefeller used the name "Standard" as the name for his second refinery, and when he organized his oil company in 1870, he called it the Standard Oil Company. By 1882, the Standard Oil Company controlled 95 percent of the oil refining industry in the U.S. — as well as manufacturing, transportation, iron, lumber and other subsidiaries. Rockefeller's company soon owned all the main refineries in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York and Cleveland.

Rockefeller began building tank cars and distribution systems. But his shrewd dealings with the railroads (involving *rebates* and other types of privileges (which were not illegal at the time) caused his competitors to grumble. His competitive methods caused much criticism which led the courts in Ohio to dissolve his company in 1899. The Ohio court held his trust to be in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

Then, in 1911, the Supreme Court also declared his Standard Oil Company of New Jersey to be illegal.

Rockefeller's immense wealth and his vast power provoked much of the antitrust agitation at the turn of the century.

World's Richest Man

At one time, Rockefeller was the world's richest man. Like Carnegie, he gave away much of his wealth before his death. He is reputed to have given away \$530,000,000 — over half a billion dollars!

Both Carnegie and Rockefeller lived during America's period of rapid industrial expansion. Railways were being flung across America, and an energetic building program was in progress all over America. This took money, steel, oil and brains.

Rockefeller worked closely with the *railroads* which were controlled by such men as Jay Gould, Cornelius Vanderbilt, James J. Hill and Edward H. Harriman.

During this same period, Philip Armour and Gustavus Swift developed colossal *meat-packing* businesses. Meyer Guggenheim controlled much of the copper interests. J. P. Morgan was one of the world's greatest *financiers*.

The "Giant of Technology"

In less than fifty years from the Civil War America had become the world's "giant of technology." By 1900, she produced twice as many goods as Britain. And Britain had been the world's leading industrial nation since the mid-1700s.

But there were a number of growing pains during this period of rapid expansion. In spite of the fact that America was considered the land of "milk and honey," most of the common people had to scratch hard — especially many of the small farmers — in order to make a decent living. As the big American *trusts* got bigger, and began to squeeze the little man more and more, the U.S. government finally had to step in to correct numerous flagrant abuses. In response to corporate power, *labor unions* rose up to champion the cause of the working man (especially those employed by industry), to make sure that he didn't have to work too long hours, to guarantee reasonably healthful working conditions, and also a decent wage.

America's Most Dynamic President

Theodore ("Teddy") Roosevelt was unquestionably America's most dynamic President (1901-09). How did this human dynamo come to occupy America's highest executive office?

President McKinley was re-elected in 1900. He was inaugurated in March, 1901, and only six months later (on September 6th) he was *assassinated* by a mad anarchist who had confessed to a strong urge to kill a "great ruler." The assassin, Leon F. Czolgosz, was later electrocuted.

Teddy Roosevelt was vacationing in the Adirondack Mountains when he learned that McKinley had been shot and was near death. Hurrying back to Buffalo, traveling about 20 hours by train and carriage, Roosevelt took the oath of office as President of the United States on September 14th, the day McKinley died. The same day, President Roosevelt proclaimed September 19, a "day of mourning and prayer throughout the U.S." That official proclamation revealed the sentiments of the nation for the fallen President:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA A PROCLAMATION

To the people of the United States:

A terrible bereavement has befallen our people. The President of the United States has been struck down; a crime not only against the Chief Magistrate, but against every law-abiding and liberty-loving citizen.

President McKinley crowned a life of largest love for his fellow men, of earnest endeavor for the welfare, by a death of Christian fortitude; and both the way in which he lived his life and the way in which, in the supreme hour of trial, he met his death will remain forever a precious heritage of our people.

It is meet that we as a nation express our abiding love and reverence for his life, our deep sorrow for his untimely death.

Now, therefore, I THEODORE ROOSEVELT, President of the United States of America, do appoint Thursday next, September 19, the day in which the body of the dead President will be laid in its last earthly resting place, as a day of mourning and prayer throughout the United States. I earnestly recommend all the people to assemble on that day in their respective places of divine worship, there to bow down

in submission to the will of Almighty God, and to pay out of full hearts the homage of love and reverence to the memory of the great and good President, whose death has so sorely smitten the nation.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, the fourteenth day of September, A.D. 1901, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-sixth.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

By the President:

JOHN HAY,

Secretary of State.

Among America's strongest and most outstanding Presidents were Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln — and Teddy Roosevelt. These four U.S. Presidents have their likenesses carved in solid granite on the face of Mount Rushmore in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

Teddy descended from a well-known and wealthy family of Dutch ancestry who had settled in New York in the 1640s. His mother was from a prominent Georgia family of Scotch-Irish descent.

As a boy, Teddy was weak and puny. He suffered from debilitating asthma and was frequently ill. Also, he learned early that he was quite near-sighted.

Fortunately for Teddy, his father built a gymnasium in the family home, and told him when he was about 12 that he would need a strong body to give his mind a real chance to fully develop.

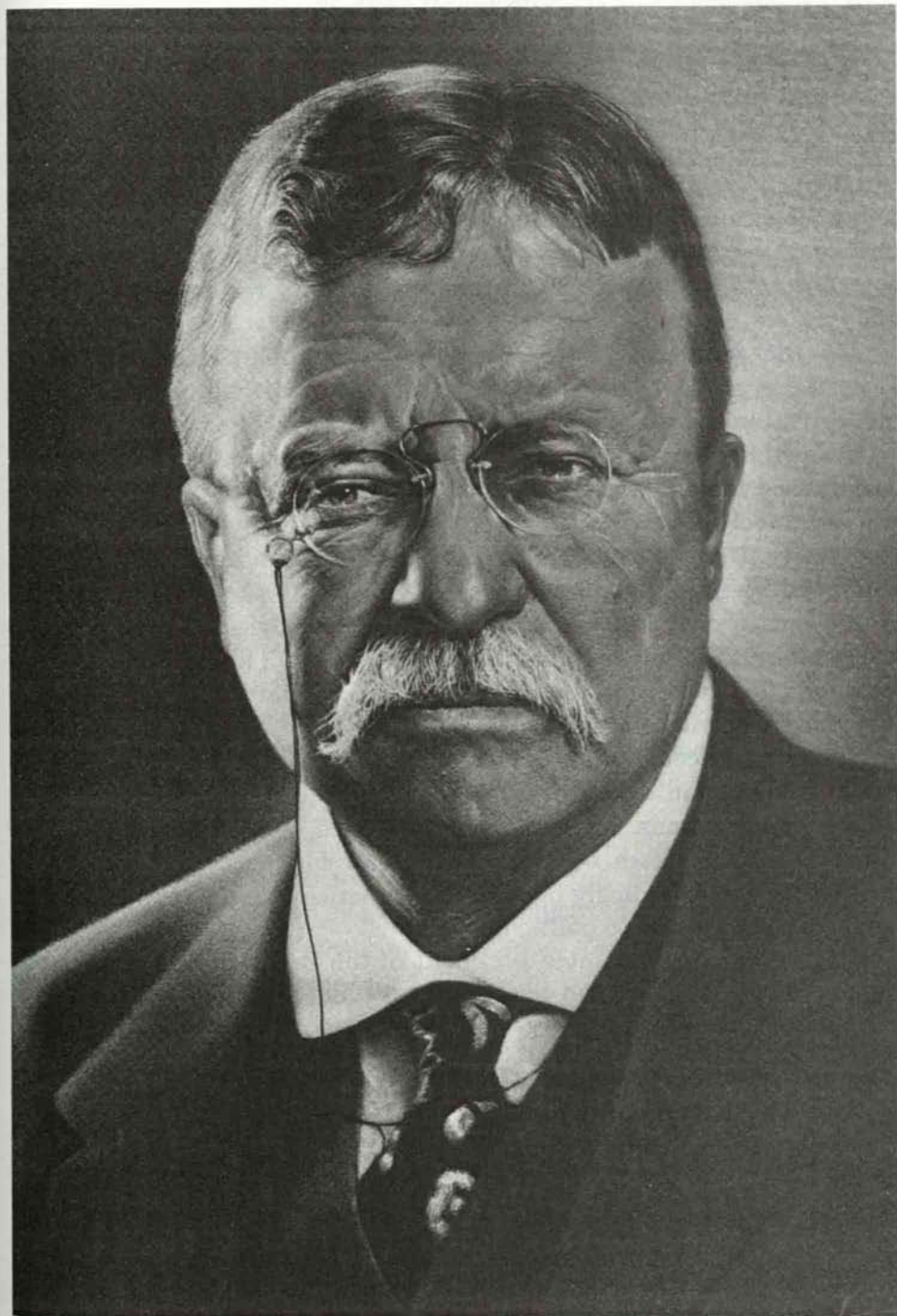
Young Teddy took his father seriously and began exercising regularly in order to build himself up. He soon developed a strong and virile body and overcame his asthma. Forever thereafter, he was a strong believer in the "strenuous life." And he practiced what he preached — often exercising, riding horses, swimming, playing tennis, hunting, hiking.

Roosevelt studied under tutors until he entered Harvard in 1876 at the age of 18. Teddy Roosevelt graduated from Harvard in 1880.

After graduating from Harvard, Teddy began studying law at Columbia University. But he never developed a liking for the study of law, and finally dropped out, after which he decided to see if he could get into government where he might be better able to use his talents. He was elected to the New York state assembly in 1881 at the age of 23. He was re-elected in 1882, and again in 1883.

A Double Tragedy

When Teddy was 22 he married Alice H. Lee. But a double tragedy was soon to strike the Roosevelt family. On February 14, 1884, his wife



Theodore Roosevelt, America's most dynamic President, was an advocate of the strenuous life and national preparedness. Painting by Sam. J. Patrick.

Alice died two days after having given birth to a daughter. His mother also died on the same day!

It took him some time to recover from this severe blow. He purchased two cattle ranches on the Little Missouri River in the Dakota Territory and began living a hard life of endless activity. He lived for three years on his ranches, and often spent 14 to 16 hours a day in the saddle. He hunted wild animals, buffalo, herded cattle, and also helped law officers capture a band of outlaws. Long hours, hard work and constant activity helped him to take his mind off the death of his wife and mother.

In the winter of 1885-86, terrible snowstorms destroyed most of Roosevelt's cattle. This severe financial blow cost him nearly all his investment in the cattle business.

When Roosevelt had recovered sufficiently from his wife's tragic death, he gave up ranching, returned to New York and was persuaded to run for Mayor of New York City in 1886. He was badly defeated.

Teddy Roosevelt re-married in 1886. This second marriage was to a childhood friend, Edith Kermit Carow. She had a very strong influence on her husband, and he came to depend on her advice: "Whenever I go against her judgment, I regret it" he said. They had five children — four sons and a daughter, and were a happy family. Teddy Roosevelt loved to play and frolic with his children.

President elect Benjamin Harrison appointed him to the Civil Service Commission in 1888. Roosevelt improved the merit system by establishing examinations for some Civil Service jobs. Previously, Civil Service men had often been appointed, not for merit, but because of favoritism. Teddy strongly opposed the practice of handing out government jobs as a reward to political friends.

Roosevelt was appointed president of the Board of Police Commissioners in New York City in 1895. This gave him a golden opportunity to use some of his pent-up energy. For two years he vigorously fought to stamp out dishonesty in the New York police force. He sometimes patrolled the streets at night to check on corrupt policemen — or to check on those who were suspected of illegal activities.

Teddy Roosevelt had strongly supported McKinley for President. When McKinley was elected President, he rewarded Roosevelt by appointing him Assistant Secretary of the Navy. But President McKinley didn't want this brash young man in Washington.

As Assistant Secretary of the Navy Teddy worked vigorously to strengthen the navy. He firmly believed that sea power would be decisive in the future. Teddy became impatient with McKinley's attempt to avoid war with Spain. To Roosevelt, President McKinley had "no more backbone than a chocolate éclair."

Teddy's Rough Riders

When the Spanish-American War broke out, Roosevelt resigned as Assistant Secretary of the Navy and started recruiting volunteers for a cavalry regiment. This cavalry unit became the First Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, and achieved great fame under the command of Teddy Roosevelt. The men in this regiment were called the "Rough Riders." Most of them were either western cowboys, or former college athletes.

After landing in Cuba, and getting into position, on July 1, 1898 American troops attacked a ring of fortified hills surrounding Santiago. During this attack, Colonel Roosevelt led his "Rough Riders" in a wild charge up Kettle Hill. They actually dashed up the hill on foot, since horses had been left behind. After this charge the "Rough Riders" — and their commander in particular — became famous.

Roosevelt had nothing but disdain for army red tape, and his impetuous charge up Kettle Hill did not endear him to his military superiors. But his colorful, heroic feats endeared him to the men under his command, and turned him into a national hero. From that day forward, Teddy Roosevelt had caught the attention of all America.

Governor of New York

In 1898, the Republicans faced what appeared to be certain defeat — because of a scandal over state canal contracts. Senator Thomas C. Platt, the state's party leader, did not particularly like Roosevelt, calling him "a perfect bull in a china shop."

But Senator Platt believed Roosevelt's reputation as an incorruptible official might save the Republicans. As a result, Roosevelt ran for governor and won — primarily because of his war record.

It was during his tenure as governor of New York that Roosevelt told a friend his philosophy: "I have always been fond of the West African proverb: 'Speak softly and carry a big stick, you will go far.'"

After one term as governor of New York, the Republican leaders nominated Roosevelt for Vice-President on a ticket with McKinley. Teddy knew the Republican party leaders did this to get rid of him, and Roosevelt didn't think the position of Vice-President was very important. Such a dynamic man could not be happy as Vice-President for there was nothing to do in that job. Teddy's gloomy expectations for the Vice-Presidency were all fulfilled. He was bored beyond words by the idleness of his office. He even talked of returning to the study of law, or of becoming a university professor.

But all that idleness and gloom were soon to be dispelled by the mad fanatic who shot and killed McKinley after he had served only six months of his second term.

His Greatest Contribution

What was Teddy's greatest contribution as President?

America had been fortunate in having a great man like Washington to lead the country during the first national crisis. Then, during America's most severe crisis, the terrible Civil War, Abraham Lincoln appeared on the scene. Under his strong leadership, the Union was preserved.

During the latter half of the 19th century, another crisis had been building up in America. During this vital period of dynamic American industrial expansion, a number of big trusts developed. They became so big that they developed into absolute monopolies. Such a situation in American industry meant that effective competition was now almost dead. These big corporations were so big and powerful they could set their own prices, and could dictate labor relations. Seemingly, no one had the power to curb the ever-growing abuses of the giant trusts.

America needed someone with a strong hand to take the helm of government at this time of critical development in her history. Someone had to put the bit in the mouth of the American big business. Most U.S. Presidents had been too weak and timid to try to do anything about this growing problem.

But Teddy Roosevelt was a man of bulldog tenacity, and as courageous as a lion. He feared no one and no organization.

Busting the Trusts

America had tried to grapple with this problem of gigantic trusts by passing the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. The aim of this legislation was to curb the power and influence of the growing industrial and financial monopolies. But big business, led by the almost-omnipotent captains of industry, virtually ignored the Sherman Anti-Trust act.

When Roosevelt took the helm of America's ship of state, he saw trouble up ahead. He, and many Americans were worried about the growing octopus-like power of these giant trusts. These large business monopolies were partially responsible for America's rising standard of living; nonetheless, it was clear that they were abusing their power.

President Roosevelt sounded the alarm in his first message to congress, in December, 1901. He declared that the "Captains of industry . . . have on the whole done great good to our people." But Teddy Roosevelt also pointed to "real and grave evils." He recommended that "combination and concentration should be not prohibited, but supervised and, within reasonable limits, controlled."

President Roosevelt made it clear that he was not against big

business — but was just against *abuses* in big business. In 1902, Roosevelt decided to move vigorously against the growing business monopolies. He reinvigorated the Sherman Anti-Trust act of 1890, and launched a vigorous campaign to restore competition in the business and financial world.

Roosevelt instructed his attorney-general, Philander C. Knox, to bring suit against the giant railroad complex — the Northern Securities Company.

This giant holding company had been put together by some of America's most powerful men: J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Edward H. Harriman and James Hill. When the U.S. government moved to break up this giant trust, it was attacking the very citadel of U.S. capitalism and corporate business.

The U.S. government won the first round in its battle to put the bit into the mouths of big businesses. On March 14, 1904, the Supreme Court reaffirmed a decree of a federal circuit court ordering the *dissolution* of this giant company.

During the next seven years, the Roosevelt administration vigorously used the Sherman Anti-Trust Act against some of the nation's most powerful industrial organizations: the U.S. Steel Corporation, Standard Oil Company, and James B. Dukes's tobacco trust.

Teddy Roosevelt's administration filed suits against over 40 big corporations. The President constantly reaffirmed his desire to regulate, not "bust," the big trusts. Nonetheless, Roosevelt's vigorous campaign against the giant trusts gained for him the lasting epithet of "Trust Buster."

Teddy Roosevelt believed that trusts which served the public interest were good. He just wanted to see the federal government *regulate* the giant corporations. He was the first President who envisioned the Federal Government as an *umpire* — upholding the public interest against abuses among big business and big labor.

Conserving America's Resources

Though Roosevelt's greatest achievements as President appear to have been in the field of his "trust busting," thereby making big business accountable to the Federal Government regulations, some think his work in the field of conservation was even more important.

President Roosevelt told Congress that "the forest and water problems are perhaps the most vital internal problems of the United States."

In order to prevent further waste of America's resources, Teddy Roosevelt set aside about 150,000,000 acres of unsold timberland, as well as water-power sites, and land containing coal and other minerals.

During Roosevelt's administration Congress passed the Reclama-

tion Act of 1902, providing for the reclamation and irrigation of dry western lands. Teddy Roosevelt also started 25 irrigation or reclamation projects — including the Theodore Roosevelt Dam in Arizona.

Other domestic problems were brought under government scrutiny and control during his administration. The Elkins Act of 1903 prohibited railroads from making *rebates* (the returning of sums of money to favored shippers). Then in 1906, the Hepburn Railway Rate Act was passed which helped to further curb abuses of the railroads.

After reading Upton Sinclair's novel, *The Jungle*, in 1906, Roosevelt ordered an investigation into the meat-packing industry, and received what he called a "sickening report." Under his influence, Congress passed the Meat Inspection Act and the Food and Drugs Act in 1906.

Foreign Policy Under T.R.

America has never had a President as dynamic and forceful as Teddy Roosevelt. His energy, drive, enthusiasm and forcefulness were evident in American foreign policy during his administration.

Roosevelt believed only the strong and virile nations survived — while the weak and placid were either conquered, or disintegrated. And Teddy Roosevelt lived during a time when the relatively peaceful Victorian era was giving way to a period of naked force. Those nations who had real power, backed up by military muscle, would become the principal international arbiters.

During his administration, he continually sought to strengthen the U.S. army and navy. By the end of his second term, the U.S. navy was one of the major sea powers of the world.

The world struggle for power indicated to Roosevelt that Germany constituted the chief menace to the U.S. He thought Germany was the *only* nation whose international ambitions and military power constituted a major threat.

"Speak softly and carry a big stick" well summed up Teddy Roosevelt's foreign policy. He did not lead America into any wars, but he did make a number of *threats* in order to discourage aggressive nations from following through with their aims. During Roosevelt's presidency, the U.S. twice faced the threat of German intervention in Venezuela — because that country had not paid Germany her debts. In 1902, Germany, Britain, and Italy sent warships to blockade Venezuelan ports because of non-payment of debts. Those countries did not, however, try to take any territory. But Teddy Roosevelt didn't know but what they might try to seize part of Venezuela. To forestall any such attempt, he issued the *Roosevelt Corollary* to the famous Monroe Doctrine.

The U.S. realized that in other parts of the world where an occupying army planted its boot in order to collect debts, it often became a

permanent guest of the country. So in 1904, Roosevelt and his secretary of War, Elihu Root, issued a policy statement which denied to any non-American country the right to intervene in Latin-American affairs. This policy statement also assured world creditors that the U.S. would police the area and become responsible for assuring that these governments of Latin America would abide by their international obligations.

The President declared there would be no interference with Latin-American nations that maintained peace and honored their international obligations. But, said the President, "brutal wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may finally require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the western Hemisphere the U.S. cannot ignore this duty"

In plain language, this Roosevelt Corollary denied to other nations the right to intervene in Latin America. At the same time, it sanctioned any such intervention by the U.S. in the role of an international policeman. In 1905, President Roosevelt showed what he meant. He quickly applied this Roosevelt Corollary by forcing the Dominican Republic to accept the appointment of an economic adviser who would be responsible to the U.S. Department of State.

The Panama Canal

It was during Teddy Roosevelt's presidency that the U.S. acquired perpetual use of the Panama Canal zone, and during his administration, the U.S. began building the Panama Canal.

Teddy Roosevelt played a decisive role in America's acquisition of the right to build and control a canal in Panama.

Roosevelt became impatient with the long, drawn-out negotiations with Colombia over the purchase of the Panama Canal zone. He, therefore, gave comfort and indirect encouragement to a revolutionary junta in New York which was led by two representatives of the old French Panama Company, who plotted a Panamanian revolution.

Teddy Roosevelt even wrote a message to Congress (but never sent it) in which he advised the taking of Panama "without any further parley with Colombia."

On November 3, 1903, the Panamanian revolution broke out. It just so happened (or was it planned?) that a U.S. warship had put into Colon the preceding evening. This U.S. warship prevented Colombian troops from interfering once the Panamanians revolted against Colombia.

Within hours, the U.S. recognized the new government of Panama, and in a matter of days, a treaty ceding the Canal zone was negotiated with a representative of Panama.

No time was lost. Construction promptly began on the canal, and it

was first used in 1914 — just in time to be of value to America during World War I.

An Ancient Dream

Men had dreamed of building a canal across Central America ever since Vasco Nunez de Balboa (the first European to reach the Pacific) conceived the possibility of constructing a canal between the Atlantic and Pacific in 1517.

During the greater part of the 1800s, Nicaragua was considered the most likely country through which to build a canal.

In fact, both America and Britain had considered building a canal across Nicaragua. This resulted in serious disputes between the U.S. and Britain during the 1840s over control of the proposed canal. In 1850, the U.S. and Britain agreed to joint control of a canal to be built somewhere across the Isthmus of Central America.

Colombia agreed to permit a group of New York City businessmen to build a railroad across the Isthmus in 1850. This railroad, linking Colon on the Atlantic with Panama on the Pacific, was completed in 1855 at a cost of \$8,000,000.

Then in 1878, Colombia granted a French adventurer Lucien Napoleon Bonaparte Wyse a franchise giving him the right to build a canal across Panama. Wyse sold his franchise to a French company headed by Ferdinand Marie de Lesseps — the man who had directed the construction of the Suez Canal. The French also bought control of the Panama Railroad for \$20,000,000.

The French met many difficulties which hampered their completion of the canal. They wasted great quantities of material and effort. Dishonest politicians who had backed De Lesseps stole money from the canal company. The French engineers lacked the proper tools and machinery to complete such a huge task. But worst of all, they were discouraged by epidemics of tropical diseases which plagued the workmen.

In 1889 — after digging about 76,000,000 cubic yards of earth — De Lesseps' company went bankrupt! A new French firm (the New Panama Canal Company) took over the franchise and property of the bankrupt company in 1894. The new French company, however, only made half-hearted efforts to continue digging. It was primarily concerned with keeping the franchise until a buyer would purchase the company. The French had tried to interest the U.S. government in the project — all to no avail.

It was the Spanish-American War of 1898 which caused America to see the potential value of such a canal. During that war, the U.S. Navy sent the battleship *Oregon* from San Francisco to Cuba to reinforce her Atlantic Fleet. This U.S. battleship had to sail nearly 13,000 miles

around South America. Yet, the trip would have only been 4,600 miles long through a canal. America now became convinced that a canal across Central America was necessary for *defense!*

The following year, in 1899, Congress authorized a commission to survey possible canal routes across Central America. In 1903, the U.S. Secretary of State, John Hay, signed a canal treaty with Colombian representative, Tomas Herran, but the Colombian legislature balked at signing the treaty — saying the U.S. was not paying Colombia enough for the proposed lease of the canal zone.

Officials of the French company, worried about losing the sale of their property to the U.S., with encouragement from certain Panamanians and Americans, instigated a revolt against Colombia on November 3, 1903, and declared their independence.

In 1846, the U.S. had signed a treaty with Colombia. This treaty gave America the excuse (if not the right) to send ships to Panama to protect the Panama Railroad which Americans had built and owned. When the Panamanians revolted, American Marines landed in Colon and prevented Colombian troops from marching against the city of Panama — the actual center of the revolution.

The U.S. recognized the Republic of Panama on November 6, 1903. And less than two weeks later, the U.S. and Panama signed the canal treaty which gave America permanent, exclusive use and control of a ten-mile-wide canal zone.

What was America to give as the price for this? The U.S. would guarantee the independence of Panama, and was to make an initial payment of \$10,000,000, plus \$250,000 a year — beginning in 1913. America actually took over the French property in May, 1904.

The greatest obstacle to the completion of the canal had been diseases — especially malaria and yellow fever. The U.S. soon brought these under control, and before long, construction of the canal was energetically carried out.

Opening of Panama Canal

The Panama Canal was first opened to traffic August 15, 1914. But there were other aspects of construction that took several more years to complete. President Woodrow Wilson proclaimed the *official* opening of the Canal on July 12, 1920.

Under the terms of the 1903 treaty, the Republic of Panama granted to America *perpetual sovereignty* over the Canal Zone “to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power, or authority.”

Subsequently, the U.S. and Panama have signed several new treaties. In 1955, the U.S. agreed to increase her annual payment to

\$1,930,000, and she also agreed to turn over to Panama \$28,000,00 worth of buildings and real estate which America no longer needed. Furthermore, America agreed to guarantee *equality of pay* and opportunity to Panamanians for their work in the Canal Zone. The U.S. made these concessions after a series of bloody riots in 1964 in which 21 Panamanians and 3 U.S. soldiers were killed.

In February, 1974, American and Panamanian representatives agreed on principles for negotiating a new treaty which would set a date for giving Panama complete jurisdiction over the Canal Zone, but would give the U.S. the right to operate and protect the Canal for a certain period — until a firm date would be set for its final transfer to Panama.

The Vital Panama Canal

What is the importance of the Panama Canal to America today?

Each year, approximately 14,600 ocean-going ships travel through the Panama Canal — averaging over 40 ships a day. These ships carry about 121,839,000 tons of cargo through the canal locks annually. During World War II, the Korean War and the War in Vietnam, the Panama Canal formed a vital link in America's sea defenses — as millions of tons of war materials and thousands of servicemen passed through that important waterway.

Even though the construction of the Panama Canal only cost the U.S. about \$380 million, yet the *strategic* importance of this vital sea link cannot be measured in dollars!

U.S. Dominance in the Pacific

Another area of vital interest to America during Roosevelt's administration was the Pacific. During the latter part of the 19th century, America had acquired a sizable empire in the Pacific: Samoa, Hawaii, Guam, Midway and the Philippines.

What kind of a role should the U.S. play in the Pacific? America's position in the Pacific, said Roosevelt in 1902, "is such as to insure our peaceful domination of its waters."

Teddy Roosevelt was fortunate to be President during a time of peace and prosperity. He was mindful of those blessings, and issued several thanksgiving proclamations — requesting that the American people "thank Him who holds all nations in the hollow of his hand."

Roosevelt told the American nation that they owed "humble and heartfelt thanks to the Author of all blessings," and confessed that "our strength is as nothing unless we are helped from above."

The actual wording of Roosevelt's Thanksgiving Day proclamation of 1904 is worth noting:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
A PROCLAMATION

It has pleased Almighty God to bring the American people in safety and honor through another year, and, in accordance with the long unbroken custom handed down to us by our forefathers, the time has come when a special day shall be set apart in which to thank Him who holds all nations in the hollow of His hand for the mercies thus vouchsafed to us.

During the century and a quarter of our national life we as a people have been blessed beyond all others, and for this we owe humble and heartfelt thanks to the Author of all blessings. The year that has closed has been one of peace within our own borders as well as between us and all other nations. The harvests have been abundant, and those who work, whether with hand or brain, are prospering greatly. Reward has waited upon honest effort. We have been enabled to do our duty to ourselves and to others.

Never has there been a time when religious and charitable effort has been more evident. *Much has been given to us and much will be expected from us.* We speak of what has been done by this nation in no spirit of boastfulness or vainglory, but with full and reverent realization that our strength is as nothing unless we are helped from above.

Hitherto we have been given the heart and the strength to do the tasks allotted to us as they severally arose. We are thankful for all that has been done for us in the past, and we pray that in the future we may be strengthened in the unending struggle to do our duty fearlessly and honestly, with charity and goodwill, with respect for ourselves and with love toward our fellow-men.

In this great republic the effort to combine national strength with personal freedom is being tried on a scale more gigantic than ever before in the world's history. Our success will mean much not only for ourselves, but for the future of all mankind; and every man and woman in our land should feel the grave responsibility resting upon him or her, for in the last analysis this success must depend upon the high average of our individual citizenship, upon the way in which each of us does his duty by himself and his neighbor.

Now, therefore, I, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, President of the United States, do hereby appoint and set apart Thursday, the twenty-fourth of this November, to be observed as a day of festival and thanksgiving by all the people of the United States at home or abroad, and do recommend that on that day they cease from their ordinary occupations and gather in their several places of worship or in their homes, devoutly to give thanks unto Almighty God for the benefits He has conferred upon us as individuals and as a nation, and to beseech Him that in the future His Divine favor may be continued to us.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 1st day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and four and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-ninth.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Peacemaker

Trouble erupted in the Pacific between Japan and Russia during Roosevelt's administration. In 1905, President Roosevelt helped end the Russo-Japanese War. He brought their representatives together in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and kept them there until they agreed to settle their differences.

Teddy Roosevelt served as mediator in those peace talks, and was later awarded the Nobel peace prize for his peace efforts — thereby becoming the first American ever to win that honor.

During Roosevelt's presidency, friction between the U.S. and Japan arose. Many Americans feared too many Japanese immigrants were flooding into California. In 1906, the San Francisco school board decided to segregate Japanese children from the others.

Relations between the two countries became very strained. Roosevelt even feared a Japanese attack on the Philippine Islands. After Roosevelt first persuaded the school board to end its segregation policy, the President reached a gentleman's agreement with Japan by which she agreed not to issue passports to her citizens who wanted to go to America.

Then, in 1908, the U.S. and Japan signed the Root-Takahira Agreement by which the two nations promised not to seek territorial gains in the Pacific, and they also agreed to honor the open-door policy in China.

America's Great White Fleet

The year before this agreement, in 1907, President Roosevelt sent America's Great White Fleet of 16 new battleships on a good-will tour of the world. These white ships were welcomed enthusiastically in Japan. The President had sent this Great White Fleet on tour in order to impress the world — Japan, in particular — with America's naval might.

When Teddy Roosevelt was elected in 1904, he said that "under no circumstances" would he run for President again. He later regretted his promise, but nonetheless, he kept it! After selecting his Secretary of War, William Howard Taft, to succeed him as the next President, Roosevelt sailed for Africa to hunt big game in 1909.

William H. Taft served as U.S. President from 1909-13. He was not a strong leader, and nothing dramatic was accomplished by his administration.

Teddy Roosevelt believed Taft would carry out his policies. But when he returned from his African safari in 1910, (where he and his party downed 296 big game), he was disturbed to discover that President Taft wasn't running things as Roosevelt thought they should be run.

Taft was accused of favoring big business and of supporting high tariff rates.

The progressives in the Republican party persuaded Teddy Roosevelt to again run for the presidency. Roosevelt tried to bring together the progressive and conservative wings of the Republican party but failed.

A split occurred between Taft and Roosevelt. Since President Taft controlled the party machinery, he was nominated as the Republican candidate. Roosevelt claimed the nomination had been "stolen." He and his progressive followers then split off and formed the Progressive party, later called the Bull Moose party — because Teddy Roosevelt had told a reporter: "I feel as strong as a bull moose."

Anarchist Shoots T.R.

Roosevelt threw himself energetically into campaigning for the presidency, and it was while he was campaigning that a saloonkeeper named John N. Schrank, on October 14, 1912, shot Roosevelt just before he was to have spoken in Milwaukee. Fortunately, a glasses case in Roosevelt's pocket caused the bullet to glance off, saving his life.

This stout-hearted man insisted on going ahead with his speech — even with the bullet lodged in his chest. He assured his audience that he wasn't to be stopped by an insane man's bullet: "It takes more than that to kill a bull moose," said Roosevelt.

But Roosevelt lost the election and concluded that his political career was finished. Woodrow Wilson was elected President.

When World War I erupted in 1914, Roosevelt called for American preparedness against a "strong, ruthless, ambitious, militaristic Germany." He developed an intense dislike for President Wilson — because he didn't immediately declare war on Germany and join the allied cause. He believed Wilson's attempt to keep America neutral was a sure sign of weakness.

After the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Roosevelt spoke of the "unforgivable treachery" of Germany. He looked upon pacifists and neutralists with imperious scorn. He even accused President Wilson in 1916 of "dishonorable conduct."

When America declared war on Germany in 1917, Teddy Roosevelt asked President Wilson for permission to raise a division of troops to fight in France. But, on the advice of General John J. Pershing, Wilson's administration refused to accept Roosevelt's offer. Once again, Roosevelt was bitterly disappointed! He did, however, look with pride upon the fact that he had *four* sons who served in the war. Tragically, his youngest son (Quintin) was killed when his plane was shot down over Germany.

Teddy Roosevelt was now despondent. He had failed to be re-elected as President, and when he had offered to serve his country by leading another regiment of volunteers (such as the Rough Riders) into battle, he was refused permission.

Death of the Old Warrior

His health was also declining. In 1913, Roosevelt had led an expedition into the Brazilian jungle, where he contracted jungle fever and almost died. He returned to America in 1914, weak and prematurely aged.

He underwent a number of operations in early 1918 in order to remove abscesses on his thigh and in his ears which had resulted from jungle fever. He lost the hearing in his left ear, and about this same time, Roosevelt made it known that he had been blind in his left eye ever since 1905 when, as President, he was boxing with a military aide in the White House.

After World War I, Roosevelt strongly opposed American membership in the League of Nations. Such membership, he believed, would limit the U.S. in her foreign relations.

America had never seen a President with such dynamism — with such tireless energy. But Teddy Roosevelt, who had taught America to speak softly, and carry a big stick, was himself growing weary.

On January 6, 1919, Teddy Roosevelt died peacefully in his sleep. His battles were now over. America had lost her most dynamic President.

World War I Engulfs the Globe

Woodrow Wilson (President from 1913-21), won the election of 1912 as a result of a split in the Republican party. Teddy Roosevelt had been displeased with the way his friend, President Taft, was running the presidency. When Taft received the presidential nomination, Roosevelt claimed he had “stolen” it and T.R. therefore decided to break away from the Republican party and form his own Progressive party.

This split in the Republican party made it possible for the Democratic presidential candidate, Woodrow Wilson, to win an easy victory. He won over 6 million popular votes, and the overwhelming majority of the electoral votes. Roosevelt won over 4 million votes, but only 88 electoral votes from six states; and President Taft received only 3.5 million popular votes.

Woodrow Wilson guided America during the troubled period of World War I. President Wilson campaigned for a second term using the slogan: “He kept us out of war!” But world events were making it more difficult for any American President to keep the U.S. out of the Great War.

What were the causes of World War I? How did America become involved in that historic struggle?

Causes of World War I

Competition for colonies — especially during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century — caused increased envy and rivalry among such nations as Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and Holland. There was a mad scramble for colonies in Africa, as each European nation sought to stake out its claim for as much territory as possible in the Black Continent. Nations quarreled over the control of the sources of raw materials. They competed for overseas bases, and sometimes came to blows over new overseas markets for their products.

Another source of friction among the nations of Europe was the manner in which diplomacy was often conducted. Secret diplomacy was the usual rule, and this secrecy bred suspicion and deep distrust among the nations of Europe. As just one example, British Prime Minister Sir

Edward Grey promised France that Britain would provide naval aid in case of war, but he didn't tell the British Parliament of his promise.

The major European nations had engaged in wars for centuries, and had constantly resorted to various alliances as a means of preserving the "balance of power" in Europe.

In 1882, Italy, Germany and Austria-Hungary signed the *Triple Alliance* — designed to prevent attack from either France or Russia. Russia and France also signed a defensive alliance in 1894. This left *Britain* isolated — without an alliance with any of the powerful nations of Europe. So in 1904, Britain and France reached an *Entente Cordiale* (a cordial understanding). This made the two nations (who had fought each other for centuries) diplomatic partners.

France then maneuvered to bring Russia and Britain together in an alliance. This she succeeded in doing in 1907, when Britain and Russia signed the Anglo-Russian Entente. Now Britain, France and Russia were all linked together by an alliance which came to be called *The Triple Entente*.

Europe was now divided into two armed camps: The Triple Alliance (Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary) and The Triple Entente (Britain, Russia and France). Deep distrust and mutual suspicions caused these nations to begin building up their military capacity. Europe was like a tinder box — just waiting to be ignited. And the Balkan Peninsula has often been called the *powder keg of Europe*.

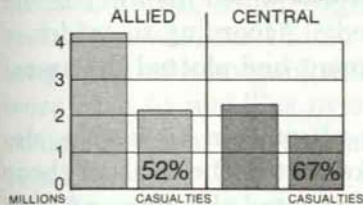
Igniting World War I

In 1914 Austria-Hungary controlled lands which several of its neighbors thought should belong to them. Serbia (a Slavic nation) coveted the provinces of *Bosnia* and *Hercegovina* — because it wanted an outlet to the sea, and also because many Slavs lived in that area. The Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 were fought over disputed territory. These Balkan states fought, first against Turkey, then against one another. During this period of turmoil, a group of Serbs formed a secret society, the "Union or Death" (also called "the Black Hand"), with the avowed purpose of terrorizing Austro-Hungarian officials into giving them Serbia's territorial aims.

Members of this secret society learned that Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the thrones of Austria and Hungary, planned to visit neighboring Bosnia in June, 1914. They therefore set about planning his assassination. A Bosnian revolutionary threw a bomb at the car in which the Archduke and his wife were riding while they were driving through Sarajevo. The bomb exploded behind his car. No one was hurt.

Later the same day, while in the city of Sarajevo, another trained assassin, Gavrilo Princip, jumped on the running board of the Arch-

MILITARY STRENGTHS



WORLD WAR I IN EUROPE

- ALLIED POWERS
- CENTRAL POWERS
- CENTRAL POWER ADVANCES
- NEUTRAL COUNTRIES
- CENTRAL POWER OCCUPATION LIMIT AFTER BREST LITOVSK TREATY 1918
- MAJOR BATTLES



duke's car and fired two shots — shots which triggered World War I. One shot killed the Archduke, and the second shot killed his wife, as she tried to shield her husband with her own body. According to evidence which was later revealed, the Serbian government had plotted the assassination.

On July 23, 1914, Austria delivered an ultimatum to Serbia, demanding that it allow Austrian officials to take part in the trials of those persons involved in the assassination. Serbia rejected this demand, and suggested that the conflict be submitted to an international conference for arbitration.

Austria-Hungary flatly refused, and declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914. World war was now imminent. Austria-Hungary had been assured that Germany would come to their aid if Russia came to the defense of Serbia. Germany declared war on Russia on August 1, 1914. When France failed to satisfy the Germans that she would remain neutral (France and Russia were bound by alliance) Germany then declared war on France on August 3rd.

What was Germany's plan of strategy? She plotted an immediate invasion of France. By sending a force of seven armies through Belgium and France, she planned to envelop the French armies in a pincer movement. Germany thought she could deliver France a quick knockout blow. She could then attack Russia, and carry out her *Drang nach Osten* (drive toward the east).

Germany asked the Belgians for permission to send troops across their territory, as they marched toward Paris. In actuality, however, German troops had already begun crossing Belgium and merely asked the Belgians for a passage across their country as a political gesture. King Albert I of Belgium flatly refused the Germans permission to use his nation as a military highway. He reportedly told the Germans: "Belgium is a nation, not a road."

German troops moved into Luxembourg on August 2nd, and then quickly advanced into Belgium on the 4th. This invasion of Belgium caused Britain to promptly declare war on Germany.

Allies Versus The Central Powers

Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey (the Ottoman Empire) were soon known as the Central Powers. They held an advantageous position in the center of Europe. Unlike their enemies (the Allies) the Central Powers formed a solid land block on the continent of Europe. They could easily speed supplies and reinforcements to any front. Their mobilized strength reached more than 22,800,000 men and women. Germany possessed the biggest and best-equipped fighting force in Europe. Its troops were better trained and had superior weapons.

By contrast, the Allies (Britain, France, Russia, Belgium, Italy, Greece, Japan, Montenegro, Portugal, Romania, Serbia and, near the end of the war, the United States) were much more scattered. They had long lines of communication and transportation to protect. But they were able to mobilize over 42 million men and women for the titanic struggle which was destined to last over four long, weary, agonizing years.

Russia had the largest army, but it was poorly equipped and badly commanded. The corrupt, moribund Czarist regime was not able to supply the dynamic leadership needed to equip, train and properly command an efficient fighting force. The French army had some good equipment, and the men had excellent spirit, but they were not trained for modern warfare. Britain's army was small, but was a superb fighting machine. She, however, didn't have enough recruits to wage total war until 1915.

The Germans Are Halted

Within about one month after the outbreak of the war, the Germans were within 30 miles of Paris, but they were stopped by the combined French-English forces in the First Battle of the Marne (Sept. 6-12). Their attempt to gain a quick knock-out victory over the French had failed. Paris was saved.

Over one and a half million troops fought in the First Battle of the Marne. This battle marked a turning point in the war, for it unnerved the Germans, and smashed their hopes of a quick victory. The Germans then retreated to the Aisne River. The two armies soon settled down to a virtual deadlock, as the opposing forces began using trench warfare.

Trench Warfare

Trench warfare was used for the first time in Europe's wars. It was the means by which two opposing armies dug themselves into positions near each other, and from which they could make infantry assaults on enemy lines. But this type of warfare proved to be a very dreary, long-drawn-out way of doing battle. Trench warfare often resulted in two opposing armies reaching a virtual stalemate, by which neither side gained or lost much ground for weeks, months or years.

On the Western front, the opposing armies became deadlocked in trench warfare for two tortuous years. When soldiers left the comparative security of their trench and went "over the top," heading toward the enemy trench they were cut down by a merciless hail of machine-gun fire.

Hand grenades, land mines, large calibre field artillery guns and other new weapons were used extensively during World War I. The

Germans used the 5.9 inch howitzer and the deadly 77 mm field gun. The French 75 mm heavy artillery was also an effective weapon.

Germans Crush The Russian Army

In August, 1914, Russia sent her First and Second armies into East Prussia. The retired German general, Paul Von Hindenburg, was recalled and given command of German reinforcements which had rushed to the defense of East Prussia.

Even though the Germans were outnumbered, they soon crushed the Russian armies, and cleared them out of Prussia. Over 300,000 Russian troops were either killed, wounded or missing.

The Russians had also sent an army into Galicia in August. There they achieved a victory — killing and wounding more than 250,000 Austrian troops, and capturing over 100,000 others.

In the meantime, Austria-Hungary failed in three attempts to invade Serbia.

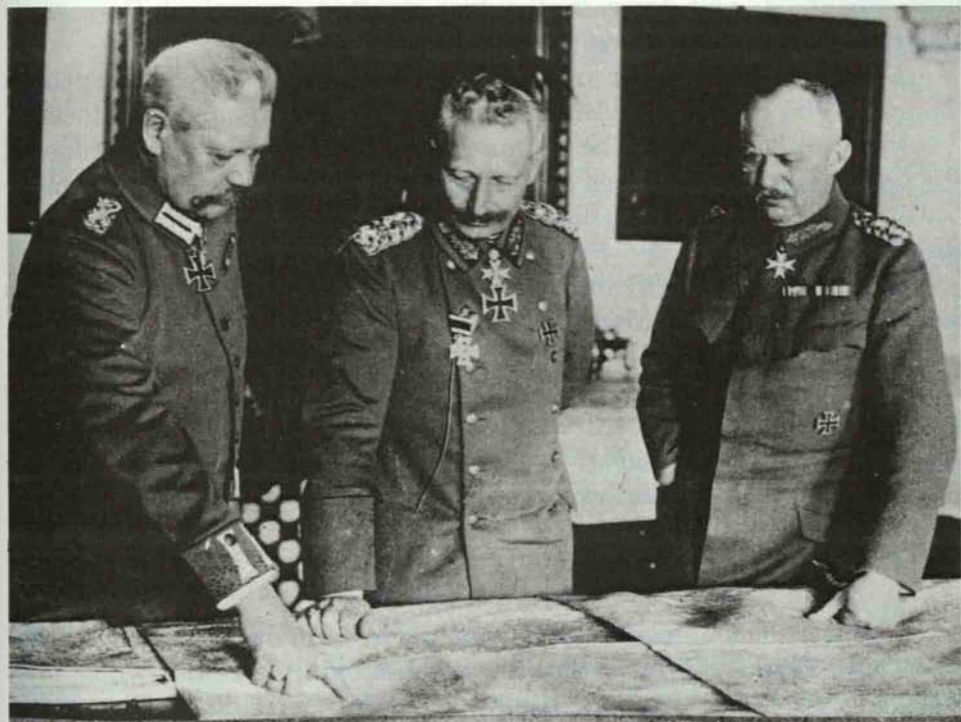
The Second Year — 1915

In the West, little ground changed hands during the second year of World War I. The Central Powers decided to make their main assault on the eastern front. Italy joined the Allies during this second year of the Great War.

It was also during 1915 that the Allies decided to invade Turkey. Russia had asked for an attack on Turkey in order to relieve pressure on its troops. The Allies planned to force open the Dardanelles so they could send convoys of supplies to Russia. They formed an expeditionary force to capture the Gallipoli Peninsula and Constantinople. The Allied fleet succeeded in destroying the Turkish forts at the entrance of the straits, and it succeeded in advancing part way up the straits. Then on March 18, the fleet had to turn back after its ships struck explosive mines. Allied soldiers landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula on April 24, but they met such strong Turkish resistance, and sustained such heavy casualties, that they were forced to withdraw by the end of the year. This military misadventure was blamed on Winston Churchill, and brought him disrepute and political eclipse.

War on the High Seas

War raged on the high seas from the very beginning. Britain had been the mistress of the sea for centuries. The Germans, however, were determined to break Britain's supremacy of the sea by using submarine warfare.



Kaiser Wilhelm II (center) studying maps with Ludendorff (on his right) and Von Hindenburg. — *Camera Press London Photo*

But during 1914 surface ships played the leading role in the war at sea. The British Grand Fleet succeeded in bottling up the German High Sea Fleet in its home waters near the Kiel Canal.

A few scattered German surface ships eluded the Allies and soon began attacking Allied shipping in the North Sea. It was the submarine attacks, however, which worried the Allies the most. These U-boat attacks gradually grew in strength.

Since the Allies held virtual command of the seas from the beginning of the war, they were able to take advantage of Germany's maritime weakness, and early in the war wrested control of Germany's isolated overseas possessions.

During the first year of the war, the New Zealanders captured Samoa, in the Pacific, and Australians occupied German New Guinea.

When Japan entered the war on the side of the Allies in late August, she seized German holdings in China, and also occupied the German-controlled islands in the Pacific, including the Carolines, Marianas, and the Marshalls.

The entrance of Italy into the war in August, 1915, helped the Allies to secure control of the Mediterranean.

Germany declared all waters surrounding Britain to be a "war zone," and warned that all merchant ships within that zone would be sunk. Germany didn't care which nation's ships were involved. She apparently didn't sufficiently realize that to provoke a nation like the U.S. into joining the Allies would only hasten her own destruction.

German Offensives

The Germans unleashed a new, secret weapon on April 22, 1915. On that date, French troops noticed an eerie-looking, greenish-white mist drifting toward them from the enemy lines. The Germans had decided to experiment with the use of poisonous chlorine gas. The use of lethal gas struck terror into the Allied troops, but was not a decisive weapon in World War I.

Then, on May 7, the Germans committed an act of barbarity. A German submarine sank the British passenger liner *Lusitania*. Only 18 minutes after a German torpedo ripped open the *Lusitania*, she went to the bottom of the Irish Sea. This uncivilized act claimed the lives of 1,198 persons — including 128 Americans. The well-known American, Elbert Hubbard, and other prominent Americans died in that tragic act of German hostility.

In fairness to the Germans, however, it needs to be admitted that the *Lusitania* was loaded with 4,500 cases of ammunition. Whether the Germans knew this ammunition was on board was highly doubtful, however.

Civilized nations condemned the attack on the liner. This barbarous act incensed the American public and was one of the main incidents which finally impelled the U.S. to declare war on Germany.

During 1915, the Allied fleet took part in the African campaign by blockading Germany's colonies in East Africa. Realizing their perilous situation, German troops in Southwest Africa and in Cameroon surrendered to the Allies.

Also, in 1915, Turkish troops, under German leadership, attacked the Suez Canal, but were turned back by British and Indian forces.

The Third Year — 1916

Much of 1914 and 1915 had been spent in *trench warfare*. The opposing armies had come to a *stalemate* on the western front, and not much ground was gained or lost by either side.

What was life like in the trenches? It was dreary and miserable — even when the soldiers weren't fighting! This was especially true during a rainy period. Rain and slush often filled the trenches and dugouts with water and mud. Death, filth, and stench seemed everywhere. Swarms of rats, flies, mosquitoes and lice became constant companions of the troops.

Life was anything but pleasant for the millions who had to spend what must have seemed like an eternity in the filthy, inhospitable trenches — realizing that an enemy bullet might put an exclamation point at the end of their lives at any time. Between Allied and German trenches (which were sometimes less than 100 yards apart) stretched *no-man's land*.

During 1916, great military drives broke out on all fronts. The Austro-Hungarians and the Italians battled each other along the Isonzo River. The Germans attacked at Verdun; and the Russians assaulted Polish Galicia.

The Battle of Verdun was one of the bloodiest of the war. When the Germans were unable to take the city, French forces counterattacked, and the Germans had to go on the defensive in order to hold onto their meager gains. During the Battle of Verdun, the French suffered more than 540,000 casualties, and the Germans lost over 430,000 men.

During this third year (1916) the British attacked the Germans at the Somme on July 1st. In that struggle the Germans lost over 500,000 men, the Allies more than 600,000.

In July, 1916, Britain introduced a major new weapon — the *tank*. She didn't have sufficient numbers of properly designed and armored tanks to have a decisive effect during the war. Nonetheless, the introduction of the tank would have far-reaching consequences on future wars.



British troops mired in mud-filled trench on the Western front during World War I. — *Wide World Photo*



During World War I British tank rumbled through devastated French village. — *Culver Pictures, Inc.*

During 1916, Romania decided to join the Allies. But by January of the following year, German, Austrian, Bulgarian and Turkish troops swept through Romania, capturing its capital, Bucharest.

The greatest sea battle fought during World War I was the Battle of Jutland, fought between May 31 and June 1, just off the entrance to the Skagerrak Strait. During the battle, the British lost three battle cruisers, three armored cruisers, eight destroyers, and 6,097 men. German losses were much less: one battleship, one battle cruiser, four light cruisers, five destroyers, and 2,551 killed in action.

Even though the Germans hailed the Battle of Jutland as a great victory, Britain, strangely, continued to control the seas, and the "victorious" German fleet remained inactive.

The Fourth Year — 1917

At the beginning of 1917, the Central Powers seemed to enjoy a relatively strong position. They occupied Poland, Romania, Serbia, a large portion of Belgium, Montenegro, and most of northern France.

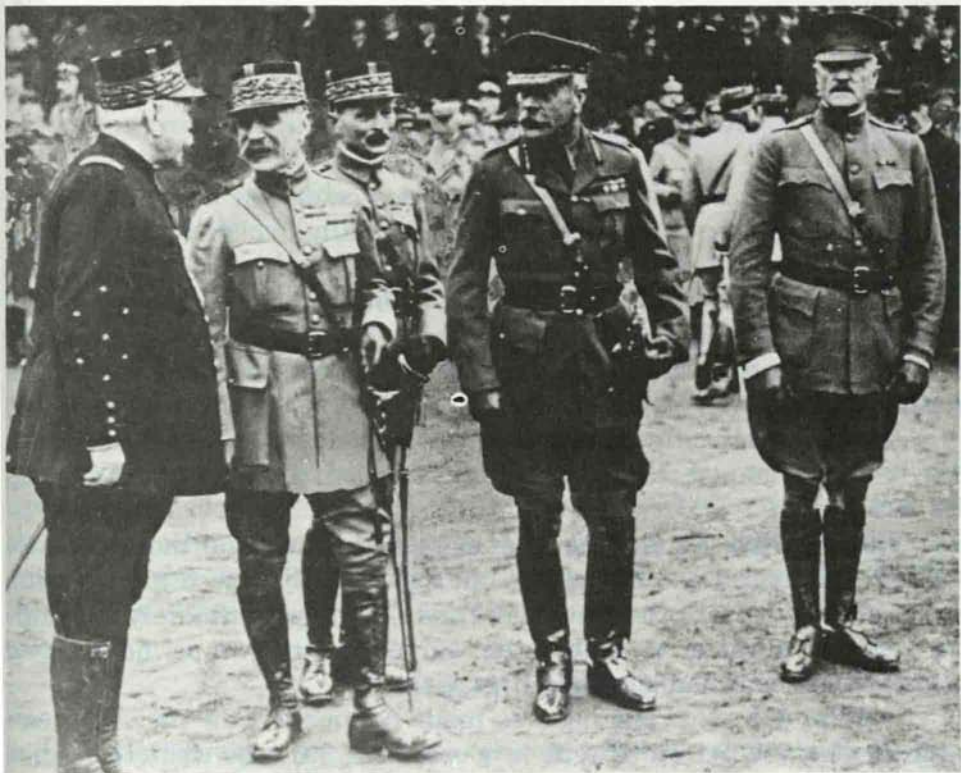
Unfortunately, the Allies received a heavy blow on the eastern front when the Russian war effort collapsed in March, 1917. During the month of March, Russian revolutionists had overthrown their government and forced Czar Nicholas II to abdicate. Then, in early November, the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky overthrew the provisional government of Alexander Kerensky and arranged an armistice with the Central Powers. The new Russian government ended hostilities on December 5, 1917, and began peace talks with the German government. The Russians agreed to the harsh German peace terms of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918.

It was on March 3, that the Russians signed the humiliating treaty. By the harsh terms imposed, Russia was forced to give up Finland, Poland, the Ukraine and the Baltic States. Also, Russia surrendered to Turkey the districts of Kars, Batum, and Ardahan, south of the Caucasus Mountains.

Romania made peace with the Central Powers only a few months after Russia had signed a peace treaty. Romania agreed to grant oil concessions and promised to give up some of its territory.

The Germans announced, in January, 1917, that they would wage "unrestricted submarine warfare." This decision prompted the U.S. to declare war on Germany. Woodrow Wilson had previously stated that America would be "neutral in fact as well as in name." Nevertheless, President Wilson had authorized U.S. merchant vessels to carry guns as protection against the growing menace of German submarines.

Then the British intercepted a German message to Mexico in January, 1917, which helped America make up her mind to enter the war on



The Allies became bogged down on the Western front until the Yanks arrived in France. Four of the top allied commanders are shown here. Left to right: Gen. Joseph Joffre, Gen. Ferdinand Foch (Allied commander-in-chief), unidentified officer (in black), Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, and Gen. John J. "Black Jack" Pershing, General in command of the American Expeditionary Force in France. — *World Wide Photo*

the side of the Allies. The German message indicated that Germany had sought an alliance with Mexico in case of war with the U.S. In return for a German-Mexican alliance, Mexico was promised the land of Texas which America had annexed in 1845.

In the meantime, German submarines continued to wreak havoc on Allied shipping. When the number of sinkings of U.S. merchant ships reached a record high in 1917, all of America's serious doubts about entering the war evaporated. In April, 1917, German subs sank 900,000 tons of Allied shipping.

America Enters the War

President Wilson now believed America could not honorably avoid war with Germany. The United States formally declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917.

The Central Powers had hoped to be able to finish the war before American forces could arrive to assist the Allies. And, true to their fears, the tide began to turn against them shortly after America entered the war in 1917.

America was badly prepared when she declared war on Germany. She had not planned on getting into the conflict, and had not geared up for war.

The Selective Service Act was passed in May, and more than 24 million men registered. About 3 million eventually served after having been conscripted into the American forces, and approximately two million others volunteered. Before the war ended in Europe, nearly two million Americans had landed in France.

General John J. Pershing was made commander of the American Expeditionary Force to be sent to Europe. In 1917, he went to France without any soldiers, tactical plans, or strategic guidance. Pershing insisted that the American troops receive intensive training before they were committed to fighting in Europe. Furthermore, he insisted that they fight as separate units, rather than being mixed with the forces of the other Allies. He feared the sagging morale of the other war-weary soldiers might adversely affect the American troops if they fought alongside their continental Allies.

American troops began landing in France on June 26, 1917. The Americans remembered they had received French help during the Revolutionary War. When the American forces landed in France, one of Pershing's staff officers, Col. Charles E. Stanton, announced on July 4th: "Lafayette, we are here."

The first American units (forming the First Army) entered the trenches in October, 1917, and American forces subsequently took part in thirteen major operations during World War I.

Even though the "doughboys" (the Yanks) arrived in France rather late in the war, they did, nonetheless, play a decisive part in helping to bring that war to a swift conclusion.

The Allies eventually began to win victories in the Mideast. Their victorious armies captured Baghdad in March, 1917; and in December, General Allenby's British troops marched triumphantly into Jerusalem.

Final Year of the War — 1918

The German generals confessed that they had anticipated the war would be over before the Americans arrived in Europe. They firmly believed that the arrival of the fresh American troops was a vital factor in Germany's defeat. The American troops were in better health, high spirited and ready for action.

In April, 1918, the Allies finally decided to form a unified command. Field Marshall Ferdinand Foch was appointed General-in-Chief of all the Allied Armies in France.

Von Hindenburg had promised the Germans they would be in Paris by April 1, 1918. Accordingly, German armies, under the command of Ludendorff, attacked fiercely along a 50-mile front in March.

The Germans reached the banks of the Marne on May 31. But again, their advance was halted by the Allies. This time, it was the Americans who blocked their path. American troops stopped the German offensive at Chateau-Thierry, and helped prevent the German army from crossing the Marne to Paris.

Allies Take the Offensive

The Allies were now ready to take the offensive against the German army. Marshal Foch began a series of hammering blows between the North Sea and the Reims — blows which sent the German forces reeling back toward the Rhine. The Allied offensive which began on July 18 never stopped until the Germans decided they were ready to sit down at the armistice table.

Before long the Germans were thrown back to the "Siegfried Line" — also called the Hindenburg Line. American soldiers now took over a large portion of the battle line, and succeeded in breaking through the Hindenburg Line. Approximately 1,200,000 U.S. troops fought in the Battle of the Meuse-Argonne. Approximately one out of ten was either killed or wounded.

In June, 1918, Italy's General Armando Diaz's Italian troops halted the advancing Austro-Hungarian armies. General Diaz's army split the Austro-Hungarian armies in two — totally destroying them — in October, 1918.

Then Allied forces from Salonika broke the Bulgarian front in September. This prompted Bulgaria to sign an armistice on September 29th. Events in the Balkans now brought enormous pressure on the Austro-Hungarian empire which rapidly began crumbling.

The Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks and the Poles declared their independence in the fall of 1918. Emperor Charles I authorized his representatives to sign an armistice, which was effected on September 3.

Germany All Alone

Now Germany stood totally alone! Would she try to fight to the last ditch, and the last man, or would she realize further bloodshed was futile, and also seek an armistice?

In late October, 1918, sailors in the German High Sea Fleet at Kiel mutinied, and as the news of this mutiny spread, other revolts broke out in different parts of Germany. As food, munitions and supplies dwindled, small mutinies began flaring up among the German troops.

Hindenburg decided he had better bluntly tell the Kaiser that if Germany wished to avoid a catastrophe, she must seek an immediate armistice with the Allies. This would be better than fighting to the bitter end.

Kaiser Wilhelm II appointed Prince Max of Baden as Chancellor with the onerous task of seeking an armistice. Prince Max decided to appeal to President Wilson for terms of surrender. He knew Wilson favored leniency toward the Central Powers, and hoped Germany would not have to sign a humiliating treaty.

On November 7th, a German armistice delegation went to Marshal Foch's headquarters in the Forest of Compiègne. Marshal Foch outlined the armistice terms. The Central Powers must evacuate all occupied territories, surrender their arms and warships, withdraw all their forces back east of the Rhine, return all Allied prisoners, permit Allied troops to occupy German territory. The Germans were given three days (72 hours) to accept the terms.

While the Germans were coming to terms, German government collapsed. Socialists under Friedrich Ebert proclaimed a German Republic on November 9th, and the German leader, Kaiser Wilhelm II, abdicated and fled to Holland.

Badly beaten Germany decided to accept the terms of Foch's armistice. In German eyes, the weather seemed to suit the occasion during the signing of the armistice. The German delegates arrived at Foch's headquarters in the Compiègne Forest in drizzling rain, where they entered a railway car and, at 5 a.m. on November 11, signed the armistice.

Marshal Foch signed for the Allies, and the German Secretary of

State, Matthias Erzberger, signed on behalf of Germany. Foch then ordered that all fighting stop on all battlefronts at 11 a.m. November 11, 1918. World War I had at last ended! All over the world, there was jubilation. The war-weary nations could breathe a sigh of relief, and could begin binding up their wounds, and rebuilding their devastated cities.

Results of World War I

What were the results of World War I? The peace settlements following the war healed a few old wounds, but opened up many new ones.

The Allied leaders, President Wilson in particular, stressed the principle of self-determination for the liberated nations of Europe such as Poland, Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. This new principle of self-determination fanned the flame of nationalism, causing it to burn even more brightly than before 1914.

Following World War I, the Allies created the League of Nations, and a World Court, as agencies to settle international disputes peacefully. But Congress refused to approve U.S. membership in the League of Nations.

Its creator, Woodrow Wilson, expressed the lofty ideal that the League would be able to "guarantee" the "territorial integrity" of the big and little states. "A general association of nations," said Wilson, "must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

The aggressive acts of Japan, Italy and Germany which followed on the heels of the Great War soon proved that the League of Nations was helpless to deal effectively with the harsh political realities of the post-war world.

What Did World War I Cost?

The greatest cost of the Great War was in human lives. Over 5,000,000 Allies servicemen died during the war, and 3,300,000 soldiers of the Central Powers also died. Many more millions were wounded.

It is estimated that during the war 5,000,000 civilians died of starvation, disease and exposure. Tens of millions died from Spanish *influenza* either during or after the war. Many believed this flu epidemic was the result of the war.

The financial drain of World War I ran over \$337 billion. During the war, the U.S. loaned her Allies billions of dollars. Britain's 4.8 billion-dollar World War I debt has now risen to about 7.4 billion dollars — including unpaid interest. And France's debt of just over 4 billion

dollars has now risen (if we include unpaid interest) to over 5 billion dollars! It is unlikely that America's World War I loans will ever be paid back.

Like all wars, World War I left a legacy of hate and bitterness in its wake. Much of France and Belgium and other nations had been devastated by the war. With many millions of civilians dead and maimed it would take many decades before the awful cost (in human lives and suffering) would be forgotten!

President Wilson's Peace Proposals

President Woodrow Wilson realized a number of secret treaties had been made between various nations during World War I. Those agreements were for the purpose of giving away large chunks of territory to the victors at the end of the war. Both the Allies and the Central Powers had such contingency arrangements.

President Wilson had enough vision to see that Europe would never cease erupting in wars if the "land grab" continued after the war. In the past, victorious nations had operated on the principle that "to the victor belong the spoils."

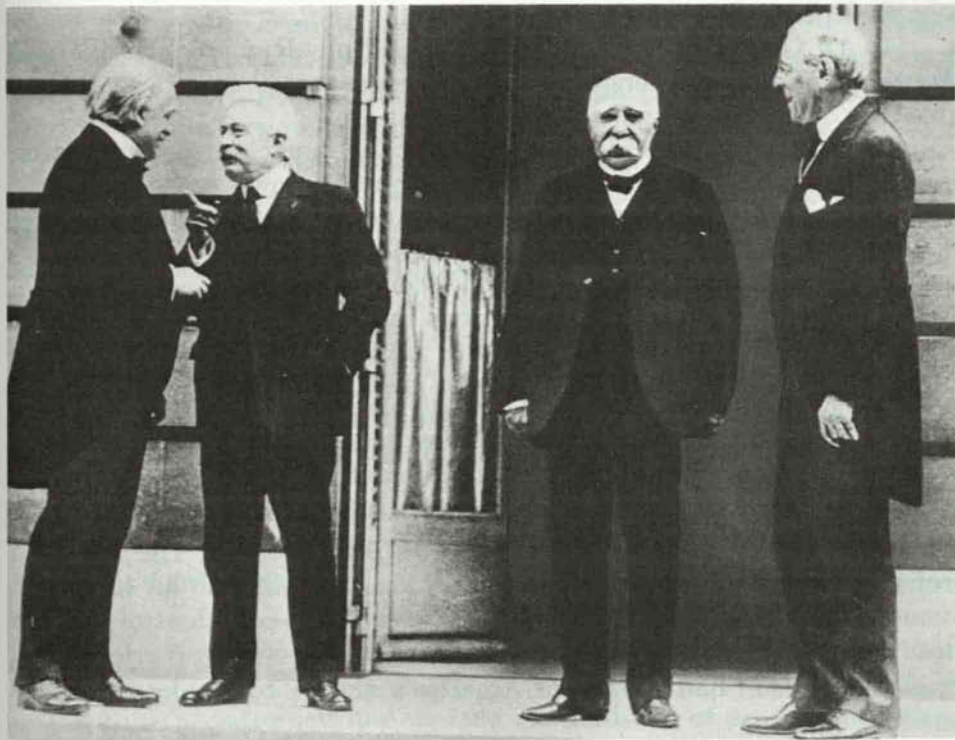
If the old wounds in Europe were ever to be healed, if there were to be a lasting peace, Wilson thought the Allies would have to avoid imposing harsh terms of peace on the vanquished Central Powers.

President Wilson's famous Fourteen Points were well-known in Europe — even before the armistice was signed. Thousands of allied planes had dropped countless leaflets behind enemy lines outlining President Wilson's Fourteen Points.

When the German High Command decided to abandon the struggle and asked President Wilson for an armistice, they based their action on the supposition that Wilson's Fourteen Points would form the basis of the armistice.

Wilson's Fourteen Points were as follows:

1. The peace agreements (or covenants) following World War I must be *open* — not clandestine agreements, arrived at secretly.
2. There must be freedom of the seas for all shipping — in international waters.
3. The removal of all possible economic barriers, and the equality of trade between nations.
4. National armaments should be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
5. All colonial claims must be settled by free, open-minded and impartial adjustment.
6. All German troops must be evacuated from all Russian territory. Russia must be able independently to determine its own political devel-



Allied leaders in Paris meet to decide Europe's fate following World War I. Left to right: Lloyd George of England, Orlando of Italy, Clemenceau of France and President Woodrow Wilson of the U.S. — *Wide World Photo*

opment and national policy. Russia must be welcomed into the society of free nations.

7. German troops must evacuate from Belgium, and that nation must be rebuilt.

8. German troops must evacuate all French territory and the Alsace-Lorraine must be returned to France.

9. Italian frontiers must be readjusted along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

10. There must be limited self-government for the peoples of Austria-Hungary.

11. All German troops must evacuate from Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and independence must be guaranteed for those Balkan countries.

12. Turkey must be independent, and the opportunity for all other nationalities under Turkish rule to develop their own self-government must be granted. The Dardanelles must be permanently opened as a free passage to ships of all nations.

13. Poland must become an independent nation.

14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

This last point was the most important point in Wilson's mind. He wanted to make sure that a peace-keeping organization was formed so that future world wars might be prevented.

Wilson had spent much of his life at Princeton University — as student, then as professor and finally as its president. His life as a professor of the university had helped to make him into an idealistic, remote, unapproachable person. He was often over-confident of his own ideas and his own solutions. At the time of U.S. entry into World War I, President Wilson had spoken of America's aim — to “make the world safe for democracy.”

In 1919 President Wilson went to Europe to fight for his Fourteen Points at the peace conference following World War I. He was everywhere hailed as a *messiah* of peace, and received tumultuous welcomes in both London and Paris. The President's vision of a world at peace had floated ahead of him to Europe, and the dazzled Paris crowds looked upon his arrival in Paris as something like a triumphal entry into Jerusalem. No previous statesman, king, premier, prime minister, president or leader of any country had ever been so received.

Opposition to Wilson's 14 Points

But Europe's elder statesmen were *not* dazzled! They didn't look upon President Wilson as savior, and they certainly didn't think he had the solution to Europe's mixed bag of long-standing difficulties.

France's octogenarian Premier, George Clemenceau, looked at things from a Frenchman's point of view. He knew that German troops had twice overpowered their French opponents. During the Franco-Prussian War, German troops had entered Paris in 1871. There were still many Frenchmen alive who remembered the German invasion during the time of the "Iron Chancellor," Bismarck. At the Paris peace treaty of 1871, France gave Germany Alsace and part of Lorraine.

The British and the Russians had suffered the ravages of Napoleon's army only one century before World War I, and they hadn't yet come to trust the French, and they certainly didn't trust the Germans. And the Russians and the Germans both entertained deep fears about each other's intentions. Furthermore, Britain and France undoubtedly wanted to take this opportunity to seize the German colonies.

In other words, there were *genuine fears* in Europe concerning what might happen if Germany were handled too gently. Many Europeans believed it better to put restraints on the Germans to make sure they didn't stir up another war in the near future.

When President Wilson got to Europe he found there were formidable obstacles in his path. He frequently found himself outwitted and out-maneuvered by Britain's wily Prime Minister, Lloyd George, and France's clever Premier, Clemenceau. In the end, Wilson had to make so many compromises that there was not much of a chance, in his eyes, of imposing a just peace settlement on the nations of Europe.

Nonetheless, Wilson fully intended even in spite of the compromises to go ahead with his Fourteen Points — or at least with as many of them as he could get accepted.

Europe's Complex Issues

Europe's statesmen had to face the realities of drawing new frontiers, deciding the claims of millions of nationals for new or enlarged homelands. Someone had to negotiate customs agreements, decide who should control a river, a railway system, a mineral-rich area like Alsace and Lorraine.

Who was going to decide these big questions? Who had the wisdom to thrash through the monstrous complexities of Europe's ethnic and nationalistic jealousies?

Europe's elder statesmen believed Wilson's offer of "self-determination" to these freed people would not solve but might only confuse them. Did such Europeans really understand the complexities of a democratic system? Did they really want the type of democracy which the Anglo-Saxon world has found suited to their tastes and temperament?

Before President Wilson had departed for Europe, where he would help work out a final peace settlement for the nations concerned, he

said: "*We (the Americans) are to be an instrument in the hands of God to see that liberty is made secure for mankind.*"

But by the time President Wilson had returned home from the peace settlement at Versailles, he was being criticized both at *home* and *abroad*. The French press accused him of being pro-German. And even though the peoples of London had given him an unprecedented hero's welcome, nonetheless the British leaders deplored Wilson's self-righteousness, and his impractical approach to the solutions of Europe's deep-seated problems.

He had wanted a peace based on his Fourteen Points (which he passionately believed in) but he had found the Europeans were more interested in a peace based on revenge, and in receiving heavy reparations.

German Bitterness

The Germans were the most bitter of all. To them the Treaty of Versailles seemed quite harsh. It declared that Germany was solely responsible for World War I. The Treaty of Versailles reduced Germany's size by one-eighth, and its population by 6,500,000! It stripped Germany of all her colonies and her overseas investments, and it took a sixth of her farm land, an eighth of her livestock, and a tenth of all her factories!

The Treaty of Versailles reduced Germany's merchant fleet, abolished her navy, and limited her army to about the size of Belgium's army.

Furthermore, the victors demanded that Germany pay heavy reparations. And the treaties which were made with the other Central Powers closely paralleled the German treaty. Germany's wartime allies (Austria-Hungary, Turkey) had to limit their armaments, pay reparations, admit their guilt in starting the war. They also had to give a written promise that minority groups within their borders would be treated fairly.

The Versailles peace conference brought into being a mandate system which was to be administered by the League of Nations. Many of the former possessions of the Ottoman Empire and of Germany became League mandates, under the supervision of one of the Allied nations.

Germans had greeted their returning veterans as heroes — since no Allied armies had sullied German soil, and because they thought Wilson's Fourteen Points guaranteed an honorable peace.

As things turned out, however, the November 11 armistice was in fact a disguised German surrender. Postwar Germans argued that Wilson's guarantee was nothing more than a high-sounding fraud. His proposed universal disarmament had in actual fact turned out to be a German disarmament. They felt betrayed, cheated, humiliated, shorn of much of their wealth.

The U.S. Congress also refused to accept Wilson's Fourteen Points.

President Wilson had not been very wise in the way he sought to get the American nation to approve his Fourteen Points. He had failed to include members of Congress on his team when he worked out his peace plan; and he didn't take any of them with him to Versailles.

Congress showed great reluctance toward acceptance of the League of Nations. They believed Wilson's League would impair American sovereignty. They didn't want foreigners regulating American immigration, tariffs, sending U.S. troops into battle, or modifying the Monroe Doctrine.

President Wilson believed the American people supported the Treaty. He planned to undertake a whirlwind speaking tour in which he would rally the nation and save the Treaty from mutilation. But the war years had taken a terrible toll on President Wilson. The strain of trying to organize the peace along the lines of his Fourteen Points had also been a superhuman task. Wilson had already suffered a slight stroke and suffered from blinding headaches. Nonetheless, in spite of these afflictions, he threw himself into the task of winning the American people to his way of thinking — hoping to override Congress's objections. He delivered nearly forty speeches in less than a month.

It looked as though he might succeed in his task, but his health gave out. He collapsed from fatigue and nervous exhaustion on September 25, 1919, and was forced to cancel the rest of his speeches.

For the next seventeen months, President Wilson was an invalid, and was hardly able to move out of the White House.

In the end, the Senate bluntly rejected the Versailles Treaty, and passed a resolution that America sign a separate peace with Germany. The U.S. rejected the League of Nations in 1919. Wilson had failed in his attempt to persuade the American people that the U.S. ought to ratify the League.

But the crowning blow came in the election of 1920, when the Republican candidate, Warren G. Harding, overwhelmed the pro-League Democrat, James Cox. Wilson now realized his work had been in vain. President Wilson lived for nearly three years after his term ended in March, 1921, but he was unable to exert himself, or do any actual work.

Woodrow Wilson remained confident that future events would prove him right. On November 11th, 1923, he declared: "I cannot refrain from saying it: I am not of those who have the least anxiety about the triumph of the principles I have stood for. *I have seen fools resist Providence before* and I have seen their destruction, as will come upon these again — utter destruction and contempt. *That we shall prevail is as sure as that God reigns.*"

Three months later, after he had told a few of his friends that he was "tired of swimming upstream," he died peacefully in his sleep on February 3, 1924.

Between the Two World Wars

The anti-League of Nations candidate, Warren Harding, was elected President in 1920, and was inaugurated in March, 1921. His election proved to be a stunning blow to Woodrow Wilson. Wilson had hoped James Cox (a Democratic pro-League candidate) would be the next President. This might have made it possible for the United States to agree to sign the Treaty of Versailles and join the League of Nations. Now all hopes were dashed.

Warren G. Harding was President (1921-3) during a period of continued economic prosperity. He did not, however, prove to be a strong President, and a number of scandals rocked his administration. Harding himself was not mixed up in any of the scandals, but he was unable to prevent continuing corruption and scandal.

Harding visited Alaska in the summer of 1923. On the way back to Washington, he was taken ill, made an apparent recovery, then suddenly died of what was said to be a fit of apoplexy.

Vice-President Calvin Coolidge succeeded to the presidency (1923-9) upon the death of Harding. He was a silent, taciturn man from the state of Vermont.

This rather laconic man came to be called "Silent Cal." He was not a man of outstanding ability, and yet he was a popular President. He didn't have a very interesting personality, but who cared? The U.S. enjoyed great material prosperity under his administration.

During this period of the Roaring Twenties (especially between 1923 and 1929), America's trade soared, profits were high, wages rose, and speculation was rampant.

The countries of Europe, forced to reconstruct after the Great War, bought huge quantities of American goods. American industrial methods were fast developing. The average production per man in American industry increased 53 per cent between 1919 and 1929. The signs of prosperity were everywhere. European visitors to America were speaking of "America the Golden."

Two very obvious signs of American prosperity during this post-war decade were the great increase in the number of cars on America's roads, and the prodigious growth of speculation in stocks and shares.

Yet during this great period of American prosperity, the farmers

somehow seemed to miss out. The prices of farm produce kept tumbling — causing much distress among the farmers. Coolidge was re-elected in 1924, and could have been renominated by his party in 1928. But he did not seek re-election.

President Herbert Hoover

Herbert C. Hoover became America's next President (1929-33). He had been the director of Allied relief and reconstruction after World War I, and had done a fantastic job. But he was, in at least one respect, America's most unfortunate President.

America had over a decade of continued prosperity following World War I. It looked like the Great American Dream of endless prosperity would continue forever. No one thought America, like much of the rest of the world, was ready to be knocked off her dizzy economic heights. Hadn't the U.S. risen to the greatest heights of prosperity ever known? Why shouldn't that prosperity continue — and increase?

When the Great Depression struck America in 1929, many believed Hoover was just the man to get America out of her economic tailspin. He was experienced in the field of business and finance, and he had proven himself an able organizer.

Hoover's Early Life

Herbert Hoover's father, Jesse, was a blacksmith, and a dealer in farm equipment. But he died in 1880, when young Herbert was only six years old. His mother Huldah died when he was only nine years old. The remainder of his life was spent as an orphan with his uncles and their families.

Herbert Hoover became interested in engineering when he was only 16 years old (in 1890), and the following year he enrolled in the first class of the newly-founded Stanford University in Palo Alto, California. He worked his way through college by delivering newspapers, serving as a part-time secretary and as manager of a laundry agency.

Hoover graduated in 1895, and worked briefly as a miner in California. In 1899 he married Miss Lou Henry, the daughter of a wealthy banker.

Hoover began his engineering career in 1896 by joining the office of a well-known San Francisco mining engineer, Louis Janin. He later worked in London and China, still in engineering.

In 1901, Hoover went to London as a partner in a mining consultant firm, and then in 1908 he established his own engineering firm, headquartered in London. He had become a millionaire by 1914.

When World War I began, Hoover was in London. President Wilson

asked him to head the United States Food Administration in Europe. He did much to help the starving peoples of war-torn Europe during the war. He organized wheatless and meatless days, and the term "Hooverize" became synonymous with saving and doing without various foods.

When the Great War ended in 1918, Hoover was sent back to Europe to direct the feeding of millions of people in war-ravaged Europe. His diligent efforts undoubtedly saved many hundreds of thousands from starving to death. His work as a food administrator made him internationally famous.

Man of the Future

By 1919, many Americans were already talking about Hoover for President. He had caught the public eye. In 1921, President Harding named him Secretary of Commerce. He did such an excellent job as Secretary of Commerce that a newsman once referred to him as "Secretary of Commerce and Under Secretary of everything else." Hoover soon became involved in problems of industrial production, labor relations, foreign trade, child welfare, and housing. He helped bring order to the field of radio broadcasting, promoted commercial aviation, and helped bring about the end of the 12-hour work day in the steel industry.

When Calvin Coolidge announced in 1927 that he did not "choose to run," Hoover was put forward as the Republican candidate for the presidency. The Democratic nominee was Alfred E. Smith, a Roman Catholic from New York. Hoover was favored to win the election for two reasons: he had a very good track record as a successful businessman, and had proven that he was a good organizer, and an able administrator. Secondly, his opponent Al Smith was a Roman Catholic and no Catholic had yet been elected as president of the predominantly Protestant United States.

American at that time held the view that Roman Catholics were not to be trusted — at least not in high office. For didn't they owe their allegiance first to the Pope at Rome, and might they not put their allegiance to that foreign authority ahead of their allegiance to America? There were still many prejudices against Catholics, Jews and other minorities at the time.

"Two Chickens in Every Pot"

During the election campaign, Hoover spoke hopefully of wiping out poverty in America. He said that Americans would eventually have "*two chickens in every pot and a car in every garage.*"

Hoover was a sincere man — a real humanitarian, who looked forward to the abolition of poverty in the near future. His acceptance

speech for the presidential nomination sounded an optimistic note: "We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land." Unknown to him or anyone else, poverty was ready to pounce on millions of unsuspecting Americans.

Since America had never had such great prosperity as she was then enjoying under the Republican presidents, many concluded their prosperity was the result of Republican policies.

Little did these Americans realize that unseen, sinister forces were at work which would bring America's prosperity crashing to the ground. Those forces were, termite-like, working away quietly, undermining the stability and the strength of America's economy.

Prelude to the Great Depression

What were the conditions which led up to the Great Depression?

Much of the prosperity of Coolidge's day came from American industry. Those who grew richest during this time were the ones who owned shares in the great industrial combines. It was sound business for the profits which the big combines made to go to the share holders in the form of reasonable dividends.

But there is a second way to make money from shares. During a time of great prosperity, when industry is doing well, many people want to become shareholders. So the price of shares goes up. When this occurs, activity upon the stock market becomes brisker, buying grows keener, and speculation in shares soars.

Since the price of shares rises rapidly during such a "bull" market, many are seduced into buying them — not in order to receive regular dividends but to sell them in a short time at a fat profit! As more buyers joined the dizzying scramble for quick profits, the prices rise still higher, and the temptation to "speculate" in the stock market grows ever stronger.

Before the Great Crash of October, 1929, this frenzied whirl of speculation continued without any due regard to the actual conditions of industry, or the true value of the shares. The prices of shares finally became so bloated that it was like a huge bubble — just waiting for the slightest economic pin prick. Then — *bang* — all was lost overnight!

This is just what was happening in America in the late 1920s. During those Roaring Twenties America was a land of crazes. And the stock market craze was the craziest of them all.

Stock Market Craze

Why did people indulge in this craze? Simple greed. Millions saw the buying of shares, even at fantastically inflated prices, as a means to

an easy fortune. The get-rich-quick urge is buried deeply in the breast of most mortals, and when the tempting offer to get wealth quickly is presented, few are able to resist it.

Americans from every walk of life were tempted: presidents of big corporations and banks, professors, cowboys, clerks, poets, plumbers, mechanics, farmers, storekeepers, workmen with only a little savings, little old ladies and clergymen — they were all sucked into the giant vortex of stock market speculation. They all hoped their shares would yield quick, inflated profits. They could then retire for life on their earnings.

Playing the stock market became a national mania. It was like betting on horses on a massive scale — with many hundreds of thousands playing the dangerous game. People who would have shaken their fingers, and wagged their heads at the thought of gambling, were in fact indulging in the biggest gambling operation of all time. And they were about to lose all their investments without the faintest idea that this was about to take place.

During 1928 and 1929, the prices of shares rose to fantastic heights. General Electric Company's stocks, in March 1928, were at 128¾. Only eighteen months later, they had climbed to 396¼. The New York exchange daily volume of business rose to over \$5,000,000. There were days of wild panic as the prices rose erratically. Some days there was rapid selling, but the trend was generally upward. This would continue forever, thought many Americans.

The Bottom Falls Out

America's new President, Herbert C. Hoover, was inaugurated in March 1929, and six months later, the stock market had reached its highest level. Then, suddenly, the terrible crash occurred.

Prices began to fall. They had done this many times before, and then had bounced right back. Everyone expected this would happen again. But there was to be no recovery this time — at least not for years to come.

On October 24, nearly 13,000,000 shares were sold. The great stock market bubble had *burst*. The bottom had fallen out of the American stock market and countless thousands were ruined overnight! Many people had been speculating with borrowed money and had done this on a very small margin of safety. A few points could bring sudden and total ruin.

The stock market crash tended to have a snow-balling effect. Once prices began falling, speculators were seized with panic. They had to sell out quickly in order to avoid being saddled with a debt which would ruin them for life. Once largescale selling began, people's confidence plum-

meted, so this triggered more frantic selling. But things didn't bottom out until June, 1932, when prices reached their lowest point.

Many wealthy men became so depressed that they took their own lives. Presidents of big corporations saw their wealth evaporate in front of their very eyes. Everything had vanished in an instant.

Panic seized people not only in America, but also in Europe. Britain, France, Germany and many other nations of Europe suffered badly.

During Germany's deep depression, it took boxes full (or wheelbarrows full) of money to buy a loaf of bread. The German mark became worthless. At one point a German needed 4.2 billion marks to buy one U.S. dollar. People went hungry. Begging increased. Starvation became common.

America's Great Depression worsened until about 14 million were unemployed. This depression revealed to America that *something was fundamentally wrong*. But what?

What Caused the Depression?

American manufacturers, encouraged by high profits during the years of rising prosperity, had simply made too many goods. Overproduction eventually led to a drastic curtailing of production, and this meant workmen had to be dismissed. When men are unemployed, they spend less money. This, in turn, means that fewer goods are bought and sold, and this leads to a further cutback in the number of goods being manufactured, which means more workers are laid off — which creates another round in the cycle. Such a depression cycle, once started, tends to feed on itself. It snowballs, and gathers momentum, until massive forces are marshalled to check its accelerating pace.

Another cause of the Great Depression was that the U.S. had erected such a high tariff barrier against foreign goods that foreign trade had fallen off drastically. When foreign nations could not sell their goods to America, they were either unable or unwilling to buy American goods — foodstuffs and manufactured articles.

And the wild speculation of the 1920s certainly aided in triggering the depression. There was not only speculation on the stock market, but Americans ran up vast debts. America's huge industrial combines plunged heavily into debt, and private individuals were also going into debt to buy homes, farms, cars, appliances, and furniture.

When the bottom fell out of the stock market in the autumn of 1929, Americans realized their prosperity had suddenly come to an end. This meant the whole gigantic structure of public and private debt would collapse like a house of cards. Stock holders were instantly ruined, companies went broke, farmers lost their farms to the mortgagors, and millions of Americans found themselves unable to keep up their payments.

The Great Depression, which began in 1929, continued to grow deeper as Hoover's term of office went on. Unemployment continued to rise sharply. Unemployment had averaged about 1,500,000 during the years of prosperity, but by 1930, three million were unemployed, and by 1933, nearly 14 million had lost their jobs.

U.S. factories were only producing about half the amount of goods in 1933 as they had produced in 1929. Foreign trade in 1932 was less than one-third of what it was in 1929.

All of this meant that many factories, mills, and mines were lying idle. Many banks had closed their doors, and millions of families had been plunged from comfort and plenty to poverty and great hardship.

A common sight was bread lines and soup lines in the big cities. People were near starvation in many of the big cities, and many farmers also faced ruin due to severe drought, scouring winds and sun-blasted crops. Lack of rainfall led to the infamous "Dust Bowl" of the thirties.

Americans believed that if any man would be able to get the U.S. out of her economic doldrums, then Hoover was the man. He had been a successful mining engineer and business director, and had displayed great efficiency in whatever he had set his hand to do.

Herbert C. Hoover thought the best way to run business was by private enterprise. He believed strongly in the merits of "rugged individualism."

When the Great Depression struck, the government was inevitably blamed. Hoover, along with most Americans, thought the Depression would soon go away. Recovery was just around the corner. Hoover and his administration opposed government interference and control of industry.

The President held many conferences in the White House with employers, and he encouraged them to keep wages high, while refraining from dismissing workmen. Hoover's administration also made extensive loans to farmers.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was established in 1932 to lend money to banks, industries, and railroads. It saved many from bankruptcy.

The U.S. government also encouraged private charities and city and state plans for relieving distress. It accelerated its own federal public works program, and encouraged states and cities to do likewise — hoping that all these measures would help absorb the growing unemployment.

President Hoover tried to ease the world's financial position in 1931 by declaring a "moratorium" on all war debts, letting foreign countries forego paying any interest on war debts to America for a year.

But all these attempts to relieve the plight of the economy seemed to achieve very little. In fact, the Great Depression continued to worsen.

The soup lines and the bread lines continued in the cities. Men who

had been company presidents, and who had owned two or three homes, had servants, a couple of cars, and had taken regular trips abroad, now found they were in a desperate struggle to procure the necessities of life. In some cases men who were wealthy before the depression soon found they had to sell their furniture, their car, some of their clothes and other items just to keep afloat financially.

Men of former wealth and position were compelled to sell apples, pencils, etc., on street corners. Others who were unaccustomed to manual labor were happy to do most anything to earn a few dollars with which to feed their families.

Depression Runs its Course

In spite of all that President Hoover's administration did to relieve the suffering and to get America out of the Great Depression, nothing seemed to work. The country continued to slide further into the economic abyss. It is doubtful that any man would have been able to get America out of her economic tailspin very quickly.

Like a person with a bad cold, or with pneumonia, it would take time for the illness to run its course. Drugs, pills, or other forms of medication might give temporary relief, but they could not give instant health, and they might even temporarily make the patient worse in some cases. So it was with all the Hoover remedies for curing America's Great Depression. None really eradicated the causes — they merely treated the symptoms. It would take time for the Depression to bottom out and run its course. No man came forward to work miracles. America had to take her bitter medicine.

It is not fair to blame an able and sincere man like President Hoover and his administration for the Depression. They neither brought it on, nor did they sit idly by, wishing it would go away. This economic scourge afflicted many other nations in the world, and in each case, regardless of who was in power at the time, the Depression had to run its course.

The Great Depression continued to afflict America during the administration of Hoover's successor. It was not until World War II, and the tremendous need for military goods, that the U.S. productivity increased and the country climbed all the way out of her Depression.

Hoover had won the 1928 election by a landslide. He carried 40 of the 48 states, and received 444 electoral votes, whereas his opponent, Al Smith, received only 87.

America's prosperity had insured Hoover's victory. But America's deep poverty brought on by the Great Depression would defeat him and the Republican party in the 1932 election.

F.D.R.'s Early Life

The Democrats nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. He was a distant relative of Theodore Roosevelt. He also came from a wealthy family, and was educated at Groton and Harvard.

Roosevelt had a short career as a lawyer in 1910, and was soon elected to the New York State Senate. He supported Wilson for the presidency, and was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Navy in 1913. He continued in this job throughout the First World War. In 1920 Roosevelt was the democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

Then tragedy struck! The 39-year-old Roosevelt was struck down by polio in 1921. It looked as if his public service career was forever finished. He became paralyzed from the waist down, lost the use of his hands, and suffered intense pain. But Roosevelt was determined not to let his illness destroy him. He began regular strenuous exercise. He finally recovered sufficiently to carry on in his political career. Although F.D.R. remained crippled for the rest of his life, and was unable to walk without leg braces and crutches, he was elected Governor of New York in 1928 and again in 1930, and gave the people of New York reforms which were a foretaste of his New Deal.

Franklin D. Roosevelt possessed a remarkable charm of manner. He had a ready, cheerful smile and a warm handshake, and he knew how to enjoy a good joke — especially with journalists.

Another asset which Roosevelt possessed was a good speaking voice. When Hoover spoke, he sounded as though he was about to weep. But Roosevelt had a voice which conveyed confidence, warmth and resoluteness. When he spoke to the American people over the radio (particularly in his "fireside chats"), Americans were warmed, encouraged, and inspired! They came to believe that this man had the answer to their economic ills.

During the presidential election of 1932, Roosevelt toured the country delivering speeches. He traveled about 20,000 miles and visited 36 states in four months.

Franklin Roosevelt would need all of his personal qualities to inspire the nation, and help the U.S. get out of her economic doldrums. His infectious good cheer, his energy and common sense would be sorely needed.

Fourteen million Americans (about one out of every four workers) were out of work on the day Roosevelt was inaugurated in March, 1933! Many businesses had closed down, and every bank in the nation was shut.

Franklin D. Roosevelt received 472 electoral votes. Herbert C. Hoover only received 59. When America learned that Roosevelt had been elected, many began singing the popular song, "Happy Days Are Here Again."

Roosevelt, the only President ever to be elected for a fourth term, served as President from 1933 through 1945.

During Roosevelt's inaugural address he attacked the system that had brought the U.S. to economic ruin, and pointed out the way which he believed America should take to recover. And Roosevelt didn't dally. He took immediate steps to help resolve America's economic difficulties. Roosevelt promised the American people a "New Deal" and to end Prohibition.

The Era of Prohibition

The issue of prohibition has been of great public interest in the U.S. for over 100 years. Between 1850 and 1865, Maine and 12 other states passed statewide prohibition laws. These laws were later repealed, then there was a strong movement to reintroduce prohibition.

In 1869 the Prohibition party was organized. Then in 1874, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was formed. The Anti-Saloon League, organized in Ohio in 1893, also became an effective tool in furthering the cause of prohibition.

By July 1, 1919, 31 states were either already "dry" or else had voted for state-wide prohibition on a definite future date.

The prohibition movement was gaining strength throughout the nation. The U.S. Congress passed the Webb-Kenyon law in 1913, forbidding the shipping of liquor from a "wet" to a "dry" state. And in 1917, the Jones-Randall Bill was passed making it unlawful to use U.S. mails to send liquor advertisements or circulars into a "dry" territory.

The Anti-Saloon League started a national campaign for a prohibition amendment to the Constitution in 1913. But the amendment failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives in 1914.

The prohibition leaders used the food-control bill to strengthen their cause during World War I. The food-control bill carried a section which prohibited the manufacture of distilled liquor, beer, and wine. After September 8, 1917, no whiskey was manufactured, and no beer was manufactured after May 1, 1919. Under the wartime act of July 1, 1919, no more intoxicants were sold, and no saloon in America could legally operate after that date.

Even so, there was still no national amendment to the Constitution. In 1917, Congress passed an amendment that would make the entire country come under prohibition.

The Eighteenth Amendment declared:

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the

importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

The 18th Amendment went into effect on January 16, 1920. The Volstead Act was passed in 1919 to help enforce the 18th Amendment. This Act carefully defined alcoholic drinks. The Jones Law was passed in 1929, by which fines up to \$10,000 were imposed for offenses against Amendment 18. The Jones Law was amended in 1931.

By the early 1930s it had become clear to many Americans that prohibition was not working, and could never be enforced in the U.S.

Evils of Prohibition

The American people, working through Congress, came to see that prohibition had failed miserably. It was not possible to enforce prohibition when many millions of citizens were against it, and would continue to get their alcohol one way or the other.

There simply was not enough money in the U.S. treasury, nor sufficient policemen to enforce such an amendment.

It would have been just about as easy for the U.S. government to have prohibited all sex relations as to have prohibited Americans not to have a drink.

Before prohibition, many Americans looked upon the use of alcohol as the *source* of many (if not most) of America's woes. When the 18th Amendment was passed in 1919, they thought a new age of sobriety and temperance had been ushered in. Drinking would cease, and there would be no more drunks, and no more broken homes as a result. A non-alcoholic Utopia was just around the corner.

But America had over 18,000 miles of coastline and land boundaries. It was not difficult for bootleggers to get alcohol into America by ship, or across the Mexican or Canadian borders. Many would not be caught, and bribery and corruption would see to it that those who were caught would often go unprosecuted and unpunished.

Also, it was easy for American citizens to set up their own secret still in their cellars, barns, woods.

The Federal government never employed enough agents to police the law. Federal agents were often poorly paid, and many were willing to accept bribes, or turn a blind eye to illegal acts.

The making and importing of illegal liquor (known as bootlegging)

developed on a gigantic scale. Bootlegging actually became one of America's major industries during prohibition days.

It was easy for rum-runners to land their cargoes in lonely coves. Trucks carried cargoes of beer through city streets in open defiance of the law. Illegal distilleries turned out hundreds of millions of gallons annually, while other millions of gallons of "industrial alcohol" were diverted from their lawful use. Home brewing and distilling became widespread. Thousands of "speak-easies" sprang up in the cities and larger towns. In the bigger cities (like New York and Chicago) where the population was strongly "wet," scarcely an attempt was made to enforce the law.

The Federal government spent \$10,000,000 annually and arrested about 50,000 people each year. Even so, they barely made a dent toward arresting all the offenders.

Better not to have laws than not to enforce laws once they are on the books. Otherwise, lawlessness will only be encouraged, and the average citizen will come to hold the law in contempt.

Prohibition was the chief cause of the rapid increase in crimes of every sort during prohibition days. This was especially true of crimes of violence.

Legitimate industries and businesses could settle their differences in court. But in the bootlegging industry, this was not possible. The bootleggers devised other means of settling their disputes. They soon developed their own means of protecting their interests and of ruining their rivals.

Ordinary citizens began to get their eyes opened to the evils of prohibition when they saw gunbattles between rum-runners and federal agents, and when they saw truck loads of liquor in broad daylight rolling through the streets of their city or town — protected by toughs armed with machine guns.

The very fact that bootlegging was illegal caused it to attract criminals. Bootleggers resorted to the use of hired gangs of criminals in order to protect themselves from violence or threats of violence from their competitors.

Such well-known gangsters as Al Capone became important figures in America at that time. Some of the gangsters held more power in their respective spheres of influence than did the politicians. Al Capone ("Scarface Al") made a multi-million dollar fortune in illegal activities including bootlegging.

And city mayors and civic leaders were often in cahoots with the gangsters. Mayors such as "Big Bill" Thompson, Chicago's notorious mayor, were corrupt and many city governments were riddled with corruption.

Prohibition did not endow Americans with more righteousness than

they already had. "On the contrary," as Alistair Cooke wrote, "it gave rise to a national underground industry, based in Chicago, that turned small-time safecrackers and brothel owners into millionaires."

Alistair Cooke paints a vivid picture of the fruits of prohibition in America:

... In time the gang leaders grew greedy, divided Chicago into rival territories, and fought each other for their control. But, in accordance with the old Roman code, they showed resolution in war and magnanimity in victory. There was, for instance, Dion O'Banion, an Irishman whose cover for his liquor empire was a florist's shop. He was double-crossed by an Italian, made a derisory remark about Sicilians, and was successfully disposed of by Al Capone and Johnny Torrio. His funeral casket was of bronze and solid silver. It was followed by the sorrowful Capone and Torrio, and by \$50,000 worth of flowers contributed, in loving memory, by the opposition. The murderers were never found. Capone, however, had the sense to buy himself an armor-plated Cadillac.

Cooke continues:

It took America thirteen years to concede that the Noble Experiment was a squalid disaster. While it flourished, the public momentarily shuddered at the gangland murders and the baroque funerals, then returned to its pleasures and its prosperity. . . .

It was Herbert C. Hoover who had called prohibition "an experiment noble in motive." Regardless of its noble motives, however, it didn't work. America had learned her lesson. So Congress repealed the 18th Amendment in February, 1933, and by the following December, 36 states had ratified the new repealing amendment.

Thus ended America's "Noble Experiment."

The "New Deal"

Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President (1933-45) in the 1932 election, but was not to be inaugurated until the following March.

But Roosevelt narrowly missed being assassinated even before he reached the White House. A mentally ill brick-layer, Giuseppe Zangara, tried to assassinate Roosevelt in Miami, Florida on February 13, 1933. Fortunately for the nation, Roosevelt escaped, but the Mayor of Chicago, Anton J. Cermak, was killed. The assassin confessed that he had visions of killing a "great ruler," and was executed on March 20, 1933.

Few, looking back to the Roosevelt administration, will deny that Franklin D. Roosevelt was sincere and tried very hard to help America get out of her economic quagmire.

Roosevelt instituted his "New Deal" as soon as he was able. He described it as a "use of the authority of government as an organized

form of self-help ('pump priming') for all classes and groups and sections of our country."

Roosevelt immediately began vigorously attacking America's economic problems after his inauguration. By this time, bread lines were common. Many farmers and city workers had lost their homes, cars, farms and others were on the verge of losing theirs.

A banking panic had developed about three weeks before Roosevelt's inauguration. It had spread like wildfire throughout America, as worried depositors hurried to their banks to get either cash or gold before it was too late! As this panic grew, and their depositors made "runs" on the banks, many banks had to close. Over 5,000 banks were out of business when Roosevelt took office.

Roosevelt knew that drastic action must be taken. He, therefore, officially closed all banks on March 6, 1933. They were to remain closed until U.S. officials of the Department of the Treasury could examine their bank books. Those banks found to be in a sound financial condition were to be given a clean bill of health — and were to be supplied with money by the U.S. Treasury and allowed to reopen.

On the other hand, any banks which were found to be in doubtful condition were to be kept closed until they had put their banks in a sound financial order. Many banks which had become insolvent never opened their doors again.

The immediate effect of Roosevelt's action was that the American public quickly regained their confidence in the banks, as they now knew that if a bank opened its doors, it would be a safe bank in sound financial condition.

100 Days of Action

During Roosevelt's first famous "Hundred Days," he was able to pass, with the help of Congress, a number of important bills which would help speed America on the road to economic recovery.

During this "Hundred Days" (actually just 99 — from March 9 to June 16), a number of important laws and acts were passed. These included: The Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) Act, and the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA).

Roosevelt gave the first of his famous "fireside chats" on March 12. Speaking on the radio, he explained the action he had taken, and what he planned to do in the future.

Unemployment Legislation

President Roosevelt knew America could never regain her confidence until her people were once again working. With 14 million unemployed, the President had a herculean task ahead helping provide

enough jobs for the unemployed. He believed each head of family was entitled to be able to earn his own bread, so he could lift up his head with pride and honor.

Roosevelt got Congress to appropriate \$500,000,000 through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for emergency relief to the states and cities. The government then started a relief program in the winter of 1933-35, called the Civil Works Administration (CWA). This relief money, supplied to mayors and governors, made it possible to put men to work to build streets, roads, bridges, schoolhouses, clean up parks and a host of other useful tasks.

Under Roosevelt's administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) began operating in 1933 and continued through 1942. About one-half million men were given employment through the CCC and its programs of soil conservation, flood control and forestry.

In 1935 the Works Progress Administration (WPA) was established to provide work for others who were still unemployed. The WPA (jocularly called "We Piddle Around") averaged employing about two million annually between 1935 and the beginning of the war in 1941.

Roosevelt also began making known his "good neighbor" policy toward Latin America. In November, 1933, the U.S. recognized the Soviet government of Russia.

During Roosevelt's first four years enough progress in the economic condition had been made to insure his re-election. F.D.R. won the election by a landslide — receiving 532 electoral votes, with only 8 going to his Republican opponent.

During F.D.R.'s second four year term, he continued his economic programs, and did all possible to preserve America's neutrality during the early years of World War II. He wanted, however, to give "all aid short of war" to those nations who opposed the Axis powers of Germany, Japan and Italy. Roosevelt believed that an Axis victory would jeopardize democracy throughout the world.

Beginning with George Washington, no U.S. President had ever sought a *third* term. But Roosevelt believed it would be good for America if he could continue his policies, so he accepted the nomination for a third term — and he won the election with 449 electoral votes, with only 82 going to his opponent. He carried 38 of the 48 states. Americans were now convinced that Roosevelt knew better than anyone else how to continue bailing America out of her economic doldrums. And the nation was definitely making headway under his able leadership.

The U.S. had continued to be "neutral," but by the time Roosevelt took his third presidential oath of office in 1941, America was giving Britain "all aid short of war." Britain had given America 99-year leases on several naval bases in the Atlantic, in return for fifty old American destroyers in the summer of 1940. Also, the U.S. had adopted its first

peacetime selective service law in September, 1940. This draft program was meant to ready Americans for the war just in case she was drawn into combat.

The Four Freedoms

It was on January 6, 1941, that Roosevelt declared his famous Four Freedoms. He believed all men should be entitled to freedom of speech, worship, freedom from want and fear.

Then on March 11, Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act by which America could provide war supplies to any nation at war with the Axis powers.

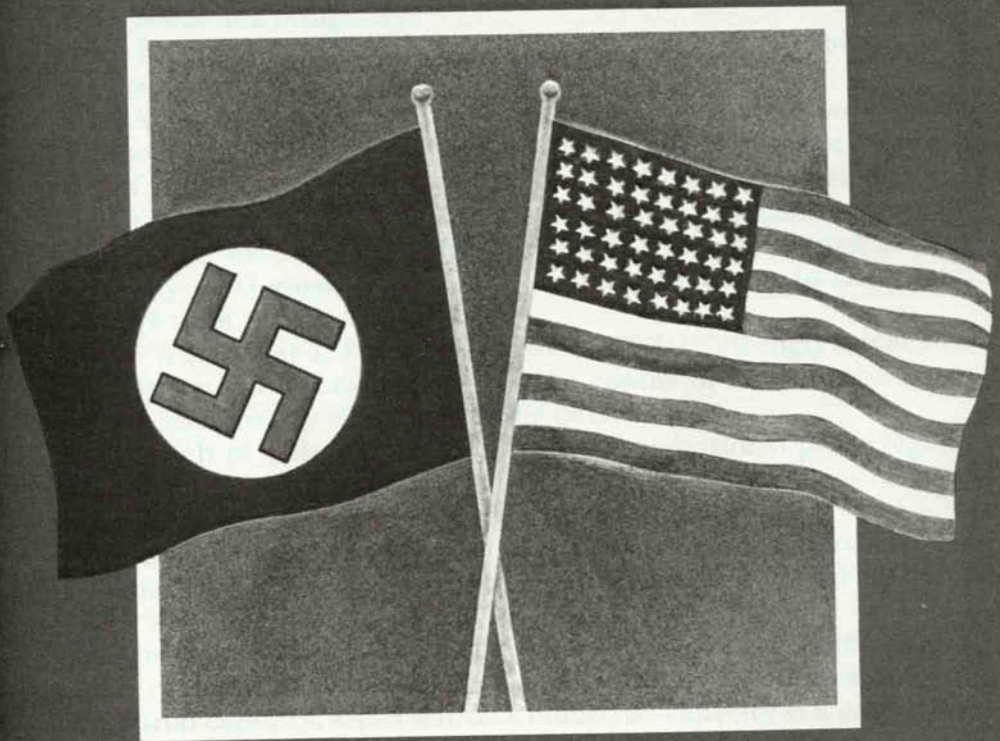
Although Japan's aggressive acts in the Pacific area had caused America and other peace-loving nations grave concern all during the decade of the 1930s, America had given Japan a number of warnings, but had done nothing else. (President Roosevelt said America's policy toward Japan was that of "babying the Japanese along.")

In August, 1941, President Roosevelt met with Prime Minister Winston Churchill to draw up the Atlantic Charter, in which they pledged not to seek gains, "territorial or otherwise" and to respect the right of each nation to choose its own form of government. They also pledged to guarantee freedom of the high seas, and to conduct peaceful world trade.

But the ominous clouds of war were beginning to encircle the United States and draw the U.S. into global war. As fate would have it, neutrality would not be maintained for long.

BOOK III

**TITANS
IN
CONFLICT**



The Rise of Hitler

World War II was soon destined to affect more nations — damage more property, cost more money, and kill more people than any past war. Some estimate total deaths (both military and civilian) to be about fifty-five million. The truth is that no one will ever know the true death toll of the earth's most devastating war to date.

How did it come about that a *Second World War* would come so closely on the heels of the First World War? Hadn't the nations their fill of *blood* and *destruction*? Weren't they tired of war? Didn't they really yearn for *peace* and prosperity?

The First World War had left a legacy of hate, suspicion and outright bitterness.

The Allied victors had not used the greatest wisdom in proposing a solution to Europe's difficulties following World War I. France harbored a spirit of revenge, and was determined to see that the Central Powers were punished for their part in the Great War. England genuinely believed that a "hard peace" must be imposed on the vanquished nations — especially on Germany — in order to curb her power to rearm and fight future wars.

After World War I, President Woodrow Wilson strongly advocated that a League of Nations be formed as a means of keeping the peace which had been won by the Allies on the battlefields.

As a result of Wilson's urgings, such an international peace organization was established in 1919. But the League of Nations was *doomed to failure* right from the very beginning.

The United States Congress flatly refused to permit America to join the League. This alone was enough to sound the League's death knell.

Why was this so?

By the end of World War I, the U.S. was indisputably the world's strongest nation. America was clearly far ahead of all other nations in her industrial capacity, and a nation's industrial capacity is a good index of its real strength.

When other nations saw that America refused to join the League of Nations, they didn't have the heart to really try and make it work.

Another major reason the League of Nations was under the death sentence from its birth was the fact that it didn't have power to enforce the peace: it was for all practical purposes impotent.

The League was essentially a sounding board — a place where nations could air their grievances. They could debate. They could even censure a wayward nation. They could give a verbal wrist slap to a nation, but they had no power to enforce their actions.

Shortly after the creation of the League of Nations, unstable world conditions began developing — conditions which would put a severe strain on that organization, and would reveal its total impotence.

Worldwide Depression Brings Stress

The devastation, death and natural hardships which followed in the wake of the First World War soon caused the dislocation of international trade. This dislocation culminated in the Great Depression which struck in America and in Europe in 1929.

Germany had been shorn of her overseas colonies following the First World War. She had also been saddled with huge war reparations (about \$33 billion) which she finally became unable to pay.

When the Great Depression struck, Germany fell into the deepest chasm of economic chaos of any industrial nation. The German mark became so inflated that it literally wasn't worth much more than the paper on which it was printed. The mark was reduced to only one billionth its previous value! Whole boxes, or wheelbarrows full of were necessary to buy one small item such as a loaf of bread.

Joblessness also struck Germany with a vengeance. Eventually, over six million Germans were unemployed. Growing unrest and deep *bitterness* boiled over in Germany after World War I, resulting from the hard terms of the Versailles Treaty of 1919.

When World War I ended, not one Allied soldier had set foot on German soil. Although Germany's partners had capitulated, and the Allied armies were driving the Germans back toward their own country, the German High Command knew this, and begged the Kaiser to sign an armistice before humiliating defeat occurred on the battlefield. When German troops marched back into Germany, following the signing of the November 11, 1918 armistice, they were greeted by their own people, not as a beaten army, but as victors!

Furthermore, the Germans believed the implementation of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points would insure a just and relatively lenient peace imposed on Germany.

The leaders of Britain and France did not voice their objections to Wilson's terms of armistice until well after the armistice was signed! By that time it was too late for the Germans to do anything about it. Many Germans felt *cheated*. At the final peace settlement President Wilson did not have his way. Only about half of his famous Fourteen Points were accepted.

The heavy war reparations and the reduction of Germany's army, navy and merchant fleet was never acceptable to the Germans.

All of these factors helped to create a very unstable atmosphere in Germany following the First World War. The climate was perfect for the rise of a fanatical leader who could stir up the people to a frazzled pitch of nationalism.

Militarism in Japan

In Japan, militarism had long been held in high esteem. For many generations, the Japanese had held the *samurai* (the warrior class) in the highest regard. They glorified war and conquest. Even before the First World War, Japan had expanded its territories and areas of influence through conquest. In 1894-95 Japan and China went to war and Japan forced China to give up Korea and Formosa.

Russia and Japan also fought in 1904-05, and a victorious Japan compelled Russia to recognize Japanese supremacy. Russia also gave Japan the Liaotang Peninsula, the South Manchuria railway and the southern half of Sakhalin Island. Japan was now an up-and-coming world power.

Following World War I, the Japanese were bent upon expanding their Imperial Empire in the Pacific. They quickly realized that the League of Nations was impotent.

By 1931, the militarists in Japan dominated the government. The same year, the Japanese decided to take advantage of a weak China. Trouble began when Japanese troops created an "incident" in Manchuria; and by 1932 Japan had taken over that province of China and renamed it *Manchukuo*. The United States and other countries did nothing. The League of Nations investigated the incidents and condemned Japan's actions, but also stood by helplessly. Japan withdrew from the League in 1933.

In 1937 Japanese forces invaded China proper, capturing its principal cities — Peiping, Tientsin and Nanking. By the end of 1938 Canton in southern China had fallen.

Italy's Strutting Dictator

In Italy another dictatorship was taking shape. Benito Mussolini (1883-1945), the son of a blacksmith, founded the Fascist party in 1919.

In 1922, King Victor Emmanuel III asked Mussolini to form a government, and he quickly seized power and transformed the country into a totalitarian state. Atop the pyramid of power, none dared to challenge Mussolini's authority.

Mussolini reduced unemployment and improved the railway service. Trains ran on time! He took the title "*Il Duce*" (the Leader).

Mussolini had his talents but humility was not one of them. He had a megalomaniac's dream of restoring Italy to its ancient greatness — when Rome was the center of the mighty Roman Empire. He, of course, would be the *Il Duce* of this restored Roman Empire! He urged the Italian peoples to rebuild the glories of ancient Rome.

In October, 1935, Mussolini defied the League of Nations and invaded Ethiopia. With a quarter million troops at his disposal, his forces — equipped with planes, tanks, mustard gas and other modern weapons — swept into Ethiopia and slaughtered the crudely equipped and poorly trained Ethiopian forces.

Il Duce's son, Vittorio Mussolini, wrote enthusiastically of an Italian air attack during that unequal war: "One group of horsemen gave me the impression of a budding rose unfolding as the bomb fell in their midst and blew them up."

Mussolini completed his conquest of Ethiopia in 1936. Again, the League of Nations stood helplessly by. It reprimanded Mussolini, and even voted economic sanctions against Italy, but later withdrew them. *Il Duce* had followed the Japanese example. He, too, succeeded with his aggression and received a mere slap on the wrist in response. *Il Duce* took Italy out of the League in 1937.

Hitler's Rise to Power

The Great Depression in Germany, plus German hatred of the Versailles Treaty, conspired to bring another dictator to power — Adolf Hitler.

Winston Churchill described the post-World War I depression in Germany — and the man who seized power this way: "Into that void strode a maniac of ferocious genius, the expression of the most virulent hatred that has ever corroded the human breast . . . Corporal Hitler."

Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) was the third child of the third marriage of his father, Alois Hitler, a minor Austrian customs official. Hitler's father, Alois, was the illegitimate son of an unmarried woman named *Anna Schickelgruber*. After Alois's birth, a wandering miller married Anna and signed papers stating he was Alois's father. This miller's name was *Johann Georg Heidler*. Alois spelled it as "Hitler." Later in life, Adolf Hitler's opponents sneeringly called him "Schicklgruber" in order to insult him.

Adolf Hitler's mother was a Bavarian. Hitler was, therefore, of Austro-Bavarian stock, and was fiercely proud to be a German — the elite of all races of the earth.

Adolf made good grades in elementary school, but did poorly in high

school. His father, angry because Adolf made poor grades, vented his harshness and bad temper on young Adolf. Alois Hitler wanted his son to study and become a government worker, as he himself had been. But Hitler had other ideas.

As a young boy, Hitler sang in a church choir, and even thought of becoming a priest. Later in life, Hitler came to hate Christianity, and referred to it as "a religion of weaklings."

As a boy Hitler aspired to become a great artist. Hitler's father died in 1903, when Hitler was only 14 years old. Adolf quit school two years later, and spent his time daydreaming, drawing pictures, and reading books.

Young Adolf went to Vienna in 1907 to become an artist. He failed in his entrance exams at the Academy of Fine Arts, tried again a year later, and again failed. His mother died that same year, so he decided to stay in Vienna.

Adolf Hitler never showed much aptitude for hard work. He avoided steady work of any kind, but took odd jobs shoveling snow, carrying suitcases at the railroad station, or laboring on construction projects. During this time he lived in flophouses, sometimes slept on park benches, and lined up for soup at charity kitchens. During this nadir of his life, tramps and drunks were his companions.

Those who knew Hitler during his residence in Vienna, Austria, described him as easily angered, odd, and moody. As a boy he learned to hate non-Germans (especially Jews and Slavs) and in Vienna his hostilities and resentments smouldered and burned within his hate-filled breast.

Hitler began to earn a little money by painting pictures. He painted a few hundred paintings during this time, but his work was clumsy. Even so, during the rest of his life, he considered himself an artist.

In 1913, Hitler failed to pass the Austrian Army physical examination. Nonetheless, when World War I began in 1914 Hitler eagerly volunteered for service in the German Army. During most of the war, he served as a messenger on the western front, took part in some of the bloodiest battles, and was twice decorated for bravery. Even so, he rose only to the rank of corporal.

Adolf Hitler was wounded in the leg during World War I, and also became temporarily blind due to a poison gas attack. When Germany surrendered in 1918, Hitler was in a military hospital recovering from his temporary blindness.

Germany's defeat in World War I shocked many Germans. As the soldiers returned to a bankrupt country, despair increased. Millions could find no jobs. The defeated German Empire was dismantled, and its government was replaced by the Weimar Republic, a weak democratic republic, the lackey of the victors. Germans blamed their deep troubles

on the new government which was fiercely attacked by nationalist political parties.

On the political left, the growing strength of the Communists alarmed many Germans. On the right, many nationalist groups clamored for a strong, united Germany. Nationalists demanded punishment for the "criminals" who had shamefully made peace with the victors in the name of Germany. They kept up a constant attack on the Versailles Treaty.

Birth of the Nazi Party

Hitler returned to Munich after the war and joined a small nationalist group, the German Workers' party, in 1919. This group changed its name in 1920 to the *National Socialist German Workers' party* (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*), which became known as the *Nazi party*.

The Nazis demanded that all Germans be united in one nation, and they included those "Germans" living in other nations. They favored a strong central government, and demanded the cancellation of the odious Versailles Treaty.

It was at this time that Hitler began to rise to power. He was a consummate schemer, a skilled politician, and an able organizer. He soon seized the leadership of the Nazi party, and quickly began building up party membership. Adolf Hitler possessed an unusual, uncanny ability to stir street crowds with his rabid speeches. He attacked the government, declaring that only the Nazis could assure jobs for the millions of idle workers, and only the Nazis could restore glory to the German peoples. Many began to believe this Nazi propaganda.

Hitler then organized a private army of hoodlums, or bullyboys, who became known as storm troopers. His storm troopers fought with the Communists and any others who tried to break up Nazi rallies. The storm troopers numbered about 15,000 by October, 1923. They were heavily armed — with rifles and machine guns. But Hitler knew it would take more than these storm troopers to solidify his Nazis behind him. He understood party spirit and party psychology. Hitler therefore urged his followers to wear brown-shirted uniforms and to carry the swastika emblem, giving them a sense of unity and of identity.

By 1923, Germany was deep in economic and political doldrums. Her mark was inflated. Belgium and France had occupied the Ruhr Valley. The state government of Bavaria openly defied Berlin.

Hitler believed the time was ripe to strike! He regarded this internal division in Germany as his golden chance to overthrow both the Bavarian and the Berlin governments in one stroke.

Hitler's "Beer Hall Putsch"

Hitler led a rousing rally in a Munich beer hall on November 8, 1923. During that rally, he proclaimed a Nazi *putsch* (revolution). Then he led 2,000 of his storm troopers on a march against the government. Munich police opened fire, killing 16 Nazis.

Hitler had grossly miscalculated, he was arrested and sentenced to serve five years in prison for his treason. But this setback was looked upon as temporary. Hitler said: "For me and for all of us, setbacks have been only the whiplash which drove us onward with more determination than ever before."

It was while he was in prison that Hitler dictated his book *Mein Kampf* ("My Struggle") to his companion, Rudolf Hess. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler clearly outlined his beliefs and ideas for Germany's glorious future. Hitler wrote that Germany should conquer much of Europe. Especially, those territories lost during World War I should be occupied by Germans. Furthermore, portions of Austria and Czechoslovakia (where many Germans lived) should be added to the fatherland. And the resurgent mighty German nation would seize *lebensraum* (living space) from Russia and other countries to the east of Germany.

According to Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, Germans were the highest race of humanity on this earth — destined for a glorious future. They would stay "pure," said Hitler, by avoiding marriage to Jews and Slavs. The children of the *master race* would be "images of the Lord and not monstrosities halfway between man and ape."

Hitler blamed the Jews for just about all the evils of the entire world: "Was there any shady undertaking, any form of foulness . . . in which at least one Jew did not participate?" he asked.

Hitler had no use for democracy. He believed democracy could only lead to Communism and that a strong dictatorship was Germany's salvation — the only way whereby Germany could be saved from Communists and Jews.

Many Germans read *Mein Kampf* and agreed with Hitler. It was not difficult to persuade masses of Germans that Jews and Communists were behind most of Germany's troubles, and their salvation lay in ridding Germany of these "pests."

Glimpses from Mein Kampf

A few quotes from *Mein Kampf* will reveal Hitler's thinking. All too many Germans (and non-Germans) failed to take Hitler's ideas as outlined in *Mein Kampf* seriously. Here are a few of his reasonings:

All human culture, all the results of art, science and technology that we see before us today, are almost exclusively the creative product of the *Aryan*. This very fact admits of the not unfounded inference that (he) alone was the founder of all higher humanity, therefore representing the prototype of all that we understand by the word 'man'!

Those who want to live, let them fight, and those who do not want to fight in this world of eternal struggle do not deserve to live.

The nationalization (the Nazification) of the broad masses can never be achieved by half measures, by weakly emphasizing a so-called objective standpoint, but only by a ruthless and fanatical one-sided orientation toward the goal to be achieved.

Anyone in this world who does not succeed in being hated by his adversaries does not seem to me to be worth much as a friend.

Propaganda . . . for the most part must be aimed at the emotions and only to a very limited degree at the so-called intellect. All propaganda must be popular and its intellectual level must be adjusted to the most limited intelligence among those it is addressed to. Consequently, the greater the mass it is intended to reach, the lower its purely intellectual level will have to be.

The psyche of the great masses is not receptive to anything that is half-hearted and weak. Like the woman . . . who would rather bow to a strong man than dominate a weakling, the masses love a commander more than a petitioner and feel inwardly more satisfied by a doctrine tolerating no other beside itself, than by the granting of liberalistic freedom from which, as a rule, they can do little and are prone to feel that they have been abandoned.

The receptivity of the great masses is very limited, their intelligence is small, but their power of forgetting is enormous. In consequence, all effective propaganda must be limited to a very few points and must harp on these in slogans until the last member of the public understands what you want him to understand by your slogan.

The following quotes from *Mein Kampf* can only be understood if one realizes what Hitler meant by his term "a folkish state." This expression is a Nazi term for a *pure German, anti-Semitic state*. Notice Hitler's rambling on this subject.

A folkish [pure German, anti-Semitic] state must begin by raising marriage from the level of a continuous defilement of the race and give it the consecration of an institution which is called upon to produce images of the Lord and not monstrosities halfway between man and ape.

The folkish state . . . must see to it that only the healthy beget children; that there is only one disgrace: despite one's own sickness and deficiencies, to bring children into the world; and one highest honor: to renounce doing so. And conversely it must be considered reprehensible: to withhold healthy children from the nation.

No boy and no girl must leave school without having been led to an ultimate realization of the necessity and essence of blood purity.

It must be a greater honor to be a street cleaner and citizen of this Third Reich than a king in a foreign state.

The folkish state must free all leadership and especially the highest — that is, the political leadership — entirely from the parliamentary

principle of majority rule — in other words, mass rule — and instead absolutely guarantee the right of the personality.

There must be no majority decisions, but only responsible persons, and the word 'council' must be restored to its original meaning. Surely every man will have advisers by his side, but the decision will be made by one man.

Nazism became a religion to millions of Germans — especially to the young:

The young [Nazi] movement, from the first day, espoused the standpoint that its idea must be put forward *spiritually*, but that the defense of this spiritual platform must, if necessary, be secured by strong-arm means.

"Jewish Bastardization"

Of all people on earth, Hitler believed the *Jews* were the worst — and should be *exterminated* from this planet. His "final solution to the Jewish question" included the liquidation of six million helpless victims — mainly in the Nazis' infamous concentration camps at Auschwitz, Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau, etc.

Hitler's anti-Semitic sentiments are made plain in *Mein Kampf*:

Bear in mind the devastations which Jewish bastardization visits on our nation each day, and consider that this blood poisoning can be removed from our national body only after centuries, if at all. . . . This contamination of our blood, blindly ignored by hundreds of thousands of our people, is carried on systematically by the Jew today. Systematically these black parasites of the nation defile our inexperienced young blond girls and thereby destroy something which can no longer be replaced in this world.

Adolf Hitler describes in *Mein Kampf* how his anti-Semitic philosophy developed in his thinking:

Since I had begun to concern myself with this question and to take cognizance of the Jews, Vienna appeared to me in a different light than before. Wherever I went, I began to see Jews, and the more I saw the more sharply they became distinguished in my eyes from the rest of humanity. Particularly the Inner City and the districts north of the Danube Canal swarmed with a people which even outwardly had lost all resemblance to Germans. . . . All this could scarcely be called very attractive, but it became positively repulsive when, in addition to their physical uncleanness, you discovered the moral stains on this 'chosen people'. . . . Was there any form of filth or profligacy, particularly in cultural life, without at least one Jew involved in it? If you cut even cautiously into such an abscess, you found, like a maggot in a rotting body, often dazzled by the sudden light — a *kike!* . . . *Gradually I began to hate them.*

Hitler seems to have had delusions of grandeur throughout his life. Later in life he even considered himself a great military genius — equal to Alexander the Great, Caesar, and Napoleon. He believed fate had destined him to lead the Germans into greatness which would last for one thousand years, during which time the glorious Third Reich would show the rest of the world the benefits of the “German Kultur.”

Hitler once boasted: “God has made me *Fuehrer* (leader) and ruler of every man and woman of German blood in every country on earth!”

Hitler Learns from His Mistakes

Hitler learned from the Beer Hall Putsch that, for a revolution to succeed, it must have strong, concentrated backing and thorough organization. He and his Nazi storm troopers had acted prematurely in the 1923 putsch, but the time would soon come for them to act again.

Adolf Hitler only served nine months of his five-year prison sentence. While in prison, he was treated as a privileged person. During his nine-month heel-cooling, Hitler planned his future course, and wrote *Mein Kampf* — which would serve as a blueprint for the Nazis to follow.

Hitler’s aggressiveness and audacity were revealed in his admonition: “Following our old method, we once more take up the struggle and say, *Attack! Attack! Always attack!* If someone says we can’t possibly have another try, remember that I can attack not just one more time but ten times over.”

The German government outlawed the Nazi party after the putsch of 1923. When Hitler was released in December, 1924, he immediately set about trying to convince the German government that he was reformed and would act decently and lawfully in the future. Naïve German officials believed Hitler and lifted the government ban on the Nazi party, thus permitting Adolf Hitler to begin rebuilding.

Hitler now realized he must use flattery and intrigue to win his way into the hearts of the Germans — and into the cockpit of power. He worked his way into friendship with politicians and with those in labor unions, business, industry and agriculture. He also established a private army, the *Schultzstaffel*, or Elite Guard, later to become known as the SS. The SS were not hoodlums, but battle-ready soldiers. These troops provided Hitler with a ready army when he needed it.

Nazis Gain Strength

By 1929, the Nazis had become an important minority political party. By that time Hitler had hand-picked the men who would help him rise to power: Paul Joseph Goebbels (Minister of Propaganda),

Herman Goering (second in command to Hitler), Rudolf Hess (Hitler's secretary and deputy), Heinrich Himmler (the party's chief executioner), and Alfred Rosenberg (the party philosopher).

Events in Germany would soon play into the hands of Hitler and his Nazi party. The worldwide depression struck Germany in 1930, a few months after it had first hit America. German workers again faced unemployment and starvation. The German mark eventually became virtually worthless.

Also, in 1930 the Germans agreed to the Young Plan which was proposed in 1929 — a plan whereby Germany would pay for the war damage it had caused during World War I. Hitler and his Nazi party bitterly opposed the plan. His opposition to the plan made him well known throughout Germany. He led protest marches, and organized mass meetings at which he made frenzied speeches and whipped up German nationalistic fervor.

Furthermore, Hitler charged that Jews and Communists caused Germany's defeat in World War I, and they were now plotting to cheat "true" Germans, and sought to destroy the fruits of years of struggle. Hitler promised to rid Germany of both Communists and Jews, and to reunite the parts of Europe which spoke the German language. This was heady stuff. It appealed to the strong sense of nationalism which was still beating in the German breast.

Hitler knew now how to bide his time and wait for the right moment. He declared: "At the right moment the right weapon must be employed. One stage is probing your opponent, a second is preparation, a third is assault."

When the July election of 1932 came, the Nazi party had skyrocketed into prominence, becoming the strongest party in all Germany, receiving about *40 percent* of the vote — enough to keep any other party from being able to form an effective government.

Though Hitler was offered cabinet posts in exchange for Nazi support, he refused any plan that didn't give the Nazis actual control of the government.

Hitler Becomes Dictator

At this point the cunning Hitler began to use his guile and charm. He promised the aging president, Paul von Hindenburg, that he would act lawfully if he was appointed to head the government. And on January 30th, 1933, Hindenburg named Hitler chancellor of Germany.

From that day forward, Hitler moved *cautiously*.

The Nazis plotted to bring the Communists into disfavor, and burned the *Reichstag* (parliament) building on February 27, 1933, the Communists subsequently being blamed.

Hitler's next move was to persuade the aging Hindenburg to sign a

law "for the protection of the people and the state," to stay the Communist menace. Hitler and his Nazi party were now almost firmly planted in the despot's saddle. Overnight, this new law wiped out individual rights in Germany, and allowed the arrogant Nazis to jail anyone they wished without a trial.

By July, 1933, the Nazi government had outlawed *freedom of the press* and the freedom of all political parties (except the Nazis) and all labor unions. Then the new *Reichstag* gave Herr Hitler full lawmaking and economic powers. From then on, Hitler's loyal secret police, the dreaded *Gestapo*, ruthlessly hunted down all "enemies" and shot and jailed all those who opposed Hitler, or who were so much as *suspected* of opposing him. By the time of Hindenburg's death in August, 1934, Adolf Hitler ruled Germany with an *iron fist!*

He then gave himself the title of *Der Führer* (the Leader) and arrogated to himself the role of leading the Germans into their glorious destiny — that of ruling the world through the Third Reich for *a thousand years*, during which time German peace, German happiness, German Kultur and prosperity would fill the earth.

From that day forward, a Nazi-controlled press and radio flooded Germany with propaganda about the glories of the New Order.

The Nazis began forcing employers in many industries to fire Jews and all political suspects. Schools, colleges and universities were purged of those teachers and administrators who might hinder the Nazi program.

Hitler's Nazi party established strict controls over industry, labor and agriculture, and after 1938, they decided where a person would work, and even set each person's salaries.

The Führer established the Hitler Youth organization in order to win the hearts of young Germans. It became mandatory for all boys and girls to join the Hitler Youth organization. They learned to march, exercise, work on farms, and (most important to the Nazis) were thoroughly indoctrinated with Nazi propaganda. Children were taught to spy on anyone who was suspected of opposing the Führer, and this included their own parents.

In 1928 the Nazi party had received only 810,000 votes out of 31,000,000 in the national elections — and Hitler and his party were a joking matter. Just two years later the Nazis pulled six and a half million votes and were the second largest party in Germany. By 1932, they had become Germany's biggest, most powerful party — with 40 percent of the vote. Hitler's rise had been meteoric.

Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Joseph Goebbels, had the task to convince the German people (and the world, if possible) that this evil genius, this former Austrian waif, was actually a heaven-sent *man of destiny* — sent by God to deliver the *Herrenvolk* during their darkest hour.

“Like a servant of God,” wrote Goebbels in his diary, “he (Hitler) fulfills the task which was given to him and he does justice in its brightest and best sense to his historical mission.”

In Goebbels' newspaper, *Der Angriff*, he once wrote:

What diligence and knowledge and school learning *cannot* solve, God announces through the mouths of those whom he has *chosen*. Genius in all fields of human endeavour means — to have been *called*. *When Hitler speaks all resistance breaks down before the magical effect of his words.*

As Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, Dr. Goebbels exercised tremendous influence over the whole German nation. He continued to view the Führer with awe — and always sought to project to the German people the image of a *redeemer* who had come to save his people. He exercised almost complete control over all media — radio, press, films, and the theater. Through these, he was able to create around Hitler an aura of messianic proportions — an aura which totally disarmed all opposition, and eventually led Germany and most of Europe to the very brink of total disaster.

The Possession of Adolf Hitler

How is it possible to understand Adolf Hitler's sinister personality?

Perhaps one of the most incisive insights into the mind of Adolf Hitler is that of British author, George Bruce, in his penetrating analysis of *The Nazis*.

George Bruce asks:

Can the mystery of the evil of Nazism be explained? Was there a *Satanic nucleus* at the heart of it? One interpretation of its nature that should be mentioned is the link between Nazism and the alleged attachment to *black magic* and *occultism* of Hitler and his inner circle, including Goering, Himmler, Goebbel, Ley and, in the early days, Dietrick Eckart and Professor Karl Haushofer.

Hitler, according to what may seem to many people a far-fetched belief, was the *medium* through whom contact was made with *supernatural powers of evil*. Hermann Rauschning, who observed Hitler with a cold and analytical eye, declares that he was a *medium*, “*possessed by forces outside himself — almost demoniacal forces.*” Rudolf Olden, political editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt* in the days of Nazism's rise to power, remarked how the overwhelming, almost superhuman Niagara of words that poured forth during Hitler's speeches sometimes reached a climax during which he literally “*spoke in tongues*” and seemed *possessed*. Andre François-Poncet, French Ambassador to Berlin, also referred to this apparent *demoniacal possession*.

Was Hitler a *medium* through which evil forces spoke? George Bruce makes these remarkable comments:

Hitler's *mediumistic powers* supposedly provided the link with Satanic forces which spoke through him and led to the *black magic* and *occult* practices in the inner circle of Nazi leaders. Rauschning also reports in *Hitler Speaks* a warning given to Hitler by a percipient woman in his circle, one of the few who dared to speak forthrightly to him. "My Führer, do not touch *black magic*" she said. "As yet both white and black magic are open to you. But once you have embarked upon black magic it will dominate your destiny. It will hold you captive. Don't choose the quick and easy successes.

"There lies before you the power over a realm of *pure spirits*. Do not allow yourself to be led away from your true path by *earthbound spirits* which will rob you of creative power."

"Apparently" says author George Bruce, "Hitler disregarded the warning and was dominated by the *evil forces*, who, bribing him with early successes, forced him along the path of their own choosing towards an inferno which destroyed him, split Germany and impoverished Europe and Britain for two decades."

Bruce adds:

To believe this theory one must suspend rational judgement, but are there not in any case fields of human experience which it cannot explain? And does not this theory of Hitler being dominated by evil supernatural forces throw light for the first time on the reason for Auschwitz, Treblinka, the deaths of six million Jews, the plan to murder 33 million of the Slav population of Russia, the readiness to sacrifice three or four million of Germany's young manhood in war and, finally, the long-term aim, reported by Fabian von Schlabrendorff, for the total and permanent *destruction of Christianity* throughout the world?

If this explanation of Hitler's madness at first seems far-fetched, then consider some of Hitler's very odd behavior.

Hitler — the "God-Man"

George Bruce tells us more about this "self-ordaining God-Man."

In Ernst Rohm's expressive phrase, the Nazis were out to *lift the world off its hinges*, to destroy the power both of the proletariat and the middle classes and to found a new order of society to accord with the commands of the *demonic voices which spoke through Hitler*. "I will tell you a secret," he told Rauschning, "I am founding an Order . . . In my *Ordensburgen* there will stand as a statue for worship the figure of the magnificent, self-ordaining *God-Man* . . ." Hitler at this point checked himself with the remark that there were matters of which even he must not permit himself to speak.

Adolf Hitler considered himself to be a Messiah. It is well known that he believed his glorious Third Reich would continue for *one thou-*

sand years. (Many theologians who have embraced the “Messianic era” concept have likewise concluded that the Messiah would rule the nations of the earth for *one thousand years* — ushering in an era of unprecedented peace, happiness and prosperity.)

When Hitler learned that the leader of the British Empire, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, intended to fly to Munich to appease the Führer, the wildly excited Hitler exclaimed: “*Ich bin vom Himmel gefallen!*” (“I have fallen from Heaven!”)

Some have seen a possible parallel between this reaction of Hitler’s and the statement of Jesus concerning Satan: “I beheld,” said Jesus, “Satan as lightning fall from heaven” (Luke 10:18).

Whose mind was it that spoke with Hitler’s voice: “I have fallen from Heaven”? Was Hitler in actual fact possessed of an unseen, fallen, supernatural force which guided and controlled him at times?

Nazi Spectacular At Nuremberg

In 1933, the Nazis held the first of their annual party rallies in Nuremberg. Hundreds of thousands of faithful Nazis flocked to see the spectacle, heard Der Führer speak, and regenerated their enthusiasm and faith.

This first Nazi rally was held in the early part of September 1933. There at Nuremberg, zealous Nazis had their souls bombarded with a delirious round of music, speeches, parades, and a plethora of pagan pageantry that seemed to equal, if not excel, the pageantry of ancient Rome. Thereafter, the annual Nazi party rallies at Nuremberg became the annual high point of the Nazi calendar.

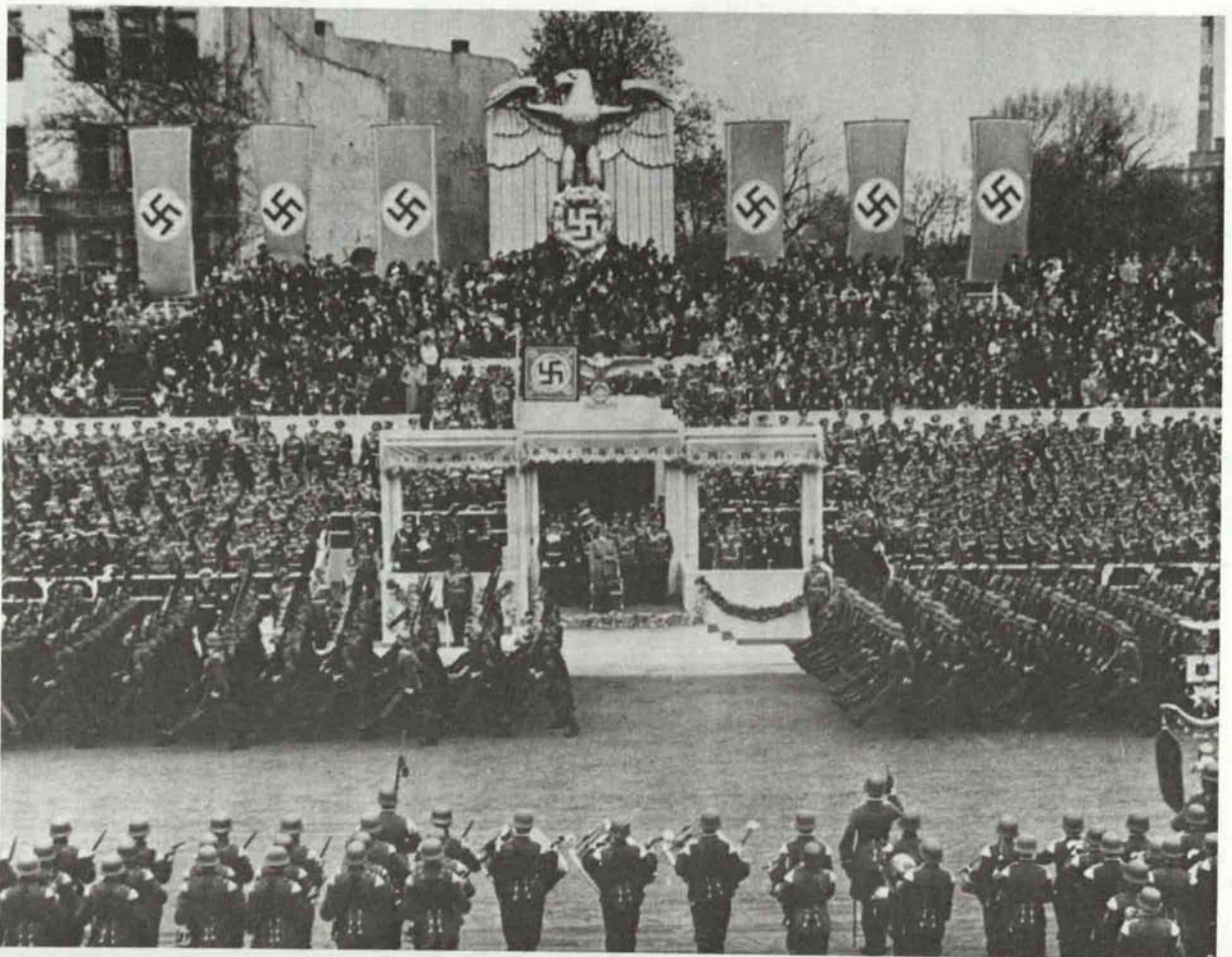
During that emotion-filled week in 1933, music, speeches, torchlight parades and other night spectacles were held. Hitler firmly believed that “in the evening the people’s willpower more readily succumbs to the dominating force of a stronger will.”

The supreme moment of expectation at the Nuremberg rallies was the arrival of the Führer. Herr Hitler proceeded to ignite his hundreds of thousands of faithful Nazi listeners into an emotional frenzy. They listened enthralled as their Führer outlined the future course of the Nazis.

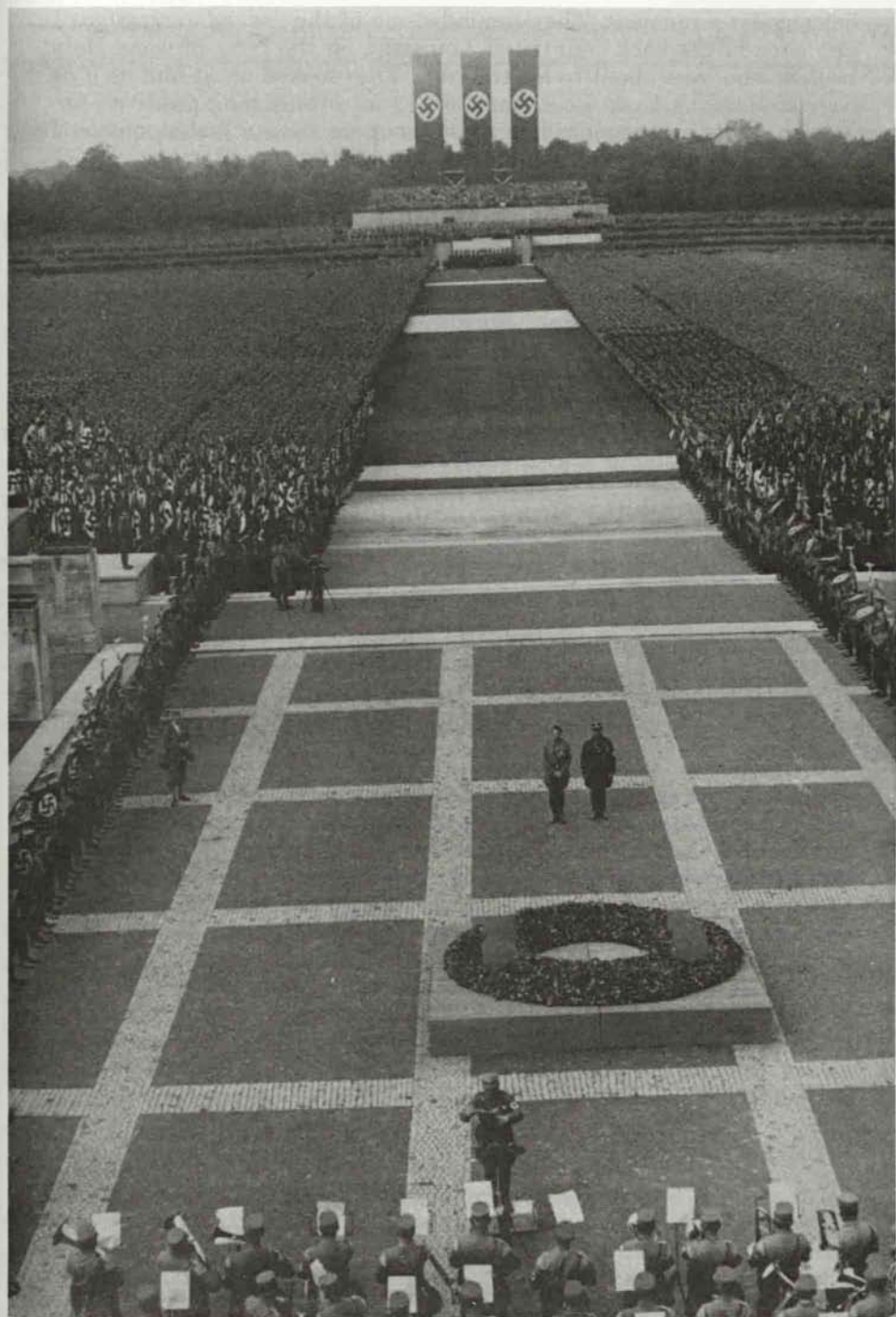
William L. Shirer’s vivid description of that rally (on September 4, 1934) is recorded in his book, *Berlin Diary*:

Like a Roman emperor Hitler rode into this mediaeval town at sundown today past solid phalanxes of widely cheering Nazis who packed the narrow streets. . . .

About ten o’clock tonight I got caught in front of Hitler’s hotel, shouting: ‘We want our Führer.’ I was a little shocked at the faces, especially those of the women, when Hitler finally appeared on the



Goose-stepping Nazi soldiers parade before Hitler on his 50th birthday, April 20, 1939. — Wide World Photo



Hitler and Röhm stand at attention during a large Nazi rally in Nürnberg in 1933. When Hitler spoke, many Germans became transfixed under his hypnotic spell. — *Ullstein*

balcony for a moment. They reminded me of the *crazed expressions* I saw once in the back country of Louisiana on the faces of some Holy Rollers who were about to hit the trail. They looked up at him *as if he were a Messiah*, their faces transformed into something positively *inhuman*. If he had remained in sight for more than a few moments, I think many of the women would have *swooned* from excitement. . . .

Shirer wrote the following account of the rally which was held on the 5th of September:

I'm beginning to comprehend, I think, some of the reasons for Hitler's astounding success. Borrowing a chapter from the Roman church, he is restoring pageantry and colour and mysticism to the drab lives of twentieth-century Germans. This morning's opening meeting in the Luitpold Hall on the outskirts of Nuremberg was more than a gorgeous show; it also had something of the mysticism and religious fervour of an Easter or Christmas Mass in a great Gothic cathedral.

Shirer speaks of the Hitler Youth, at the same Nuremberg rally, chanting: "We want one Leader! Nothing for us! Everything for Germany! *Heil Hitler!*"

Soon "Deutschland Über Alles" was being sung all over Germany. The goose-stepping Master Race was being told: "Today we rule Germany, tomorrow we rule the world!"

William L. Shirer also wrote of the rally which was held on September 10, 1934:

Today the army had its day, fighting a very realistic sham battle in the Zeppelin Meadow. It is difficult to exaggerate the frenzy of the three hundred thousand German spectators when they saw their soldiers go into action, heard the thunder of the guns, and smelt the powder. I feel that all those Americans and English (among others) who thought that German militarism was merely a product of the Hohenzollerns — from Frederick the Great to Kaiser Wilhelm II — made a mistake. *It is rather something deeply ingrained in all Germans*. They acted today like children playing with tin soldiers. The Reichswehr 'fought' today only with 'defensive' weapons allowed them by Versailles, but everybody knows they've got the rest — tanks, heavy artillery, and probably airplanes.

Shirer summarized:

LATER. — After seven days of almost ceaseless goose-stepping, speech-making, and pageantry, the party rally came to an end tonight. . . . I'm glad I came. You have to go through one of these to understand *Hitler's hold on the people*, to feel the dynamic in the movement he's unleashed and the sheer, disciplined strength the Germans possess. And now — as Hitler told the correspondents yesterday in explaining his technique — the half-million men who've been here during the week will go back to their towns and villages and *preach the new gospel with new fanaticism*. . . .

One reason for German enthusiasm for Hitler and his Nazi party was what they accomplished during the first few years in power. When the Nazis came into power, there were six million idle Germans. There was much political unrest, and actual fighting between Communists and Fascists.

Hitler and his Nazi party put millions of Germans back to work — building autobahns, public buildings and other works.

He promised the Germans a Volkswagen in every garage, and there was every reason to believe Hitler would lead Germany to a glorious destiny.

Many Germans agreed with many of Hitler's aims. They certainly wanted to see all Germans united, and wished to see the last vestiges of the disgrace of World War I erased from the record.

But it is certain that many Germans did *not* realize that Hitler nurtured ambitions of dominating all Europe — and perhaps the entire world! They had no idea that his schemes would ultimately lead Germany to total ruin, bring about the deaths of many millions of their sons and daughters, and cause the dismemberment of their nation. Nor did they realize that they would soon have death and destruction raining down from the skies on their cities and towns, and that victorious enemy soldiers — particularly the Russians, — would rape thousands of their women, leaving cities in a shambles, pillaging houses, rifling apartments, burning, looting and destroying.

On the Road to War

The Führer told the German people: "Conquest is not only a right, but a duty!" From the time he became dictator in 1933 until 1939 he began feverishly preparing the German nation for war. At first, he did so *secretly* — for fear that, if he let the military cat out of the bag too early, the alarmed Allies would move against Germany, and would thwart her aggressive plans.

Hitler was too clever at the beginning of his dictatorship to begin *openly* preparing for war. He would see that German military strength was built up. Then, when it was too late, the world would learn about it.

Hitler had two great passions — the creation of a mighty German military machine, and the shaping of German foreign policy towards conquest.

But, first, Hitler knew he must talk *peace*, while secretly preparing for war. He must not alarm the Versailles powers — must not give the German war aims away to foreign intelligence.

Hitler therefore set about building up the strength of the German war-making machine with unflagging zeal. He ordered the Army to

treble its strength from 100,000 to 300,000 by October 1, 1934. Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, was ordered never to allow the words "General Staff" to appear in the press — since this was forbidden by the Versailles Treaty. Also, the official rank list of the German Army ceased to be published — lest this might give away German military buildup intentions.

Germany began violating the Versailles Treaty by having submarines built secretly in Finland, The Netherlands, and Spain.

Herman Goering, Minister of Aviation (supposedly *civil* aviation) put manufacturers to work designing *warplanes*, and he trained German pilots under the camouflage of the League of Air Sports. Furthermore, the Germans covertly had tanks, planes and other weapons of war manufactured in Russia — to prevent Allied detection. But by 1934 German rearmament had become so massive that it could no longer be concealed.

Hitler's Bold Moves

Herr Hitler established *universal military service* on March 16, 1935 — thereby providing for a peacetime army of half a million men! This meant the death of the military restrictions of the Versailles Treaty unless Britain and France took swift action. And Hitler had judged his adversaries correctly. As he expected, they protested, but did absolutely nothing!

Next, Hitler plotted to occupy the demilitarized zone of the *Rhineland*. The Führer sensed that Britain and France were preoccupied with stopping Mussolini's aggression in Ethiopia. Even though Hitler's generals were against the Führer's plan of occupation of the Rhineland, he decided to go ahead anyway. On March 2, 1936, General Werner von Blomberg, Minister of War and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, was issued with orders for the occupation of the Rhineland.

General Blomberg was ordered to invade and occupy the Rhineland, and if the Allies did not move against his forces, all would be well. But if the Allies (France in particular) forced a military showdown, Blomberg was to beat a hasty retreat back over the Rhine.

A few hours later, the Führer stood in the Reichstag before a delirious audience telling them of his desire for *peace*. In a deep, resonant voice Hitler said:

Men of the German Reichstag! In this historic hour, when in the Reich's western provinces, German troops are, at this very moment, marching into their future peacetime garrisons, we all unite in two sacred vows. . . .

At this point, the members of the Reichstag sprang to their feet yelling and crying, their hands raised in slavish salute.

“No Territorial Demands”

Hitler played his role superbly. Lowering his head, as if in all humbleness, he waited patiently for complete silence. Then, choking with emotion, he made two vows: “First, swear to yield to no force whatever in restoration of the honor of our people. Secondly, we pledge that we have no territorial demands to make in Europe! Germany will never break the peace!”

Hitler knew he was taking quite a gamble when he marched into the Rhineland. He had only a handful of battalions against nearly 200 divisions of France and her East European allies. The Führer later admitted that his march into the Rhineland was the “most nerve-racking” period of his entire life.

Adolf Hitler later remarked: “If the French had marched into the Rhineland, we would have had to withdraw with our tails between our legs, for the military resources at our disposal would have been wholly inadequate for even a moderate resistance.”

Later, at the Nuremberg trials, one of Hitler’s generals testified: “Considering the situation we were in, the French Army could have blown us to pieces (in 1936).”

But the French did absolutely nothing! Hitler had gambled, and got away with it. He would now be emboldened to make further gambles — gambles which would bring death and destruction to tens of millions of helpless victims before the Nazi onslaught was halted in 1945.

Even after German troops had occupied the Rhineland in 1936, nervous German Generals advised that their troops should be pulled back, fearing an attack from France.

“Obliged to Lie”

On March 27, 1942 (while recalling the Rhineland coup) Hitler asked:

What would have happened if anybody other than myself had been at the head of the Reich? Anyone you care to mention would have lost his nerve. *I was obliged to lie*, and what saved us was my unshakable obstinacy and my amazing aplomb.

Hitler blatantly admitted he had lied. He had repeatedly uttered the lie that Germany had no further territorial aims in Europe. But soon afterward, German troops were again on the march — putting an explanation mark after Hitler’s lies!

Hitler’s gamble in the occupation of the Rhineland gave him the upper hand over his political and military associates from that day forward. His overruling his generals gave him such a conceit that he

frequently ignored their advice — which later brought Germany defeat after defeat.

What effect did French inaction over German occupation of the Rhineland have on the rest of Europe? France's allies in the East (Russia, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia) all read the signals loud and clear. They began to realize that France would be unable to offer them effective assistance once Germany became ensconced behind her powerful *Siegfried* fortifications.

If France didn't move a little finger to repel three German battalions, when she had 100 divisions (plus those of her East European Allies) to crush a defiant Germany, what would she do later if her allies in the East were attacked? They concluded France was a spineless ally, and did not have the will to help them.

Hitler Takes Over Austria

Hitler was a master bluffer. He used his *bluff* technique in intimidating the Austrian Chancellor into signing away Austrian independence.

When Hitler presented the Austrian Chancellor, Herr Schuschnigg, a draft document to sign, a scene developed. "Herr Schuschnigg," said Hitler, "here is the draft of the document. There is nothing to be discussed. I will not change one single iota. You will either sign it as it is and fulfill my demands within three days, or I will order the march into Austria."

Even though Schuschnigg capitulated, he made certain protestations. Whereupon Hitler appeared to lose his self-control. He then opened the door and shouted, "General Keitel!" He told Schuschnigg, "I shall have you called later!"

Of course, Hitler was using the big bluff, but the Austrian Chancellor, who was aware of the presence of high-ranking German generals, apparently did not know it.

General Wilhelm Keitel later related how Hitler greeted him with a broad grin when he answered Hitler's call, rushed in and asked for orders. "There are no orders," chuckled an amused Hitler. "I just wanted to have you here." Half an hour later, the Austrian Chancellor signed Hitler's capitulation document — Austria's death warrant!

Within a month, through propaganda, subversion and ruthless military pressure, the Nazis succeeded in taking complete control of Austria.

Legalizing the Austrian Takeover

Hitler felt compelled to make this naked act of Nazi aggression against Austria look good. He used guile to put a good face on the Austrian takeover, hoping to avoid unfavorable publicity.

The Führer, in order to “legalize” his blatant aggression, announced that, on April 10th, a *plebiscite* would follow the so-called *Anschluss* (“political union”).

The Nazis used intimidation, trickery and clever subversion in the “plebiscite” on the Anschluss and reportedly 99 percent of the Austrians voted for the Anschluss — the political union with Germany.

Hitler, without having to fire a single shot (and without any interference from the Allies), had added 7 million to the Third Reich, and had gained a strategic position of great future value to Germany.

Hitler Covets Czechoslovakia.

Next, Hitler cast greedy eyes on Czechoslovakia. His plan to attack Czechoslovakia was code-named “Case Green.” Among the Czechs lived three and a quarter million Sudeten Germans.

When the Czechs saw Hitler’s intent and began to mobilize for war, Hitler was seized by a fit of fury. The *Führer* felt deeply humiliated that the Czechs would dare to resist his military might. He also feared reports that Britain and France might come to the aid of the Czechs — that an attack by Germany on Czechoslovakia could bring on a total war.

Czechoslovakia’s defiance put Hitler in a black, ugly mood, as he brooded in his mountain retreat. He was all the more furious because he had been accused prematurely (but accurately) of being about to commit aggression — which indeed he intended to commit! Hitler decided to swallow his pride and cancel the whole Czech invasion plan. The Allies breathed a brief sigh of relief.

But Hitler, still sulking in his Obersalzberg retreat, developed a burning rage to get even with Czechoslovakia.

After convoking his ranking officers, he told them: “Czechoslovakia shall be wiped off the map! It is my unalterable decision to smash Czechoslovakia by military action in the near future.” The date for “Case Green” had by then been set for October 1, 1938.

Allied Apeasement

Because of the ominous events occurring in Europe, the French Premier, Edouard Daladier, and the English Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, foolishly decided to try to make the best possible bargain with Herr Hitler. France, instead of honoring her pledge to *defend* the Czechs, wanted Neville Chamberlain to meet the German dictator and seek appeasement. Britain and France were willing to go to almost any length to avoid war.

Chamberlain sent Hitler an urgent message:

IN VIEW OF THE INCREASINGLY CRITICAL SITUATION, I PROPOSE TO COME OVER AT ONCE TO SEE YOU WITH A VIEW TO TRYING TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. I PROPOSE TO COME ACROSS BY AIR AND AM READY TO START TOMORROW.

Adolf Hitler was pleasantly surprised when he read Chamberlain's message: "*Ich bin vom Himmel gefallen!!*" ("I have fallen from Heaven!") the astounded Führer exclaimed. Hitler was dumbfounded to see the Prime Minister of Britain and the leader of the mighty British Empire come, hat in hand, pleading with him.

When the two leaders met, the Führer harangued about all he had done for the German people and glowingly told Chamberlain what he had done for peace and for Anglo-German rapprochement. But he explained to Chamberlain, that there was one problem which he was determined to solve: Three million Germans in Czechoslovakia must "return" to the Third Reich.

Then, asked Hitler, would Britain agree to a secession of the Sudeten region to Germany, or would she oppose this move? The British Prime Minister said he could not commit himself until he had consulted his Cabinet and the French. He added, however, that he himself recognized the principle of the detachment of the Sudeten areas. He would have to return to England and seek further consultation.

Chamberlain's words were reassuring enough to Hitler. He felt he could now go ahead with his military and political plans for the actual invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Chamberlain — "You Can Get All"

Later, Hitler issued urgent invitations to the heads of government of Britain, France and Italy to meet the Führer at Munich at noon on the following day to settle the Czech question.

But Hitler did not issue an invitation to Prague, so the Czechs could also attend the conference. After all, was it not their nation that was about to be dismembered? Didn't they have the right to have any say in the final decision which would be made?

When Chamberlain told the House of Commons of his urgent invitation to see Hitler and settle the Czech question, there was wild cheering, shouting and throwing of papers into the air. Some were in tears. One person was heard to say: "Thank God for the Prime Minister!"

The September 29th, Munich Conference was anticlimactic. Chamberlain had previously written Hitler: "After reading your letter, I feel certain that *you can get all essentials without war and without delay.*" This was the kind of news Hitler was looking for. The Munich Conference was little more than a mere empty formality which agreed to render to Hitler exactly what he had asked for.



Hitler and Neville Chamberlain shake hands at Munich. Hitler called his enemies (including Chamberlain) "little worms," and despised the weakness which British and French leaders showed at Munich in 1939.

By now, Adolf Hitler had sensed that England and France would go to almost any lengths to avoid war. The more Hitler demanded, the more Chamberlain conceded to him on a silver British platter.

Hitler had nothing but contempt for the British Prime Minister and the French Premier. Sometime after the Munich Conference, Hitler told his generals: "*Our enemies are little worms. I saw them at Munich.*"

Likewise, Mussolini had little respect for Chamberlain and Daladier. Shortly before Munich, Il Duce had remarked: "The democracies exist to swallow toads."

Hitler had got all he wanted. On September 30, shortly after 1 a.m., Mussolini, Chamberlain, Daladier and Hitler all affixed their signatures to the Munich Agreement which provided for the German Army to march into Czechoslovakia on October 1, 1938, and complete the German occupation of the Sudetenland by October 10th.

"Peace With Honor"

When Chamberlain returned to London, he waved a copy of the Munich Agreement to the cheering crowds and told them: "My good friends, this is the second time in our history that there has come back from Germany to Downing Street *peace with honor*. I believe it is *peace in our time*."

Under the terms of the Munich Agreement, the Czechs were forced to cede to Germany 11,000 square miles of their territory, in which lived 2,800,000 Sudeten Germans, and 800,000 Czechs. Also, within this area lay all the vast Czech fortifications which were the best in Europe after the Maginot Line.

Furthermore, according to the Germans, the dismembered country lost 66 percent of its coal, 86 percent of its chemicals, 70 percent of its electric power, and 70 percent of its iron and steel. Overnight, valiant, prosperous little Czechoslovakia had been dismembered and shoved by its Allies onto the rocks of *bankruptcy*.

"God Help Your Souls"

Even before Chamberlain made his last, and ignominious, departure for Munich, the Czech Minister in London, Jan Masaryk, told the British delegates to the Munich Conference: "If you have sacrificed my nation to preserve the peace of the world, I will be the first to applaud you. But if not, gentlemen, God help your souls!"

After the Munich disaster, Allied credibility in Europe was at its nadir. Even the Russians came to distrust the French and the British as allies.

Despite Hitler's cheap diplomatic victory over Britain and France,



Deluded Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain returned from Munich thinking he had secured "peace in our time" by appeasing the mad Führer, Adolf Hitler. — Ullstein Photo

he was not satisfied. In fact, he was deeply disappointed with the results of Munich. On Hitler's return to Berlin, he exclaimed: "That fellow [Chamberlain] has spoiled my entry into Prague!"

Chamberlain had pressured the Czechs into submitting to all of Hitler's demands, thereby depriving the Führer of a military conquest of Czechoslovakia — which was what Hitler really wanted.

"I Could Not Be Satisfied"

Hitler later told his generals: "It was clear to me from the first moment that I could not be satisfied with the Sudeten German territory. That was only a partial solution." He himself said "The horoscope of the times does not point to peace but to war."

Only a few days after Munich, Hitler planned the total solution to the Czech problem by utterly disregarding his pledge to guarantee the rump Czech state. He began an intense propaganda campaign. Hitler would use internal subversion to force the nation to break up, and this would afford him a pretext for marching into Czechoslovakia so he could "restore order."

On March 14, 1939, the elderly, tired President of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Emil Hacha, was hounded and threatened until he suffered a heart attack. Just before 4 a.m., Dr. Hacha signed the document which totally destroyed the last vestiges of an independent Czechoslovakia, and placed the fate of the Czech people and country in the hands of the Führer of the German Reich.

After Dr. Hacha signed the document of submission, an exuberant Hitler rushed into the room where his secretaries were sitting and told them they could kiss him: "Girls," said Hitler, "Hacha has signed. This is the greatest day of my life. I shall be known as the greatest German in history."

The following day, German troops poured into Bohemia and Moravia, and met no resistance. That evening, Hitler was able to make his triumphant entry into Prague!

Again, the German dictator had broken his pledge to Britain and France, and had gobbled up the helpless remnant of tiny Czechoslovakia which he had already dismembered.

A Rude Awakening

The Allies were about to be rudely awakened. Britain and France were later to regret bitterly their treacherous handling of their friend, Czechoslovakia. They were about to pay a heavy price for their act of faithlessness against a loyal friend who needed their staunch support in her hour of supreme trial.

Now both Britain and France had lost all credibility in the eyes of the nations of Eastern Europe, including Russia. Even though the Soviet Union proposed that military staff talks between Britain, France and Russia be held at once to spell out specifically how Hitler's armies were to be met by the three nations, it was too late. The Germans were now dangling tantalizing bait before Russian eyes — offering them the eastern part of Poland if they would assent to Hitler's invasion of that country.

Prime Minister Chamberlain refused even so much as to censure Hitler in the House of Commons for his disgraceful rape of Czechoslovakia.

This shameful British act produced a national outcry among many Britons, and an alarmed Chamberlain had to quickly reverse himself.

After having spinelessly yielded to Hitler's demands concerning the Czechs, and seeing rumblings that Hitler was about to invade Poland, Britain and France agreed they would stand firmly behind Poland if she were attacked by Hitler. But by this time, even Hitler didn't believe his enemies (the "little worms") would do anything.

Soviet-German Pact

Hitler knew there was the *possibility* that Britain and France would declare war if he invaded Poland. Apparently this didn't bother him all that much. He thought they were too weak-willed to attack.

But just in case he was wrong, he decided it best to reach an accord with the Russians before the invasion so he could make certain the Soviets wouldn't also declare war on him. At the time, Hitler, like Britain and France, didn't have a very high opinion of Soviet military prowess.

Britain and France asked the Russians to join them in helping stop Germany. But Stalin, angered at the way he had been totally ignored during the Munich crisis, had come to have nothing but contempt for the Western Allies after seeing their record of shameful appeasement. He decided it wiser to join with Germany, than with the perfidious British and French.

Accordingly, a Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact was signed August 23, 1939. It was signed by Russia's Molotov and Germany's von Ribbentrop. It included secret clauses which divided eastern Europe into zones of influence that cut Poland in two.

The stage was now fully set for World War II to begin — a war which would last over six years, and would involve most of the important nations of the earth in the greatest carnage of history.

Hitler was certainly troubled by the reports he'd received that Britain and France might go to war if he invaded Poland, and for a time, he even changed his mind about attacking Poland, and drew back from the brink of war.

Then, on August 26th, 1939 he made the final, irrevocable decision. On that day, according to an eyewitness report:

Hitler suddenly got up and, becoming very excited and nervous, walked up and down saying, as though to himself, that *Germany was irresistible*. Suddenly he stopped in the middle of the room and stood staring. His voice was blurred and his behavior that of a completely abnormal person. He spoke in staccato phrases: "If there should be war, then *I shall build U-boats, build U-boats, U-boats, U-boats, U-boats.*

On August 31, Adolf Hitler took the final step. The invasion of Poland was labelled "Case White." The order was given to attack Poland the following day, September 1. On that day the world became convulsed in its worst bloodbath in history.

“Steel and Fire”

In the pre-dawn hours of September 1, 1939, the Nazis unleashed a new type of mechanized warfare — the *blitzkrieg* (lightning war) — on ill-prepared Poland!

Never in the history of warfare had anything comparable been hurled at any nation. The sheer speed and destructive capacity of the Nazi *blitzkrieg* was stunning. Fifty-six German divisions (nine of them armored) sped toward Warsaw, Cracow, Lvov, and Bialystok — commanded by a galaxy of brilliant German generals: Guderian, Von Kluge, Von Bock, Von Reichenau, Von Kuchler, and Siegmund Wilhelm List.

Fifteen hundred *Luftwaffe* planes, including the dreaded Stuka dive bombers, smashed Polish airfields, railways, communications, military installations, and terrorized Polish cities.

Polish forces, under the command of General Marshal Edward Smigly-Rydz, fought bravely, but their out-dated infantry, lancers and armor proved useless against the world’s mightiest phalanx of steel and fire. The Polish forces were squashed like a fragile egg in one gigantic Nazi pincer movement.

The Polish forces were adequate in number, but not in training, equipment, or in officers. Poland could eventually have mustered two and a half million men, but Hitler’s *blitzkrieg* didn’t allow her enough time to muster her forces. Its army had very few armored and motorized divisions, and was short of anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns.

Horses Against Machines

The pride of the Polish forces was their cavalry. Brave Polish cavalry actually charged German panzers. But men on horses of flesh can’t stop men riding horses of steel — in tanks and armored vehicles. Horsed cavalry proved a woefully inadequate defense against the new technology of destructive, mechanized death administered by the Nazi *blitzkrieg*.

After only two days of fighting, the German forces had sealed off the Polish Corridor and were converging on the cities of Lodz and Cracow. By September 6, Cracow (the old imperial capital) had fallen, and the Polish army was in retreat. On September 8, the German *blitzkrieg* reached the outskirts of Warsaw.

The sheer speed of the German thrusts through Poland caught the Poles completely off guard. By the end of the second week of fighting, the Polish army had simply ceased to exist as an organized force. Many had been killed, and countless thousands were taken prisoners.

Russia Attacks Poland

Then on September 17, as the Germans pressed their attack against Warsaw, and as the remnants of the Polish army retreated toward the southeast, Russian forces treacherously struck across Poland's eastern border. Their shameful attack sealed Poland's fate. She was caught in the vice grip of two mighty armies, and her defenses had already been hopelessly shattered by the lightning German attack.

Shortly after Russia attacked Poland, the Polish Ambassador in Moscow was handed a note of explanation: "A Polish state no longer exists," said the note, and the Red army was moving in to "protect White Russian and Ukranian minorities in Poland."

The German *Luftwaffe* proved to be an highly organized and very effective instrument of war in the Polish invasion. It knocked out railways, vital communication centers, airfields (catching the Polish Air Force on the ground, and destroying most of their planes), and other nerve centers. And it terrorized Polish cities.

Even though General Von Rundstedt reached the outskirts of Warsaw on September 8, the inhabitants put up such a stiff resistance in their defense of the city that it was not captured until the 27th.

Hitler — "Act Brutally!"

Before Hitler's Nazi army was unleashed on Poland, Der Führer ordered German soldiers to show no mercy: "*Close your hearts to pity! Act brutally!* Eighty million Germans must obtain what is their right!" said Hitler.

The Russians had been surprised by the lightning speed of the German advance across Poland. The Polish army was on the verge of collapsing when Russia decided to enter the war.

On September 17, the Russians and Germans had agreed on the text of a joint communiqué which would be issued explaining the Russian action. It said that the joint aim of the Soviet Union and Germany was "*to restore peace and order in Poland, which has been destroyed by the disintegration of the Polish state, and to help the Polish people to establish new conditions for its political life.*"

The Russians and Germans had previously agreed to partition Poland. Russia would receive about 75,000 square miles of Poland, and Germany would take approximately 71,000 square miles.

How great were the casualties of the German invasion of Poland? The Nazis admitted having lost 10,572 killed, but claimed to have taken 450,000 Polish prisoners. The Soviets suffered almost no casualties or losses.

France and Britain Declare War

Russo-German treachery had destroyed Poland. In the process they had unleashed the world's most devastating war.

Even though the German *blitzkrieg* attack on Poland began on September 1st, Britain and France didn't declare war on Germany until September 3rd. There was actually nothing they could now do to help their Polish ally — except offer *moral aid and comfort!* Both Britain and France were waking up from their long slumber. Disgraceful appeasement had brought them both shame and war. They now knew that Hitler's appetite was insatiable.

The “Sitzkrieg”

For nine long, suspenseful months after the fall of Poland in September, 1939, the Germans and Allies fought no important battles.

During this time, the French dug in behind their “impregnable” *Maginot Line*, and the German army sat complacently behind their *Siegfried Line* — awaiting orders for the next attack.

During this time of inaction, each side strengthened its military position, conducted small raids, took aerial photographs — and simply waited. This period of “*Sitzkrieg*” (sit-down-war) became known as the “Phony War.”

What would be Hitler's next move? Where would he attack next? Nobody knew, but all of Germany's neighbors braced themselves.

Hitler's next military exercise was code named “*Weseruebung*” or “*Weser Exercise*.” This invasion was the brainchild of the Navy. The German Navy had long coveted the north — thinking Germany needed bases in Norway to forestall a British blockade (which had helped strangle Germany during World War I). The Germans did not want to see their Navy again bottled up in the North Sea.

Also, Norway's bases would be vital in protecting vessels carrying shipments of precious Swedish iron ore, on which Germany's very existence depended.

Hitler became convinced of the vital necessity of protecting Germany's iron ore supply from Scandinavia — and accordingly he gave the green light to the planned invasion. Norway and Denmark were both added to Hitler's list of intended victims. The *Luftwaffe* had its eyes on Danish bases which it could use in raids against Britain.

Attack on Norway and Denmark

At precisely one hour before dawn on the morning of April 9, 1940, German envoys in Copenhagen and Oslo presented their ultimatum to the Danish and Norwegian governments — demanding that they instantly accept (without resistance) the “protection of the Reich.”

Denmark was in an utterly hopeless position. The Danes’ flat, pleasant little country was totally incapable of any effective defense against Hitler’s panzers.

Even so, the Danish army fought a few brief skirmishes, but by the time the Danes had finished their breakfasts, it was all over. Denmark had been conquered by the Nazis. The Danish King, on government advice, capitulated and ordered resistance to cease.

In Norway, things went a little differently. The Germans quickly took over the five principal cities and ports and the one big airfield. But King Haakon VII refused to surrender. He went into exile, and loathed the treachery of Vidkun Quisling, who had sold out to the Germans.

As the Nazis rolled over Denmark and Norway, the Allies were unable to give the Scandinavians any meaningful military assistance. Britain tried to do what she could, but her help was mainly in the form of naval assistance. The Royal Navy seriously crippled the German navy during the Nazi invasion of Denmark and Norway. German naval losses were heavy: 10 destroyers, 2 battle cruisers and 1 pocket battleship were damaged so severely that they were out of action for several months. After Hitler’s *blitzkrieg* against Scandinavia, the Führer had no fleet worthy of mention, and this German naval impotence would prove to be a very serious handicap when the time came for him to invade Britain.

Even though Britain and France had sent troops to Norway, they were unable to furnish any adequate support. The Germans continued gaining strength — particularly in airpower — and finally succeeded in driving the Allied forces from Norway in June, 1940.

This Allied defeat was soon to have far-reaching repercussions in Britain — and would bring to the helm of the British government World War II’s most talented leader — Winston S. Churchill.

After the fall of Denmark and Norway, Britain and France braced themselves for the final Nazi onslaught against Western Europe which they believed would soon come. And they were not to wait too long.

“Man of the Century”

Many have called Winston S. Churchill the “man of the century.” He was truly a many-sided genius who excelled in numerous fields, and showed great brilliance.

Winston S. Churchill (1874-1965) was born into an illustrious family

and educated at Harrow and Sandhurst. He served in Cuba with Spanish forces (1895), in India (1897), in the Sudan (1898), and was present at Khartoum, and with the Nile Expeditionary Force, where he fought hand-to-hand with the Dervishes at Omdurman in 1898. Churchill was a war correspondent in the Boer War, was captured and escaped, and engaged in various battles up till the capture of Pretoria. When Churchill returned to England, he had become somewhat of a national hero.

In 1900 he became a Conservative M.P., and subsequently served in many government posts: President of the Board of Trade (1908 to 1910), Home Secretary (1910-11), First Lord of the Admiralty (1911). In 1915 he was made scapegoat for the Dardanelles disaster (where Allied troops were slaughtered by the Turks at Gallipoli). After that military fiasco, he joined the Army in France. In 1917, he became Prime Minister Lloyd George's Minister of Munitions, and the development and production of Britain's first tanks was primarily his brainchild.

From 1919 to 1921, Churchill was Secretary of State for War. He then served as Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1924 to 1929. Churchill's sparetime occupations ranged from bricklaying to editing, and he became a good painter.

The Gathering Storm Clouds

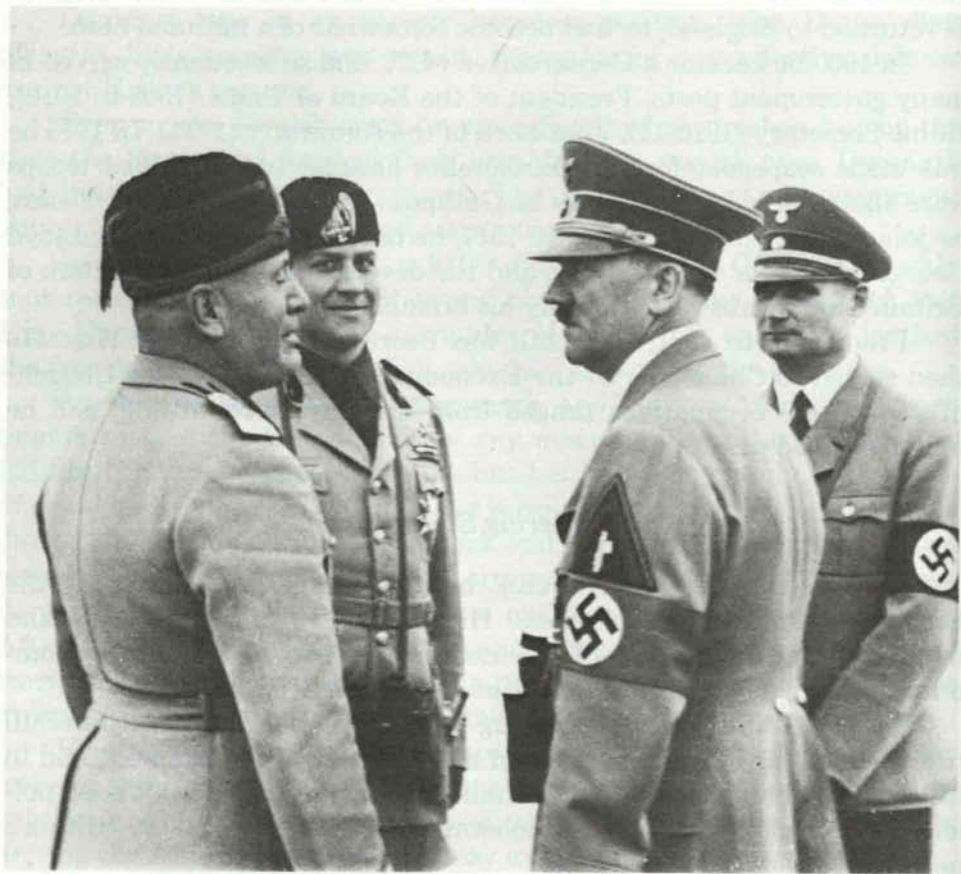
During the Thirties Churchill became increasingly angry at the British Government's supineness. He loathed Britain's cowardly and inept conduct in the face of the rising catalogue of aggressions committed by the up-start dictators, Mussolini and Hitler.

Almost from the very beginning of Hitler's rise to power, Churchill regarded him as evil and as a world menace. Both in Parliament and in his writings, he thundered and fulminated against the weak-kneed policies of *appeasement*, and he constantly spoke out against Britain's neglect of her national defenses.

Churchill didn't have a very high regard for Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. He once said that Chamberlain "looked at foreign affairs through the wrong end of a municipal drainpipe."

When Chamberlain returned from the Munich Conference, waving his piece of paper, proclaiming "Peace with honor, peace in our time," Churchill wasn't impressed. He denounced Chamberlain's Munich Pact as "a total and unmitigated defeat!" Furthermore, he told the British, "You have gained *shame*, and you shall get *war*." Black, angry storm clouds of war were at that very moment gathering over the continent of Europe.

What kind of a man was Churchill? He was a man of action, and lived every moment of life to the fullest. Even during Britain's darkest days, he remained cheerful, confident of the ultimate victory for the island people, and their Allies.



Hitler and his junior partner, Benito Mussolini, made strange bedfellows. Churchill called Hitler a "ferocious maniac," and referred to Mussolini as a "whipped jackal." Rudolf Hess is on Hitler's right. Hess later flew to Britain in a vain attempt to get Britain and Germany together. — *Wide World Photo*

Even in the face of national catastrophe, Churchill remained cheerful — retained a mischievous twinkle in his eye. Churchill's wit and humor are well-known. Once, after a rather heated exchange in Parliament, a woman M.P. — who was more noted for her strong-willed independent mind than for her beauty — turned on Churchill: "Mr. Churchill, you're drunk." "And you, madam," replied an irritated Churchill, "are ugly. But I shall be sober tomorrow."

Churchill made many enemies. He did not like to work with committees. He loathed sipping tea, while conducting endless discussions and debates about trivia. He wanted to get on with doing the job.

Churchill In Limbo

Churchill tended to the political right, and because of his outspokenness, he was in political limbo for a decade. But when the chips were down, and when Britain faced the darkest hour of her long history, the British people knew to whom they should turn. They knew Churchill to be a man of ability, of education, of courage and conviction. They also knew he was a man of action — a man who could get things done! With his tremendous sense of humor, his indomitable will and his bull-dog determination, he, more than any other man, could inspire the nation and lead it to ultimate victory.

On the very day that Chamberlain declared war on Nazi Germany (September 3, 1939), he appointed Winston S. Churchill First Lord of the Admiralty.

During the eight months of "Sitzkrieg" (Sit-down War or "Phony War") Britain remained confused and torpid.

But when the Nazis invaded The Netherlands, in May, 1940, all Britain at last woke up. They realized war was on their very doorstep. Prime Minister Chamberlain immediately resigned after Hitler invaded Holland, and Churchill was asked to form a coalition government.

Churchill was then sixty-six (about the age when most men are winding up their careers), but he was on the threshold of his most demanding and glorious period of accomplishment. He had proven himself a capable writer, and he possessed formidable oratorical powers. He was able to galvanize British resistance, and to inspire the nation to tighten its belt, to work and pray for the victory which then looked rather remote and illusive. When Churchill took office, Hitler bestrode the continent of Europe like a maniacal colossus. He cast his giant Nazi shadow over most of the continent.

Britain stood utterly alone! She needed a man of vision, of courage, a man of iron-willed determination. And Providence had supplied just such a man in Winston S. Churchill.

Nazis Attack France

The *Sitzkrieg* had continued for eight months. Then in a series of lightning moves Hitler's *Wehrmacht* quickly overran Denmark and Norway in April, 1940. The British and French knew Hitler would soon direct the spearhead thrust of his panzers at the very heart of France.

The order to unleash the German war machine against western Europe was given on May 10, 1940. On that morning, German troops swarmed into Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

The Allies foolishly assumed the Germans would use the same maneuver they had tried in World War I. Instead, the Nazi war machine, using armored units, paratroops and dive bombers, struck at Luxembourg and the heavily wooded Ardennes Forest.

Three Nazi Spearheads

Hitler sent three spearheads into Western Europe the morning of May 10th, 1940 — commanded by Generals Von Bock, Von Leeb and Von Rundstedt.

The German *blitzkrieg* against The Netherlands lasted only four days. Nazi paratroops did most of the work, while the *Luftwaffe* attacked military installations and airbases. The German attack had begun on May 10. By the 14th, it was all over! Holland realized Allied assistance was not going to be able to save her from certain conquest at the hands of Hitler's invincible, and merciless *blitzkrieg*. The Netherlands quickly sued for peace.

After the fall of Holland, the Nazis were free to direct their military might against the Belgians, and then attack France through the Ardennes. Belgian forces were quickly overcome. By the second morning of the invasion (May 11, 1940) a general retreat was ordered. At this same time British and French reinforcements arrived. But this was just what the Germans wanted.

The Nazis hoped that British and French forces would rush to the aid of Belgium — leaving France quite exposed to the Nazi onslaught!

By the tactical error of throwing their best forces into the fight in Belgium, the Allies left the Germans free to launch their attack through the Ardennes, with the sure knowledge that by the time the Allied forces could be redeployed against them, their own panzer units would be well on the way to the Channel coast.

As German Army Group B pushed rapidly into northern Belgium, diverting the attention of 36 Allied divisions, Army Group A traversed the Ardennes, and crossed the French frontier on May 14th — the very same day the Dutch surrender was accepted.

Nazi Trap Almost Closes

Nazi troops met little resistance from the weak French units guarding the sector between the end of the Maginot Line and central Belgium. German panzer units quickly broke through their defenses and headed straight toward the coast. Generals Guderian, Reinhard and Hoth raced westward. By May 20 Guderian's units reached the Channel. Then they turned northward, and struck out for the important ports through which any Allied forces would have to be evacuated — if they were to avert total disaster.

At this moment, the situation looked very bleak for the Allies.

The swift-moving German forces had established a wedge of steel and fire between the British and French forces in Belgium and the remnants of the French Army in France.

What were the Allies to do? Whatever they did had to be done quickly or their forces would be annihilated by the German panzer units, already poised for the kill.

After the Belgians and Dutch had hastily surrendered to the advancing might of the German army, the British Expeditionary Force suddenly found itself in a very precarious position. They were cut off from the French forces in France, and their only route of escape was quickly being blocked. The Germans were almost ready to close their trap on the Allied forces.

Though the British forces tried to break through the German wedge to link up with the French forces to the south, they were unable to do so. The German lines held firm. Now the Allied forces (British, Belgian and some of the French units) knew they were in immediate peril of being surrounded and cut off.

Hitler's Strange Order

Now German forces were between the Allies and the coast. What then suddenly developed has baffled historians ever since. Why did Herr Hitler fail to let the German army quickly move in for the final kill?

What caused Hitler to hesitate when "certain victory" lay within his grasp? His forces were now ready to annihilate the Allies, as their swift-moving panzers surged forward to enclose the Allies.

As General Guderain's panzers rushed north, Von Rundstedt's panzer forces were racing southward from Belgium, and it looked as if they would certainly be able to entrap the Allied forces and prevent them from reaching Dunkirk on the coast. Their forces were closer to that port city than were the Allies. There was nothing to stop them from closing the jaws of their gigantic trap of steel and fire — nothing to prevent them from cutting the Allies off from Dunkirk. Had they closed

their panzer trap, *evacuation* of the Allied Expeditionary forces *would have been impossible!*

At this point in history, Hitler issued one of his strangest orders. He ordered his general to halt their race to entrap the Allies at Dunkirk. As a result, the Allied armies safely reached Dunkirk right under the muzzles of the German big guns.

Hitler ordered: "Dunkirk is to be left to the Luftwaffe." Later reports explained this strange order as the direct result of the fat ego of Goering who wanted the glory to go to the *Luftwaffe*. Hitler acquiesced to Goering's wish, thus permitting the Allies to escape certain death at his hands.

Fog-and-Cloud Cover

Then another strange incident occurred. As the German generals sat helplessly near Dunkirk — ostensibly waiting for Goering's *Luftwaffe* to destroy their enemy — a suffocating fog closed in. The English channel became calm — so calm that the smallest boats could sail on it without risk of being capsized.

On May 26th, the day the Belgians surrendered, the British War Cabinet gave the order for "Operation Dynamo" (the evacuation of Dunkirk) to go into immediate effect.

While Allied forces raced toward Dunkirk, the British government had organized one of the largest and oddest assortment of boats the world has ever known — for the purpose of evacuating as many of the Allied troops as possible. This motley flotilla of nearly 1000 boats saved the Allies from total defeat!

There were over 400,000 Allied soldiers bottled up in Dunkirk, and it was hoped that perhaps 30,000 of these could be evacuated before the Germans closed in, making further evacuation impossible.

But Hitler's strange order — his fatal hesitation — saved the day. The Germans didn't realize what was happening, and did not, therefore, attack the Allied troops being evacuated until May 29th.

"The Miracle of Dunkirk"

Never in the history of the world did such a motley assortment of boats and ships carry out such an operation. Various Royal Navy ships, cruisers, destroyers, ocean liners, private boats of every type and description, including motor boats and even row boats, were used in this gigantic evacuation.

In fact, most anything which would float was used in this strange rescue mission which occurred right under the very noses of the Nazis —

right under the muzzles of their big guns — and right under the shadow of the *Luftwaffe*.

This bizarre flotilla of vessels constantly shuttled back and forth from Dunkirk to English ports carrying so many men that the boats were sometimes in jeopardy of sinking. Meanwhile a protective umbrella of dense fog prevented the German Air Force from doing nearly as much damage as it otherwise would have been able to do.

This unique evacuation continued from May 26th to June 4th, when it finally became impossible to evacuate safely any more Allied soldiers. By this time, approximately 340,000 British, French and Belgian troops had been evacuated and safely landed in Britain. Many of them would live to fight and help bring the Third Reich crashing down in defeat only a few years later.

This evacuation of over a third of a million Allied soldiers from Dunkirk — right from under the Nazis' noses — has ever since that day been referred to as the "Miracle of Dunkirk."

When Hitler and his generals finally woke up and realized what was happening, when Hitler became convinced that Goering's *Luftwaffe* was not going to be able to stop the Allied evacuation, it was *too late* to prevent what was in fact already a *fait accompli*. The mass evacuation of the Allied soldiers in Britain's "Mosquito Armada" was just about over. The Allies, thanks to Hitler's strange order which halted the German generals, had been able to set up a fairly defensive ring around Dunkirk — a strong enough defense to hold the Germans off (once the Nazis decided to resume their attack) until most of the Allied soldiers had been evacuated from Dunkirk.

Another factor in the final evacuation of the Allied troops at Dunkirk was the superb skill and gallantry which the Royal Air Force displayed. During the air battle at Dunkirk they were outnumbered by four or five to one, but were able to inflict heavy damage on the *Luftwaffe*, and destroy more planes than they lost. This brilliant R.A.F. victory caused the Germans to realize that they had a formidable enemy to overcome. The Royal Air Force would be difficult to defeat.

"My Hands Were Tied"

It was Field Marshal von Rundstedt's Army Group A which held the Allied troops, as sitting ducks, in his grasp. Von Rundstedt later complained:

If I had had my way the English would not have got off so lightly at Dunkirk. But *my hands were tied* by direct orders from Hitler himself. While the English were clambering into the ships off the beaches, I was kept uselessly outside the port unable to move. I recommended to the Supreme Command that my five panzer divisions be immediately sent



Hermann Goering, corpulent, vain, ostentatious, served as chief of the Luftwaffe during World War II. Goering boasted that he would destroy the RAF in just a few days, but his vanity was punctured during the Battle of Britain by the gallant British pilots.

into the town and thereby completely destroy the retreating English. But I received definite orders from the Führer that under no circumstances was I to attack. . . .

And he added:

The bad weather has grounded the *Luftwaffe* and we must now stand by and watch countless thousands of the enemy get away to England right under our noses!

By why did Hitler order von Rundstedt to halt his advance?

The Führer apparently feared the possible cost to his straining tanks — if they effected a direct ground assault over difficult terrain, while the French armies to the south hadn't yet been destroyed.

Hitler also overrated the destructive power of air bombardment. He let Goering persuade him that it would be better to let the glory go to the German *Luftwaffe*, than to the German generals — some of whom were not members of the Nazi party.

And, apparently, Hitler entertained the silly notion that if he didn't annihilate the British army at Dunkirk he could better negotiate a peace with Britain. At that time, Hitler nurtured the vain idea of total victory. It never even occurred to him that he might eventually lose the war.

Many have since asked if the calm, overcast weather and the strange order, given by the Führer himself, for the German panzers to halt their attacks, was just an *accident*, or did some Guiding Hand "interfere" (to use Churchill's wording) to make sure that the Allied forces were not annihilated at Dunkirk?

Few will now deny that the entire course of World War II would have been drastically altered had the Allied troops hopelessly at bay at Dunkirk been killed or captured.

Hitler Hesitates

Even after over a third of a million Allied troops had been evacuated to England, Hitler failed to follow up on his strategic advantage when Britain lay virtually open to his Nazi forces. Why did Hitler hesitate to invade England? Hadn't British troops left all their military hardware on the beaches at Dunkirk?

After the Dunkirk evacuation, the British were still at the mercy of Hitler. But somehow, he appears to have been totally blind to this fact.

Was he fearful that the Royal Navy, still having command of the seas, would annihilate his forces if he tried to conquer their island home after Dunkirk?

Later reports revealed that Britain only had about one hundred tanks at this time, and since she had sent most of her elite divisions to

the Continent before Dunkirk, she only had two or three poorly-equipped divisions ready for battle in Britain. Such a pitifully small handful of men would not have been able to defend their nation against a merciless Nazi onslaught.

The German Army could field forty-five assault divisions, ready for "Operation Sea Lion" had they decided to go ahead with the attack. And many others were ready to follow up the invasion. What could a few divisions of poorly equipped British troops have done against such overwhelming odds?

Perhaps even German paratroops could have conquered Britain, if they had been supported closely by the numerically superior German *Luftwaffe* — which then outnumbered the R.A.F. three or four to one!

The United States was then completely unprepared for war, and could not have given sufficient help quickly enough to prevent Britain falling before an all-out Nazi invasion.

But Hitler was uncertain! Confused! He felt unsure of himself. Hermann Goering convinced the Führer that Germany must attain air superiority over Britain before she could launch a successful invasion against the British.

What was the Nazi main military aim? They determined to break the back of the Royal Air Force, then launch their "Operation Sea Lion" against an impotent enemy, who had virtually no army, and a shattered air force.

The Fall of France

The Germans launched their new offensive against France on June 5th. In only four days, the French army was in hopeless retreat. About this time the strutting Mussolini, seeing Hitler's phenomenal success, decided it was time for him to get in on the spoils of victory. He, therefore, declared war on Britain and France on June 10th. But the Italian army proved to be militarily inept, and did little except invade a small part of the coast of southern France, although this Italian offensive did tie down some of France's best troops, and prevented them being used against Hitler in the north of France.

President Roosevelt denounced Mussolini's attack on France: "The hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor."

Mussolini's son-in-law, Ciano (whom Il Duce later had shot) wrote in his diary: "I am sad, very sad. The adventure begins. *May God help Italy.*"

Some time later (after Mussolini attacked Greece), Churchill revealed his contempt for Il Duce:

Here surely is the world's record in the domain of the ridiculous and the contemptible. This whipped jackal, Mussolini, who to save his own skin has made all Italy a vassal state of Hitler's empire, comes frisking up to the side of the German tiger with yelpings, not only of appetite — that could be understood — but even of triumph.

The German onslaught against France, like previous Nazi invasions, proved unstoppable. By June 14th, German units entered Paris. Other units pierced the Maginot Line from Germany two days later.

This smashing German victory caused a major split in the government of France. Patriotic Frenchmen wanted to move their government to North Africa and continue their struggle against Hitler. Others were ready to *capitulate!*

Churchill offered to unite Britain with France under a single unified government — if the French would continue the struggle. But the demoralized French refused his offer.

Hitler's Revenge

The aging, tired Premier Henri Philippe Petain decided to surrender to the Nazis. Accordingly, France signed a humiliating armistice with Germany on June 22nd. Hitler used this occasion to get gratifying revenge against the French for the humiliating armistice which Germany had had to sign in 1918.

Hitler insisted that the French would have to sign their armistice on the same spot, in the forest at Compiègne, and in the same old railway car which was used for the 1918 signing.

Adolf Hitler arrived at Compiègne in his big, black Mercedes at precisely 3:15 p.m. His face was grave, solemn, yet brimming with bitter *revenge!* It was clear that he was receiving immense satisfaction from this triumphant occasion — a scornful inner joy at being able to take part in this reversal of fate.

The pompous Hitler, followed by a clutch of officers, strode up to a large granite block and read the inscription engraved (in French) in high letters: “HERE ON THE ELEVENTH OF NOVEMBER 1918 SUCCUMBED THE CRIMINAL PRIDE OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE — VANQUISHED BY THE FREE PEOPLES WHICH IT TRIED TO ENSLAVE.”

Both Hitler and Goering read the inscription. Hitler's face was filled with scorn, anger, hate, revenge and triumph. Later, Hitler glanced back at the granite block with contemptuous anger. His glances and his sweeping gestures were indicative of his desire to erase the words on the granite block with a single sweep of his high Prussian boot. Hitler had come to even the score with Germany's old enemy, France. Hitler and Goering stood to attention, gloating, while the Chief of his Supreme Command, General Wilhelm Keitel, read the conditions of armistice to the waiting, humiliated, French delegation. Hitler didn't wait for the

ceremonies to end, but he, Goering, Hess, von Ribbentrop, and a strut of Nazi officers left — while the band played “*Deutschland Uber Alles*”.

Hitler then divided France into two zones. Germany occupied northern and western France, and set up the Vichy government under Petain in southern France.

Many thousands of Frenchmen fled to North Africa and Britain so they could continue the fight against the Nazis. Brigadier General Charles de Gaulle became the leader of a Free France movement, headquartered in London. Churchill later remarked of De Gaulle, who often irritated him: “The heaviest cross I have to bear is the Cross of Lorraine.”

Hitler now controlled most of Europe from Scandinavia in the North to Bordeaux, France in the South. The German boot was firmly, oppressively planted over this part of the globe, and the high boot of Nazism would continue to cast its dark shadow over Europe for another five years.

Britain All Alone

Now, Britain realized she stood totally *alone*! Germany had allied herself with Russia in a non-aggression pact a few days before invading Poland in September, 1939. Hitler now stood astride the continent of Europe, and plotted the invasion of England. But Britain was hopelessly unprepared for such an attack. True, the cream of her army was now back in England (having narrowly escaped annihilation at Dunkirk), but they had to leave all their weapons behind on the beaches at Dunkirk. The British possessed few weapons with which to fight the Nazis at that dark hour in their history. And their Royal Air Force was about one-third the size of the *Luftwaffe*, and her pilots were not so experienced as the Germans.

What would Britain do? Hitler thought the British would not be so foolish as to even try to continue the struggle. He vainly hoped they would see reality, and he believed it would be just a matter of time until they came to their senses and sued for peace — as the Poles, the Danes, the Norwegians, the Dutch, Belgians, Luxembourgers and the French had all done!

Now, Britons realized what it meant to be *alone*. Even well-meaning Americans and members of the Commonwealth of Nations were at that time totally unable to give Britain any meaningful assistance.

The British Lion

Churchill gave a birthday speech in 1954, and he looked back modestly on his role as Britain’s Prime Minister during her terrible struggle with Nazism. He said:

I have never accepted what many people have kindly said, namely that I inspired the nation. Their will was resolute and remorseless, and as it proved, unconquerable. . . . It was the nation and the race dwelling all around the globe that had the lion’s heart. I had the luck to be called upon to give the roar!

But no one who knew Churchill doubted that this stout-hearted lion did much to give Britons courage, hope and inspiration — especially during the dark days when invasion seemed imminent.

“Some Chicken!”

On May 15, 1940, the new French Premier, Paul Reynaud phoned Churchill and told him: “We have been defeated! We are beaten.”

The Prime Minister found it hard to believe. Churchill later wrote: “I did not comprehend the violence of the revolution effected since the last war by the incursion of a mass of fast-moving armor.”

Churchill had tried to get the French to continue the fight rather than surrender to the Germans. Speaking before the Canadian Parliament in 1942, Churchill said:

When I warned them (the French) that Britain would fight on alone, their generals told their Prime Minister and his divided Cabinet: ‘In three weeks England will have her neck wrung like a chicken!’ Some chicken! Some neck!

But the French generals were still doubtful about Britain’s ability to withstand the Nazi onslaught. So they asked Churchill how England would be able to hold out. Churchill replied:

So I said that of course I was not a military expert and I was always very careful in not meddling in these sort of questions, but that my professional advisers told me that the best way to deal with such an invasion would be to drown as many as possible on the way over, and knock the rest on the head as they crawled ashore.

There can be no doubt that the stout-hearted Churchill intended to do everything within his power to stir up the British nation to resist Hitler with everything they could lay their hands on.

“We Shall Fight”

As Britain braced herself for the expected Nazi assault on their island home, Churchill spoke to the British people over the radio — and urged them to fight with everything they had — should Hitler dare attack them. At that dark hour, Churchill assured his fellow countrymen:

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!*

Then, giving vent to his usual humor, the Prime Minister covered up the microphone with his hand and added: "And if we can't do that we'll hit them on the head with bottles."

The Battle of Britain

Hitler had run roughshod over all the nations of northwest Europe — except Britain! Now his mighty panzers were perched menacingly across the English Channel — just waiting the final order to invade England. It looked as though the English were about to be doomed to the same certain, swift fate which had so quickly, and so relentlessly, overtaken Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Luxembourg, Belgium and France.

But, from Hitler's point of view, there were two disturbing facts. His German naval forces had been badly mauled by the Royal Navy during the attack on Norway in May, 1940. Secondly, it was unclear whether or not the *Luftwaffe* would be able to master the Royal Air Force.

Goering apparently finally convinced Hitler that the *Luftwaffe* should be able to destroy the R.A.F. in short fashion.

Hitler had boasted he would march into London in two more months — after the fall of France! His High Command were ordered to plan an invasion of the British Isles, called Operation Sea Lion. All the while, a deluded Hitler still secretly hoped Britain would surrender without the Führer having to use his panzer persuaders.

It was on July 10, 1940 that the German *Luftwaffe* began blasting British airfields, sector control centers, radar stations, and aircraft factories. The *Battle of Britain* (called "Operation Eagle" by the Germans) had begun. Hitler planned to knock out the Royal Air Force, and so cripple their communications that the British would be utterly unable to continue the air battle over Britain.

On June 4th, Churchill had told the British Parliament:

The great French Army was very largely for the time being, cast back and destroyed by the onrush of a few thousand armored vehicles. May it not also be that the cause of civilization itself will be defended by the skill and devotion of *a few thousand airmen?*

German planes outnumbered the British about three to one. Churchill later wrote:

By August the *Luftwaffe* had gathered 2669 operational aircraft, comprising 1015 bombers, 346 dive bombers, 933 fighters and 375 heavy



British Spitfires patrol the skies over England, ready to take on the fury of Hermann Goering's Luftwaffe.

fighters. The Führer's Directive No. 17 authorized the intensified air war against England on August 5.

Luftwaffe planes were faster, and had a quicker rate of climb, but British planes were more maneuverable and better armed. Furthermore, British pilots fought over their home territory, and therefore had a great strategic and psychological advantage. They were *fighting to defend their island home*, and were intensely more determined than were the German pilots.

Churchill later wrote concerning the Battle of Britain:

In the fighting between August 24 and September 6, the scales had tilted against Fighter Command. During these crucial days the Germans had continuously applied powerful forces against the airfields of south and southeast England. Their object was to break down the day fighter defense of the capital, which they were impatient to attack. Far more important to us than the protection of London from terror bombing were the functioning and articulation of these airfields and the squadrons working from them.

Britain knew that it must not let the Germans knock out its communications centers and airfields. If they lost these, they were doomed!

Churchill continued:

In the life-and-death struggle of the two air forces, this was a decisive phase. We never thought of the struggle in terms of the defense of London or any other place, but only who won in the air. There was much anxiety at Fighter Headquarters at Stanmore, and particularly at the headquarters of No. 11 Fighter Group at Uxbridge. Extensive damage had been done to five of the group's forward airfields, and also to the six sector stations. If the enemy had persisted in heavy attacks against the adjacent sectors and damaged their operations rooms or telephone communications, the whole intricate organization of Fighter Command might have been broken down. It was therefore with a sense of relief that Fighter Command felt the German attack turn onto London on September 7, and concluded that the enemy had changed his plan.

Then Mr. Churchill went on to point out that Fighter Command was being seriously drained of both *planes and pilots* — has lost 103 pilots killed, and 128 seriously wounded, from August 24th to September 6th, and had also lost 466 Spitfires and Hurricanes. Churchill added: "Out of a total pilot strength of about 1000, nearly a quarter had been lost. . . ."

If the German *Luftwaffe* had continued to press its attacks against British airfields and communications, it would no doubt have soon succeeded in knocking out the R.A.F. Britain would then have been a sitting duck — unable to defend herself effectively against the screaming Stuka divebombers, and against the whole array of German fighters and

bombers. Hitler could have then ordered Operation Sea Lion be put into effect. Britain would probably not have lasted one month against a hail of steel and fire raining down upon her comparatively ill-equipped and helpless army. The British would have gone down to certain defeat!

A Change in German Strategy

It was very fortunate for Britain and for the world that the German Air Force decided to start attacking British cities, and diverted its destructive fury from the vital airfields and communications centers. This gave Britain time to get her breath. America was now beginning to increase its supply of planes and munitions to England.

The Battle of Britain reached its apex on September 15th. On that day Britain destroyed fifty-six German planes. Shortly afterward (on October 12th) Hitler realized the Germans would not gain air superiority over Britain, and formally called off Operation Sea Lion until the following spring; and by that time (July, 1941) Hitler again postponed his invasion of England until after he had destroyed Russia!

Churchill said that Britain lost 915 aircraft during the Battle of Britain (July 10th through October 31, 1940), while the Germans admitted having lost 1733 aircraft — nearly double the losses of the R.A.F. The British *claimed* to have destroyed 2698 enemy aircraft during this period. Perhaps the true figures will never be known.

Sir Winston Churchill concluded:

No doubt we were always oversanguine in our estimates of enemy scalps. In the upshot we got *two to one* of the German assailants, instead of three to one, as we believed and declared. But this was enough. The Royal Air Force, far from being destroyed, was triumphant. The stamina and valor of our fighter pilots remained unconquerable and supreme. Thus Britain was saved. Well might I say in the House of Commons, 'Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.'

The outnumbered British pilots and planes had beaten off the German air attacks. This victory in the Battle of Britain undoubtedly did as much damage to German pride and morale as it did good for British morale. Why did Britain gain a great victory during the crucial Battle of Britain?

Britain's Chief Air Marshal, Sir Hugh Dowding, Commander-in-Chief, Fighter Command, clearly stated why he thought the British won the Battle of Britain:

I say with absolute conviction that I can trace *the intervention of God*, not only in the battle itself, but in the events which led up to it, and that if it had not been for this intervention, the battle would have been joined in conditions which, humanly speaking, would have rendered victory impossible.

Churchill later wrote of this titanic air battle: "The odds were great; our margins small; the stakes infinite."

What had happened to Hitler and Goering that made them switch their aerial strategy from destroying aircraft factories, airfields, sector stations, and the Royal Air Force? Why did they turn to the futile attempt to knock out London and other large population centers? Why did the Germans turn away from *strategic bombing* to the bombing of Britain's cities — right at the very time when they were about to succeed — when Britain was hurting badly?

Indeed, was the winning of the Battle of Britain — like the escape of troops at Dunkirk — a miracle wrought by a Divine Hand?

How often in the course of history we see the indisputable invention of a gracious Providence.

The Darkest Days

The Allies knew that Germany would depend heavily on its submarines to try to gain supremacy in the Atlantic. Britain used the convoy system as a means of protecting her merchant ships sailing from Halifax, Canada, to the British Isles. Air patrols were also organized to help protect the convoys by providing air cover for this vital lifeline between America and Britain.

The U.S. Navy was ordered (on September 4th) to shoot on sight any vessel that threatened Allied ships.

A Nazi U-boat torpedoed the destroyer *Reuben James* on October 31, 1941 — the first U.S. vessel lost in action during World War II.

The Allied High Command (in March 1943) assigned to Britain and Canada the primary job of protecting the North Atlantic convoys, while the chief responsibility for the central Atlantic convoys fell on American shoulders. And the U.S. also had the responsibility of protecting Allied vessels in the Caribbean Sea. Before the Normandy invasion the Canadian fleet took over the task of escorting the North Atlantic convoys, thus relieving U.S. naval power so they could take part in Operation Overlord.

Hitler's U-boats

Even before the Second World War began, Hitler planned to build a massive fleet of U-boats so he could blast the Allied navies out of the Atlantic.

The Führer gave the command of the entire Nazi U-boat offensive to the brilliant, tough Admiral Karl Doenitz. (Hitler also turned the leadership of the Third Reich over to Admiral Doenitz — just before he and Eva Braun committed suicide, in April 1945.)

During the early years of World War II, German U-boats constantly menaced Allied shipping. Germany's rather small surface fleet also caused considerable trouble. The German pocket battleships were smaller but also faster than the much larger Allied battleships.

Sinking the Mighty Bismarck

Furthermore, the Germans also had the biggest, most powerful battleships in the Atlantic (the *Bismarck* and the *Tirpitz*). The mighty

Bismarck's 16,000 tons of thick armor outweighed an entire pocket battleship. This behemoth of the Atlantic had such heavy armor that the Germans boasted she was "unsinkable."

The account of the sinking of the powerful *Bismarck* is one of the most interesting naval stories of World War II.

The *Bismarck* slipped into the North Atlantic in May 1941, and menaced Allied vessels between Iceland and Greenland. The Royal Navy finally succeeded in hunting down the *Bismarck*, but within two minutes of the fierce engagement between the British and German battleships, the British battlecruiser *Hood* was hit by the powerful guns of the *Bismarck* and was blown apart! Within minutes she was sent toward the bottom of the Atlantic. Also, the British battleship *Prince of Wales* was damaged in that brief battle.

But the British were determined to get revenge. They planned to go all out to sink this mighty German dreadnought of the seas. British carrier planes, battleships, destroyers and cruisers all set out to find and sink the *Bismarck*! They finally succeeded in locating her again and began giving chase. A lucky torpedo severely damaged the steering gear of the *Bismarck*, and she was under the sentence of doom from that moment forward.

Before long a mighty British attack force of ships and planes closed in on the *Bismarck* for the final kill. They succeeded in sending her to the bottom as she floundered in the Atlantic about 400 miles off the coast of France. The pride of the German navy had been sunk, and the Nazis then abandoned the idea of using giant ships against Allied convoys in the Atlantic.

Was the lucky hit on the *Bismarck* by a torpedo from a British plane a mere coincidence? Was it just by *chance* that this torpedo smashed, beyond repair, the steering gear of the "unsinkable" *Bismarck*?

The British Commander-in-Chief, Home Fleet, Admiral Sir John Tovey (K.C.B., K.B.E., D.S.O.) believed this "lucky hit" and the subsequent sinking of the *Bismarck* was more than the result of "chance." Admiral Tovey believed there had been "Divine Guidance and Intervention" in the final fate of the *Bismarck*:

One is very diffident about these things, but for a long time I have been a great believer in *prayer*. In the last few weeks I have *prayed* as I have never prayed before in my life. If anyone had said that we could meet the *Bismarck*, that great ship with her main armament of 9 in. and 15 in. guns unimpaired, and come out of the action without loss of a single British life, no one would have believed him. It is incredible. It can only be attributed to one thing. I firmly believe that the result of this action was due to *Divine Guidance and Intervention*.

Nazi "Wolf Packs"

The German submarine fleet commander, Rear Admiral Karl Doenitz, began forming the U-boats into "wolf packs" of 8 or 9 — and sometimes as many as 20 or more — for the purpose of savagely attacking Allied convoys in the Atlantic.

The Nazis had about 234 U-boats in action by the spring of 1943. They continued wreaking a frightful toll on Allied shipping.

The Allies lost a record 807,754 tons of shipping in November 1942. These terrible losses couldn't continue! And during all of World War II the Allies lost 23,351,000 tons of shipping.

The Allies decided to smash the U-boat factories and bases by heavy bombings. They also developed new technologies (using *radar* and *sonar* devices) with which they could more readily spot enemy subs. Constantly Hitler's "wolf-packs" were attacked with destroyer escorts and escort carrier planes. Much of the vital convoy route could be protected with land-based aircraft. The Allies finally began getting the upperhand in the Atlantic, and during the last two years of World War II, the Allies sank German subs faster than they could be built.

British and American navies were also kept busy seeking out and destroying enemy vessels in the Mediterranean, the Pacific and other areas of the world. In the main, however, the Allies held the upper hand on the high seas, and this gave them a tremendous strategic advantage that proved vital in the undoing of the Axis powers.

Mighty "Arsenal of Democracy"

Hitler and his Nazi henchmen badly underrated the potential industrial and military power of America. Even though both Germany and Japan had a headstart in the mass production of weapons of war (planes, tanks, guns, etc.), yet America soon geared up her mighty industry and quickly outproduced the Axis powers.

Hitler had hoped to knock Russia out of the war before America joined her European Allies. But Japan spoiled that when she attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Now, mighty Uncle Sam would immediately gear up for all-out war production, and would begin girding for the titanic struggle which would soon humble both Germany and Japan.

Nazi Ignorance of U.S.A.

During the North African campaign, Field Marshal Rommel flew to Germany to report to the Führer, who was then at his East Prussian

headquarters. Rommel complained that R.A.F. bombers were blasting his panzers — with *American* 40-mm shells!

At that point, Hitler's Air Marshall, Hermann Goering, protested: "Nothing but latrine rumors. All the Americans can make are razor blades and refrigerators." Rommel flashed back — "I only wish Herr Reichmarschall, that we were issued similar razor blades!"

It was Franklin D. Roosevelt who called America "the arsenal of democracy." And that is what America *was* during World War II. America and her Allies simply would not have been victorious in the various theaters of war if they had not been backed by America's mighty industrial production. The servicemen would have been helpless without the man behind the man behind the gun.

America began producing an avalanche of war materials after Pearl Harbor. The historian, Louis L. Snyder gives us a clear picture of what happened in America after that "day of infamy" on December 7, 1941:

The days of business as usual were past. Within a year after Pearl Harbor, the U.S. was equaling the entire Axis war production, though they had a ten-year headstart.

By the end of World War II, America had produced 296,601 *aircraft*, 71,060 *ships*, 86,388 *tanks*, 2,400,000 *trucks*, 17,900,000 *firearms*, 61,000 pieces of *heavy artillery*, plus millions of tons of bombs, shells and other explosives.

From tens of thousands of factories came finished tools of war, *more war matériel than produced by the rest of the world combined*. It was an awesome example of audacious planning, mass activity, prodigious energy.

"Give Us the Tools"

When Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill appealed to America for help (before the U.S. entered the war), he told the Americans: "Give us the tools and we will finish the job." He knew that America could far outproduce Britain.

America's World War II shipbuilding program will serve to illustrate her capacity to quickly gear up for war production.

With the Axis powers sinking more and more Allied ships, the demand for new ships soon became insistent. The U.S. badly needed naval craft and cargo vessels to replace the many hundreds sunk by Nazi subs. Otherwise, a serious interruption of the flow of vital supplies to Britain and Russia could have spelled disaster for America's Allies.

Never before dreamed-of shipbuilding techniques were developed by Americans — especially by a shipbuilding genius, Henry J. Kaiser. By 1944 Henry J. Kaiser had the Bremerton shipbuilding yard launching an *escort aircraft carrier each week!*

U.S. Liberty Ships were made in sections and then were brought

together and assembled on an assembly-line fashion. The actual construction time for one of the Liberty Ships was reduced to only six weeks. From the beginning of January 1941, to the end of the war in 1945, American shipyards produced 6,500 naval vessels; 54,000 cargo ships; 64,500 landing craft — a grand total of 28,000,000 gross tons — compared to 21,000,000 tons lost in all of America's World War II naval engagements. By the end of the war, there was no doubt about it — *America was by far the world's leading shipbuilder!*

The Four Freedoms

Roosevelt and Churchill hadn't yet had an opportunity to meet face to face, so they could work out a strategy for working together during World War II.

The time was 1941. At that moment the fate of the Free World, the fate of Britain, and the fate of democracy were hanging in the balance.

At that perilous time, the two great wartime leaders of Britain and America arranged a meeting in Newfoundland in late summer. At that historic meeting, they were destined to hammer out a document, the "Atlantic Charter," which would enunciate the *four important freedoms* which the world was fighting for — freedom of speech and freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear.

A vivid description of that historic meeting between Roosevelt and Churchill is given by Alden Hatch in his straightforward biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Joining Hands Across the Atlantic

The Prime Minister was square and bluff and powerful, the spirit of England incarnate. He halted and ceremoniously saluted the quarter deck. Then beaming like a cherub he came forward with outstretched hand.

"At long last, Mr. President!"

"Glad to see you aboard, Mr. Churchill," Roosevelt replied.

Their hands met in a strong clasp that transmitted a high voltage current of emotion. To both of them the meeting was symbolic of the thing that they had hoped for, striven for, and carried through. In their persons England and America joined hands.

The conferences began at once

The next day, Sunday, there was another great symbolic ceremony. The chaplain prayed:

"Stablish our hearts, O God, in the day of battle," . . . "and strengthen our resolve, that we fight not in enmity against men, but against the powers of darkness enslaving the souls of men, til all the enmity and oppression be done away and the peoples of the world be set *free from fear* to serve one another as the children of our Father."

"Amen," said President Roosevelt, and beside him a deeper voice echoed, "Amen."

Then the mingled voices of thousands of young men rose in the sailors' hymn, that Franklin himself had chosen for this day:

Eternal Father, strong to save, Whose arm hath bound the restless wave, Who bidd'st the mighty ocean deep Its own appointed limits keep Oh hear us when we cry to Thee For those in peril on the sea.

The President's heart was full as he fought to hold back the tears that stung his eyes. Instinctively he shot an embarrassed glance at his companion. The Defender of Britain was furtively wiping his eyes.

Good news had just arrived from Russia. Joe Stalin had at last opened his books of mystery and revealed the secret figures of tanks, guns, planes and men. Churchill and Roosevelt were surprised to see that the numbers were far more than anyone had guessed. Stalin had confidently declared: "The Germans won't get Moscow this year."

During their meetings in Newfoundland in August, 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill had many discussions. One of those discussions centered around a most important scientific project. Roosevelt asked Churchill:

"Have you people done anything about *nuclear fission*?"

"Quite a lot," said Churchill. "Send for Cherwell."

Lord Cherwell described the research that British scientists were conducting. The results coincided closely with those obtained by American scientists. In some ways the British were ahead of the U.S.

"This can be terrific," Roosevelt declared. "We'd better get together and beat the Nazis to it."

"Most certainly," Churchill agreed, and an agreement was immediately reached for pooling all information.

Roosevelt and Churchill got on famously from the very first handshake unto the very end of their association — when Roosevelt died.

When the conferences ended, the two great wartime leaders took their leave of each other. Alden Hatch describes the scene:

On the deck of the *Augusta*, Winston Churchill warmly shook his new friend's hand, and hurried down the ladder to his barge. Mixed with his elation was a pang that he was always afterward to feel when they parted. For beyond admiration, a deep, spontaneous affection had sprung up between the two great leaders

Churchill felt immense relief, a sense of burdens shared. That gay and gallant figure, diminishing in the distance, was a sign that the free world would survive. The Englishman recalled the jokes and nonsense they had talked in moments of relaxation; the quick comprehension, the earnest thought, the warm compassion, and the wide range of vision that the President had shown at the council table. He strained his eyes for one last glimpse of that calm, classic face, which, for all its gaiety, was being etched by acid care with the deep lines of greatness. What incredible good fortune — no, not fortune but the evidence of God's abiding care, that at this perilous moment such a man is President of the United States.

From that first meeting onward, Churchill and Roosevelt were to be the best of friends. They kept in constant communication with each other during the remainder of the war as they strove to inspire and goad their peoples into the kind of positive action which would result in decisive victory for the Allies.

Italy Invades Egypt

At approximately the same time when the Battle of Britain raged, Benito Mussolini pushed eastward from Ethiopia and overran British Somaliland. Then, Italian forces under command of Marshal Rodolfo Graziani advanced from Libya eastward into Egypt — threatening to grab the Suez Canal.

But by February 1941, an Allied army under General Sir Archibald P. Wavell drove the Italian forces back into Libya, as far west as Bengasi, and at the same time captured over 130,000 Italian prisoners.

Mussolini urgently appealed to Hitler to send him relief. A somewhat disgusted Hitler decided to send the now-famous *Afrika Korps* (a highly motorized and armored German army) under the able command of the brilliant General Erwin Rommel.

The British forces in Africa had been used to fighting the Italians, and found they were not good fighters. But when Rommel and his *Afrika Korps* arrived in North Africa and struck — the British hardly knew what hit them!

Before the arrival of Rommel in North Africa, the British fought a seesaw campaign against the Germans and Italians — taking and losing ground over and over again. But when Rommel arrived in May 1942, his *Afrika Korps*, aided by Italian troops, soon began a powerful offensive which sent the British forces reeling back toward the Suez Canal.

El Alamein — A Turning Point

Before long, Rommel had captured Tobruk in Libya. Then he quickly moved into Egypt. By July 1942, British resistance, and Rommel's overextended supply line, had halted the "Desert Fox" at *El Alamein* — just 60 miles west of Alexandria, Egypt.

Rommel, one of the most brilliant of the German officers, was perhaps *the* most brilliant of all World War II generals. He was called "Desert Fox" because of his cunning, his speed and his power of improvisation. Rommel came to be respected and feared by his enemies; one British commander felt constrained to warn his troops that Rommel was neither a magician nor a superman.

A jubilant and grateful Hitler made Rommel a Field Marshal on

June 21, 1942 — after his *Afrika Korps* neared the frontiers of Egypt. He was then the youngest Field Marshal in the German Army.

But Rommel was soon to reach the *zenith* of his brilliant North African military successes. By the end of June 1942, he and his *Afrika Korps* were deep inside of Egypt. He had battered his way to the *El Alamein* line, and readied himself for the final push to Alexandria — only sixty miles away. After reaching Alexandria, he intended to push eastward to the Suez (capturing that vital sea link), then swing north through Palestine and take over the Mideast oil fields! Ultimately he planned to link up with the German forces from the Russian Caucasus.

The British Commander-in-Chief of the entire Mideast, General Sir Claude Auchinleck, assumed personal command of the British Eighth Army. After Rommel's drive into Egypt, Auchinleck finally succeeded in stopping him at the first *Battle of Alamein* on July 1st to 17th.

First Battle of El Alamein

Among the most crucial battles of World War II were two decisive battles fought at *El Alamein*. The First Battle of Alamein was commanded by General Auchinleck; the Second Battle of El Alamein was under the command of Field Marshal Montgomery.

Here is an interesting account of that first battle, as written by Major Peter W. Rainier, a member of the British General Staff, in charge of the construction of a pipeline from the Nile Delta. This pipeline was for the purpose of conveying precious water to the British forces.

Major Rainier gives the following account of this well-known incident in his book, *Pipeline to Battle*:

July 4th was the critical day. To counter the German thrust Auchinleck had massed the battle-scarred remnant of his tank forces, together with what he had been able to collect from repair shops back at base. The two armoured forces met, supported by infantry. . . . Both sides were deadly tired. There was nothing brilliant about the fight. The side that could longest sustain an uninspired pounding would win.

The *Afrika Korps* gave first. After a couple of hours of fumbling, Rommel's forces began to *withdraw*. The high tide of invasion had been stemmed. Never again would the invaders reach so near their goal of the Egyptian Delta. The Panzer divisions with their enlorried infantry rolled sullenly back westward, but our men were too weary to drive their advantage home.

Then, as the battle broke off, an astonishing thing happened. More than 1,100 Germans walked across to our line with their hands in the air. *Thirst* had done it. Their tongues were literally hanging out of their mouths. For thirty-six hours they had had no fresh water to drink. That pipeline, full of salt water, was the cause. They had found and gleefully tapped it. The sea water in it had increased their thirst almost to the point of delirium.

Major Rainier then referred to this incident as being most miraculous. In an article by him entitled "A Drink That Made History" (which was published in *Reader's Digest*) Major Rainier said: "For 1,100 of them to surrender when *escape* lay open — that was nothing short of a *miracle!*"

But why was *salt* in that particular pipeline? Major Rainier explained it this way:

Why was that pipeline full of salt water? As the officer responsible for supplying the Eighth Army with water through all its desert campaigns, I can give you the answer. The pipeline was a new one, and I never wasted precious fresh water in testing a line; I always used salt water. If the Panzers had punched through *Alamein* the day before, that pipeline would have been empty. Two days later it would have been full of fresh water. As it happened, the Nazis got salt water, and they didn't detect the salt at once because their sense of taste had already been anaesthetized by the brackish water they had been used to and by thirst.

The balance of the crucial desert battle was so even that I believe the enemy — without that salted torture — might have outlasted us. And then defenseless Alexandria would have fallen into their hands. *On so small a turn of fate is history written!*

An Empty Boast

It is well to remember that the retreating Eighth Army had reached the *El Alamein* line of defense on Monday, June 29th. On Wednesday, the German radio boasted (in the English language) that the *Afrika Korps* would sleep in Alexandria on the following Saturday night.

Following Rommel's brilliant North African victories — as he swept toward the Suez Canal — a jubilant Hitler ordered medals struck to honor the expected triumph of the "Desert Fox" and his *Afrika Korps*.

But fate had decreed that Rommel would be stopped. He and his *Afrika Korps* would never reach that city. And they would not be permitted to take over the vital Mideast oil fields, and link up with Germany's forces in South Russia.

Also, according to a personal aide of Rommel's, the Italians who were supplying Rommel's forces with gasoline had (due to graft) mixed large amounts of water with the gasoline, and this mixture of water and gas caused Rommel no end of trouble during one of his most important battles.

In mid-August 1942, Lt. Gen. Bernard L. Montgomery was put in command of the Eighth Army and painstakingly began preparations to deal a final *coup de grace* to Rommel and his dreaded *Afrika Korps*.

One of Hitler's fatal blunders was his refusal to send Rommel more

men and weapons at the critical time when the "Desert Fox" had Egypt and the Mideast within his grasp!

The British Brigadier, Desmond Young, described Rommel as "the perfect fighting animal, cold, cunning, ruthless, untiring, quick of decision, incredibly brave." This was the man who was pitted against Montgomery and his Eighth Army.

"Monty" in Command

What kind of a man was Montgomery? How did he succeed in defeating Germany's most cunning Field Marshal?

Prime Minister Churchill was impatient for victories in North Africa. "Rommel, Rommel, Rommel!" cried an impatient Churchill as he paced back and forth in the Cairo Embassy. "What else matters but beating him!" Later, Churchill said: "His ardor and daring inflicted grievous disasters upon us. . . . (He was) a great general."

The somewhat impatient Churchill decided to replace Auchinleck, head of all Middle Eastern forces, with General Sir Harold Alexander. Then, Churchill planned that the command of the British Eighth Army would go to W.H.E. ("Strafer") Gott. When Gott was killed in a plane crash, Churchill hand-picked Lieutenant General Bernard Law Montgomery to replace him as commander of the Eighth Army. This choice later proved to be the right one. For Montgomery proved to be more than a match for the cunning "Desert Fox."

Montgomery ("Monty") soon became known as the "Spartan General." He neither smoked nor drank, and he didn't swear. He rose at 6 a.m. and went to bed early — at 9 p.m.

He had a fanatical belief in physical fitness.

Exercise and Bible Study

Monty's recipe for physical fitness was that each man should run a long course before breakfast (regardless of the weather) and *read the Bible daily!* "Monty" was devout (the son of an Anglican vicar of North Ireland origin), austere, but he had a rather flamboyant side to his character. He was self-assured even to the point of being vain.

News of this "Spartan General" — this scrawny, ascetic disciplinarian — had arrived at the Eighth Army in Egypt even before "Monty" arrived. Before long, however, the men took "Monty" to their hearts. He was liked by his men, and was soon able to inspire deep confidence in them.

"Monty" later described how the morale and discipline in the Eighth Army had deteriorated before he took command:



Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery, Britain's hero of El Alamein resented playing second fiddle to Eisenhower. — *Wide World Photo*

In the Eighth Army, orders had generally been queried by subordinates right down the line; each thought he knew better than his superiors and often it needed firm action to get things done. I was determined to stop this state of affairs at once. Orders no longer formed 'the base for discussion,' but for action.

Then "Monty" set about to put an immediate end to the "bellyaching" and "loss of confidence" which he found extant in the Eighth Army. It was not long before this "Spartan General" had instilled a deep sense of discipline and devotion into his Eighth Army. Now they were ready for action. They could act as one man — and they would win victories.

Second Battle of El Alamein

After "Monty" arrived in Africa, he waited patiently, augmenting his forces with new weapons (which were being sent to him by America), until he felt he was fully prepared to knock Rommel back on his heels.

Just before the second battle of *El Alamein* took place, "Monty" issued this personal message to his troops:

When I assumed command of the Eighth Army I said that the mandate was to destroy Rommel and his Army, and that it would be done as soon as we were ready.

We are ready now.

The battle which is now about to begin will be one of the decisive battles of history. It will be the turning point of the war. The eyes of the whole world will be on us, watching anxiously which way the battle will swing.

We can give them their answer at once. It will swing our way. . . .

The sooner we win this battle, which will be the turning point of this war, the sooner we shall all get back home to our families.

Therefore let every officer and man enter the battle with a stout heart, and with the determination to do his duty so long as he has breath in his body.

And let no man surrender so long as he is unwounded and can fight.

Let us all *pray* that the Lord mighty in battle will give us the *victory*.

— B. L. Montgomery

And the Allied Eighth Army was given the victory at *El Alamein*. The Germans were beaten, and Rommel and his *Afrika Korps* was sent hastily retreating westward.

Rommel never forgave Hitler for his "Victory or Death" order at El Alamein. Said Rommel:

The fact is, that there were men in high places who, though not without the capacity to grasp the facts of the situation, simply did not have the courage to look them in the face and draw the proper conclusions. They preferred to put their heads in the sand, live in a sort of

military pipedream and look for scapegoats whom they usually found in the troops or field commanders. Looking back, I am conscious of only one mistake — that I did not circumvent the “Victory or Death” order twenty-four hours earlier.

After the El Alamein victory the British Eighth Army under Montgomery took the offensive in October, and rolled on to Tripoli and southern Tunisia. The Allied victory at El Alamein proved to be one of the major turning points of World War II.

“Operation Torch”

The Allies planned and executed Operation Torch in 1942. Under the command of Lt. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, an Allied force landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco on November 8, 1942. That invasion (consisting of about 400 troop and supply ships, and 350 or so escort warships) caught the German High Command completely by surprise. Operation Torch was a complete success. Soon afterward, American forces in the west would link up with Monty’s Eighth Army in the east, and together they would squeeze the *Afrika Korps* until it was forced out of Africa.

When Hitler learned of the Allied landings in North Africa, he immediately ordered German troops to occupy all of France. Pro-Allied French patriots managed to sink about 50 ships before the Germans captured the main French fleet at Toulon.

The Western Allied leaders, Roosevelt and Churchill, conferred at Casablanca, Morocco, in early 1943, and agreed that, to use Roosevelt’s words, nothing short of “unconditional surrender” would be accepted from the Axis powers.

Now U.S. troops pushed relentlessly eastward across Algeria, as the British Eighth Army advanced steadily into southern Tunisia.

The last organized Axis army in Africa surrendered to the Allies on May 12, 1943. By that time, the Allies had killed, wounded or captured nearly 350,000 Axis soldiers, and had suffered only about 70,000 casualties in the entire North Africa campaign.

Before long Allied forces invaded Sicily (called Operation Husky), and then shortly afterward invaded the boot of Italy, beginning their long, slow conquest of that country. Mussolini fell from power in Italy on July 25, 1943 and was imprisoned by the Italian government. Marshal Pietro Badoglio became Premier of Italy on July 25, 1943. The new government then declared war on Germany.

But Mussolini was rescued from prison by a daring band of German paratroopers, operating directly under Hitler’s orders, and was taken to meet a gleeful Führer. Il Duce was then installed as head of a puppet government set up in Vienna.

Hitler's Next Move

Hitler resented having to give half of Poland over to Russian control — when it was the Germans who did nearly all of the fighting and dying in September 1939 — when Hitler's screaming stukas and his fearsome panzers crushed that helpless nation.

Herr Hitler knew his time for revenge would come — the time when he would not only take over the rest of Poland, but would also seize all of Russia! Germany needed the vital raw materials from Russia's vastness — her foodstuffs, oil fields and her industrial output. This would make Germany self-sufficient.

By the end of June 1940, the powerful German war machine had rolled across all of western Europe from Norway to Bordeaux, France. The mighty Third Reich seemed destined to thrive for a thousand years. Hitler had firmly planted the Nazi boot on the necks of fifteen helpless European countries. But who would be Hitler's next victim?

The German navy had been badly mauled by the British when Hitler invaded Norway, and was, therefore, in no condition to contend with Britain for control of the Atlantic.

Goering's boast that his *Luftwaffe* would soon break the back of the Royal Air Force soon proved to be so many hollow words. The Germans had been *defeated* in the Battle of Britain, and now there was no hope that Hitler could launch his long-planned attack against Britain. He felt frustrated, thwarted, and humiliated! His powerful panzer's sat perched menacingly across the Channel — with no place to go.

So his mighty army, the terror of all Europe, sat on its haunches from the fall of France in June 1940, until Hitler decided it was time to give the command for the German Army to begin its next major offensive — the invasion of Russia — in June 1941.

"Operation Barbarossa"

Hitler had long cast greedy eyes on Russia's vast store of natural resources. He merely bided his time until he felt the time was ripe to strike! Then the world would learn what a mighty war-making machine the German *Wehrmacht* really was.

Russia would have to pay for her greed in taking so large a portion of the Polish spoils when she did so little of the fighting. "Wiping out the very power to exist of Russia!" declared a vengeful Hitler, "That is our goal!"

But when should Germany invade Russia? When was the best time for the lethal Nazi cobra to strike?

Allied intelligence had repeatedly warned Stalin and the Russians that a German invasion of the Soviet Union was imminent! But Stalin

gullibly, steadfastly refused to believe those warnings. He and his country would soon pay dearly for this blind-eyed approach to Hitler's maniacal designs on their country.

The Führer and his colleagues carefully plotted the invasion of Russia. Hitler's generals wanted to invade Russia in May, but the Führer became distracted with his military campaigns in Greece, and in Yugoslavia, and had to postpone his invasion of Russia by three or four weeks. This delay may have later proved decisive in Germany's defeat by the hands of the Russians.

Operation Barbarossa (named in honor of a medieval German emperor who won great victories in the East) was ordered to go into effect in the early hours of the morning on June 22, 1941. "When Barbarossa commences," said the Führer, "the world will hold its breath and make no comment."

Never before in the history of the world, had any nation assembled such a terrifying array of military hardware, so formidable a group of tough, disciplined soldiers, such a galaxy of proven generals.

In the early hours of June 22nd, *two hundred and fifty German divisions* rumbled across the long Soviet frontier heading for their pre-assigned targets.

The German military machine planned to attack the Russians on *three* main fronts. In the *north*, General von Leeb headed for *Leningrad*. In the *central* sector, von Bock headed straight for the heart of Russia — *Moscow*. Initially, the Russian capital was the prize target. In the *south*, General von Runsdtedt headed for the *Ukraine* — Kiev and Stalingrad.

Hitler and his generals believed their *blitzkrieg* against Russia would roll along so quickly and so smoothly, that they fully expected to capture all the key Russian cities before winter set in. The over-confident Germans, therefore, didn't even bother to issue winter uniforms, shoes and boots to their troops. This cockiness later proved to be a fatal blunder. Hitler's Army had thought of everything but the most important item — warm clothes — to get through the cruel Russian winter.

The Führer fully expected that within eight weeks the Germans would capture Leningrad, Moscow and the Ukraine, putting an end to any effective organized Russian resistance.

Again, as when Hitler invaded Poland, his orders were to show no mercy toward the Russians: "Close your hearts to pity. Act brutally," once again became German policy.

This war was not to be "conducted in a knightly fashion." The Führer's dreaded Gestapo chief, Heinrich Himmler, was ordered to use his secret police independently of the Army in the conquered Russian territories. And on March 21, 1941, Himmler drafted his infamous Commissar Order: All Soviet commissars who were captured would be shot!

A Three-Million-Man Blitzkrieg

Hitler's *blitzkrieg* against Russia caught the Russian Army napping. The lightning advance of the three-million man Nazi onslaught was impressive on all the Russian fronts. Soviet forces reeled back as hundreds of thousands were killed and other hundreds of thousands were captured. Many hundreds of Soviet aircraft were destroyed on the ground. Germany had achieved a complete surprise and had sent the Russians reeling back along the entire 2000-mile front.

Hitler and the German General Staff were jubilant. They had visions of having Russia completely in the bag well before the bitter Russian winter set in. But then things began to go contrary to plan.

Hitler's plan to encircle and destroy the Red Army (which the Germans didn't rate very highly) was achieving great success. At Kiev, the Nazi forces claimed to have captured 600,000 Russians. (The Russians claimed the Germans captured only 200,000.)

The Germans also claimed to have captured 348,000 prisoners at Smolensk. By the end of the bitter fighting at the close of September the Russians had suffered heavy losses. They had lost 2,500,000 men, 18,000 tanks, 22,000 guns, and 14,000 planes. These were staggering losses. The Germans believed Russia's collapse was imminent.

One thing which worked against the Russians was a lack of effective leadership in the Red Army. Stalin's 1937 army officer purges had so decimated the Red Army that it was seriously lacking in competent officers. It would take many months for this lack to be offset by Stalin and the Russian political leaders.

When Hitler's three-million-man invasion force swept into Russia, they were opposed by a Russian force of about two million. The battle raged across a 2000-mile front — stretching from the Arctic to the Black Sea. The Führer announced to the world that he had ordered the attack "to save the entire world from the dangers of *Bolshevism*."

Nazi Over-confidence

But German *overconfidence* helped bring about their undoing in the Russian conflict. They confidently expected another *blitzkrieg*, and they therefore made no preparations for a prolonged struggle. The Germans were so convinced that the war against Russia was as good as won, that Hitler issued a directive on July 14th (three weeks after invading Russia) in which the Führer ordered the German High Command to prepare to reduce the size of the army in the near future!

The Germans might have captured Moscow in 1941 — if the Führer hadn't decided to play the military genius. Hitler often ignored his generals' advice, and he often blundered. This time was no exception. All three prongs of the German army made unbelievably rapid progress. It

HITLER'S EMPIRE NOVEMBER 1942

Germany and Occupied Areas



began to look like von Bock would be able to take Moscow with ease before the bitter Russian winter set in.

Then, Hitler decided to rely on his own supposed military genius. Completely ignoring his generals' advice, he transferred forces from the Moscow front to the northern and southern fronts so they could be used against Leningrad and the Ukraine.

By the time the German Army Group Center resumed its drive toward Moscow in October, much of the valuable fall weather had been lost. The renewed German offensive (named Typhoon) took a terrible toll on the Russian Army. Two entire Soviet armies were encircled at Vyazma and Bryansk — with a loss of 65,000 prisoners, according to Nazi claims. (Soviet claims are considerably lower.)

Panic in Moscow

On October 12th, as the Nazi columns swept nearer Moscow, Stalin decided to move most government offices east to Kuibyshev on the Volga. But Joseph Stalin determined that he would personally remain in Moscow to help direct the Russian war effort.

It was also decided that the most important armament plants were to be moved to safety east of the Ural Mountains. Rumors of Nazi advances (along with reports of atrocities) caused wild panic to break out in Moscow. Rumor spread that the Germans were already in the suburbs of their capital. Many rushed to leave the city; and many officials dropped their duties (even without official permission) and fled the city in terror.

But most staunch Russians stayed. Factory workers, mostly women, went out after working a full shift to spend hours in the mud — digging trenches for the last-ditch stand against the enemy.

Why did Hitler order the German advance, which was making such rapid progress toward Moscow, to halt on August 22, 1941? Why did he then transfer some of his best troops to Leningrad and the Ukraine? Hitler's answer: "My generals know nothing of the economic aspects of war." He believed Germany needed vital *food* from the Ukraine, and he also thirsted after Russian oil.

Another unexpected development was the early Russian rains. They usually came in mid-November, but in 1941, they came one month early — in mid-October! And with them came the mud.

This miry Russian quagmire (called *Rasputitza*) was far more of a hindrance than the Germans had anticipated. German mechanized units mired down in deep seas of mud. Tanks, heavy artillery, and other armored vehicles were constantly stalling, and had to be pulled out with teams of horses. Even the dispirited infantry slogged through the mud with the greatest of difficulty.

Before October was over, the Nazi spearhead aimed at the Russian capital had almost ground to a mud-mired halt! Even though the danger was far from over, Moscow had won a brief, but badly needed, respite in which to get its breath — and prepare for the final expected German onslaught.

“General Winter”

Then, even worse, shortly after being slowed down by mud, the *bitterest Russian winter in a hundred years* settled down over Russia — freezing the Nazi war machine in its tracks. This total immobilization of the Nazi armored divisions brought their advance to a halt. General Winter had come to Russia with a vengeance. Before long, Nazi troops were fighting in sub-zero weather — sometimes 30 or 40 below zero! And Hitler had refused to send his troops winter clothing, thinking the war would be over before the icy Russian winter set in.

More German soldiers died or were disabled as a direct result of the bitterly cold weather — resulting in frostbite — than were killed or wounded by the Russian Army!

German boots were too tight to permit multiple pairs of socks. In some cases German troops put paper in their boots and shoes in order to make up for their shortage of socks.

The tanks, heavy artillery and motor units became hopelessly stuck in the frozen mud. It was though they were welded into the frigid earth. Much damage was sustained as these heavy machines were torn apart by the Germans vainly trying to free them from the frozen Russian mud.

The Russian Counter-attack

The Russians, from time immemorial, have used the battle tactic of destroying everything before an invading enemy and retreating into the hinterland to let the enemy become entrapped in the immense frozen stretches of Russia — only to perish in the bitterly cold winter!

Undoubtedly, the Russians from the very beginning of the struggle in 1941, realized their weak position. Even though they possessed some 21,000 tanks — over four times the number of Nazi tanks — many of them were antiquated. Their new medium model, the T-34, did not make its appearance against the Germans until the fierce battles at Smolensk.

The Russians grudgingly gave Hitler as much rope as possible before halting him. They traded plentiful space for badly-needed time! They let the Germans reach the outskirts of Moscow and Leningrad — before they put up their bitterest resistance. And this meant that the Nazi supply lines were greatly lengthened. The Russians, fighting on their own territory, on familiar ground, could then press their advantage.

Hitler had declared, on October 3rd, "I declare without any reservation that the enemy in the East has been struck down and will never rise again!"

Germany's all-out thrust at Russia's heart — Moscow — was set for December 1, 1941. The führer believed victory was within easy grasp: "One final heave," said Hitler, "and we shall triumph." Little did he and all Germany realize the death, destruction, and humiliation that lurked just over the horizon!

The battered and bleeding Russians, under the able leadership of Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov, waited patiently until the opportune moment before hurling their pent-up might against the freezing German troops — before hitting them with everything at their disposal.

Grande Armée Ghosts

Now as the cold Russian winter set in, the Old Nazi arrogance began to vanish. Many Germans began to remember Napoleon's grand march to Moscow, and his ignominious retreat. The Grande Armée ghosts haunted Hitler's generals. They begged Hitler to let them retreat to defensible positions before it was too late. Hitler arrogantly refused, and accused his generals of cowardice and incompetence. The Army Commander-in-Chief, von Brauchitsch, was fired. Hitler took over personal command of the German armies. He ordered the German divisions before Moscow to press forward — and under no circumstances were they to retreat!

Hitler's Chief of the General Staff, General Halder, once remarked that when a report was read to the Führer concerning Stalin's reserve strength, "Hitler flew at the man who was reading with clenched fists and foam in the corners of his mouth and forbade him to read any more of such idiotic twaddle."

Just as the rains had come one month early — miring down the German army — now the winter snows began falling early. General Guderian noted the first snow on October 6th — just as the drive on Moscow was being resumed. By the 12th, snow was still falling. Severe cases of frostbite were being reported by Guderian by November 7th; and the temperature had fallen to 8° below by the 13th. The bitter cold began to affect the performance of guns and machines — as well as the ill-clothed German soldiers.

In spite of many obstacles and the bitter cold, the Germans advanced relentlessly toward Moscow. By the second of December, a reconnaissance battalion of the 258th Infantry Division had penetrated to the very suburbs of Moscow. The spires of the Kremlin were in their view. Also Moscow's Khimke water tower could be seen, but that was as

far as the Nazis were ever to get. The Nazi penetration to the very outskirts of Moscow was the low point of the war for the Russians — the high point for the Germans.

Guderian reported that the temperature had fallen to 31° below zero by December 4th. It dipped to 36° below on the 5th. His tanks, said Guderian, were almost totally immobilized. Hitler had not reckoned on General Winter — the chief ally of the Russians. He did not consider the terrible toll which the crippling arctic winds would take on his army.

Even Churchill commented on Hitler's elementary blunder in overlooking the severity of the Russian winter. Speaking of the German offensive in Russia in the winter of 1941-1942 Churchill said:

There is a *winter*, you know, in Russia. Hitler forgot about this. He must have been very loosely educated. We all heard about it at school, but he forgot it. I have never made such a bad mistake as that.

Congeaed Oil

It was the icy Russian winter which beat the Germans — not a superior Russian army. Automatic weapons froze. Oil in the mechanized units (including the tanks) congealed, and the artillery refused to function. And, most tragic of all, Nazi soldiers, still clad in their light summer uniforms, were badly maimed, and were frequently frozen to death by the bitter arctic chill which settled down over Mother Russia.

Now was the time for the Russians to hit the Germans with all they had. On December 6th, Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov struck savagely at the German army along a 200-mile front before Moscow. He suddenly unleashed 100 new divisions (which the German High Command didn't even know existed) against the Nazis. They were equipped and trained to fight in the deep snow and the bitter cold. This sudden, shattering blow sent the Germans reeling back. An alarmed Hitler ordered his generals to hold, but it was useless. Even so, it was probably Hitler's granite will and fanatical determination which saved the Nazis from a complete rout. Even though the Nazi front before Moscow buckled, then crumbled, Hitler refused to authorize the slightest retreat. He even took over personal command of the army by naming himself their Commander-in-Chief.

It would take the Russians four years to drive the Germans back onto their own soil, but from December 6th onward, the Germans were in deep trouble in their Russian campaign. Furthermore they had similar reverses at other sectors of their offensive.

Russia's 600,000 cavalry were decisive in helping turn the tide against the Germans. Anachronistic as a cavalry in World War II seemed, they kept mobile in bitter sub-zero weather. While the German

panzers were frozen in their tracks, Russian cavalry, comprised of hardy Siberian horses, were able to move in for the kill.

On the very day following Marshal Zhukov's fierce attack against the Germans before Moscow, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor — thus drawing America into the war against the Axis powers. When this "arsenal of democracy" really got going, she would send a never-ending stream of supplies and weapons to help a faltering Russia stem the tide of the Nazi advance.

Hitler Blunders On

Hitler made many blunders during World War II. When he attacked Poland on September 1, 1939, he didn't think Britain and France would declare war.

Then he blundered when he ordered his generals, poised for the kill at Dunkirk, to stop their operations in order to let the German Air Force get the credit for annihilating the Allied Army. Nearly all of the Allied troops escaped right under the noses of the Nazis — right under the silent muzzles of the powerful German guns.

Then after over a third of a million Allied troops had been evacuated from Dunkirk, and had escaped back to England, Hitler blundered again. He failed to follow up with an immediate attack on defenseless England!

At that moment, the British were helpless against the might of the German *Wehrmacht* — had they hurled their panzers against Britain.

When Hitler's generals proposed that Germany seize the Rock of Gibraltar and secure absolute domination of the Mediterranean — thereby cutting Britain's vital lifeline — Hitler again blundered by overruling them. Yet, at that early stage in the war, the Germans could undoubtedly have overwhelmed all the Allied forces in that area with relative ease.

Furthermore, when Rommel was sent to North Africa to assist the weak and faltering forces of Mussolini, Hitler failed to give him sufficient support to enable him to deal the final *coup de grace* to the Allies in North Africa. Rommel quickly raced to within 60 miles of Alexandria, and had Hitler given him a little more support, he could undoubtedly have taken Egypt and the Suez Canal, and could then have seized the rich Mideast oil fields.

Furthermore, Hitler's generals wanted to invade Russia in May instead of waiting nearly a whole month and attacking Russia on June 22nd. This would have enabled them to have achieved their main military objectives before the bitter Russian winter set in. But Hitler dallyed, delayed and finally gave the order to march *too late!*

Even so, after the Germans attacked, they could have captured the Russian capital — their vital communication-transportation-munitions

center — had Hitler not halted von Bock's rapid march toward Moscow in order to divert part of his forces to Leningrad and the Ukraine. When von Bock resumed his drive toward Moscow in October, it was too late for his army to achieve their objective before the arctic chill froze their mechanized units in their tracks.

• Then, on numerous occasions, when Hitler's generals wanted to make strategic retreats, during their Russian offensives, Hitler thwarted them, and ordered them to fight on — sometimes taking a toll of hundreds of thousands of sacrificed German troops in an insane attempt to reach an objective which Hitler, far from the battlefield, fancied must be taken at all costs.

Had Hitler and his Nazis not been so haughty — had they not arrogantly assumed they would have their major Russian military objectives in the bag before winter set in, and had they issued the German soldiers warm winter clothing — the war might have gone differently.

Nazi Brutality

But perhaps an even worse blunder by the Führer was his cold, heartless attitude toward the peoples of the nations which he conquered. By his heartless attitude, he turned many pro-German sympathizers against the Germans.

When Hitler launched his murderous *blitzkrieg*, the "subhuman" Russians were to be treated without mercy.

When Hitler attacked Russia, he put the head of his Gestapo, Heinrich Himmler, in charge of killing all of the Russian commissars.

The Führer ordered that Russia's greatest cities were to have no mercy extended to them. On September 18th, he issued strict orders: "A capitulation of Leningrad or Moscow is not to be accepted, even if offered."

What did Hitler intend to do to the peoples of those cities?

A further directive to his commanders, issued on September 29th stated:

"The Führer has decided to have St. Petersburg (Leningrad) wiped off the face of the earth. . . . Requests that the city be taken over will be turned down, for the problem of the survival of the population and of supplying it with food is one which cannot and should not be solved by us. In this war for existence, we have no interest in keeping even part of this great city's population."

Is there any wonder that the Russians fought so long, so bravely and so bitterly to defend their cities? They knew the fate which awaited them if Hitler ever won. Leningrad was besieged in 1941, and its siege was not lifted until 1944. Approximately one million Russians had died

from starvation, disease, deprivation and war-related causes during the siege. The Russians deserve full credit for the heroic resistance which they put up, and for their final victory over their Nazi tormentors.

During the siege of Leningrad, its heroic Russian defenders ate cats and dogs, vaseline and hair oil, made "soup" of dried glue from wallpaper and furniture joints. Many dropped in their tracks (of sheer hunger) and thousands succumbed to ever-present famine — while they worked, or while they walked along the streets.

Tens of Millions Slaughtered

At first when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union millions of Russians greeted them with open arms. Whole divisions of Russians gave themselves up to the Nazis, and many Russian soldiers even offered to join the Nazis in helping to defeat the Communists.

Why did they do this? The answer is simple. Some estimates indicate that as many as 25 millions had previously died in Russia during the Communist takeover (1917-1930), and in its aftermath. The Russians so stoutly resisted Communism, that many millions were liquidated, or, at best, were sent off to slave labor camps for the rest of their lives.

With possibly 25 to 35 million dead as a result of the wars, pogroms and purges by the Communists in Russia, and with burning memories lodged in the minds of millions of the relatives of the dead — is it any wonder that the Nazi armies — terrifying as they were — were often greeted as liberators by the Russians?

Had Hitler treated those peoples half-way decently — had he given them any *hope* whatsoever — had he lightened their burden just a little — they would have joined his ranks by the tens of millions. And Communism would have died almost overnight in Russia!

But Hitler, foolishly, arrogantly, thought he had Russia in the bag anyway, and decided to show the Russians *no mercy!* Many millions would simply be liquidated! Others, the more able and the more pliable ones, would be granted the great privilege of spending the rest of their miserable lives slaving in one of Hitler's slave labor camps. Millions would suffer the torments of multiple hells, as they slowly died in Hitler's infamous concentration camps.

According to perverted Nazi philosophy, the Germans were the *herrenvolk* — the master race! But the Russians were looked upon as being *untermenschen* — subhumans — suitable only for slave labor. Hitler had ordered his lieutenants to carry out a ruthless campaign of oppression and liquidation toward the Russians, and none dared to disobey the Führer.

Shortly after the German invasion of Russia, the word quickly spread that the Germans were *heartless* and cruel. Therefore, any initial

Russian goodwill toward the German "liberators" soon turned to *cold hatred*.

Winston Churchill described Hitler's brutal attack on Russia in the summer of 1941 in the following words:

I see advancing in hideous onslaught the Nazi war-machine, with its clanking, heel-clicking, dandified Prussian officers, its crafty expert agents fresh from the cowing and tying down of a dozen countries. I see also the dull, drilled, docile, brutish masses of the Hun soldiery plodding on like a swarm of crawling locusts . . . they have, of course, the consolation of knowing that they are being led not by the German General Staff but by Corporal Hitler himself.

Russian patriots quickly retaliated against German barbarism by wrecking troop trains, murdering soldiers, poisoning wells, sabotaging everything they could in order to hinder the German war machine.

As the Russian peoples increased their acts of resistance toward the Germans, the Nazis reacted with even more savage treatment of these Soviet "subhumans"; and as the German oppression and beastly treatment increased, this stiffened the Russian resolve to fight to the bitter end. Before the war was over, Russian partisans behind the German lines were playing a vitally important part in hindering the German war effort.

Omnipresent Russian sabotage was Hitler's reward for his arrogance and cruelty. And this may have cost him the war. Turning the Russian people totally against the Nazis may have been even more decisive than the bitter Russian winter in helping defeat Hitler and his Nazi hordes.

Stalin's Plea

When Hitler turned on Stalin and invaded Russia, the Communist leader sent out urgent pleas for all available Anglo-American aid!

Britain and the U.S. decided that Russia must be kept in the war at all costs. (Russia was knocked out of World War I by Germany.) They organized a massive convoy to ferry an endless supply of vital foodstuffs, raw materials and weapons (including countless planes, tanks, and guns) to Russia. Without American and British help Russia would have undoubtedly buckled under the murderous might of the Nazis.

Some objected to the Allies aiding Stalin and the Russians. But Churchill told them "If Hitler invaded Hell I would make at least a favourable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons."

He and Stalin sometimes violently disagreed. But even so, Churchill once said: "There is only one thing worse than fighting *with* allies, and that is fighting *without* them."

Joseph Stalin had expected Hitler to make war on the nations of the West, and he would let them wear each other out. Then when they had

bludgeoned each other into an enfeebled position, he and his Russian forces would move in and dictate the peace.

Stalin proclaimed that Russia would not be drawn into “conflicts by the warmongers who are accustomed to have other countries pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them.”

As World War appeared imminent, Stalin (speaking before the Eighteenth Party Congress, on March 10, 1939) told his comrades that he intended “to allow the belligerents to sink deeply into the mire of war...to allow them to exhaust and weaken one another; and then, when they have become weak enough, to appear on the scene with fresh strength, to appear, of course, in the interest of peace and to dictate conditions to the enfeebled belligerents.”

But when Hitler unleashed the world’s mightiest army on Russia on June 22, 1942, Stalin began to realize that it would be he and Hitler who would wear each other down — and he feared that the Western Allies would come in and pick up the pieces when it was all over. Stalin’s dream had turned into a *nightmare!* Hitler’s three-million army, aggressively attacking the Russians on a 2000-mile front would certainly bleed the Russians to death — unless they got badly-needed help from Britain and America!

It was with considerable risk from German planes and U-boats, that Anglo-American convoys of materials were sent to Russia. America and Britain didn’t want Hitler to knock Russia out of the war as Germany had done in 1917.

It was neither out of excess love for Stalin, nor admiration for the Communists, that America and Britain gave massive aid to Russia during the dark days of the war.

Stalin Chides Churchill

But Stalin didn’t believe moral support and massive material aid was enough. He wanted the Western Allies to open a second front in the West, as soon as possible in order to take Nazi pressure off of Russia’s bleeding and battered army. He continued to chide Roosevelt and Churchill — asking them when they were going to get into the battle. In August 1942, Stalin gave Churchill quite a dressing down when he arrived in Moscow: “When are you going to start fighting?” asked Joe Stalin. “Are you going to let us do all the work?” He accused the British of cowardice!

Nonetheless, the first Allied Victory — the Battle of Britain — had been won by the British. At that time Britain stood all alone trying her best to ward off the murderous might of the *Luftwaffe*.

Furthermore, Britain did more to keep the Nazis from gaining

control of the seven seas than did either Russia or the U.S. in the early years of World War II.

Additionally, the British had bled considerably in their bloody battles with German and Italian forces in North Africa. Their success (aided by American support near the end of the campaign) had cost the British dearly in lives and war materials.

Certainly no one — not even Stalin — could say that the British were doing nothing.

The Great Crusade

America's real danger — her primary objective — was Hitler and his sidekick, Mussolini. If they were not defeated without delay, then their scientists might develop some super weapon which could prove decisive in enabling them to win the war.

The beat-Germany-first strategy, once agreed upon, was never deviated from until the combined forces of the Allies had brought Hitler's Third Reich crashing down into the dust.

Hitler's Junior Partner

Compared with the Axis powers, the Allies had a celestial honeymoon. Hitler was frequently disgusted with his partner Mussolini. He had to rescue him and his faltering army more than once.

In fact, Hitler probably would not have left the African campaign to Mussolini had he realized just how weak Il Duce's army was. Hitler thought that Mussolini, with a third of a million troops, ought to be able to easily wrest control of North Africa and Egypt from the British, who had an army of about one-tenth the size of Mussolini's.

But the British were soon badly mauling Mussolini's inept army, and Hitler was forced to hurriedly send one of his most brilliant generals, Erwin Rommel, to Africa to rescue his Italian comrades-in-arms from an early, humiliating defeat.

America and Britain got along splendidly during the war. Roosevelt and Churchill had the very best of relationships, and their honeymoon continued to the end.

Stalin kept urging the Allies to open a major front against the Axis in Western Europe. The Western Allies, however, wanted to attack the Nazis at their weakest point first — striking at the "soft underbelly" (as Churchill termed it) of the Axis Powers. That is why the Allies first decided to attack the Axis through Sicily and Italy — driving northward to Rome and on toward the heart of Germany.

Planning to Invade Europe

In August, 1942, the Western Allies had to settle for a commando raid on Hitler's Fortress Europe (*Festung Europa*). They planned for a

large raiding force of five thousand men, primarily Canadians, to attack the French port of *Dieppe*. This military operation ended in *disaster* for the Allies — with over half the airborne force being killed, wounded or captured. They had tested the strength of Hitler's Fortress Europe, and had learned some valuable lessons — the most important being that, to be successful, an invasion would have to be a well planned, massive, coordinated attack against Hitler's fortified Atlantic Wall.

In late 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill informed Stalin (while at the Teheran Conference) that they definitely planned a cross-channel invasion in the *spring of 1944*. This invasion became known as Operation Overlord, and late in 1943 Churchill and Roosevelt agreed that Dwight D. Eisenhower should command the operation.

Eisenhower had commanded the Allied operation in North Africa (Operation Torch), in Sicily (Operation Husky) and the invasion of Italy. His experience, martial talents — and above all else — his unusual ability to get along with others made him the ideal choice.

General Eisenhower had exhibited unusually high talent for strategic planning and for organization. But his great talent was that of being able to reconcile differences between military leaders of the Allies. This unusual ability put him head and shoulders above the other military leaders as the natural choice for the overall command of this mighty assault operation.

There was fertile ground for rivalry among Britain's top military men, as well as among the American generals; and there was naturally a certain amount of Anglo-American rivalry and bickering. But it was believed that Eisenhower was just the man to work with all of these men, to keep heads cool, to reconcile their differences; and he certainly commanded the respect of all. In short, he was the perfect man for the job.

General Eisenhower had already been functioning as Supreme Commander in England for about a month before he was officially given (on February 12, 1944) a directive from the Combined (American-British) Chiefs of Staff that formally assigned to him this important command.

"You will enter the Continent of Europe," said the directive, "and, in conjunction with the other United Nations, undertake operations aimed at the heart of Germany and the destruction of her Armed Forces."

On the following day, Eisenhower publicly announced the names of his main subordinates. British Air Chief Marshal, Sir Arthur W. Tedder, would be Deputy Supreme Commander. In command of the British Ground Forces would be Field Marshal Bernard Law Montgomery. Directly under Montgomery would be Lt. Gen. Omar N. Bradley, Commander of the American Ground Forces.

In command of the combined naval forces would be British Admi-



General Dwight D. Eisenhower briefs President Franklin D. Roosevelt during a plane trip to Sicily in December, 1943.

ral, Sir Bertram H. Ramsay. Admiral Harold R. Stark would serve under him as Commander of U.S. Navy forces in the theater.

British Air Chief Marshal, Sir Tafford Leigh-Mallory, would be in charge of the combined U.S.-British air forces, and under his direct command would be U.S. Lt. Gen. Carl Spaatz (Commander of the U.S. Air Forces), with Lt. Gen. James H. Doolittle commanding the powerful U.S. 8th Air Force. U.S. Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell ("Beetle") Smith would be Eisenhower's Chief of Staff.

With this able group of military men, Eisenhower was confident that Operation Overlord would succeed — if they all did their homework thoroughly.

Fortress Europe Before Invasion

The Allies knew that Hitler's Fortress Europe was strongly fortified all the way from Norway to Spain. This much-touted "Atlantic Wall" would be difficult to breach. Field Marshal Rommel was put in charge of beefing up the defenses in the Normandy area. He set about his task with gusto.

Over five million mines were laid along the coast. Heavy gun emplacements were multiplied and further strengthened. Many areas of the coast bristled with guns and invasion obstacles: jagged steel triangles, wooden metal-tipped stakes, concrete cones, gate-like structures of iron with deadly saw-teeth. These and other objects were placed just below high- and low-tide water marks — for the purpose of impaling or obstructing an invading enemy.

Well ahead of the planned invasion, the Allies had achieved almost complete mastery of the skies over France. The *Luftwaffe* had virtually been driven from the air.

One thing which helped the Allies was a serious difference among German generals concerning how best to meet the soon-expected Allied assault on Hitler's Atlantic Wall.

Field Marshal von Rundstedt was in charge of the entire stretch of Western Europe's defenses, but Field Marshal Erwin Rommel was the one directly in charge of the area where the invasion was expected.

Von Rundstedt believed that it would be best to let the Allies achieve their landing, permit them to move inland just far enough to mass their men and machines — then the Germans could hit them with everything they had and deal them a crushing defeat! He believed it was best to keep Germany's panzers back far enough from the coast so that they could be dispatched quickly to whatever area needed them most badly.

Field Marshal Rommel was in charge of 500,000 troops manning the defenses from the dikes of Holland to the Brittany peninsula — 800 miles of strategic defenses. Rommel disagreed with von Rundstedt's

defense plan. He believed the might of the German Army ought to be kept close to the coast — so the Germans could crush the Allied forces *immediately* when they landed. “Later” would be “too late!” After the Allies secured a landing, they would become *invincible*. Better not let them get a foothold in the first place.

The defense of Normandy fell squarely on the 51-year-old Rommel’s shoulders — yet he would be absent at the crucial moment of invasion.

Rommel said:

The war will be won or lost on the beaches. We’ll have only one chance to stop the enemy and that’s while he’s in the water, struggling to get ashore. Reserves will never get up to the point of attack and it’s foolish even to consider them. The *Hauptkampflinie* (main line of resistance) will be here. . . . Everything we have must be on the coast. Believe me . . . the first twenty-four hours of invasion will be decisive. . . . For the allies, as well as for Germany, it will be the longest day.

Hitler had approved Rommel’s plan of defense.

The Big Buildup

The Allies built up huge supplies for many months in anticipation of the Normandy invasion in the spring of 1944. Much of southern England looked like an armed camp. It had become a mammoth arsenal. The whole area swarmed with military personnel, camouflaged tanks, half-tracks, bulldozers, army trucks, ducks (amphibious trucks), jeeps, armored cars, ambulances, self-propelled guns and other military hardware — over 50,000 items in all.

There was a buzzing beehive of military activity going on. Over 10,000 airplanes jammed dozens of airfields. Mountains of ammunition, long lines of howitzers and anti-aircraft guns, large stacks of pre-fabricated materials for building huts and airstrips, sat waiting to be used. About 1,000 locomotives and nearly 20,000 railroad wagons and tankers dotted the landscape. Artificial harbors were built.

Shipping choked the ports of south England. Over 5,000 ships and landing craft, including six battleships, twenty-two cruisers, hundreds of destroyers, submarines, mine-sweepers, freighters, attack-transports, ocean liners, Channel steamers, hospital ships, tankers, coasters, landing-craft, tugs, sloops, gunboats, corvettes and other fire-support craft, waited in English harbors.

This mighty armada, the world’s largest, rendezvoused off England’s south coast near the Isle of Wight — which was quickly nicknamed “Picadilly Circus.”

Never before in the history of the world had so many men and machines been assembled in so small a place for so great a military undertaking!

Nearly three million men were ready and waiting to make the invasion assault on Hitler's Europe. The initial landings were to include thirty-seven divisions, and about 600 tons of supplies per day were required to supply just one division.

Two large, artificial, prefabricated harbors (with the code name of "Mulberry") were readied, and twenty underwater pipelines, sufficient to pump one million gallons of gasoline a day from England to France, were readied. A complete railway system had to be transported and set up across the channel. Such was the preparation for Operation Overlord. General Eisenhower later referred to this massive military build-up as "a mighty engine of righteous destruction."

Eisenhower and his subordinates tried to leave nothing out of the picture. Every known risk was evaluated.

The All-important Weather

But there was one unknown quantity. What would the weather be like on the crucial day of the invasion?

D-Day was finally set for Monday, June 5th — but it was understood that it could be postponed to the 6th or 7th if need be. But for the landings to be a complete success, they had to be made when there was a late-rising moon (for the airdrops), and the tides had to be just right, otherwise much havoc and needless loss of lives would result.

What would the weather be like on the critical day?

Eisenhower and his staff were apprehensive to learn that the long-range weather forecast, which had been *optimistic* on May 29th, was *pessimistic* by Friday, June 2nd. It now looked as though high winds, rough seas and low clouds might make the landings difficult, and might interfere with the naval fire support, and could conceivably even render air support impossible. *This was the worst June weather for the past 20 years.*

Because of bad weather reports, Eisenhower decided to postpone the invasion by one day — moving it to June 6th. It would take several days to get all the men and equipment mobile, and ready for the crossing. So the order to begin preparing for the assault had to be given several days before D-Day.

Then, suddenly, the weather looked more optimistic. The meteorologist told General Eisenhower and his staff: "Gentlemen, there have been some rapid and unexpected developments in the situation. . . ." Now, a high-pressure area was expected to produce clearing of the skies, a moderate wind over the Channel, and over the assault areas throughout the next day; and clear or partly cloudy skies and moderate seas were expected on the morning of the invasion — June 6th!

There was a sudden break in the weather which would give the

Allies barely over 24 hours to make the landings on June 6th. "Monty" said: "I would say — go." General "Beetle" Smith also thought the 6th was a gamble, but should be taken. Tedder and Leigh-Mallory thought that to decide to invade on the 6th was "chancy." What would General Eisenhower decide?

"OK, We'll Go. . . ."

In order to get the invasion plans readied in time, and to get everything rolling on schedule, the final decision had to be made — and quickly! After much deep thinking, General Eisenhower said to his men: "I am quite positive we must give the order. . . . I don't like it, but there it is. . . . I don't see how we can do anything else." Early on the next morning, June 5th, was the very latest that invasion plans could be *reversed*. After considering the latest weather report, General Eisenhower finally made the irreversible decision: "OK, we'll go. . . ."

Years later, General Eisenhower revealed what an "agonizing decision" that had been. He stated: "If there were nothing else in my life to prove the existence of an Almighty and Merciful God, the events of the next twenty-four hours did it."

To have waited any longer would have meant a long postponement in order to have another time which would be favorable, so far as the full moon and the tides were concerned. Furthermore, so many men had already been alerted and had actually begun moving toward the invasion, that it would be virtually impossible to keep the invasion date secret — if it had to be put off.

A Complete Tactical Surprise

For the invasion to be successful, a complete tactical surprise had to be achieved. The Allies planted many false rumors, and also used dummy tanks and other military vehicles to throw the Germans off. Their efforts were amply rewarded for the mighty amphibious operation — the mightiest ever — was a complete surprise!

Hitler and his generals disagreed as to where and when the Allied invasion would occur. Postwar reports showed just how well the Allies succeeded in throwing the Germans off the trail. They were quite confused by the many false reports of various proposed landings.

When the Nazi secret service under the command of Himmler tried to assess the mass of invasion data, they made over two hundred guesses — all of which were wrong!

Why did Operation Overlord achieve a complete surprise?

Hitler and his generals didn't believe the Allies would be so fool-

hardy as to launch an assault on Hitler's Atlantic Wall — on a day when the weather was so bad!

It was the abominable weather, more than anything else, which put the Germans off — which made them think an invasion wasn't imminent. The continuing bad weather acted soothingly — lulling the Germans into a false sense of security.

The thorough, methodical Germans had carefully studied the meteorological data immediately preceding the Allied landings in North Africa, Sicily and Italy. German weather experts noted that in each of the Allied invasions, they had waited until there was the almost certain prospect of favorable weather. The methodical-minded Germans believed the Allies would not deviate from this pattern. There would be no invasion unless weather conditions were *just right*.

Though Rommel had already departed for Germany on June 4th, his Chief of Staff, Major-General Hans Speidel, thought it was quiet enough at Army Group headquarters in La Roche-Guyon to have a little dinner party.

Major Friedrech Hayn (the intelligence officer) was arranging a party for the Commander of the 84th Corps, headquartered in Saint Lo. The Commander's birthday just happened to fall on the 6th of June — D-Day.

This little surprise birthday party was to be held at daybreak, since the Commander and all the other senior commanders in Normandy were to take part in an important map exercise (*Kriegsspiel*) that was to begin early Tuesday morning. This big map exercise was considered as both interesting, and important, for it would outline a theoretical "invasion" of Normandy.

But Brigadier-General Max Pemsel, the 7th Army's Chief of Staff, was worried about this big gathering for the *Kriegsspiel*. He thought it was bad for all his senior commanders in Normandy and the Cherbourg peninsula to be away from their commands at the same time, and he considered it highly dangerous if they were to be away overnight! He feared that some officers might plan to leave for the map exercise (to be held at Rennes) before dawn. He therefore warned all those due to participate in the map exercise not to leave before dawn: "Commanding generals and others scheduled to attend the *Kriegsspiel* are reminded not to leave for Rennes before dawn on 6th June."

Unfortunately the warning was too late. A number had already left early. Army Group B's operations officer, Colonel Hans Georg von Tempelhoff, was also away in Germany. Major-General Heinze Hellmich, Commander of the 243rd Division (holding one side of the Cherbourg peninsula), had departed early for Rennes; and so had Major-General Karl von Schlieben of the 709th Division.

Von Rundstedt's intelligence officer, Colonel Wilhelm Meyer-Det-

ring, was on leave; and the chief of staff of a whole division was away hunting — with his French mistress — and couldn't possibly be reached.

And there were others who were away. It was as though the strange hand of fate had engineered the departure of many of the top German officers in the whole Normandy area.

Moving the Luftwaffe Back

Furthermore, with the top officers in charge of the beach-head defenses scattered over much of Europe, the German High Command made the incredible decision to transfer the *Luftwaffe's* last remaining fighter squadrons in France out of range of the Normandy beaches. This decision was greeted with incredulous disbelief by the German pilots.

Why had the German High Command decided to move the *Luftwaffe* back into Germany?

At that very time, Allied bombers had been heavily bombing many targets situated deep inside Hitler's Third Reich. The High Command didn't think it reasonable to leave these vital planes on exposed airfields in France, merely to be destroyed by Allied air attacks. Better use them in the defense of Germany's heartland.

Accordingly, the High Command gave the order for the transfer of the planes. By the 4th of June, there were only 183 day fighter planes in France, and only about 160 were considered serviceable.

Of those 160, one wing of 124 (the 26th Fighter Wing) was to be moved back from the coast on the very afternoon of June 4th. This left all of France without any German air cover. Hitler had promised his generals that 1,000 planes would be ready to bomb the beaches on the day the Allies invaded Europe. Now, it was clear for everyone to see — there would be no effective air cover whatsoever.

When Colonel Josef "Pips" Priller (a top German ace who had shot down 96 Allied planes) heard of this idiotic command to move the *Luftwaffe*, he stood on the airfield and fumed. He was stationed at the headquarters of the 26th at Lille, in the zone of the 15th Army.

A furious Priller called his group commander:

This is mad. If we're expecting an *invasion*, the squadrons should be moved *up*, not *back*! And what happens if the attack comes during the transfer? My supplies can't reach the new bases until tomorrow or maybe the day after. You're all crazy!

His commander replied: "Listen, Priller. The invasion is out of the question. The *weather is much too bad*." At that instant, Priller slammed down the receiver. Only two planes were left on the airfield. Priller was then heard to say:

What can we do? If the invasion comes, they'll probably expect us

(2 pilots with only 2 planes) to hold it off all by ourselves. So we might as well start getting drunk now.

Field Marshal Rommel, the Allies later learned, had not even been in France when the invasion began. He had concluded that the bad weather would make a major cross-Channel operation impossible, and had therefore returned to Germany to celebrate his wife's birthday (which happened to be on D-Day), and to speak with Hitler.

When Rommel got word of the Normandy landings, he quickly returned to his post, but he didn't actually get back to his headquarters until 6 p.m. on D-Day. This was too late for him to direct the operations during the crucial first daylight period of the Allied invasion — too late to thwart the Allied landings.

Rommel had previously stated that, "The war will be won or lost on the beaches. . . . The first twenty-four hours of the invasion will be decisive." How true his words proved to be.

The Five Landings

As the world's mightiest assault armada moved slowly, secretly across the Channel on the night of the invasion, paratroopers and airborne gliders landed troops behind enemy lines. 13,000 American men, belonging to the 101st and 82nd Airborne Divisions, headed for six drop zones. At approximately the same time about 9,000 English and Canadian airborne troops were landed behind the expected invasion areas of the British and Canadians.

There were five landing sites — two American, and three British and Canadian. The Americans would land at *Utah* and *Omaha* beaches, while the British and Canadian troops would land at *Gold*, *Juno* and *Sword*.

In the main, the landings went better than planned. One fortunate accident was that the landings at Utah beach missed their intended landing spot by nearly a mile. But there was comparatively little opposition at this point, and the fortifications were not nearly so strong as they would have been at the spot where the invasion was supposed to have taken place.

The Americans who landed at Omaha met stiffer resistance than planned, and about 2000 died in the struggle to secure that beachhead. At one point the operation was about to be called off.

The British and Canadians also met stiff resistance, but were successful in establishing their beachheads at Gold, Juno and Sword.

Finally, with the airborne troops secure behind the German forces manning the Atlantic Wall, and with the Allies firmly established on all five of their beachheads, it was only a matter of time until the Allies

would break out and begin driving the Germans back toward Paris, and toward their Fatherland.

Even though nearly three million Allied soldiers, sailors and airmen were ready for the assault by early June, the actual initial invasion was to be accomplished by only 176,475 men, equipped with 20,111 vehicles, 1,500 tanks, and 12,000 planes.

“The Longest Day”

This mighty force, conveyed to the assault beaches by the world’s mightiest assault armada, was a terrifying sight. The noise of the engines of the ships and planes, the firing of the guns, the explosions from bombs, and the din of the assault was deafening.

D-Day has often been called “the longest day” because of the nervous suspense and the long anxious moments the men experienced as they were conveyed to their respective points of assault.

On D-Day, General Eisenhower’s order of the day stated: “The tide has turned. The free men of the world are marching together to victory.” And a few hours later, President Roosevelt led the American nation in *prayer* as he appealed for the safety and success of their undertaking:

Almighty God: Our sons, pride of our Nation, this day have set out upon a mighty endeavor, a struggle to preserve our Republic, our religion, and our civilization and to set free a suffering humanity. . . .

General Eisenhower issued a written message to the Allied troops just before the invasion. His message was addressed to the “Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force!”

In that important message, the Supreme Commander said:

You are about to embark upon the Great Crusade, toward which we have striven these many months. The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you. In company with our brave Allies and brothers-in-arms on other Fronts, you will bring about the *destruction of the German war machine*, the *elimination of Nazi tyranny* over the oppressed peoples of Europe, and *security* for ourselves in a free world.

Your task will not be an easy one. Your enemy is well trained, well equipped and battle-hardened. He will fight savagely.

. . . The tide has turned! The free men of the world are marching together to Victory!

I have full confidence in your courage, devotion to duty and skill in battle. We will accept nothing less than *full Victory!*

Good Luck! *And let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God upon this great and noble undertaking.*

Ike’s signed message appealed to “Almighty God” to bless the Allied undertaking in order that the “Nazi tyranny” might be eliminated from the earth.

On the Eve of D-Day, King George VI told the peoples of Britain:

Four years ago our nation and Empire stood alone against an overwhelming enemy, with our backs to the wall. Tested as never before in our history, in God's providence we survived that test; the spirit of the people, resolute, dedicated, burned like a bright flame, lit surely from those Unseen Fires which nothing can quench.

Now once more a supreme test has to be faced. This time the challenge is not to fight to survive but to fight to win the final victory for the good cause. . . .

That we may be worthily matched with this new summons of destiny, I desire solemnly to call my people to prayer and dedication.

We are not unmindful of our own shortcomings, past and present. We shall ask not that God may do our will, but that we may be enabled to do the will of God; and we dare to believe that God has used our nation and Empire as an instrument for fulfilling His high purpose.

Unbelieving Nazis

Interestingly, many of Hitler's top generals didn't believe that Normandy would be the site of the main invasion. They thought the Allies were merely using the Normandy invasions as a feint. Two weeks after the June 6th assault, von Runstedt finally became convinced that this was *not* a diversionary feint, but was in fact the main assault area.

But many influential Germans continued to believe that there was another army under Patton still awaiting embarkment from England. They believed that the main attack would come at *Pas de Calais*, and they refused to release the troops in Northern France — troops which were badly needed to crush the assault landings.

Hitler himself didn't change his mind and accept Normandy as the main invasion area until *August* — and by then it was much too late. By then, the Allies were well on their way in their drive toward the very heart of Germany.

If the weather had been clement — as Eisenhower and the Allies hoped and prayed — the Germans would have been expecting the invasion, and the slaughter would have been infinitely greater! The One who controlled the weather was responsible for the success of the landings. Providence intervened. One might also ask: Was it merely coincidental, or Providential, that the brilliant and aggressive Rommel was away on the day of the Allied invasion — that his wife's birthday just happened to fall on June 6th — the crucial date of the war?

Hitler's Vengeance Weapon

Hitler's fury boiled over when he learned of the Allied invasion of Normandy. He determined to get revenge. On June 13th, only one week after D-Day, Hitler ordered that London be destroyed — and began

sending V-1 rockets (*Vergeltungswaffe* — Vengeance Weapon) against that city. These *buzz-bombs* were not all that dangerous, but they did create panic at first. At least Londoners had time to take cover once they heard the rockets buzzing overhead.

Later, however, the Germans unleashed the deadly V-2 rockets against England. These rockets were much faster and more accurate than the V-1's. Hitler hoped to the very last that his scientists and his armament makers would come up with a secret super-weapon with which he could snatch Germany back from the jaws of defeat.

The Allies captured Cherbourg on June 27th — only three weeks after D-Day. Their vital oil pipeline, called *Pluto*, ran under the English Channel to Cherbourg. Then Saint Lo fell to Allied troops on July 18th. This made it possible for Lt. Gen. Omar N. Bradley's U.S. First Army to break out of the Normandy peninsula and sweep across France.

“Old Blood and Guts”

Undoubtedly, America's most aggressive and colorful general during World War II was Lt. General George S. Patton. He was certainly one of the most dramatic and outspoken. Patton's outspoken manner and his reckless behavior won both criticism and applause. His well-known toughness and his rough speech earned him the nickname of “Old Blood and Guts.”

His toughness almost cost him his army career. Lt. General Patton had commanded the Seventh Army during the invasion of Sicily. Not long after the Sicily invasion, while inspecting army hospitals, he slapped two soldiers who were suffering from battle fatigue — calling one of them a coward. One of the soldiers actually had malaria at the time. Later, Patton said he thought they were pretending.

General Eisenhower later forced Patton to apologize, and because of the incident, the U.S. Congress held up Patton's permanent promotion to major general.

After the Normandy invasion, General Eisenhower sent Patton swinging through France in an endeavor to entrap the German forces in the area. As Patton's command car moved through the battlefields, he surveyed the burning rubble and the blackened corpses of the fallen Germans. Shouting above the roar of the artillery, General Patton was heard to say: “Compared to war, all other forms of human endeavor shrink to insignificance. God, how I love it.”

Within only days after the breakout began on July 25th, General Patton's armored divisions had swept westward through Brittany, while others swung south and east to partially close the neck of a trap around the German Seventh Army, commanded by Field Marshal von Kluge.

But Field Marshal Montgomery, coming down rather slowly from

the north to meet Patton and finish closing the neck of the trap, moved too slowly. To Patton's utter dismay, much of the German Army escaped through the gap at the town of Falaise. Patton was furious at Montgomery's slowness.

Allied Victories

Montgomery and Bradley became group commanders on August 1st. Lt. General George S. Patton's U.S. Third Army had raced south and cut off the Brittany Peninsula by August 6th, 1944.

Canadian forces, after capturing Caen, rolled toward Falaise, where they linked with U.S. First Army units under Lt. Gen. C. Courtney H. Hodges and trapped or killed 60,000 Germans. Patton had hoped to see Montgomery race south to close the trap, but he moved too slowly. To Patton's disgust, the Allies missed a golden opportunity of capturing a large part of the German army.

One of those Germans who escaped the trap was Marshal Gunther von Kluge (having recently replaced von Runstedt as Commander in Chief).

An amphibious landing, (code named Operation Anvil) under the command of Lt. Gen. Alexander M. Patch's U.S. Seventh Army and Gen. Jean de Lattre de Tassigny's French First Army, was made near Cannes in southern France on August 15th.

Paris Liberated

Though Eisenhower, Patton, and the Allied generals intended to bypass Paris for the time being, not wanting to waste valuable time and equipment, eager Frenchmen in Paris began to rise up against the Germans. General De Gaulle, disobeying his Supreme Commander, ordered French troops to disobey orders and liberate Paris. On August 25th, French and U.S. soldiers of the American First Army entered Paris from the northwest.

Allied armies continued driving forward in the north, and succeeded in smashing across the Seine River to the Somme and Marne rivers, then drove straight toward the Belgian border.

Belgium's capital, Brussels, fell to British and Canadian troops in early September, 1944. General Eisenhower fervently hoped the Allies could quickly capture Antwerp, thereby knocking out many of the V-2 rocket launching sites. The Supreme Commander gave priority to this project, but before long his northern armies and the hard-driving armored units of the Third Army were halted in Lorraine.

Field Marshal Montgomery's forces pushed on into the Netherlands. General Hodges' First Army advanced into Luxembourg and crossed the German border on September 12.

Lt. Gen. Lewis H. Brereton's First Allied Airborne Army (the largest airborne operation ever attempted) dropped three paratroop divisions (using 5,500 planes and gliders) into The Netherlands in order to seize bridges in advance of the ground forces. Their mission was only partly successful.

Allied troops continued their sweep up the Rhone Valley from southern France, and joined the Third Army near Dijon on September 15th. Field Marshal Montgomery's men ran into stiff opposition and suffered heavy casualties when they seized Walcheren Island in the North Sea.

The German forces put up fierce resistance as the First Army battled savagely for Aachen and the Huertgen Forest in Germany.

Battle of the Bulge

By now, the Russians also were closing in on the Third Reich. Hitler painfully realized that his glorious Reich would not last the boasted 1000 years. It was fast crumbling around him.

The Western Allies were driving toward the very heart of Germany from the west. Germany's fate seemed to be sealed. Her doom certain — and imminent!

At this point, the Führer was driven to desperation. He decided to make a mad, desperate attempt to send the Western Allies reeling back toward the Channel. The Allies would have to fight at least one fierce battle before they would be able to cross the Rhine.

Hitler personally planned and supervised to an extent the desperate Battle of the Bulge. He would show the upstart American soldiers what it was like to run up against the steel and fire of the mighty German panzers.

The Führer personally planned to have the German panzers make a swift breakthrough to capture Antwerp — hoping to split the Allied armies in two. Field Marshal Walter Model was appointed ground commander under von Rundstedt. Model was to direct the surprise assault — which was code-named Operation Grief.

On December 16th, under cover of heavy fog, 38 German divisions struck along a 50-mile front. This sector of the American-held front was considered not so important, and was therefore manned by weaker units of the U.S. Army.

One element which helped the Germans to succeed as much as they did during the Battle of the Bulge was that they had put a number of American-speaking German soldiers (dressed in U.S. army uniforms) into the battle, behind U.S. lines. This put confusion and a certain amount of panic in the Americans who for a short while were not certain which among them were American soldiers, and which ones were Germans, masquerading as Americans.

This surprise German counter-attack sent the American forces reeling back. Model's armies drove the Allies almost to the Meuse River, and surrounded Bastogne, Belgium, in the southern Ardennes.

"Nuts!"

The U.S. Commander of the American forces at Bastogne, Brig. Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe of the 101st Airborne Division, was asked to surrender. His historic contemptuous reply — "Nuts"! — at first puzzled the Germans.

It was General Patton's Third Army armored units which pierced the German lines from the south and relieved Bastogne.

The desperate German offensive (the Battle of the Bulge) began in mid-December. It took about one month for the Allies to drive the Germans back to the starting position which they had held on the 16th of December — the date when they first made their break-out. By January 26th, 1945, the Allies were fully back in control of the situation. They had learned a valuable lesson.

This German offensive became known as the Battle of the Bulge because of the bulging shape of the battleground which the Germans' offensive formed as it advanced. But this desperate attempt on the part of Hitler and the Germans to break through the Allied lines not only failed, it cost the Germans heavily. About 110,000 Germans were captured, and they sustained approximately 100,000 other casualties. The Allies suffered some 77,000 casualties.

East of the Rhine

In early February 1945 Allied troops cleared the west bank of the Roer River, west of the Rhine. The First Army then captured Cologne, and advanced toward Remagen. To the surprise and delight of the Allies, on March 7th, they found the Ludendorff Bridge which crossed the Rhine at Remagen still intact. German soldiers who tried to destroy the bridge bungled the job, leaving the Allies a vital artery to cross directly to the east of the Rhine. When Hitler learned of this strategic blunder, he was furious and ordered those responsible shot.

After finding the Remagen Bridge across the Rhine still intact, units of the First Army raced across and set up a bridgehead east of the Rhine.

Shortly afterward Patton's Third Army crossed the Rhine to the south, and then three other Allied armies crossed the river to the north.

Lt. Gen. William H. Simpson's First Army made contact near Paderborn with the Ninth Army on April 1st — thus isolating the Ruhr Valley and trapping over 300,000 German soldiers.

As the combined armies of America, Britain and the other Western Allies raced eastward toward the very heart of Germany, Marshal Zhukov's Russian Armies continued rolling toward Berlin from the east.

Russian Victories

Hitler's last major German offensive in Russia (in July, 1943) had utterly failed. Within a year the seasoned Russian troops had recaptured the Crimea, the Ukraine, White Russia, eastern Poland and most of Lithuania. Then the irresistible Russian forces drove into Romania, Bulgaria, and the Baltic states.

Tiny Finland (which had joined Germany in attacking Russia in 1941) again surrendered to the Russians and promptly declared war on Germany.

Stalin's Russian armies then swept into eastern Hungary and joined forces with Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia. Next, the Russians rumbled north and captured Vienna and eastern Austria. In just five short months, the mighty Russian army had knocked out four Axis satellites — Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary and Romania.

Pushing on relentlessly, the Red Army surged into Warsaw and Krakow in early January 1945.

The end of Hitler's invincible Third Reich was near. The Germans continued fighting desperately — hoping that their Führer would be able to work a miracle at the last minute and save them from the Allies. But Hitler was unable to perform any miracles. This man who had made the world tremble was himself now trembling. Secure in his Berlin bunker, the Führer's head, hands and feet trembled. He suffered painful stomach cramps. Now prematurely aged, his mind and body racked with illness, he persisted in his maniacal delusion that he would yet lead the Germans to ultimate victory.

By April 1945 the Russians had assembled a mighty army of over four million for the final onslaught against Germany. Marshal Georgi Zhukov's First White Russian and First Ukrainian Army groups rumbled relentlessly toward Berlin. Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky's Second White Russian Army group drove into northern Germany.

In desperation, Adolf Hitler appointed Heinz Guderian to command the fast-crumbling German eastern front. Even young German boys and old men were forced to take up arms to defend the remnants of Hitler's Third Reich.

Victory at Last

Allied armies began closing in on the Germans from all directions. General Bradley's four armies raced eastward to the Elbe River to meet

the Russians. There, Russian and American troops toasted their leaders and countries, and the troops danced together.

General Henry D. G. Crerar commanded Canadian troops which liberated The Netherlands, and Lt. Gen. Miles C. Dempsey's British Second Army headed straight for Bremen in the north.

Allied armies in the south, under the command of Gen. Jacob L. Devers, rolled toward Austria and Czechoslovakia. They planned to cut Berlin off from the Bavarian Mountains — where according to rumor, many fanatical Germans hoped to make a last-ditch stand.

During the latter part of April a scared Heinrich Himmler (head of the dreaded S.S.) tried to negotiate a peace settlement with Britain and the U.S.

The Allies had agreed not to sign separate peace agreements with Germany, but to press for "unconditional surrender" to all the Allies. The Allied leaders, therefore, demanded that the Germans surrender on all fronts.

On April 28, 1945 Italian partisans captured Mussolini and his mistress, who had disguised themselves. After a trial, they were stood up against a wall and shot. Their bodies were then trucked to Milan, beaten, kicked and in a final gesture of detestation, Italian patriots strung them up by the feet in front of a gasoline station.

Hitler's Ghastly End

But what would happen to the mad Führer who more than anyone else had plunged all Europe into the vortex of World War II — resulting in the deaths of scores of millions?

Near the end of his life, Hitler was a pathetic figure. General Hasso von Montevffel was impressed by Hitler's "stooped figure with a pale and puffy face, hunched in his chair, his hands trembling, his left arm subject to violent twitching which he did his best to conceal, a sick man apparently borne down by the burden of his responsibility." Others said he had a glassy stare in his eye.

When Hitler saw his Third Reich crumbling around him he could not stand the thought of letting the Russians take him alive. As Soviet troops pulverized Berlin and fought their way ever nearer to the underground bunker of the Führer and his mistress, Eva Braun, they celebrated a hasty marriage and then both committed suicide — on April 30, 1945. First, Eva Braun took poison and died. Then Hitler also took poison, but decided to do a good job of it, so he also shot himself by sticking the muzzle of a pistol in his mouth and pulling the trigger.

Eyewitnesses later described the gory scene. Hitler's blasted, mangled head was described as "repulsive in the extreme."

Loyal Nazis took the bodies of Hitler and Eva, doused them with

gasoline and set them alight. This was repeated several times until the bodies were charred beyond recognition.

One eye-witness who happened to stumble onto the scene of their funeral pyre described Hitler's exposed shinbones from which the flesh had been burned away.

The Führer, who had no heir, had made this significant statement sometime before his own grisly death in 1945:

To put the matter briefly, someone who has *no heir* for his house would do best to *have himself burned* with everything that is in it — as if on a *magnificent pyre*.

Later, faithful Nazis buried their bodies in the Reichchancellery garden in a hole which had been made by a Russian shell.

Thus ended the life of the man who caused more suffering, death and destruction than any other man in the history of the earth. The world could at last breathe a sigh of relief. The oppressor of the peoples of the earth had met a horrible fate. Hitler's chief lieutenants all came to a horrible end, too. Dr. Joseph Goebbels had an S.S. orderly shoot him and his wife — after she had poisoned their six children.

Berlin finally fell to the invading Russian armies on May 2, 1945. Contemporary accounts of the pillaging, rape and brutality of some of the Red Army soldiers are horrifying.

A Russian major described what happened:

... But the looting and raping in a big way did not start until our soldiers got to Germany. Our fellows were so sex-starved that they often raped old women of sixty, or seventy or even eighty.... But I admit it was a nasty business, and the record of the Kazakhs and other Asiatic troops was particularly bad.

Germany's "Unconditional Surrender"

Col. Gen. Alfred Jodl of the German high command entered Allied headquarters in a red school building at Reims, France, early on the morning of May 7th. Then, on behalf of the German government, he signed the terms of "unconditional surrender."

Eisenhower refused to be present at the signing. But Lt. Gen. Walter B. Smith, Eisenhower's Chief of staff, signed for the Allies.

Another signing ceremony occurred in Berlin on the following day — May 8th — when the Russians and the Germans signed a similar document. May 8th became V E Day.

Germany "Will Survive Even Me"

In 1933 Hitler had said: "Give me ten years and you will not be able to recognize Germany."

How right he was. When Allied bombers and armies were finished with Germany, much of it lay in smouldering ruins. It was a far different Germany from that which Hitler found when he came to power in 1933.

In 1938, Adolf Hitler — with uncanny vision — prophesied:

A man once said to me: “Listen, if you do that, Germany will fall apart in six weeks.”

I said: “What do you mean by that?”

“Germany will just collapse.”

I said: “What do you mean by that?”

“Germany will just cease to exist.”

I answered: “Once upon a time the German people survived the wars with the *Romans*. The German people survived the *Great Migrations*. The German people survived later great battles of the Early and Late *Middle Ages*. The German people survived the *wars of religion* at the dawn of modern times. The German people survived the *Thirty Years’ War*. The German people later survived the *Napoleonic Wars*, the *Wars of Liberation*; it even survived *a World War*, even *the Revolution* — *it will survive even me!*”

Germany did survive even Hitler. But much of the old Germany had died in the cataclysmic throes of World War II.

Victory Message to the Troops

At the conclusion of the Second World War in Europe, General Dwight D. Eisenhower gave a victory message. He declared:

The route you have traveled through hundreds of miles is marked by the graves of former comrades. Each of the fallen died as a member of the team to which you belong, bound together by a common love of liberty and a refusal to enslavement. Our common problems of the immediate and distant future can best be solved in the same conceptions of cooperation and devotion to the cause of human freedom as have made this Expeditionary Force such a mighty engine of righteous destruction.

Let us have no part in the profitless quarrels in which other men will inevitably engage as to what country, what service, won the European war. Every man, every woman, of every nation here represented has served according to his or her ability, and the efforts of each have contributed to the outcome. This we shall remember — and in doing so we shall be revering each honored grave and be sending comfort to the loved ones of comrades who could not live to see this day.

— DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

World War II in Europe, officially over on May 8th, was quickly celebrated in Europe and over the world as V E (Victory In Europe)

Day. After five long agonizing years, eight months, and seven days the European phase of World War II was over.

The lights could now go back on again. But it was not till near the end of the war when the world learned just how dark it had been.

Nazi Concentration Camps

There is nothing in recorded history to equal the horror or the scope of Hitler's infamous concentration camps. Some of them were nothing but extermination camps. The world little suspected their existence — but as Allied troops pushed into Germany, they were appalled at what they saw.

When and how did the Nazis begin operating their death camps?

Hermann Wilhelm Goering (1893-1946) was one of Hitler's most trusted lieutenants. Goering was the real architect behind the infamous German concentration camps.

Herman was only in his twenties when the First World War was fought. He was one of the very first infantry officers to see active duty on the Western Front.

In 1915 he was transferred to the German Air Force, and soon became an ace pilot (with 22 kills to his credit). Later, he commanded the famous "Death Squadron."

Hermann Goering joined the Nazi Party in 1922 and was in command of Hitler's storm troopers at the time of the abortive Munich beer hall *putsch* in 1923. Before that *putsch*, Goering gave these orders: "Shoot anyone who makes difficulties!" During the *putsch*, Goering himself ended up with a bullet in his groin, and decided to exile himself in Sweden the next few years.

By 1926, Hitler was out of prison, and was well on his road to power in Germany. Goering decided to return to Germany and again join the charismatic Nazi leader. Hermann Goering became one of the 12 Nazi deputies to the Reichstag in 1928 and in 1932 he became President of the Reichstag.

When Adolf Hitler swept into the seat of German political power in 1933, Goering entered the Nazi government.

Founder of the Nazi Death Camps

Hermann Goering is credited with instigating the Reichstag fire as a flimsy pretext for outlawing his Communist opponents. It was he who founded the *Gestapo*. He set up the Nazi German's infamous concentration camps for political, racial and religious suspects.

But the real ruler over the Nazi concentration camps was Heinrich Himmler. Himmler was not impressive to look at. He was in fact, quite

an ordinary looking man. He had small blue (rather piggish-looking) eyes, soft white hands, and sloping shoulders. Furthermore, with his pince-nez (eyeglasses clipped onto his nose) he had a rather sinister look.

Himmler came from a respectable German middle class family background. He was brought up a Roman Catholic. His father had been a schoolmaster. Himmler grew up under an authoritarian type of home atmosphere. But there was nothing in his early life to even so much as hint at sadism, or to reveal any tendency toward brutality — which later came to distinguish him as the Minister of the Interior and *Reichsfuhrer-S.S.*

In 1919, Himmler studied at the Munich Technical College, and then found employment in a nitrate works. He had received an *agricultural diploma* as a young man. He had a keen interest in agriculture, but since his health was not good enough for him to endure the rigors of small farming, he decided to become a chicken farmer.

When Goering decided to open up the German concentration camps, he hand-picked this chicken farmer to be in charge of both the *Gestapo* and the whole concentration camp system throughout Germany and the German-occupied portions of Europe.

Under Himmler's sinister guidance, the German concentration camps were the most efficient, most sadistic, most inhuman camps in the long history of man's inhumanity. The gas chambers, firing squads, torture chambers were all part of his diabolically hatched plot of mass genocide of Jews, Poles, Slavs, Gypsies, and other "undesirables."

Adolf Hitler saw in this man, Himmler, a perfect tool for attaining power through stark *terrorism*. After Himmler won the undoubted trust of Herr Hitler, he was given in 1929 the task of creating the S.S. (*Schutzstaffel*, protective force) — that devilish embodiment of Hitler's will. His control over the powerful *Gestapo* gave him the power of life and death over nearly three hundred million people in Europe!

Mass Deportations

By February 1940 Himmler was ordered to remove all Jews and "hostile elements among the Polish population." Their lands were to be resettled by incoming Germans.

All Jews and Poles to be "resettled" were only permitted to take hand baggage with them, and were expressly forbidden foreign currency, precious metals, works of art, jewelry, furniture, household items and other valuables.

Lieutenant-General Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski was given the task of the Germanization of the province of Silesia in southeastern Poland. Working with him was the notorious Adolf Eichmann in the *Gestapo* department.

The Nazi masters in Poland now began the resettlement of many of the peoples of Poland. They were forced out of their cities, or off their farms, and were taken by the Nazis (often in cattle trains) to the infamous concentration camps. Brutal scenes accompanied all these deportations. Victims were beaten with rifle butts and truncheons as they were herded into the cattle wagons.

Concentration Camps Mushroom

Before long many concentration camps had mushroomed all over Poland. During the next few years over six million Polish citizens (including about three million Jews) would be murdered in Himmler's infamous extermination camps.

It is impossible to faithfully describe the many scenes of callousness, inhumanity and outright brutality which occurred thousands of times daily during the next few years.

Hitler's concentration camps and extermination camps were simply large centers of *genocide*. Through them, the Nazis destroyed millions of human beings. The Nazi masters showed no regard to age, sex, denomination, social standing, or religious status. Anyone who incurred their wrath was deported to one of their extermination camps.

Without question, the most notorious of the Nazi extermination camps was the one at *Oswiecim*. It was converted into a concentration camp from a Polish military barracks. This infamous death camp was given the German name of *Auschwitz*. The first miserable trainload of prisoners arrived there on June 14, 1940.

When the travel-weary, terrified victims arrived at Auschwitz they were welcomed to the camp with the following words — spoken by K. Fritzsich (Langerfuhrer of the Auschwitz camp):

You have come here not to a sanatorium but to a German concentration camp from which there is *no other way out than through the chimney*. If someone doesn't like it, he may at once go to the barbed wire; if there are any Jews in this transport, they have no right to live any longer than two weeks; if there are any priests, they may live one month, the others — three months.

It was clear from the beginning that the inmates of Auschwitz were going to have a very difficult time. It would take a miracle for them to remain alive very long.

At Auschwitz, like so many other extermination camps, conditions were inhuman. Very poor nutrition led to epidemics. The Nazis used every form of violence, cruelty and almost every form of torture. Their extreme cruelty — their bestial murders and mass exterminations in the gas chambers and crematoriums is beyond human comprehension.

Camp Atrocities

Even though the prisoners were constantly mistreated both physically and mentally, and though they were often half-naked, half-starved, emaciated, overworked, and lived under the threat of constant death — they began to organize a resistance movement in the camps.

The concentration and extermination camps were surrounded by barbed wires through which passed a high-voltage current. Any who tried to escape found themselves electrocuted — if they weren't first shot by the guards.

One form of abuse was the prolonged roll-call. In some concentration camps a roll-call could last 18 hours without a single break.

The prisoners were often made to work fourteen hours or longer, and they were frequently made to do their work on the double. As payment for their work they frequently received blows from the *Capos'* truncheons, the Gestapo agent's whip, were put in underground isolation — or killed.

At the Treblinka extermination camp the Nazi brutes forced mothers carrying their own children to parade naked en route to the gas chamber. It was not uncommon to see Nazis shooting at mothers with children in their arms. Actual pictures exist of this taking place.

Many hundreds of thousands of human bodies were incinerated in the crematorium furnaces.

At numerous concentration (or extermination) camps such as at Auschwitz-Birkenau and Dachau humans were used as guinea pigs so that the perverted Nazi doctors could experiment on them. Doctor Mengele performed sadistic "scientific" experiments on mere children. At the Ravensbruck concentration camp, doctors performed experimental operations on the legs of female inmates.

Victims Stripped of Everything

When inmates arrived at the extermination camps, they were stripped of all their worldly possessions. Since millions were involved, the amount of valuables and other usable materials which accumulated as a result of stripping the corpses was enormous. There were giant piles of glasses, combs, hair, dentures, artificial limbs, shoes, shaving brushes, tooth-brushes, dishes. At some camps there were even giant heaps of baby shoes.

The Governor-General of one extermination camp once remarked:

... If I were to put up a poster for every seven Poles that have been shot, the forests of all Poland would not suffice to produce the paper needed for them — Yes, we had to act ruthlessly.

When the victims arrived at one of the camps, the elderly, the infirm and the very young were liquidated immediately. The Nazis did not want the burden of having to clothe, house and feed them. Only the able-bodied survived, and they survived only so long as they could maintain reasonably good health (on woefully inadequate rations) so that they could work long hours.

"We Cannot Forget"

An interesting book entitled *We Have Not Forgotten* (edited by Tadeusz Mazur, Jerzy Tomaszewski, Stanislaw Wrzos-Glinka, and published by the Polonia Publishing House, Warsaw, Poland, 1960) reveals many photographs (with brief comments) of the Nazi atrocities committed in Poland during the Second World War.

In the introduction to the second edition of this book we read:

We cannot forget the things that have happened. Never before in the annals of history have such crimes been committed against humanity and never on such a scale as those that followed in the wake of the march of German militarism. . . .

In order to warn the young generation against the recurrence of genocide, to protect young minds from racial hatred and a desire for revenge, we shall continue to disseminate the truth about the Third Reich and its policy of national extermination which led to such horrible results.

It is especially upon us, the Polish nation, which suffered, survived and conquered, that the responsibility rests to remind, even at the price of opening healed wounds, about the things that happened under the sign of the swastika. Today, when we know that Nazism did not die with the defeat of the Third Reich, no effort in this respect is too great. It must be undertaken in tribute to those who had perished and in warning to those who have survived.

"The Long Night"

In *We Have Not Forgotten*, we read:

More than 6,000,000 Poles were murdered after being submitted to torture and cruel humiliation; they died a martyr's death in mass annihilation camps, by execution, in prisons and at slave labour. 10,200 industrial establishments, 2,677 hospitals and other health service centers, 6,000 *schools*, 3,337 museums, theaters and cinemas were among the many buildings destroyed throughout the country during the period of German occupation.

This shocking figure of human victims, plus the enormous material losses and unprecedented *destruction* of monuments of culture, the *deportation* of people from their homes, the *plunder* of their personal belongings and the barbarous exploitation at *slave labor* — all this is

only part of the picture of the long night that descended on Poland under Nazi occupation.

Nazi terror kept growing in intensity and fierceness. Poles perished in the gas chambers, in crematoriums, under machine-gun volleys. The more and more cruel methods resorted to by the Hitlerites aimed at the biological extermination of the Polish people. . . .

The five horrible years of Poland's occupation were one continuous period of Nazi savagery and barbarianism which, forever recorded in the minds of the living and in the form of material evidence — constitute a tragic document of historical truth for generations to come. . . .

Yet there are some who would like the nightmare of the years of war and occupation to be effaced from the minds of people. . . . It is necessary to look at the stages of the sufferings, as shown briefly in our album, in order to grasp the full magnitude of the Nazi crimes and of the martyrdom of the Polish people, in order to see in the child bent over the body of its murdered mother, in the prisoner who died on the barbed-wire fence, in the woman sobbing over a mass grave, the thorny road to the tortured nation which survived, came out victorious and did not forget. . . .

In the conclusion of *We Have Not Forgotten*, we read:

The enemy employed ruthless police methods, and made open, brutal terror the main instrument of power. The system of intimidation held sway over the entire country; deportations to concentration camps, expulsions, public executions and mass murders were a daily occurrence.

The Oswiecim (Auschwitz) camp was organized on June 14, 1940, and liberated by the Soviet Army on January 27, 1945. In less than five years about *four million people* — men, women and children — met their death in the gas chambers of Oswiecim-Birkenau camp.

. . . . Of the three and a half million *Jews* living within the boundaries of pre-war Poland, the Hitlerites murdered about 3,200,000.

The millions of emaciated bodies of the half-starved, the mass graves filled with the bodies of pathetic human corpses, mortal remains stacked up like cordwood, the shooting of mothers with babes in their arms, the forcing of Jews and others to dig their own graves, the fiendish Nazi "experiments" on both children and adults, the inhuman living conditions of the extermination camps, the savage brutality of the camp guards, the indescribable acts of sadism and perversion committed on inmates, the vast cremations, the mass gassing of large groups of inmates, the sight of the living dead hanging onto life by the merest thread, the wanton slaughter and mass genocide — these atrocities stamped the *Nazi reign of terror* as the darkest page in man's long, lamentable chronicle of inhumanity toward his fellow man!

As the Allied forces drove deep into Germany they were aghast at what they found at *Buchenwald*: the bodies piled in heaps, the living who were little more than skin drawn over skeletons, the gas chambers, the crematories that had burned day and night. Buchenwald was only

four or five miles from the Weimar, the cultural center of Germany, but when the residents of Weimar were forced to tour Buchenwald, they protested that they had not the slightest idea these horrors took place.

On April 14th, the British reached Belsen and found 55,000 still alive. Dead, by the thousands, lay everywhere — in open mass graves, scattered about the grounds, even sharing bunks with the living.

As camp after camp was liberated, a cold anger filled the Allied troops. But everywhere the German civilians insisted that they had not known of these enormities, although it was said that the stench of the camps and the odor of the crematories had carried far over the countryside.

In these concentration camps, the Nazis incarcerated, starved and murdered ten million human beings, including at least 5,700,000 of Europe's Jews. All of Germany's efficiency was employed to perfect operation of these camps. Men, women and children were forced to work for the slave empire, were tortured in its name, were finally killed by it. Often, most appalling of all, their corpses were boiled for soap, their hair was used for mattresses and the fillings of their teeth for gold. Their tattooed skins were even used to decorate lamp shades.

Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower after seeing his first concentration camp near the aristocratic German town of Gotha, cabled Washington and London to send as quickly as possible members of Congress and Parliament and journalists to Germany to be eye-witnesses of the Nazi atrocities.

"I felt," General Eisenhower later wrote, "that the evidence should be immediately placed before the American and British public in a fashion that would leave no room for cynical doubt."

Forget the Past?

There are those who take an amnesic view of the Nazi extermination camps and their long catalog of atrocities. No one in his right mind should harbor any bitterness or ill-will toward the Germans, the Japanese or the Italians. But, neither should we turn a blind eye to the past — totally forgetting the long dark nightmarish period of Nazi brutality.

It has been said: "He who forgets history, is bound to repeat it!" Those nations and peoples which suffered most are bound to remember the longest. Poles, Russians and Jews still have vivid memories of Hitler's racial genocide.

Has mankind forgotten what it was like to live under the suffocating blanket of totalitarianism? Has man already forgotten what it was like to live under a repressive regime? — where human dignity and freedom are subject to the whims of a despot?

Will the peoples of the earth forget or ignore the lessons of World War II — is it possible that a new generation will have to re-write those lessons, on a far greater scale?

Will we forget the important lessons of history? Or will we, like the Jews and Poles, make sure that *we never forget?*

War in the Pacific

On November 25, 1941 a Japanese fleet consisting of 6 aircraft carriers (carrying 414 airplanes), 2 battleships, 3 cruisers, 9 destroyers, 3 submarines and various auxiliary craft sailed from the Kurile Islands.

The Japanese attack force deliberately chose the northern route to their objective, because this route, with its prevailing bad weather and high seas, would lessen their chances of being detected. Strict radio silence and a complete blackout was enforced during the entire period of this mission. They must achieve complete surprise, if they were to succeed.

A fleet of 25 to 28 submarines (five carried midget two-man subs fastened to their decks) was ordered to precede the attack force. At 6 a.m. on December 7th, the signal was given for the sneak attack.

The Japanese planes attacked in two waves. The first wave consisted of 50 horizontal bombers, 54 dive bombers, 40 torpedo bombers, and 45 fighters.

The second wave of attack aircraft included 54 horizontal bombers, 36 fighters, and 81 dive bombers.

Most of America's entire Pacific Fleet was peacefully anchored in Pearl Harbor on that beautiful Sunday morning. Ninety four U.S. ships lay in Pearl Harbor on that fateful Sunday. Seventy of that number were combat vessels, and included eight battleships. Fortunately, America's three Pacific aircraft carriers had slipped out of Pearl Harbor shortly before the attack.

Unheeded Warnings

Hostile Japanese intentions had been known, and Washington had even sent a radio message to Hawaii to put America's fleet on full alert. But static prevented the message getting through. The message was also sent by cable, but it met with various delays, and was just being delivered by a messenger boy at the very moment Japanese planes swooped down over Pearl Harbor!

Ironically, America's defensive radar station on northern Oahu had picked up signals showing that a large number of aircraft were approach-

ing Hawaii, and this message was immediately phoned to a senior officer. But he told the radar station attendant to forget it, that the planes on his radar screen were probably American planes in the area.

When the Japanese planes roared out of the sky over peaceful Pearl Harbor on Sunday they achieved *complete surprise!* Initially, the enemy planes met no opposition whatsoever. While Japanese dive bombers and fighters attacked the airfields at Wheeler, Hickam, Kaneohe, Bellows and Ewa, torpedo planes and horizontal bombers concentrated on attacking the warships anchored in Pearl Harbor.

The double file of great U.S. battleships were sitting ducks for the enemy aircraft. Again and again waves of Japanese planes attacked, spitting out fire and destruction.

After the first wave had been unleashed, a second wave swooped in to demolish the already blazing targets. The Japanese planes achieved such complete surprise that the U.S. defenders on the ships and on land had no chance to get ready for action. Many of the navy personnel were at that moment on shore leave — away from their ships.

In less than *two terrible hours*, the two waves of assault aircraft had completed their raids, delivered their deadly missiles, and disappeared over the blue toward the northwest heading back safely to their aircraft carriers.

Half of America's entire Pacific fleet had been knocked out during the attack. Seven of the eight U.S. battleships had either been sunk or badly crippled, three destroyers had been badly damaged, and three cruisers had also suffered severe damage. Of the 394 American planes at Hawaii, 188 were destroyed and 159 were damaged.

Worst of all, 2403 Americans lost their lives and 1178 were wounded in that infamous attack!

The Japanese lost 29 aircraft, 1 full-sized submarine and 5 midget subs.

Hitler's "Honorary Aryans"

When Hitler heard that the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor, he underwent a rare moment of euphoria. He told the Japanese Ambassador, Hiroshi Oshima, "You gave the right declaration of war! This method is the only proper one." Since the Japanese were his partners, he now felt they had proven that they deserved the title which he had already bestowed upon them — "honorary Aryans."

On Monday, December 8th, President Roosevelt informed the American people that a "*state of war*" existed between the U.S. and Japan, and spoke of the 7th of December as "a date that will live in *infamy*."

Shortly after Japan's infamous attack on Pearl Harbor on Decem-

ber 7, 1941, Prime Minister Churchill spoke before the American Congress. During that address, given on December 26, the British Prime Minister said:

He must indeed have a blind soul who cannot see that some great purpose and design is being worked out here below of which we have the honor to be faithful servants. It is not given to us to peer into the mysteries of the future. Still I avow my hope and faith, sure and inviolate, that in the days to come the British and American peoples will, for their own safety, and for the good of all, walk together in majesty, in justice and in peace.

America had been rudely awakened at Pearl Harbor. At last she was in the war. Now she had to gear up her formidable industrial might in order to help defeat the Axis powers. America was now prepared psychologically to gird for war.

Within only a few hours after smashing Pearl Harbor, Japanese bombers struck at American bases on the islands of Guam, Midway, Wake, and bombed Manila and Singapore.

Japanese Lt. Gen. Masaharu Homma landed 56,000 Japanese troops on Luzon in the Philippines between December 10 and 22. The Japanese quickly seized Hong Kong then occupied Guam and Wake islands.

Complacent Singapore

The defenders of Singapore expected the Japanese forces to attack that city by sea. All of Singapore's defenses were built to fight off an attack from the sea, even though the defenders had ample reason to fear a possible land attack, and ample time in which to hastily strengthen their defenses.

The Order of the Day, issued in Singapore on December 8th, the day after Pearl Harbor, said: "We have had plenty of warning and our preparations are made. We are confident. Our defenses are strong and our weapons efficient."

But few of the 88,000 defenders of Singapore (British, Australians, Indians, and locally trained Asians) were jungle-trained, and about 15,000 were noncombatants. Furthermore, the island's vaunted 15-inch guns would prove totally ineffective against a land invasion. And the Japanese had already landed in Malaya, north of Singapore, on the day after they attacked Pearl Harbor. Obviously, they were getting ready to strike at Singapore from the rear — a little child could see that!

There were other evil omens. The pride of the British Navy, H.M.S. *Prince of Wales* and the *Repulse*, had been sunk shortly after Pearl Harbor. This was a stunning shock to the people of Singapore.

The British commander of Singapore, General Arthur E. Percival, acted with consummate complacency. On December 26th, Brig. Ivan Simon tried to get General Percival to shore up Singapore's northern

defenses so that, if the Japanese attacked through Malaya, they might stand a fair chance of defending themselves. Simon repeatedly pleaded with Percival to build fortifications on Singapore's undefended northern shores, but he got nowhere.

On December 26th, Simon told General Percival:

I must emphasize the urgency of doing everything to help our troops. They are tired and dispirited. They've been retreating for hundreds of miles. And please remember, sir, the Japanese are better trained and better equipped.

Then he again pleaded for General Percival to fortify the northern beaches of the island with barbed wire, pillboxes, tank traps, etc. "It has to be done *now*, sir, before the area comes under enemy fire." But Percival still refused to budge.

Simon asked him why he refused. General Percival gave this astonishing answer: "I believe that defenses of the sort you want to throw up are bad for the morale of troops and civilians."

As Simon, in stark disbelief, headed for the door, he told General Percival: "Sir, it's going to be much worse for morale if the Japanese start running all over the island."

Singapore fell to the Japanese (February 16, 1942) within two months — thanks to the sheer complacency of General Percival and his lethargic defenders.

Winston Churchill called the fall of Singapore "the worst disaster and largest capitulation in British history."

When the Japanese forces advanced through the thick jungles of the Malay Peninsula (advancing on bicycles), and attacked Singapore from the rear — there was nothing with which to effectively defend the city.

Reportedly, the Japanese had used up nearly every last round of their ammunition at the very moment the defenders, under the command of General Percival, capitulated. They could have fought on and would possibly have saved the city had they had the determination and had they built creditable fortifications on the north shores of the island.

Next, the Japanese quickly overran New Britain, New Ireland and the Admiralty and Solomon islands. They also routed an Allied fleet at the Battle of the Java Sea — thus opening their way to the Dutch East Indies.

Fall of the Philippines

Burma and the Philippines fell to Japanese forces early in 1942. As the Japanese advanced toward Manila, General Douglas A. MacArthur, commander of the U.S. Army Forces in the Far East, declared Manila an open city, then withdrew his army to the Bataan Peninsula. The Japanese entered Manila on January 2nd. The American and Philippine

defenders stoutly defended Bataan and strongly resisted repeated Japanese assaults.

Then, on March 11th, Roosevelt ordered General MacArthur to leave the Philippines. He escaped by torpedo boat and then flew to Australia where he set up his new command center for the Southwest Pacific Area.

Before leaving the Philippines, MacArthur put Lt. Gen. Jonathan M. Wainwright in charge and ordered the defenders not to surrender. General MacArthur solemnly promised the Filipinos: "I shall return"!

America was in no position to be able to send supplies of relief to General Wainwright and his beleaguered men. Soon they were eating anything they could lay their hands on — dogs, monkeys, pack mules, iguanas, snakes — and they were also running out of ammunition. After suffering from a terrible shortage of food and medical supplies, they finally surrendered to the Japanese on April 9, 1942. But the 11,000-man garrison on Corregidor (a rocky fortress in Manila Bay) didn't capitulate until May 6th.

Bataan Death March

The infamous *Bataan Death March* will long live in the annals of recorded military history as one of the most inhuman war crimes ever perpetrated.

The Japanese forced about 60,000 prisoners to march without much, if any, food or water, and if they faltered they were whipped or beaten mercilessly — or they were killed on the spot. The prisoners of war staggered under the scorching sun for 70 miles to prison camps. During that long, torturous march about 10,000 died from starvation or maltreatment.

Japanese invaders met stubborn resistance in Burma. They coveted that country because it possessed rich resources of oil and tin, and by occupying Burma the Japanese could close the Burma Road — the last land route open to China.

Rangoon was evacuated by the British forces on March 7th, 1942. Even though Chinese troops, commanded by Lt. Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell, tried desperately to hold Mandalay and protect the Burma Road, they were unable to succeed. Finally, General Stilwell and a handful of his men made the perilous trek through 140 miles of mountains and jungles to India.

Doolittle Bombs Japan

Even though most of America's war effort was diverted to defeating the Axis powers in Europe, it was believed necessary to achieve a morale booster for the Americans early in the war against Japan.

Lt. Col. James H. Doolittle and 16 B-25 army bombers took off from the carrier *Hornet* as it wallowed in the Pacific about 650 miles east of Honshu, Japan. Destination? To bomb Japan.

Doolittle and his squadron bombed Tokyo and other cities. This daring raid shocked the Japanese who didn't think America had long enough arms to reach them; but it cheered the Americans.

Soon afterward, the Japanese decided to seize Port Moresby in southeast New Guinea. They also aimed at cutting shipping lanes to Australia and New Zealand and plotted to invade Australia if their plans went well.

But a U.S. task force under command of Rear Adm. Frank J. Fletcher, intercepted a Japanese fleet as it headed for Port Moresby in the Coral Sea. A four-day battle ensued (May 4th to 8th) in which all the fighting was done by aircraft.

The outcome of the Battle of the Coral Sea was an important Allied strategic victory. It put a serious crimp in Japan's push southeastward and forever ended her threat to Port Moresby.

Midway

The Japanese next planned to capture Midway Island and the Aleutian Islands west of Alaska. Midway Island is only about 1,000 miles northwest of Hawaii. From Midway, the Japanese could threaten Hawaii, and from the Aleutian Islands they could threaten Alaska. Admiral Yamamoto hoped to seize Midway and draw away the Pacific Fleet from Hawaii in order to win a decisive victory with his large, more powerful naval force.

But America received advance knowledge of Yamamoto's planned invasion. The U.S. had scored one of her greatest triumphs by cracking Japan's secret codes — even before Pearl Harbor was bombed!


Advance intelligence of the Japanese plans to invade Midway and the Aleutian Islands enabled Adm. Chester W. Nimitz (who had succeeded Adm. Husband E. Kimmel as Command in Chief of the Pacific Fleet) to take effective counter-measures.

The Japanese sent droves of airplanes from their 100-ship fleet to attack Midway on June 4, 1942. But Admiral Nimitz had the advantage of using both naval and land-based planes to counter the Japanese attacks.

Nimitz also had two very capable Rear Admirals (Frank J. Fletcher and Raymond A. Spruance) who were able to successfully launch attack aircraft from the carriers *Enterprise*, *Hornet*, and *Yorktown*. Japan lost four aircraft carriers and a major part of its airplanes by the end of the two-day battle. The U.S. Fleet lost one aircraft carrier — the *Yorktown*.

The Battle of Midway was one of the most decisive victories in

WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER 1941

 Maximum Extent of Japanese Conquest

U.S.S.R.

Neutral until
Aug. 8, 1945

Japan surrendered
August 14, 1945

Attu
Kiska
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS

CHINA

MANCHUKUO

CHOSEN
(Korea)

JAPAN

Tokyo
Osaka
Hiroshima
Nagasaki

PACIFIC

INTERNATIONAL DATE LINE

MIDWAY

OCEAN

Chungking

INDIA
Ledo
Burma Road
Kunming

OKINAWA

IWO JIMA

BURMA
Lashio
THAILAND
INDO-CHINA
CHINA

FORMOSA

PHILIPPINE SEA

SAIPAN

WAKE

Manila

PHILIPPINES

GUAM

MARIANAS

MARSHALL ISLANDS

Leyte Gulf

Mindanao

TARAWA

GILBERT ISLANDS

EQUATOR

MALAYA
SUMATRA
SINGAPORE
BORNEO

CELEBES

NEW GUINEA

Rabaul

SOLOMON ISLANDS

GUADALCANAL

NEW HEBRIDES

INDIAN OCEAN

NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

JAVA

TIMOR

Port Moresby

PAPUA

CORAL SEA

CORAL SEA

AUSTRALIA

NEW ZEALAND



Atomic Bombs



Sea Battles



Battles or Campaigns

0 200 400 600 800 1000
EQUATORIAL SCALE OF MILES

naval history. It put an end to Japanese threats to Hawaii and the U.S. and gave the U.S. the upper hand in the Pacific.

Although Japan failed to seize Midway, on June 7th, its troops occupied Kiska and Attu — at the very tip of the Aleutian chain; and in July they captured Agattu. U.S. troops were finally successful in driving them from Attu in the spring of 1943 and they then withdrew from Agattu and Kiska.

Guadalcanal

The Allies began their first offensive action in the Pacific on August 7, 1942, when U.S. Marines landed on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. Fighting was bitter, and control of the island hung in the balance for months. American troops succeeded in destroying all enemy resistance on the island by February, 1943.

Many lessons were learned by the Allies during their Solomon Islands campaign. That campaign helped them perfect their technique of amphibious warfare — involving air, land and sea forces all working as a team. During that campaign, the Allies first encountered the fanatical Japanese code of *bushido* which requires a Japanese soldier to fight to the death.

Australian airfields were constantly being threatened by Japanese bases in New Guinea. In late 1942 Japan launched an overland campaign against the Allied base at Port Moresby. Enemy troops advanced to within 32 miles of the city. Then American, Australian and Dutch forces went on the offensive. Under command of General Douglas MacArthur Allied troops inched their way to Buna, Gona, Salamaua and Lae — the main Japanese positions in New Guinea. All the while Japanese planes based on nearby Rabaul menaced Allied shipping in the area. But by the end of 1944 the Allies had cleared the Japanese out of New Guinea.

Island Hopping

The United States and its Allies devised a strategy of attacking key islands which lay between them and Tokyo. They knew that control of these islands was mandatory before they could successfully invade Japan proper. Accordingly, the Allies adopted the “island-hopping” strategy. Important islands would be conquered. Unimportant ones would simply be bypassed.

Admiral Nimitz chose the Gilbert Islands as the first major objective in his island-hopping campaign. After they were conquered, the Mariana Islands were next on the list. They would be important to America since long-range bombers could reach Japan from them. The chief islands in the Marianas were Saipan, Guam, Tinian and Rota.

It took 16,500 casualties for the U.S. to conquer Saipan. But the strategy worked. Conquest was completed by July 9th. In that struggle U.S. forces killed over 28,000 enemy soldiers.

The loss of Saipan was a stunning blow to Japan. Now they knew America's big B-29 Superfortress bombers would be able to strike Japan at will. The loss of Saipan caused Premier Hideki Tojo of Japan to come under such strong criticism that he resigned on July 18th.

For the first time since early 1943 Japanese carriers again went into action against the U.S. fleet. The Japanese lost 395 carrier planes in the Battle of the Philippine Sea on June 20th, near Guam. Tinian fell to Allied forces in late July.

Guam was invaded on July 21st. Again Japanese troops fought savagely and over 10,000 of them died in that bitter struggle. American casualties were also high — about 7,800.

After American army engineers built huge air bases in the Marianas the U.S. was able to send the first B-29 Superfortress against the Japanese mainland, beginning on November 24th.

MacArthur Returns

Once the Marianas were occupied, Allied forces stood menacingly within 1,600 miles of Tokyo and Manila. On September 15th U.S. Marines landed on Peleliu in the Palau Islands. U.S. forces also attacked Morotai Island in the Dutch East Indies — putting the U.S. within 400 miles of the Philippines.

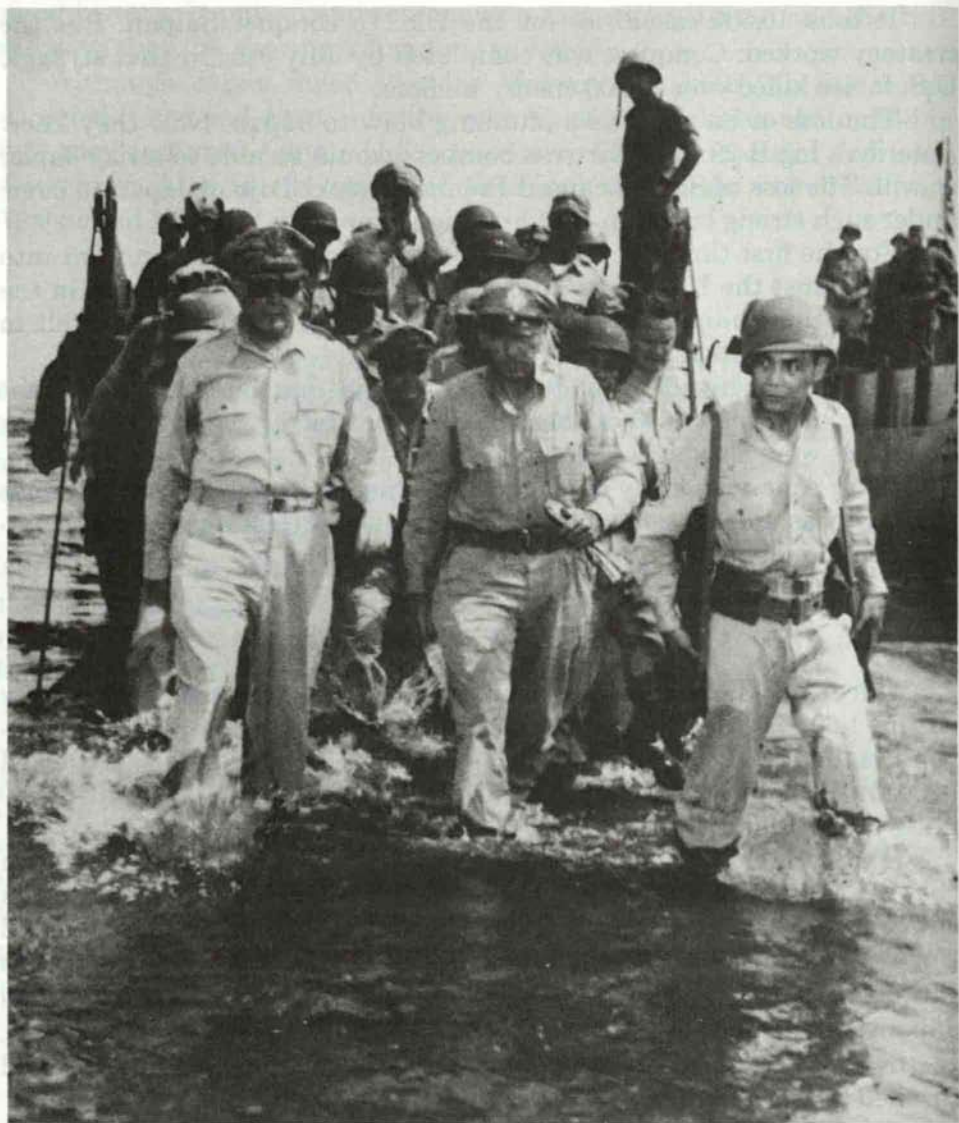
The U.S. did not expect the reconquest of the Philippines to be an easy task. On October 20th the U.S. Sixth Army won two beachheads on the central island of Leyte. The U.S. air, ground and naval forces had all worked together beautifully to effect the successful landings in the Philippines. But the comparatively small U.S. force faced a 270,000-man Japanese army, and its air force, based in the Philippines. Nevertheless, to the great joy of the Filipinos, General Douglas A. MacArthur had fulfilled his solemn pledge — he had returned.

The Battle of Leyte Gulf

The Japanese, becoming desperate, decided to take a big gamble. Mustering all of their remaining naval strength, they attempted to drive the Allies from Leyte. The ensuing Battle for Leyte Gulf was the biggest naval engagement in the history of the world.

The Battle for Leyte Gulf actually consisted of four separate actions — conducted in four different areas: in Surigao Strait, in the Sibuyan Sea, off Samar, and off Cape Enagano.

The Japanese, by using several different naval forces, planned to lure the main U.S. naval forces away from the Leyte Gulf area. If the



General Douglas MacArthur fulfilled his promise "I shall return" by wading through the surf of Leyte Island in the Philippines on October 20, 1944. — *United Press International Photo*

U.S. navy took the bait, this would leave the newly landed Americans on Leyte stranded — “sitting ducks” for Japanese naval gunners. They would have been annihilated.

Even though Admiral “Bull” Halsey’s naval force took the Japanese bait, and was lured far to the north, exposing the beaches at Leyte, fortunately the weak U.S. naval forces still left in the area were able to frighten away the powerful Japanese force. The Japanese were nearly within gun range of the Leyte beaches, when, for some unknown reason, they turned and ran!

General Douglas MacArthur later said that Japan’s Admiral Kurita “was only 45 miles from his objective when he finally decided to give up the attempt.”

As things turned out, the Battle for Leyte Gulf was a decisive victory for the U.S. When the battle ended on October 26th, Japan had lost four carriers, three battleships, nine destroyers, and ten cruisers.

America’s naval might had also been damaged, but not so badly as Japan’s. The U.S. lost one light and two escort carriers, two destroyers and one destroyer escort.

America’s Admiral Sprague later summed up that decisive battle as follows:

The failure of the enemy main body and encircling light forces to completely wipe out all vessels of this (U.S.) Task Unit can be attributed to our successful smoke screen, our torpedo counterattack, continuous harassment of the enemy by bomb, torpedo and strafing air attacks, timely maneuvers, and the definite partiality of Almighty God.

After the Battle for Leyte Gulf, the Japanese became increasingly nervous and desperate. Their intense fear drove them to begin employing the first of the *Kamikazes* on October 25. These suicide plane attacks proved very deadly against American naval power in the Pacific.

The U.S. Eighth Army began mop-up operations on Leyte. Then on January 9, 1945, the Sixth Army landed in Lingayen Gulf, about 110 miles from Manila. The Japanese forces in the Philippines bitterly resisted the Allied advance toward Manila, but by the end of February 1945 the Allies had cleared Manila and Luzon of all organized enemy resistance.

Fire-Bombing Japan

The U.S. had begun long-range B-29 bombing raids on Japan on June 14, 1944 from bases in China. The B-29’s in the Marianas joined with the China-based bombers in raiding Tokyo on November 24, 1944. In March 1945 Major General Curtis E. LeMay’s B-29’s began incendiary bombing at night from the low altitude of 7,000 feet. This low-

level bombing allowed the bombers to carry a much heavier bomb load. Sometimes as many as 800 giant Superfortresses took part in a single incendiary attack. Three of these destructive raids wiped out the heart of Tokyo and one such attack destroyed most of Yokohama.

The U.S. Army Air Force flew more than 15,000 missions against 66 major Japanese cities, and dropped over 100,000 tons of incendiary bombs. The Allies held such superiority in the air that by early July, 1945 the U.S. could publicly announce in advance the names of cities to be bombed.

America had begun to tighten her grip around Japan in preparation for the soon-expected invasion of Japanese home islands. Allied submarines increased their activity in Japan's coastal waters. Japan's shipping tonnage had been reduced to about one and one-half million tons by 1945 compared with ten million tons early in 1942. Submarine attacks accounted for over half of all of Japan's losses in merchant ships.

U.S. naval forces in 1944 had sunk the *Mamato* and the *Musashi*, the largest battleships ever built. And in April 1945 carrier planes sank the Japanese battleship *Yamato*. Japanese naval strength was so weakened that the U.S. Third Fleet, joined by the British Pacific Fleet, could move to within a few miles of Japan to shell her cities.

Iwo Jima and Okinawa

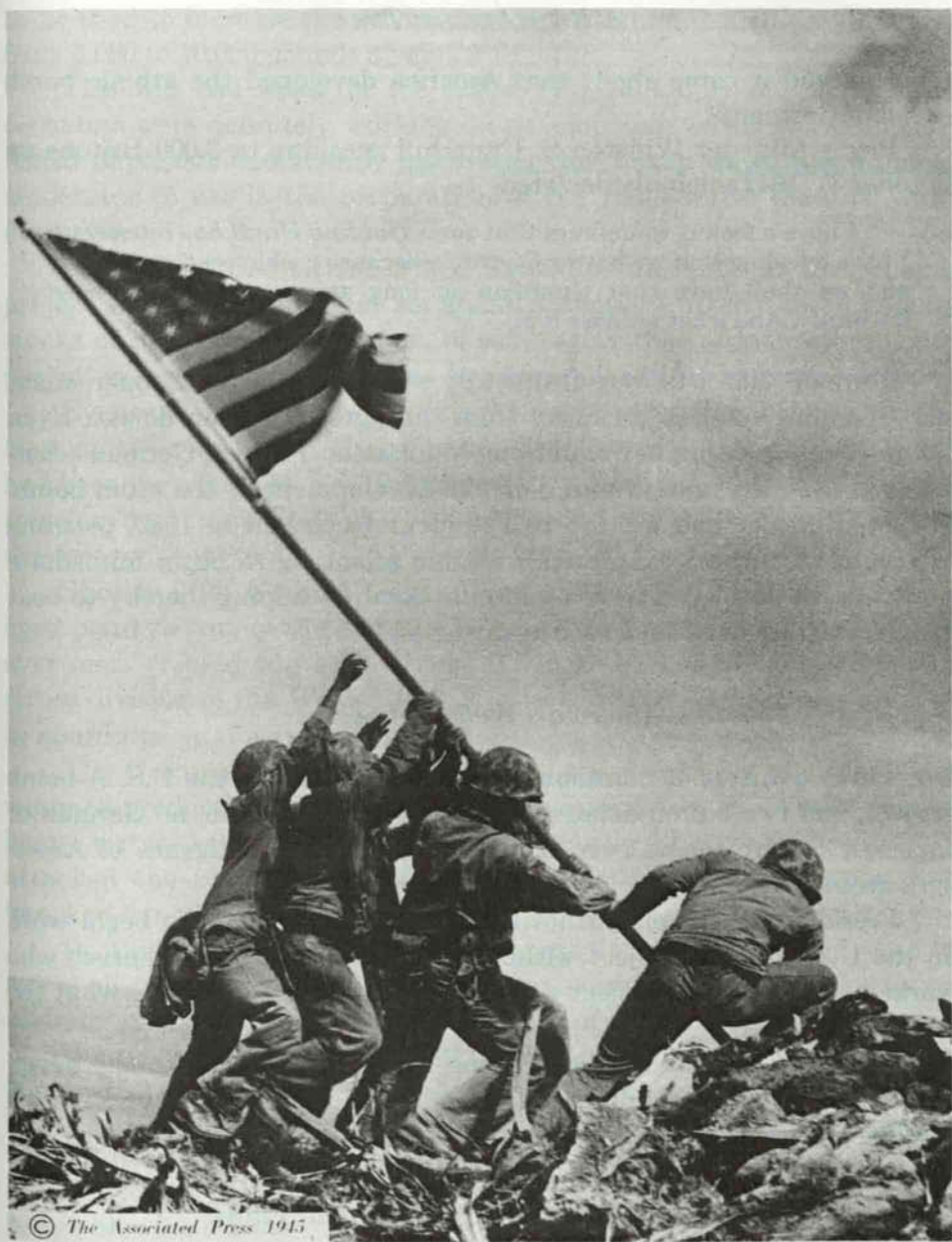
On February 19, 1945 U.S. forces landed on Iwo Jima. Even though the Marines met withering fire from the Japanese, they were able to capture the island by March 16th and raise the American flag over Mt. Suribachi. America paid a heavy price in casualties — with about 6,000 Americans killed, but over 20,000 enemy troops lay dead.

The next island-hop on the road to Tokyo was Okinawa. This important island, situated in the Ryukyus chain lay only 350 miles from Kyushu, the southern-most Japanese home island. By capturing this large island, the U.S. would have a key staging area for her final attack on Japan and the Japanese-held parts of China.

Some of the bitterest fighting of the war occurred on Okinawa. The brave Japanese fought desperately to hold the island. By the end of the campaign in mid-June, their deadly *Kamikazes* had sunk 36 vessels and damaged 332 others. Effective organized fighting ended on June 21st. The Allies suffered the staggering figure of 49,000 casualties. Over 109,000 Japanese were killed. Fortunately, however, the fighting on Okinawa was the last major battle of World War II.

The world would soon be awe-struck to learn that America had unleashed an awesome new weapon on two of Japan's industrial cities, and had virtually wiped out those cities in the twinkling of an eye.

This new horror weapon was the atomic bomb.



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U.S. Marines proudly raise "Old Glory" atop Mount Suribachi, Iwo Jima, on February 27, 1945. — *Wide World Photo*

A Race Against Time

How did it come about that America developed the atomic bomb ahead of Germany?

Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill speaking to 3,000 Britons on October 31, 1942 solemnly declared:

I have a feeling sometimes that *some Guiding Hand has interfered*. I have a feeling that we have a Guardian because we have a great Cause, and we shall have that Guardian so long as we serve that Cause faithfully. And what a Cause it is.

German scientists were frantically working on various super weapons — hoping to snatch victory from the jaws of certain defeat. Even before America began her ambitious Manhattan Project, German scientists were known to be working on the development of the atom bomb. In fact, Einstein had written to President Roosevelt in 1939, pleading with him to authorize America's atomic scientists to begin immediate work toward development of an atomic bomb — hoping thereby to beat the German scientists in a race against time.

America's Well-kept Secret

Three quarters of a million Americans worked on the U.S. A-bomb project, and two billion dollars were spent on it. Even so, no German or Japanese enemy agents ever acquired significant intelligence of America's atom project.

President Roosevelt authorized America's scientists to begin work on the U.S. A-bomb project, although neither he nor the scientists who worked on this deadly project were 100 percent sure themselves what the outcome would be.

But the Germans were also going ahead full speed with the development of an atom bomb. Fortunately for the Allies, however, British intelligence learned of the Nazis' super secret atom bomb project.

World's Largest Electro-chemical Plant

The Germans occupied Norway in the spring of 1940. For some unknown reason the Nazis decided to establish their atomic bomb project at the Norsk Hydro plant at Vermork, Norway.

While America's atomic project was being set up in 1942 the Intelligence Section of the British Ministry of Economic Warfare produced some electrifying information. The largest electro-chemical plant of its kind in the world, the Norsk Hydro, was ordered by the Germans

to be used to increase the production of deuterium oxide (heavy water) from 3,000 to 10,000 pounds a year.

This was bad news for the Allies. It meant only one thing: The *Germans* were definitely working on development of an atomic bomb! Allied physicists had already discovered that heavy water was an ideal moderator to use in the preparation of the radio-active material, uranium 235.

From the time that the Allies learned of this German atom bomb project at Norsk Hydro, they set about the task of utterly destroying its stocks of heavy water. The task of sabotaging the German atom bomb project was given highest priority by Churchill's War Cabinet.

Eventually, the Allies, working closely with Norwegian patriots, blew up the vital Norsk Hydro plant. The Germans guarding the plant had been very careless. To the horror of the Germans, 1000 pounds of the priceless deuterium oxide gushed from tanks onto the floor and out into the factory's sewers.

Shortly after German General von Falkenhorst raced to the damaged plant to survey the damage. "This is the best damned coup I have ever seen," roared von Falkenhorst. Then he barked out his orders: an entire division of the *Wehrmacht*, a force of 12,000 soldiers, was ordered to guard this vital plant in the future!

The Germans succeeded in repairing the damage to the plant and resumed production of the precious deuterium oxide, the vitally needed heavy water. Acting on secret intelligence, Allied bombers immediately attacked the plant and once again the factory's power station was knocked out of action.

By this time the exasperated Germans decided it was high time to move all of Norsk Hydro's heavy-water equipment and stocks to an underground site in the Third Reich — out of reach of Allied bombers.

But again the Allies learned of the proposed move. Working through Norwegian patriots they sank the ferryboat *Hydro* which carried the heavy water equipment with the remaining stocks across Lake Tunnsjo. The Norwegian patriots did their job well, waiting until the ferryboat *Hydro* with its precious cargo was in the deepest part of Lake Tunnsjo before blowing her up.

When Germany's precious deuterium oxide was sent to the bottom of Lake Tunnsjo with it went Hitler's last hope of developing an atom bomb in time to use it against the Allies before they closed in on the Third Reich.

Through this destruction, patriotic Norwegian commandos and British bomber crews scored one of the greatest sabotage triumphs of World War II! Except for their work, the Allies might have lost the war!

America's Ultimate Weapon

One of the strangest ironies of history is that brilliant scientists (including Albert A. Einstein, a German Jew) fled Hitler's Nazi Germany, came to the U.S. and were very influential in helping develop America's Ultimate Weapon.

The Führer's pathological mistake of suppressing the intellectuals and his cruel persecution of the Jews assisted towards Germany losing the war. Because of his insane racial policy, many of Germany's most brilliant scientists were driven into exile.

Among those driven out of Europe's Axis-controlled lands were a clutch of the world's top physicists: Albert Einstein (German), Enrico Fermi (Italian), Edward Teller, Leo Szilard and Eugen Wigner (all three Hungarians).

It was those leading physicists who went to President Roosevelt with a dire warning that Germans had forbidden all exports of uranium ore from Czechoslovakia. At that time the U.S. State Department had not the slightest inkling that uranium was a vitally strategic ore.

Albert Einstein wrote to President Roosevelt in August 1941, but his letter was not delivered until October. Apparently, the Secretary of War didn't even hear the strange words "uranium" and "fission" until the autumn of 1941.

A Strange Decision

It seems strange that President Roosevelt, acting with uncanny vision, made the fateful decision to form a small committee and put substantial sums of money into the proposed project (later called "Manhattan") which these refugees were urging on him, and that he made that decision on the very day before the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor!

Little did the President, or anyone else, know that this secret project would develop the world's most fearsome weapon — a weapon which would shorten the war in the Pacific, probably actually save many thousands of lives; and, at the same time, would give America a few years of undisputed supreme military striking capacity — a supremacy which would be badly needed in the turbulent years immediately following World War II.

Harry S. Truman made this significant comment regarding how America came to develop and use the first A-bombs. He said:

It was my fate to make the decision to use the first atomic bomb to bring about the end of a terrible war.

When President Roosevelt authorized the vast undertaking to develop an atomic bomb, he had but one purpose — to hasten the winning of a war that had been forced on us. We were in a frenzied race with Nazi Germany to be the first to produce an atomic weapon. At that time the Germans were believed to be ahead of us. We knew that if Hitler were the first to succeed, we and our allies would find ourselves in a hopeless position.

Realizing the gravity of the situation, President Roosevelt wasted no time and spared no effort and resources to make certain that we prevailed against the ruthless men in the Pacific as well as in Europe.

The leader of the Manhattan Project was Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, known by the name of "Oppy." He and America's atomic scientists had to undergo many privations, avoiding normal contacts with their friends and relatives.

The men who worked on the A-bomb project at Los Alamos didn't even know for sure that they would succeed in developing a super weapon. They had great difficulty in justifying the huge expenses needed to do their work.

America's atomic team worked for eighteen months on the theoretical construction of the bomb, and then spent another two years at Los Alamos actually making it. Until the very end they didn't know for sure that it would *go off*. And even if it did, they weren't absolutely sure that the explosion could be kept under control.

Some even thought the explosion might set off an uncontrollable nuclear chain reaction that could blast them and much of the world into oblivion. They felt reasonably certain that this wouldn't happen. Nevertheless there was still the slight, haunting doubt that they might be wrong.

The First Mushroom Cloud

Once they had actually constructed the first atomic explosive device, the place for its detonation was chosen — Alamogordo, New Mexico — about two hundred miles due south of Los Alamos.

On July 13, 1945, in an old ranch house, they assembled the first A-bomb. A couple of days later it had been mounted on a 100-foot tower. After locking the central core of the A-bomb in place, they were ready for the final test.

Apprehensive, the scientists retreated to observation shelters of reinforced concrete which had been constructed about five miles away. As an extra precaution, trucks stood by ready for an emergency retreat if it proved necessary.

With pounding hearts, they stretched themselves face down on the ground, their feet toward the blast tower and covered their eyes — as the nerve-wracking countdown began. During the countdown, Dr. Op-

penheimer was observed holding onto one of the posts in the blast shelter in order to steady his trembling body.

In the early morning of July 16, 1945, precisely at 5:29 and 45 seconds, there was a blinding flash — brighter than a thousand suns! Then there was a loud thunder-like clap, and at the zero point a burning inferno of fire was sucked up into a rising pillar of smoke which ascended higher and higher and billowed into a gigantic, awesome-looking mushroom cloud which was slowly dissipated by the high winds.

The ferocity of the explosion stunned and terrified the scientists. Oppenheimer thought immediately of two passages from the Hindu epic, *Bhagavad-Gita*:

“I am become Death, the shatterer of worlds.”

And the second one:

“If the radiance of a thousand suns were to burst into the sky, that would be the splendor of the Mighty One.”

A Man of Destiny

How did President Truman come to be chosen to make the awful decision whether or not to use the A-bomb?

Harry Truman (1884-1972) the 33rd President of the U.S. (1945-1953) was born in Lamar, Missouri, and was reared on a farm near Independence. He graduated from school in 1901, but his family was too poor to send him to college. Since he was horribly nearsighted, he was prevented from getting an appointment to either Annapolis or West Point. Mr. Truman worked as a bank clerk in Kansas City, Missouri from 1901-1906, and then decided to return to the family farm.

During the First World War, he served with the National Guard artillery unit in France during the Meuse-Argonne and Saint-Mihiel campaigns. He attained the rank of captain.

After the First World War, Truman spent a brief period as part-owner of a men's clothing store in Kansas City (1919-1921). But the haberdashery was not much of a success, and Truman decided to enter local politics as a Democrat. Mr. Truman held several local judicial and administrative posts. He studied nights at the Kansas City school of law from 1923-1925, and was elected U.S. Senator from Missouri in 1934, and was re-elected in 1940.

Whatever Mr. Truman did, he always did with gusto. As chairman of the “Truman Committee” he vigorously investigated and exposed the startling inefficiency and bungling on U.S. war contracts, saving the Government vast sums of money.

In 1944, Harry S. Truman was chosen as Franklin D. Roosevelt's running mate. His election to the Vice-Presidency was destined to

change both his life and the world although as Vice-President he was kept in the dark concerning important matters of national interest.

At the time, neither he nor anyone else could remotely imagine the weighty decisions which would later devolve upon his shoulders.

Truman Learns of the A-bomb

President Harry S. Truman only learned of America's super weapon the day after Roosevelt died. On that fateful date James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State, informed Truman of the coming experiment.

Twelve days later the Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, told the new President that he had an urgent matter to mention to him:

I want you to know about an immense project that is under way — a project looking to the development of a new explosive of almost unbelievable destructive power.

Stimson then said that was all he was free to tell him at the time. This left President Truman a deeply puzzled man. On the day that Truman became the 33rd President of the U.S., he told Tony Vaccaro (of the Associated Press) "Few men in history equaled the one into whose shoes I'm stepping, and I silently prayed to God that I could measure up to the task."

Shortly after his inauguration, Truman told some reporters:

Boys, if you ever *pray, pray for me*. . . . But when they told me yesterday what had happened, I felt like the moon, the stars and all the planets had fallen on me. I've got the most terribly responsible job a man ever had.

On the day before America atom-bombed Hiroshima, President Truman told a group of officers aboard the U.S.S. *Augusta* that it didn't matter all that much if the Russians had been difficult at the recent Potsdam Conference. Why didn't it matter? America now possessed a secret new weapon so powerful that we would not need the Russians to help us deliver the final *coup de grace* to Japan.

Speaking of this new weapon, President Truman told those officers:

It is so powerful that one weapon is equal to twenty thousand tons of TNT. It is the biggest gamble in history. Two billion dollars have been spent on it. We will have the final answer on its effectiveness within a very short time.

"A Miracle of Deliverance"

While Truman, Churchill and Stalin were meeting at Potsdam, near war-ravaged Berlin, during the last half of July 1945, Truman received

word that America's first atomic test explosion at Alamogordo, New Mexico had been successful. The U.S. President immediately joined Britain and China in the Potsdam Declaration — giving Japan her final surrender ultimatum. Japan rejected the ultimatum, and from that moment forward, her fate was sealed.

While attending the Potsdam Conference, Truman mentioned this new weapon to Stalin and Churchill. Churchill agreed that it should be used in the war against Japan in the Pacific.

Winston S. Churchill later said that "there was never a moment's discussion as to *whether* the atomic bomb should be used or not." In fact, Mr. Churchill looked upon the Allied possession of the A-bomb as "a miracle of deliverance." He said:

We seemed suddenly to have become possessed of a *a merciful abridgement* of the slaughter in the East and of a far happier prospect in Europe. . . . To avert a vast indefinite butchery, to bring the war to an end, to give peace to the world, to lay healing hands upon its tortured people by a manifestation of overwhelming power at the cost of a few explosions, seemed after all our toils and perils, *a miracle of deliverance*.

Why did President Truman decide to use America's atomic bombs against Japan? Would it not have been better for him to have invited the Japanese to see a test demonstration of this super weapon — then ask them to sue for peace, to surrender unconditionally?

Some time before the first atomic explosion over Alamogordo, America had hand-picked and trained a number of airmen with specially equipped planes to unleash her first atomic weapons upon Japan — once they were ready.

America had successfully tested the first of her three atom bombs. She still had two. What would she do with them?

Why Truman Said "Yes"

But why did President Truman decide to use America's atomic bombs against Japan — instead of using more conventional methods of warfare to wind up the war in the Pacific?

President Truman had sought the best military advice he could get. He was advised that if America and her Allies conquered Japan without using the atom bomb, it might cost her two million casualties. Furthermore, the Japanese would probably suffer even heavier casualties. And much of their land would be devastated in the process. To use the A-bomb to bring the war in the Pacific to a swift, sharp conclusion appeared to him to be a merciful thing. President Truman therefore decided to use the new superweapon. And he stoutly defended his decision to the day of his death.



Truman, Churchill and Stalin met at Potsdam Germany to discuss post-World War II Europe. Also, they discussed the matter of Russia entering the war in the Pacific against Japan. — *American Stock Photo*

Another reason Truman decided to use the A-bomb was to end the war with Japan before Russia had time to enter the conflict in the Pacific and occupy large portions of Japanese territories. By now, Truman had come to believe that wherever Joe Stalin planted the Russian boot, it would remain, unless it was removed by a superior force.

What If . . .

The cruiser *Indianapolis* was assigned the task of racing from San Francisco to Tinian (not far from Japan) with the vital, cup-shaped innards of the bomb in a lead cylinder. Only three days after the *Indianapolis* reached the island of Tinian, where it safely delivered its precious U-235 on July 26th, it was torpedoed and sunk by the Japanese! However, three separate planes had also delivered three smaller chunks of U-235 to Tinian.)

It was most fortunate for Hiroshima that over 90,000 of that city's peak wartime population of 380,000 Japanese citizens had been ordered to leave the ill-fated city in five mass evacuations — just prior to atomic destruction raining down!

Americans had picked four Japanese cities as possible targets on which to drop the first two atom bombs. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were only two of them. Which ones would be hit depended on the weather pattern over Japan at the time of the intended bombing.

As Col. Paul W. Tibbets, Jr. and his crew flew their atomic-laden B-29 *Enola Gay* toward its destination on that fateful morning of August 6th, they were tense, wondering what kind of destruction they were about to unleash on the unsuspecting city.

A Ten-mile Hole

As the *Enola Gay* flew toward Hiroshima, a solid cloud bank covered southern Japan as far as the eye could see. But only minutes later, amazingly, a gaping ten-mile hole had opened up in the otherwise solid cloud layer, affording a clear view of the entire city — as though fate had fore-ordained that this was the first city to die.

The crew aboard *Enola Gay* were ready, goggles in place, bracing themselves for the awful moment when, in one terrifying second, the city beneath them would vanish.

Just before that first awful explosion occurred, the people of the doomed city noticed three parachutes blossoming from one of the three American planes. The three parachutes had been dropped from the blast-and-radiation-measuring plane, and carried instruments to broadcast such measurements.

When people saw the three parachutes blossom over their city, some



America's first A-bomb carrying B-29 (the "Enola Gay") sits on Tinian in the Marianas Islands — waiting to receive orders to drop "Fat Boy" on Hiroshima. — U.S. Air Force Photo

cheered, thinking enemy planes were in difficulty. The three parachutes glided silently toward the city for about 45 seconds — then suddenly without warning, there was no sky left over Hiroshima!

A Blinding Flashbulb

The survivors of Hiroshima described that first instant of blinding atomic explosion as pure, awful light, blinding, terribly intense, but awesome in its beauty and variety.

One eye-witness said the initial flash of the bomb turned from white to pink, then to blue as it rose and blossomed over the city.

Others saw a half-dozen different colors or so. Some said the brightness of the gold and white light reminded them of a huge photographic flashbulb exploding over Hiroshima.

But thousands who were destined by fate to be near ground zero, saw or heard nothing at all! Instantly, they were incinerated where they stood by the radiant heat that quickly turned central Hiroshima into a gigantic oven.

Multitudes of others who survived for a second or two, were soon shredded by millions of splinters of flying window glass that flew before the awful blast waves. Still others were crushed beneath walls, beams, bricks or other heavy objects which were toppled by the blast.

Many of the people of Hiroshima were on their way to work when the bomb exploded. About 70,000 casualties resulted.

The big bang and its initial flash gave birth to a whole succession of after calamities. First, scorching, searing heat. Though it only lasted for an instant it was so intense that it melted roof tiles, charred the exposed sides of telephone poles for almost two miles from ground zero. The intense heat even fused quartz crystals of giant granite blocks.

Humans who were near ground zero were instantly annihilated. Nothing of them remained except the *outlines of their shadows* which were burned in grisly patterns into the asphalt pavements or stone walls.

Human skin was seared at a distance of two and a half miles from the point of blast. Many women had the darker portions of their *kimonos* burned out, while the lighter shades remained unscorched. This left the skin underneath etched with the flower patterns of their clothing.

But more destruction was yet to come. After the initial flash, and the searing heat, came the *blast* which swept ominously out from the fireball with the force of a 500-mile-an-hour wind. This mighty blast flattened buildings, trees, and most everything in its path.

Then a few minutes after the explosion, a *strange rain* of big, black raindrops (a half inch or so in size) began to fall onto the city.

After the strange rain, came a wind — a ferocious fire wind — which

blew back toward the center of Hiroshima. This wind increased as the air over Hiroshima grew hotter because of the spreading fires.

A Huge Cloud of Dust

Looking down on Hiroshima from *Enola Gay*, the American airmen saw a huge cloud of dust boiling up from the city, and long swirling shafts of dust rushing toward the city center. A column of white smoke, mushroomed over the city — standing upright for a distance of about four miles!

The scene below was one of indescribably terrifying reality. There was utter chaos. Hiroshima, as a viable city, had instantly ceased to exist.

The death, destruction — and the suffering of those who were not vaporized or incinerated — was indescribable. People did not know what had struck. Many of those who jumped into the river to quench the fires and burning on their skin and clothing were drowned by huge waves whipped up by the terrible wind which roared through the city.

But even after this terrible destruction, Japanese government officials still refused to surrender!

The United States, therefore, decided to go ahead and drop a second bomb, this time on *Nagasaki*, on August 9th — just three days after the Hiroshima holocaust.

After the first bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, the White House released an official communiqué which mentioned the bombing:

It was to spare the Japanese people from *utter destruction* that the ultimatum of July 26th was issued at Potsdam. Their leaders promptly rejected that ultimatum. If they do not now accept our terms, they may expect a rain of ruin from the air the like of which has never been seen.

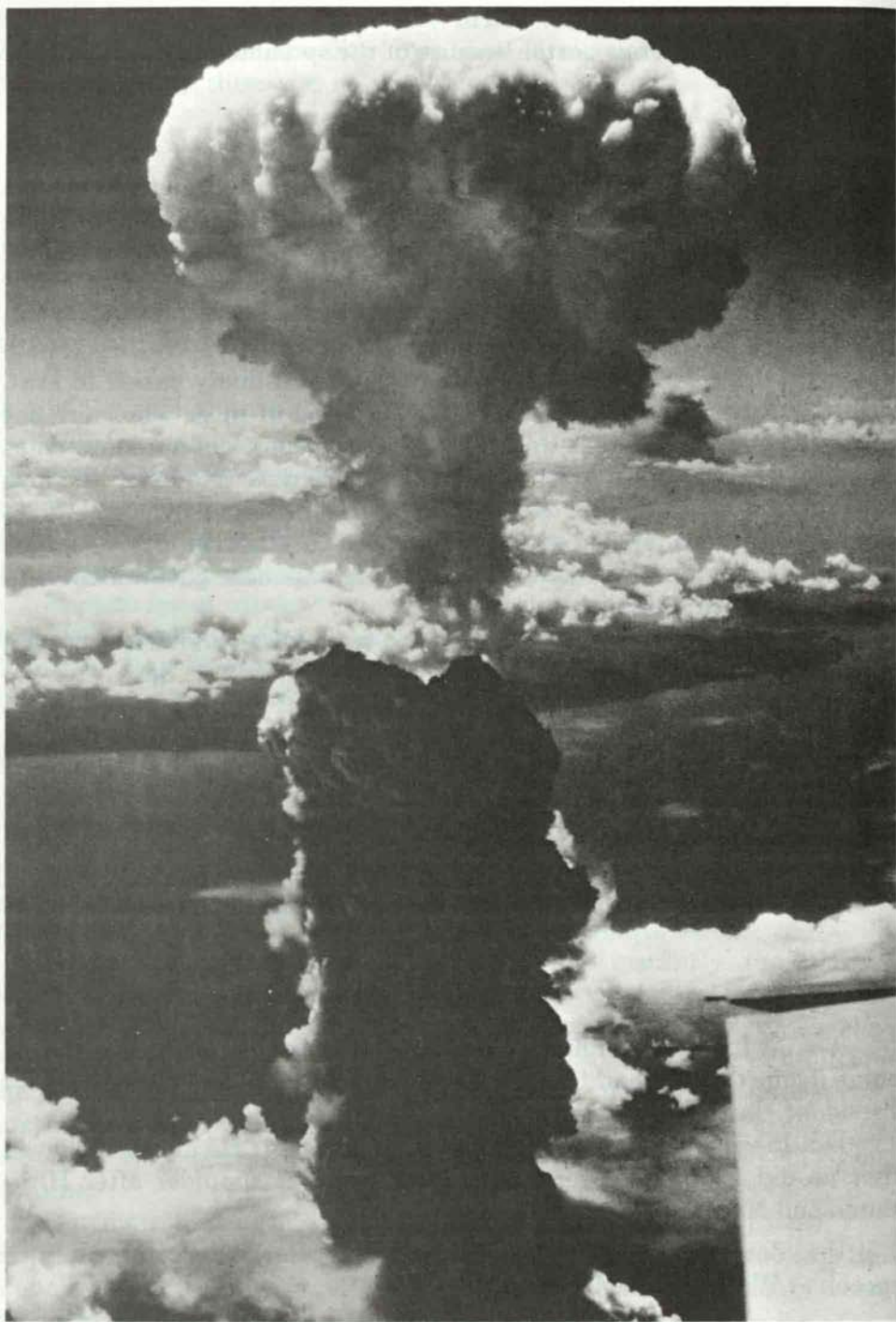
Truman's Awful Decision

The awful responsibility of deciding whether or not to use the A-bomb against Japan had fallen squarely on the shoulders of one man — President Harry S. Truman.

Did President Truman make the right decision? He always believed that he did. Truman never looked back over his shoulder after Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

President Harry S. Truman made this remarkable comment in a speech at Washington on April 3, 1941:

I do not think that anyone can study the history of this nation of ours without becoming convinced that *Divine Providence* has played a great part in it. I have the feeling that *God* has created us and brought us to *our present position of power and strength for some great purpose*.



When America's second atomic blow fell on Japan, devastating much of the city of Nagasaki, the Japanese war lords decided to surrender immediately. — *American Stock Photo*

It is not given to us now to know fully what that *purpose* is. But I think we may be sure of one thing. . . . It is given to us to defend the spiritual values — the moral code — against the vast forces of evil that seek to destroy them. This is a hard task. It is not one that we have asked for. At times we would like to lay it down. But we need not be afraid if we have faith.

The Ultra Secret

Far more significant than Allied development of the A-bomb was their super secret source of intelligence concerning enemy plans during World War II — made possible through successfully breaking the German and Japanese secret codes.

A fascinating account of how this was done is given by F. W. Winterbotham in his book, *The Ultra Secret*.

During World War II, the highest form of intelligence was obtained from “breaking” of the supposedly “unbreakable” German machine cyphers, was ‘processed’ and distributed with complete security to President Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and all the principal Chiefs of Staff and commanders in the field throughout the war.

Just what was “Ultra”? How did it originate? How did Ultra help toward Britain, America and the Allies winning the Second World War?

General Dwight D. Eisenhower fully realized the immense value of Ultra in its contributions to Allied Intelligence during the Second World War. His appreciation for this “most secret source” of important Allied Intelligence is revealed in one of his letters, addressed to General Stewart Menzies, Chief of the British Secret Service:

July 1945

Dear General Menzies,

I had hoped to be able to pay a visit to Bletchley Park in order to thank you, Sir Edward Travis, and other members of the staff personally for the magnificent services which have been rendered to the Allied cause.

I am very well aware of the immense amount of work and effort which has been involved in the production of the material with which you have supplied us. I fully realize also the numerous setbacks and difficulties with which you have had to contend and how you have always, by your supreme efforts, overcome them.

The Intelligence which has emanated from you before and during this campaign has been of priceless value to me. It has simplified my task as a commander enormously. It has saved thousands of British and American lives and, in no small way, contributed to the speed with which the enemy was routed and eventually forced to surrender. I should be very grateful, therefore, if you would express to each and every one of those engaged in this work from me personally my heartfelt admiration and sincere thanks for their very decisive contribution to the Allied war effort.

Sincerely,

(Sgd) Dwight D. Eisenhower

The Germans, even before the beginning of World War II, began designing and building a *secret code machine* (later called "Enigma") by which they would be able to communicate secret information rapidly from top leaders in Hitler's Third Reich to German field commanders.

How did the Allies find out about this machine?

F. W. Winterbotham says:

It was Denniston (a British intelligence officer) himself who went to Poland and triumphantly, but in the utmost secrecy, brought back the complete, new, electrically operated Enigma cypher machine which we now knew was being produced in thousands and was destined to carry all the secret signal traffic of the great war machine.

... Polish officers now living in Britain have stated that the Poles constructed a number of Enigma machines from information extracted from the factory in Germany coupled with the help of their own cryptographers, and that it was presumably one of these which they supplied to us

But, even with the machine, British intelligence officers still had the difficult task of understanding and deciphering "Enigma" 's cryptic messages.

Early in the war, the British had the good fortune to capture a number of Enigma machines complete with operational keys. Says Winterbotham:

About the beginning of April 1940 Ultra signals began to increase. However in the earlier days of the war the Bronze Goddess (Britain's "Enigma" machine at Bletchley) was still somewhat immature and intermittent in operation, and, I believe, it was our good fortune in obtaining an Enigma machine complete with operational keys from a shot down German aircraft off Norway. Later the same useful material was captured from a German Tank Signals unit which had got too far ahead in the Battle of France, and again in May of 1941 the Navy's capture of a German U boat, complete with its Enigma and chart of operating keys intact, not only gave us direct access to much of the naval military and air Enigma traffic but was also invaluable in helping the brains of Bletchley to bring the Bronze Goddess to maturity. They kept up a small but steady flow of Ultra until early in 1942, by which time a bevy of newly sophisticated Goddesses, now established in their new brick temple (at Bletchley, located about 46 miles northeast of London) and attended by some thousands of secret people, probed with their dainty fingers the secrets of the Enigma machine and attained complete mastery over all the German signals.

How Ultra Was Used

With a number of Enigma machines, the British were able to "break" the German machine cyphers and learn what the Axis powers

were up to. The top Nazis — especially the German commanders — freely used Enigma machines to send detailed reports of their equipment, men and dates of intended operations.

Through the use of Ultra, British intelligence officers were able to keep Prime Minister Churchill completely informed about German intentions all during World War II. Ultra intelligence officers used a little “red box” to deliver regular dispatches of ultrasecret information to the Prime Minister. F. W. Winterbotham himself often communicated with Churchill on the telephone — keeping him constantly informed of any important developments which might be of interest or value in conducting the war from Number 10 Downing Street.

Churchill's Agonizing Decision

Though Ultra proved highly useful to Prime Minister Churchill during World War II, it also caused him to have to make some agonizing decisions.

After Goering's vaunted Luftwaffe had failed to knock out Britain's airdromes and her vital sector stations, he switched to heavy bombing of British cities in order to demoralize the populace and obliterate the important segments of British industry.

On November 14, 1941, Ultra learned that Goering intended to pound the city of Coventry mercilessly with his bombers. The Prime Minister and the R.A.F. were notified. There were only four or five hours before the attack would begin. All of the services — the ambulance, police, fire, and the wardens — were alerted and waiting. Even the decoy fires were lit, and the British started jamming all navigational aids which the German pilots might use.

One agonizing decision had to be made. Would the Prime Minister order that the people of Coventry be evacuated before the merciless bombing attack began? If the city were evacuated, this would be a sure tip-off to the Germans that the British had pre-knowledge of the raid, and had therefore taken counter-measures. And if the press, the general populace, and the Germans learned the British had fore-knowledge of the heavy bomber attack, then the German High Command would surely realize that their code had been broken. Ultra would cease to have any value or meaning to the Allies. It was decided only to alert all the services, the fire, the ambulance, the police, the wardens, and to get everything ready to light the decoy fires.

In the ensuing attack the heart of Coventry was smashed. Many thousands were killed and injured, and over 50,000 houses were damaged or totally destroyed! But the Ultra secret remained intact!

Ultra Success

What part did Ultra play in winning the war? Consider:

Britain was alone (after the fall of France in the spring of 1940) against the vast victorious German war machine. At that time it became a question of *survival* rather than victory. During the Battle of Britain it was Ultra that helped the British Fighter Command to outwit Goering's massive attempts to destroy the RAF.

During the long withdrawal of the British Middle East forces from El Agheila back to Egypt, pressed all the way by the relentless Rommel, it is doubtful whether, without Ultra, Wavell or Auchinleck could have so cleverly boxed him to a standstill.

In *Crete* Ultra denied surprise to the German parachute invasion. Although the island was lost, the knowledge gained by Ultra undoubtedly saved most of the British forces from capture.

Before Alamein, one cannot help wondering what would have happened if Rommel had achieved surprise for his vicious attack around Montgomery's left flank. At best it would have totally disrupted the preparation for Alamein. With our exact knowledge from Ultra of just what Rommel was going to do, his attack was met and beaten off. *Alamein became the turning point from bare survival to aggressive victories.*

In *North-West Africa* we and our new allies, the Americans, were ensured by Ultra of both surprise and almost total lack of resistance for the seaborne operation, and the final battles in *Tunisia* were fought with full knowledge from Ultra of Rommel's and von Arnim's counter-attacks and the details of the positions held by the enemy.

It was just before our landings in Algeria that the *negative role* of Ultra first proved so valuable; by this I mean the objectives of our own preparations being so evidently unknown to the enemy, judging from the guessing games that went on in signals between their various commanders and Berlin. It was this negative role which told us that we should achieve surprise. The enemy never quite knew where the Allied landings in *North Africa, Sicily* and *Italy* would take place. It is true that our plans for these operations had been based on the information from Ultra as to where there would be least opposition, but if for the moment one reverses the roles of Ultra there would have been little chance of our amphibious invasions in the Mediterranean or in Normandy achieving the successes they did. It is, I think, true to say that on these counts Ultra was the vital factor.

Now we can begin to understand what Churchill meant by "my most secret source," and can appreciate why Eisenhower felt so grateful to the "back-room boys at Bletchley" for their most valuable intelligence information.

There were many other campaigns in which, according to F. W. Winterbotham, Ultra played a vital role:

In *Sicily*, Patton, who was made aware by Ultra of the precise position of the German panzer units and the direction in which they were moving after the Allied landings, slipped round their flank and got to Messina almost before the Germans could get across to Italy.

It was Alexander who, knowing the precise distribution of German troops at Cassino, planned the surprise attack over the mountains and it was France's General Juin who so brilliantly carried it out.

Winterbotham adds:

Over the years of reading the signals of Hitler, Rundstedt, Rommel, Kesselring and other German commanders in Europe, most of us who were closely connected with *this miracle source*, as Winston Churchill called it, obtained a fairly complete insight into the way their minds worked, of the attitudes of the various generals towards Hitler, and of the reasons behind their various appreciations, which they sent to the OKW, as to when and where we were going to operate. These latter gave us the priceless opportunities to mis-guide them about our operations with our deceptive plans.

Perhaps the best example of this was Rundstedt's appreciation in 1943 that the Allied invasion of France would come across the Pas de Calais. This document alone led to a complete chain of events, dictating much of our planning for Overlord and the setting up of Patton's phantom army in Kent to fit in with Rundstedt's views, a deception which kept a complete German army around Calais and four panzer divisions away from our landing beaches.

Ultra told us, too, that as soon as things started to go wrong with enemy operations Hitler invariably took remote control, which was an extra bonus, since most of his signals went on the air.

Although neither Hitler nor his top generals ever gave any indication on Ultra they had caught on to the fact that their cyphers were unsafe, they must have wondered why their carefully laid plans never came off.

Ultra and Operation Overlord

What major military operation profited most from the mass of accurate information received over Ultra?

It was in Operation Overlord (the invasion of Hitler's Fortress Europe) that Ultra reached its peak.

Planning the assault was dependent on the precise location, strength and equipment of the Germans in Normandy. This would have been mere guesswork despite the bits of information which the French could send us. Once ashore, endless valuable time and lives might have been lost in raids and probing attacks to find out where and how strong were the enemy. The British Second Army might have battered themselves against the enemy tanks concentrated around Caen, but instead Dempsey knew just where and how many they were. The precise knowledge of the massive reinforcement of German armour at Caen enabled Montgomery to reshape the main plans to allow Bradley to break out to

Avranches. Dempsey was able to select his points of attack to cause the utmost disruption and to pin down the panzers; "for Rommel, it was like fighting with one hand tied behind his back," says Winterbotham.

Ultra's "Ultimate Triumph"

What, according to F. W. Winterbotham, was Ultra's ultimate triumph during World War II?

The ultimate triumph of Ultra was, to my mind, the trapping of the German armies in Normandy at Falaise. Our full pre-knowledge of the German plans as laid down by Hitler, coupled with our knowledge of the strength of all the German units involved, brought out the best in imaginative action by Eisenhower and the American generals. To Patton it gave the opportunity to employ his technique of high mobility. It was the beginning of the end of the war in the west.

After Falaise, Ultra shortened the war by giving all the Allied commanders details of the weak points and dwindling resources of the enemy so that they could go forward into Germany as quickly as natural hazards would let them. This was highly important in view of the advancing Russian armies. Without Ultra we might have had to meet the Russians on the Rhine instead of the Elbe, and they would have stayed put.

How fortunate that the Western Allies had an accurate source of secret information provided them by Ultra during this crucial part of the war.

The Japanese Enigma

According to Winterbotham the Japanese also used the German-designed Enigma machines, though they must have introduced their own variations on it.

Says Winterbotham:

Not being a cryptographer, I was never closely connected with Japanese cyphers but I believe I am correct in saying that as far back as 1930 the Japanese purchased the early uncomplicated version of the Enigma machine and adapted it to their own use, primarily for diplomatic traffic. This cypher was broken by the Americans in 1940 and shared with the British. Just when the Japanese navy, army and air force began to use the more highly sophisticated Enigma as developed by the Germans I do not know, but I assume that the Bletchley system (the Ultra system) was brought in and shared with the USA in order to give complete coverage in the Pacific, since shortly after Pearl Harbour I was asked to supply Washington with my tried security regulations. . . .

Many persistent reports affirm that America definitely had secret intelligence of Japan's plans to attack Pearl Harbor, but both the radio and telegraph warnings sent to warn Hawaii reportedly failed to get through in time.

In his eye-opening book, F. W. Winterbotham tells about America's fortunate intelligence bonanza in the Pacific — especially just before the all-important Battle of Midway:

Admiral Nimitz had to fight two decisive actions in the first three months after his appointment. The first was when intercepted signals gave him the Japanese plan for the capture of Port Moresby in New Guinea, which was designed to give them a base for further attacks on Australia itself. The Japanese plan aimed to outflank New Guinea by going far to the east to the Coral Sea before closing on Port Moresby. The plan was received on 17 April 1942 and passed to Admiral Nimitz. It gave him time to move his ships to meet the threat and, in fact, fight the Battle of the Coral Sea in early May. The Battle of the Coral Sea was not a decisive victory but it did stop the Japanese moving southwards, and the threat to Port Moresby was averted. The battle also showed the Americans the future pattern that battles in the Pacific would take; fought by *aircraft* from carriers and not by ship to ship.

Turning Point in the Pacific

But the real turning point in the Pacific war came at *Midway*. How did America, with inferior naval forces, manage to win a significant victory over Japanese naval forces — and send them reeling back toward Japan?

Later in May, intercepted signals showed that a great Japanese fleet would move to try and capture Midway Island, known as the sentry for Hawaii itself. The instructions in the signal were “to provoke action with the main American fleet and to destroy it piecemeal” and finally it disclosed that an attack on the Aleutian islands would be made which was intended to draw off the Americans to the north and leave the way open to Midway. The Japanese fleet included a powerful carrier-borne striking force under Admiral Chinchi Nagumo. Admiral Nimitz knew that he was going to have to fight a considerably superior enemy.

The Japanese fleet moved out towards Midway on the twenty-seventh of May, just three weeks after Nimitz had received the information of the Japanese intentions. As a result, he was able to avoid the trap of allowing his ships to be drawn off to the north. *The battle for Midway was to be the turning point in the Pacific war.* It was fought almost entirely by aircraft; in fact the American dive bombers won for Nimitz a victory which, by destroying Nagumo's entire carrier force, destroyed the offensive power of the Japanese fleet.

A Dangerous Leak

It was this most important victory of the Pacific naval war which caused a breach of security which nearly wrecked the Ultra secret. Somehow a journalist got hold of the story and published the fact that the Japanese coded signal had been broken. There was immediate reac-

tion by Churchill! Security of this top cypher, which was one of the Enigma variations used by the Japanese Navy, was tightened to stop any recurrence.

There was another protest from London to Washington over the shooting down by the Americans of the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Navy, Admiral Yamamoto. Ultra had revealed precisely when he would arrive by air to inspect an island base. The brilliant timing by the Americans killed Yamamoto at a moment when his death had a tremendous effect on Japanese morale, but it was all carried out without an adequate cover plan. Like Admiral Doenitz in Germany, the Japanese fortunately did not believe their top cyphers had been broken, and these security lapses did no harm.

These Allied Intelligence triumphs, as recounted in *The Ultra Secret*, are only a few of the many *thousands* of advance intelligence warnings which the Allies received through Ultra. The Allies knew exactly what the Axis powers planned to do. Fortunately, the enemy failed to believe that we were onto their secret cyphers.

It is highly possible that the actual outcome of World War II may have hung on the vital secret information supplied by Ultra. It is certain, however, that this secret source of information saved many lives and shortened the war considerably.

“A Very Narrow Shave”

Many today don't fully grasp the fact that the Allies actually came very close to losing World War II. This is clearly underlined by Winterbotham. He says:

Even when, after Alamein, the pendulum at last began to swing our way a little, the advance knowledge of the enemy's movements, strength and likely behaviour gained through Ultra still did not enable us to achieve any quick results: we just did not have the men, machines and resources. Let no one be fooled by the spate of television films and propaganda which has made the war seem like some great triumphant epic. It was, in fact, *a very narrow shave*, and the reader may like to ponder . . . whether or not we might have won had we not had Ultra.

Concludes Winterbotham:

To all those who have been brought up in the belief that the *Allied victory* over the Fascist powers was accomplished with some ease plus the will of Allah, perhaps the early chapters of this book will have provided the sobering thought that *it almost didn't happen*. Let them judge for themselves just how much *the near miracle* of Ultra helped to make our victory possible.

I believe that most of the senior commanders, both in Britain and America, would, together with Winston Churchill and President Roose-

velt, have endorsed the views expressed by General Eisenhower that "Ultra was decisive."

Ultra was of great use to the Allies. But was this secret intelligence weapon put in Allied hands by blind chance or was it the gracious gift of Providence?

Winston Churchill — who was fully cognizant of the part played by Ultra — declared on October 31st, 1942:

I have a feeling sometimes that *some Guiding Hand has interfered*. I have a feeling that we have a *Guardian* because we have a great Cause, and we shall have that Guardian so long as we serve that Cause faithfully. And what a Cause it is!

Supervising Japan's Surrender

After President Truman announced the Japanese acceptance of the Allied "unconditional surrender" terms on August 14, 1945, he made General Douglas A. MacArthur Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

As Supreme Commander, MacArthur was responsible for supervising the surrender and post-war rule of Japan. He accepted the Japanese surrender aboard the battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on September 2, 1945.

What remarks would befit the historic occasion when the Imperial Japanese delegates signed the instrument of surrender?

MacArthur, in his *Reminiscences*, wrote:

The formal ceremonies of surrender aboard the *Missouri* were fixed for September 2, 1945. I had received no instructions as to what to say or what to do. *I was on my own, standing on the quarterdeck with only God and my own conscience to guide me.*

As the time arrived to conduct the surrender ceremonies aboard the battleship *Missouri*, the dignified MacArthur walked quietly from the interior of the ship, stepped up to the microphones, and began addressing the dignitaries, servicemen, war correspondents and others who attended those historic services. A grave-faced MacArthur began his speech:

We are gathered here, representatives of the major warring powers, to conclude a solemn agreement whereby peace may be restored. The issues, involving divergent ideals and ideologies, have been determined on the battlefields of the world and hence are not for our discussion or debate. Nor is it for us here to meet, representing as we do a majority of the people of the earth, in a spirit of distrust, malice or hatred. But rather it is for us, both victors and vanquished, to rise to that higher dignity which alone befits the sacred purposes we are about to serve, committing all our people unreservedly to faithful compliance with the obligation they are here formally to assume.

"A Better World"

It is my earnest hope and indeed the hope of all mankind that from this solemn occasion a better world shall emerge out of the blood and carnage of the past — a world founded upon faith and understanding — a world dedicated to the dignity of man and the fulfillment of his most cherished wish — for freedom, tolerance and justice.

The terms and conditions upon which the surrender of the Japanese Imperial Forces is here to be given and accepted are contained in the instrument of surrender now before you.

As Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, I announce it my firm purpose, in the tradition of the countries I represent, to proceed in the discharge of my responsibilities with justice and tolerance, while taking all necessary dispositions to insure that the terms of surrender are fully, promptly and faithfully complied with.

Praying for Peace

The Supreme Commander, General Douglas MacArthur, then invited the Japanese delegates to sign the instrument of surrender. After the two Japanese delegates, Shigemitsu and Umedzu, signed, other representatives of the Allied Powers followed suit. The United States was first, followed by China, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, Australia, Canada, France, the Netherlands and New Zealand.

After all the delegates had signed the instrument of surrender, MacArthur concluded the surrender ceremonies with a deliberate expression of hope for world peace: "Let us pray that peace be now restored to the world and that God will preserve it always. These proceedings are closed."

At that very moment, the skies parted and the sun shone brightly through the clouds. There came a steady drone overhead, and the roar became deafening as a mighty formation of U.S. airplanes came into sight and swept over the warships. 1,500 carrier planes and 400 B-29s took part in that deafening aerial pageant, as they made a final salute to the participants of World War II.

The war was over, but the huge task of *reconstruction* in Japan and Western Europe lay yet ahead.

"I Thank a Merciful God"

Shortly after the Japanese surrender aboard the battleship *Missouri*, MacArthur made the following historic broadcast to the American nation:

Today the guns are silent. A great tragedy has ended. A great victory has been won. The skies no longer rain death — the seas bear only commerce — men everywhere walk upright in the sunlight. The

entire world is quietly at peace. The holy mission has been completed. And in reporting this to you, the people, I speak for the thousands of silent lips forever stilled among the jungles and the beaches and in the deep waters of the Pacific which marked the way. I speak for the unnamed brave millions homeward bound to take up the challenge of that future which they did so much to salvage from the brink of disaster.

As I look back on the long, tortuous trail from those grim days of Bataan and Corregidor, when an entire world lived in fear, when democracy was on the defensive everywhere, when modern civilization trembled in the balance, *I thank a merciful God that He has given us the faith, the courage and the power from which to mold victory.* We have known the bitterness of *defeat* and the exultation of *triumph*, and from both we have learned there can be no turning back. *We must go forward to preserve in peace what we won in war.*

A new era is upon us. Even the lesson of victory itself brings with it profound concern, both for our future security and the survival of civilization. The destructiveness of war potential, through progressive advances in scientific discovery, has in fact now reached a point which revises the traditional concept of war.

"Our Last Chance"

MacArthur continued:

Men since the beginning of time have sought peace. Various methods through the ages have attempted to devise an international process to prevent or settle disputes between nations. From the very start, workable methods were found insofar as individual citizens were concerned, but the mechanics of an instrumentality of larger international scope have never been successful.

Military alliances, balances of power, leagues of nations, all in turn failed, leaving the only path to be by way of the crucible of war. *We have had our last chance.* If we do not now devise some greater and more equitable system, Armageddon will be at our door. The problem basically is theological and involves a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character that will synchronize with our almost matchless advances in science, art, literature and all material and cultural developments of the past two thousand years. *It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh.*

We stand in Tokyo today reminiscent of our countryman, Commodore Perry, ninety-two years ago. His purpose was to bring to Japan an era of enlightenment and progress, by lifting the veil of isolation to the friendship, trade, and commerce of the world. But alas the knowledge thereby gained of Western science was forged into an instrument of oppression and human enslavement.

Freedom of expression, freedom of action, even freedom of thought were denied through appeal to superstition, and through the application of force. We are committed by the Potsdam Declaration of principles to see that the Japanese people are liberated from this condition of slavery. It is my purpose to implement this commitment just as rapidly as the

armed forces are demobilized and other essential steps taken to neutralize the war potential.

The energy of the Japanese race, if properly directed, will enable expansion vertically rather than horizontally. If the talents of the race are turned into constructive channels, the country can lift itself from its present deplorable state into a position of dignity.

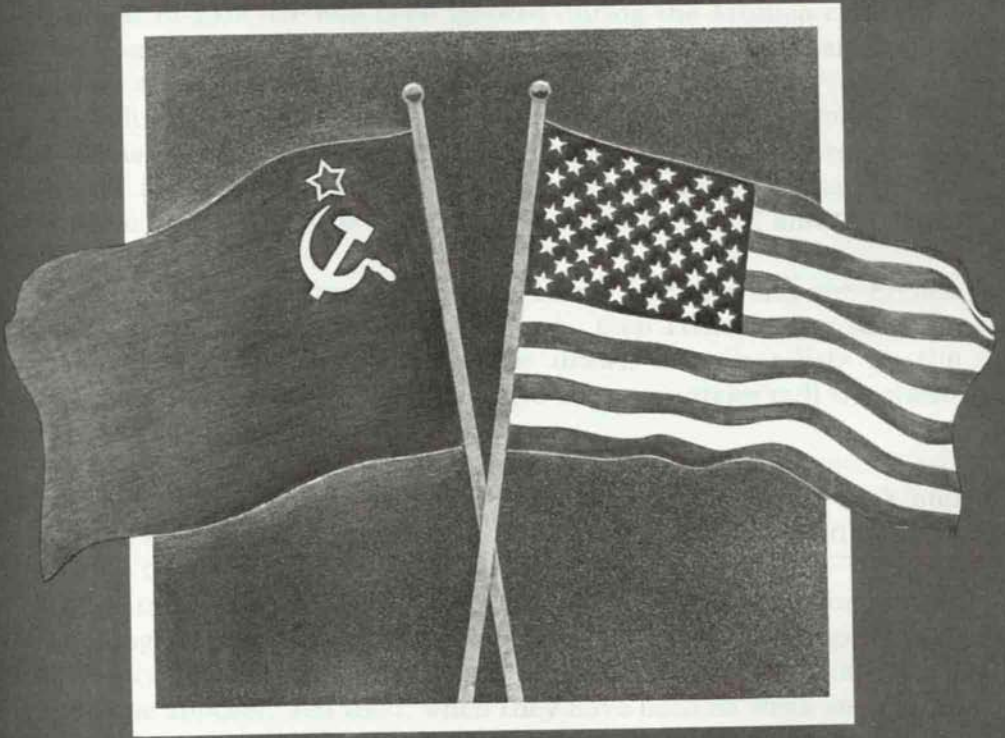
To the Pacific basin has come the vista of a new emancipated world. Today, *freedom* is on the offensive, *democracy* is on the march. Today, in Asia as well as in Europe, unshackled peoples are tasting the full sweetness of *liberty*, the relief from fear.

In the Philippines, America has evolved a model for the new free world of Asia. In the Philippines, America has demonstrated that peoples of the East and peoples of the West may walk side by side in mutual respect and with mutual benefit. The history of our sovereignty there has now the full confidence of the East.

And so, my fellow countrymen, today I report to you that your sons and daughters have served you well and faithfully with the calm, deliberate, determined fighting spirit of the American soldier and sailor, based upon a tradition of historical truth as against the fanaticism of an enemy supported only by mythological fiction. *Their spiritual strength and power had brought us through to victory.* They are homeward bound — take care of them.

BOOK IV

**STRUGGLE
FOR
SUPREMACY**



Out of the Ashes

The Cold War began in earnest in 1945. But the *seeds* of the Cold War were planted, had sprouted and were growing *during* much of the Second World War.

The Cold War really began in the thinking of the Russian Communists — and in particular in the scheming mind of Premier Stalin, dictator of Russia!

Stalin had been displeased when he was left out of the Munich Agreement in 1939. He had been ignored during the Munich crisis, and he had come to have precious little faith in the Allies after their shameful record of appeasement.

Joe Stalin, therefore, decided it expedient to turn to Germany. The Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact of August 23, 1939 was the result. By that pact Hitler would be permitted the military rape of Western Europe while Stalin would be free to ravish eastern Poland and the countries of Eastern Europe.

When Stalin saw that the British Prime Minister and the French Premier were unwilling to do anything to stop Hitler's aggression he proclaimed that Russia would not be drawn into "conflicts by the warmongers who are accustomed to have other countries pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them."

As Stalin watched the dark Nazi storm clouds gathering over Western Europe, he decided it would be best to have Russia sit back and watch the belligerents destroy each other — then Russia could move in to pick up the pieces.

Dictator Stalin on March 10, 1939 told the Eighteenth Communist Party Congress in Moscow that he intended "to allow the belligerents to sink deeply into the mire of war... to allow them to exhaust and weaken one another; and then, when they have become weak enough, to appear on the scene with fresh strength, to appear of course in the interest of *peace* and to dictate conditions to the enfeebled belligerents."

No wonder Stalin appeared so eager to accept Hitler's bribe of eastern Poland, Bessarabia, and the Baltic States in exchange for Russian guarantees of security of the German rear in any confrontation with the Western Allies.

Friction in the Allied Camp

The Anglo-Saxon (or Anglo-American) partners worked well together during the Second World War. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill got along famously. The following story serves to illustrate their very cordial relationship.

Shortly after Japan's sneak attack on Pearl Harbor the British Prime Minister flew to Washington to confer with Roosevelt. Churchill often worked late, and sometimes even worked while having his bath. During Churchill's visit to the U.S. he stayed at the White House. The next morning President Roosevelt wheeled himself in his wheelchair to Churchill's door and asked whether or not he was ready to receive him. The Prime Minister muttered something, whereupon President Roosevelt pointed to the door and asked an assistant: "Please open it for me." To the President's horror, Churchill was standing naked, and looking with some surprise at this rather sudden debut of the President. Churchill hastily wrapped a towel around himself.

An equally embarrassed President started to apologize and began wheeling himself out of the Prime Minister's presence. But the amicable Churchill protested it was quite all right for him to remain. "The Prime Minister of Great Britain," said he, "has nothing to conceal from the President of the United States."

However, although America and Britain got along, various strains developed between the Anglo-American camp and the Russians. Even though Stalin actually got what he deserved, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, nonetheless, Joe Stalin quickly appealed to the Americans and the British to help him pull *his* "chestnuts" out of the Nazi fire.

Russia would have been knocked out of the Second World War had not America and Britain quickly gone to her rescue with massive aid. The Anglo-American view-point was that it would be better to keep Communist Russia in the war, than to let Hitler and the Nazis take over control of all Russia — thereby becoming almost unbeatable.

The Americans and the British didn't have any love for either Communism or the Communist bosses of Russia. But when faced with an even worse tyranny — the Nazis — the decision was made to ally themselves with Russia. It was merely considered the lesser of two evils.

In Britain some criticized Churchill for allying Britain with Russia in the struggle to destroy Nazi Germany.

True, the Western democracies and the Russian Communists would make poor bedfellows. But this was better than letting Hitler gobble up Russia as he had done with all of Western Europe — except England.

During World War II Stalin on more than one occasion revealed

his contempt for the Anglo-Saxons. He was very impatient for the Anglo-Americans to open a second front in Western Europe. He even insulted Churchill and called the British cowards. This second front would help relieve pressure on his badly battered armies, and it would also help bring about the swift downfall of the Nazis.

In August 1942 Churchill visited Stalin in Moscow — informing him there would be no second front in 1942. After hearing this bad news, Stalin grew abusive. “When are you going to start fighting? Are you going to let us do all the work? You will not find it too bad once you start!” said the sarcastic Stalin.

At hearing these outrageous taunts, Churchill let loose with a torrent of words, simultaneously crashing his fist down on the table. He explained that he had travelled to Moscow to make friends, and it was only on account of the heroism of the Russian soldiers that he could pardon the unpardonable things the Premier had said.

Churchill then explained that for a whole year Britain had stood alone in her fight against Hitler. As Churchill gained speed and fire, words poured out in a torrent. This fiery burst from the Prime Minister amused Stalin. He threw his head back and roared with laughter: “I do not know what you are saying,” said a bemused Stalin, “but I like your attitude!”

Allies and Eastern Europe

On the other hand, Stalin didn't want the Anglo-Americans to get involved in Eastern Europe. That was one area which he wanted the Russian forces to liberate, so they could dictate the kind of governments and peace which would reign in Eastern Europe after the War.

Near the end of World War II Prime Minister Churchill had tried to get President Roosevelt to let the Allies push eastward and save much of east Germany and the Balkans from Soviet occupation. But he failed to persuade Roosevelt of the wisdom of such a course of action.

Franklin Roosevelt looked kindly on Joe Stalin. He preferred to reach an accommodation with the Soviet dictator. Roosevelt thought he could charm Stalin thereby getting him to make important concessions to the Western Allies' point of view.

President Roosevelt's favorable impression of Stalin was revealed by a statement of his, made shortly after Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met at the Teheran Conferences in November-December 1943:

“I believe,” said Roosevelt, “he [Stalin] is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia, and I believe that we are going to get along very well with him and the Russian people — very well indeed.”

Later, President Roosevelt came to realize just how wrong he had been about Joe Stalin. Instead of cooperating and showing appreciation

to his Allied partners Stalin often complained and sometimes even pursued obstructionist policies — to the everlasting annoyance of both Roosevelt and Churchill!

It must be remembered that Roosevelt was a sick, tired man during his last conference with Churchill and Stalin — and he probably didn't feel like doing battle with the Russian dictator.

In addition to this President Roosevelt knew that Stalin had some trump cards. The U.S. President wanted to persuade the Russians to join the Western Allies against Japan in the war in the Pacific. Roosevelt, therefore, felt he should make concessions to the Soviet dictator in return for Stalin's pledge to enter the war against Japan shortly after the defeat of Germany.

The Russian "Enigma"

President Roosevelt turned down Churchill's advice for a quick Anglo-American drive into the Balkans so that they could thwart the Russians in their designs to take over that part of Europe.

Churchill understood and deeply distrusted Stalin and the Communists. Prime Minister Churchill was less naïve than Franklin Roosevelt in dealing with the wily Stalin.

Sometime after the war Churchill wrote:

I tried my best to build up with Stalin by frequent personal telegrams the same kind of happy relations which I had developed with President Roosevelt. In this long Moscow series I received many rebuffs and only rarely a kind word. In many cases the telegrams were left unanswered altogether or for many days. The Soviet Government had the impression that they were conferring a great favor on us by fighting in their own country for their own lives. The more they fought, the heavier our debt became. This was not a balanced view.

Churchill admitted he had difficulty understanding the Russians: "I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma."

The British however basically understood the Russian thinking, and wanted to thwart Soviet aims in Eastern Europe. The Americans (with overwhelming economic and military power behind them) failed to comprehend the Russian psychology until it was too late.

The Yalta Agreements

When Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met at Yalta in February 1945 the U.S. President was a frail, tired man and only had two more months to live. At the time Germany was already in flames and total defeat of Hitler's Third Reich was near.

At Yalta, Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill concurred that Germany must sign an "unconditional surrender." They agreed that Russia, Britain, France and America would each be allotted an occupational zone which they would be responsible for administering at the end of World War II.

Furthermore, they agreed on the all-important principle that the occupied countries of Europe should have "free and unfettered elections" so they could choose the type of governments which they preferred. This last point was very important to the Western Allies.

At Yalta, Roosevelt agreed to pay a high price (partly at China's expense) for Russia's promise to participate in the war against Japan.

Even though it was agreed that Germany was to be divided into four occupational zones, the Allies certainly did not expect Stalin to make the division of Germany permanent. Furthermore, the Allies failed to get *written guarantees of access to Berlin* — which the four Allied powers were to occupy jointly. This later proved to be a bone in the throat of the Western Allies.

Stalin promised to allow free elections in Poland, but within weeks of Yalta he broke those promises. No sooner had the Russian boot been planted in Poland than it became clear that the Russians had no intention whatsoever of permitting the Poles to freely elect their own type of government. They could vote for one form of government — Communism. And the Russian divisions in that country would make sure of that.

President Roosevelt, a disillusioned man before his death, finally realized Stalin's perfidy. He said: "We have been betrayed by Joe Stalin."

Truman and Stalin

Shortly after Roosevelt's death Harry S. Truman took the presidential oath. Soon afterward he was briefed on the "Polish question" by high government officials.

President Truman quickly composed a telegram in answer to a recent one from Churchill. In that cable, President Truman wrote the following:

Stalin's reply to you and to President Roosevelt makes our next step of the greatest importance. Although with a few exceptions he does not leave much ground for optimism, I feel very strongly that we should have another go at him.

When the "Big Three" (Truman, Churchill and Stalin) met at Potsdam, Germany, near Berlin in July 1945 there were no illusions in anyone's mind as to Stalin's intentions in Eastern Europe!



The Big Three (Truman, Churchill and Stalin) met at Potsdam, Germany in July, 1945 in order to work out a plan for Europe following W.W.II. Serious misgivings and resultant strains were already in evidence at Potsdam. — *dpa Bild*

It is probably most fortunate both for America and for the world that it was Truman who dealt with Stalin at Potsdam rather than Roosevelt. From the start, President Truman (with his simple, pragmatic, common-sense approach) seemed to see right through the Russian dictator. Whereas Roosevelt had tried to conciliate Stalin, Truman decided the best way to handle the Russian was to "get tough." He believed the only thing which the Russians respected was power. They seemed to believe that power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

While at the Potsdam Conference, President Truman confronted the Soviets about the spheres of influence they had established in Eastern Europe. Truman was especially concerned about Poland — and Russia's broken promise to hold "free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot." The Soviets didn't know what to make of this aggressive little man who had suddenly been catapulted into the world's most awesome seat of power.

Speaking of the Potsdam Conference, a gleeful Churchill later remarked: "He [Truman] told the Russians just where they got off, and generally bossed the whole meeting."

Why did President Truman feel he could stand up to the Russians at Potsdam? How was it possible for him to "get tough" with them, and let them know that the American President wasn't going to be pushed around by Stalin, or by anyone?

During the Potsdam Conference in July 1945 Truman was given word of America's successful testing of the world's first atom bomb!

It was while attending the Potsdam Conference on July 25th that President Truman made the momentous decision to use the A-bomb against Japan — if the Japanese refused the Potsdam Ultimatum. In that Ultimatum the Japanese were ordered to surrender unconditionally, or else they would suffer utter destruction.

After mentioning the "bomb" to Churchill, the Prime Minister urged Truman to go ahead and use it. Also, Joseph Stalin, after being told of America's bomb, suggested that America "make good use of it."

Only one day before the first A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, President Truman was on board a cruiser, the *Augusta*, as it steamed westward across the Atlantic. The ship's officers were entertaining Truman as he traveled home from the Potsdam Conference.

While they were having dessert and coffee, the ship's doctor asked the President if there had been any commitments at Potsdam to bring Russia into the war against Japan in the Pacific. President Truman told him that there hadn't. But he said that if the Soviets had been difficult at the Potsdam Conference, it didn't matter, for the U.S. now possessed a powerful new weapon of such force that America didn't need the Russians' support. "It is so powerful," said the President, "that one weapon is equal to twenty thousand tons of TNT."

President Truman then told them the bomb had already been tested and that it could end the war quickly. "It is the biggest gamble in history. Two billion dollars have been spent on it. . . ." he added.

So it is now clear that President Truman's "get tough" attitude toward the Russians was not only the result of seeing their broken promises concerning "free and unfettered elections" in Poland. The U.S. President also knew America's new super weapon gave her a trump card, and he intended to use that trump.

Though the Russians had the advantage of possessing a gigantic, powerful army (which could roll over Western Europe), yet America possessed such a powerful weapon that the Soviets would not dare attack.

Not long after the first A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, Prime Minister Churchill issued this statement from No. 10 Downing Street:

This revelation of the secrets of nature (how to build nuclear bombs), *long mercifully withheld from man*, should arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every human being. *We must pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce peace among the nations*, and that instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perennial fountain of world prosperity.

After Hiroshima, some immediately began to demand that the U.S. destroy all of its atomic weapons, and let the U.N. have complete control of this awesome weapon. Churchill was dead set against such an idea. He said:

It would . . . be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge of experience of the atomic bomb, which the U.S., Great Britain and Canada now share, to the world organization No one in any country has slept less well in their beds because this knowledge and the method and raw material to apply it are at present . . . in American hands. I do not believe that we should all have slept so soundly had the positions been reversed and some Communist or neo-Fascist state monopolized, for the time being, these dread agencies Ultimately, when the essential brotherhood of man is truly embodied and expressed in a world organization, these powers may be confided to it.

Nor did President Truman favor America destroying her atomic bombs and her nuclear know-how. He knew the Russians would go ahead and develop the bomb anyway. Truman expressed his sentiments this way: "We should not under any circumstances throw away our gun until we are sure that the rest of the world can't arm against us."

Shortly after the Potsdam Conference, America dropped her first bomb on Hiroshima (on August 6th, 1945). On the very next day Joseph Stalin convened a group of five leading Russian physicists, and ordered them to catch up with the atomic achievements of the United States.

Stalin put them under the charge of his secret police boss, Lavrenti Beria.

Even before the Potsdam Conference, Truman had been coached on the diplomatic importance of America's nuclear secret. President Truman, therefore, decided that America was "in a position to dictate our own terms at the end of the war."

When Truman received Molotov on April 23, he spoke sharply to him concerning the rapid and grave deterioration in Eastern Europe. Russia's foreign minister complained: "I have never been talked to like that in my life."

Truman replied: "Carry out your agreements and you won't get talked to like that again."

Architect of Cold War

Who, more than anyone else, was the real architect of the "Cold War"? What were the major events which molded the life of the author of the Cold War?

Just as one can better grasp events of World War II by understanding the central figure (Adolf Hitler) of that war, so one can better comprehend the Cold War by understanding a few important events in the life of the central character behind the Cold War, *Joseph Stalin*.

Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) was born in Gori, a town near Tiflis (now Tbilisi) in Georgia, U.S.S.R. on December 21, 1879. Stalin's real name was Iosif Vissarionovich Djugashvili. He didn't like his name and therefore in 1913 he decided to adopt the name *Stalin* ("Man of Steel").

Not much is known about Stalin's early life. His father was an unsuccessful village shoemaker, and is said to have been a drunkard, cruel to young Josif. Joseph Stalin's mother had to become a washerwoman in order to help support the family which lived in a small shack. Stalin grew up as an only child. (His parents had three children previous to Stalin, but all died.) While still a young boy, Stalin's father left the family and moved into nearby Tiflis to work in a shoe factory.

Joseph Stalin had smallpox when he was six or seven years old, and this left his face badly scarred for the rest of his life. It would appear that Stalin's extreme heartlessness, his incapacity to feel or express pity toward others may have resulted partly from his unhappy childhood and from a deep inferiority complex due to having a badly pockmarked face.

Studied for the Priesthood

Stalin's mother sacrificed to send her son to a little church school in Gori in 1888. Joseph was a bright student and spent five years at that school. Then he received a scholarship at the *religious seminary* in the

nearby town of Tiflis. He entered the seminary in 1894 when he was 14 years old. Stalin distinguished himself at reading and debate. He did good schoolwork. According to the testimony of his schoolmates Stalin held *grudges* and seldom forgave those who dared oppose him.

Joseph Stalin studied for the priesthood in the Georgian Orthodox Church. But he continued to disregard church rules, read forbidden books, and was repeatedly punished.

Stalin joined a secret Marxist revolutionary group in 1893. The Tiflis seminary, like many other Russian schools, was a center for the distribution of forbidden revolutionary ideas. Stalin became interested in the writings of Karl Marx and others, and was expelled from the seminary in May 1899 for failure to appear for an examination.

A Revolutionary

After leaving the seminary he got a job as a clerk. But he wasn't happy at that position and within a year he began his shady career as an active revolutionist.

Joseph Stalin narrowly escaped arrest in March 1901 when a number of other socialists in Tiflis were arrested by the secret police. He then changed his name and joined the underground movement. Stalin began to write articles for a Georgian Marxist journal, *Brdzola*, (The Struggle) in September 1901. He was formally accepted into the Russian Social Democratic Labor (Marxist) party in November of that same year.

Stalin continued to foment rebellion and did all he could to spread revolutionary Marxist ideas. He was arrested and jailed for those activities in 1902 and was transferred from prison and exiled to Siberia in November 1903.

It was in that same year that the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party split into two major groups — the Bolsheviks (“majority”) and the Mensheviks. Lenin took over the leadership of the *Bolsheviks*.

The slippery Stalin escaped from Siberia in January 1904 and was soon back in Tiflis where he quickly joined the Bolsheviks. Joe Stalin first met Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in Finland in 1905. Both of these two men were later destined to rule Russia with iron fists.

It was about this time that Stalin married. His wife died shortly afterward of tuberculosis in 1907. Their only surviving son Jacob died during World War II after being captured by the Nazis.

In either 1918 or 1919 Stalin married his secretary, Alliluyeva. She died mysteriously in 1932, either from suicide or as a victim of Stalin's terrible anger. They had two children, a son, Fasily — a Soviet air force general who died in an auto crash in 1943 — and a daughter, Svetlana, who became a translator of English. After Khrushchev's de-Stalinization program began in Russia, Svetlana moved to the United States.

Arrests and Exiles

Stalin's revolutionary activities continued to get him into trouble with the authorities. He was arrested and exiled a number of times between 1906 and 1913. This Man of Steel spent seven out of ten years (between 1907 and 1917) either in prison or in exile.

Stalin was suddenly elevated by Lenin into the small but very powerful Central Committee of the Bolshevik party in 1912. He was now definitely on his way to the top of the Communist heap.

Lenin helped Stalin write a long article ("The National Question and Social Democracy") in 1913. The article was signed, *Stalin*. He had just begun to use this name. He had also served as editor of the Bolshevik party newspaper *Pravda* (Truth). It was during 1913 that Stalin was arrested and exiled for his last time.

Germany Defeats Russia

During World War I when the Russian army was badly defeated by the Germans, Stalin was still in exile in Siberia and remained in exile until 1917. He had been rejected by the Russian army in 1916 because of a boyhood blood infection which made it difficult for him to bend his left elbow.

After Germany knocked Russia out of World War I in 1917, economic conditions became extremely bad in the Soviet Union. Riots and strikes broke out — partly as a result of food shortages.

On March 15, 1917, Czar Nicholas II gave up his throne. A provisional government under Alexander Kerensky was eventually set up. The new provisional government released Stalin and many other Bolsheviks (Communists) from exile.

After his release Stalin took over the editorship of *Pravda* from Vyacheslav Molotov. The Communists finally succeeded in seizing power during the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. After the October Revolution Vladimir Lenin became the head of the new government. He named Joseph Stalin *Commissar of Nationalities*.

But before long a number of armed uprisings broke out and Russia quickly became enflamed in a full-scale civil war. During this bloody civil struggle Stalin was named as one of the five powerful members of the newly-formed *Politburo* (Political Bureau) which was the policy making body of the party's Central Committee.

The Russian civil war continued until 1920 when the Bolsheviks finally succeeded in winning the struggle. But a colossal task of rebuilding the war-torn country remained.

In 1922 Stalin was elected *General Secretary of the Communist*

Party's Central Committee. That position afforded Stalin a springboard to power.

Lenin's Warning of Stalin

Shortly before his death, Lenin confessed: "I am, I believe strongly guilty before the workers of Russia." He was referring to events which had already transpired — events which could no longer be rectified — the murders of countless thousands of innocent Russians!

But Lenin also recognized that, with his own death being so imminent, there was another man in Russia who he feared would bathe Russia in a real bloodbath. On January 4, 1923, just shortly before his death, Lenin dictated a postscript to a letter written the previous December in which he described the characters of the leading Bolsheviks:

Stalin is too coarse, and this fault, though tolerable in dealings among us Communists, becomes unbearable in a General Secretary. Therefore I propose to the comrades to find some way of removing Stalin from his position and appointing somebody else who differs in all respects from Comrade Stalin in one characteristic — namely, someone more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and considerate to his comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may seem to be a mere trifle, but I think that from the point of view of preventing a split and from the point of view of what I wrote above about the relations between Stalin and Trotsky, it is not a trifle, or else it is a trifle which may acquire a decisive importance.

In his book, *The Life and Death of Lenin*, Robert Payne comments on Lenin's note in which he warned his comrades about Stalin. In reference to the postscript just quoted, Robert Payne says:

This postscript is justifiably famous. Though marked by an extreme bitterness and disenchantment, it was strangely prophetic. . . . With extraordinary clairvoyance he (Lenin) says that of all the errors he had committed the most dangerous and the most destructive was to have given high position to Stalin. . . .

It was as though some sixth sense told him that the succession would go to Stalin, and in these remaining hours of sanity he quailed before the possibility of surrendering Russia to a man who was so coarse, so uncultured, and so unprincipled. The word he used to describe Stalin was *grub*, which is more than "rude." It suggests coarse buffoonery at one end of its spectrum of meanings and the working of intolerable hardship on people at the other end. *Grubkiy khokhot* means a "horse laugh." It was an unpleasant word for an unpleasant thing.

Lenin was soon rendered impotent by a series of strokes which prevented him from implementing his plan to remove this dangerous man from power.

When Lenin died in 1924 a power struggle quickly ensued. The top



Joe Stalin ("Man of Steel") was shrewd, ruthless, and had an iron will. About twenty-five million Russians perished during Stalin's reign of terror. — *Wide World Photo*

Bolsheviks finally learned of Lenin's secret note, warning that Stalin must be removed as Secretary General. But they ignored Lenin's warning. Many (if not all of them) would later bitterly lament their failure to heed Lenin's advice.

But for the time, the top leaders of the Communist party in Russia accepted Stalin's promise to improve his behavior. Stalin, just like Hitler, knew how to beguile his fellow countrymen. He slowly, cleverly began using his power to destroy all of his rivals. He had Leon Trotsky exiled in 1929. Trotsky was assassinated in Mexico not long after being exiled.

The Communist party leadership praised Joseph Stalin on his 50th birthday in December 1929. Joe Stalin had by then become dictator of all Russia! This Man of Steel would show the Russians what it would be like to be ruled by him.

Stalin's Rule of Terror

Joe Stalin began his first five-year plan for *economic development* in 1928. Under his leadership the Soviet government began to eliminate private business.

Stalin told his people:

We are fifty or one hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this lag in ten years. Either we do it or they crush us.

In 1929 Stalin began the collectivization of Soviet agriculture. By transferring the control of all farms, equipment and livestock to the government, he thereby ended private farming in Russia.

But the Russian farmers (*kulaks* and poorer peasants) didn't take kindly to the idea of the government seizing their farms, equipment and livestock. They stubbornly resisted the collectivization of their farms.irate Russian farmers destroyed half of their livestock and much of their produce. This wholesale destruction of livestock and grain caused widespread starvation in Russia.

The ruthless Communists butchered and exiled the rebels and finally broke down all resistance to the program of collectivizing Russia's farms. In all, about one million families were banished to eastern Russia.

The Russian secret police had been terrible under the corrupt Czars. But under the Communists, a police system was established which was far more oppressive and ruthless. Countless millions were executed or sent to labor camps.

When Stalin began a crash program to build heavy industry, many industries were put under the administration of the secret police who in

turn forced the Russian prisoners to work in their factories as forced labor.

Intimidation brought widespread *fear*. Neighbors were ordered to spy on one another. Even relatives were expected to spy on each other and report any opposition to the government. The Communists even broke up families, thinking this might enable them to solidify their control over the Russian populace.

A Headless Red Army

By 1935, Stalin felt he was securely ensconced in the supreme seat of power in Russia. He therefore began a bloody purge of most of the old Bolsheviks who had been associated with Lenin. During the following years he murdered anyone whom he thought might conceivably threaten his power.

This Man of Steel also executed countless thousands of other Communist party members — including party chiefs and officers of the Soviet army.

Stalin proved that it was possible to stamp out all effective opposition, then govern a large state like Russia through fear and intimidation. Even after World War II ended in 1945, the secret police — under the control of their chief, Lavrenti P. Beria — tightened their grip on Russia. Bloody pogroms continued. But the post-World War II purges were done as *secretly* as possible. No one in Russia was safe. Communist party members, and even *Politburo* members were trundled off in the middle of the night. Many of them were shot in the pogroms of 1949 and 1950. Anti-Semitism (which Stalin had encouraged in the 1930s) was now given new impetus throughout Russia. Other minorities were also dealt with harshly. Fear ruled throughout the Soviet Union.

The former long-time Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Martin Dies, revealed the terrible extent of the Russian slaughter:

In Russia a minimum of 25,000,000 people have been starved to death and murdered in 45 years. In Red China, the figure is probably at least 35,000,000 in a short 12 years. These ruthless, inhuman atrocities have been investigated, documented and reported in print, by numerous committees of the Congress. Yet only a relative handful of Americans know where to look for the facts, or even know that the reports exist; and still fewer have read them. (*The Martin Dies Story*, p. 20).

During World War II Stalin believed he had proven himself a worthy leader of Russia, so in March 1943 (as Russian armies were driving the Germans relentlessly back on all fronts) Stalin took to

himself the military title of *Marshal* of the Soviet Union. The Soviet dictator, despite his ruthless purges and his atrocities which he had committed against the Russian people, had become the symbol of Soviet Resistance. To them he had become the “father of victory.” He had proven that he was worthy of being called Stalin, the Man of Steel.

He did much to inspire the Russians in the Great Patriotic war and he extolled Mother Russia’s heroes. Later, even his Allied friends, Churchill and Roosevelt, were to learn that Stalin was a man of flint-like character — unmoved by their wishes, arguments, or implied threats.

Guiding Spirit of the Cold War

More than any other man, it was Joe Stalin who was the “guiding spirit” behind the Cold War which was soon to follow in the wake of World War II. This rock-like personality was impassive toward the desires of the Western Allies. He did not want to see their glorious vision of “democracy” foisted upon the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Quite to the contrary, Stalin would stand with his army of millions of toughened troops — defying all of the western Allies. He would make sure that after the war was over, the mantle of Communism — not that of Democracy — would descend upon the shoulders of the nations of Eastern Europe.

Stalin would make sure that Communist governments were installed in all the countries of Eastern Europe. The Soviets wanted to make certain they had a group of *buffer states* which would be able to trade exclusively with them, as well as act as a buffer between the democracies of the West, and the Communist dictatorships of Russia and her eastern European satellites.

Russia’s Fear of the West

The Russians firmly believe that “Promises are like pie crusts, made to be broken,” as Lenin once said. Holding this view, they assumed that the Western Allies (the Americans included) were just as willing to break their promises as the Russians were.

Since the Western Allies had come to the rescue of the Soviets with massive economic and military assistance during the dark days of World War II, the Russians believed the Americans would demand much in return for their World War II Lend-Lease.

But far more important, the *economic* facts of the world following on the heels of World War II gave Russia cause for concern. The big powers (Russia, Germany, Britain, France, Japan, China) had all been

hurt badly during the war. Only America had escaped totally unscathed — except that she had lost over 400,000 in battle deaths. Otherwise, her pleasant land had not been invaded and her cities had not so much as been bombed.

While many other countries suffered and bled during that terrible struggle, America actually grew and prospered. She was producing more war materiel at the end of the war than all the rest of the world put together.

True, the actual cost of the war to the U.S. federal government between 1941 and 1945 was \$321 billion (ten times greater than the cost of World War I); and the *national debt* grew from \$49 billion in 1941 to \$259 billion in 1945.

But America's standard of living soared during World War II. In spite of some superficial shortages (sugar, shoes, tires, gasoline, etc.) there were no real shortages, at least when compared with other countries.

Even though the U.S. government raised a total of \$138 billion in wartime taxes, yet by 1945 American consumers had accumulated \$129 billion in savings. America was much stronger economically at the end of the Second World War than at the beginning. At the end of World War II, America was the *undisputed economic giant of the world!*

Furthermore, with the possession of the A-bomb, America was also suddenly catapulted into the top military position. No nation could compare with either her economic or military strength, and the Russians were painfully aware of this. America also realized her unique position in the world at that crucial moment in history. Rather reluctantly the U.S. came to realize that world leadership had been thrust upon her.

Germany had sought it by force of arms, but her hopes had crumbled into dust and ashes! Japan also sought to be number one, but her hopes had also been dashed — even before the mushroom clouds appeared over Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It was as if Divine Providence decreed that the mantle of world prominence should fall on the young, muscled shoulders of the United States, despite her own indifference.

Russia was not blind to America's economic and military advantages at the close of World War II. But her knowledge of America's strength only made the Soviet Union fear the U.S. even more. Russia's self-conscious awareness of her own relative weakness was another of the causes of the Cold War!

Attacks on Russia

How did the Cold War develop at the close of the Second World War?

Communist Russia nourished expansionist ideas. She undoubtedly believed that since she had suffered, bled and been battered so badly by the Nazi armies (and this included divisions of some of the Balkan and Baltic countries) she should get her pound of flesh in return.

Russia realized that during the Napoleonic Wars it was France who had attacked Russia. The Soviet Union had not attacked France or Western Europe. Then during World War I, the Germans had marched straight across Poland into Russia. And even after Hitler had signed a nonaggression pact with the Soviets, he had treacherously double-crossed them and again marched across Poland into Russia — spreading havoc and devastation in his path.

The Russians genuinely feared that this could conceivably *happen again!* And this road to aggression could conceivably be made much more tempting in the future if a nation possessed sufficient nuclear strength to launch a massive atomic strike, even on a large nation like Russia.

A Buffer Zone

The Soviet leaders, Stalin included, decided to do all within their power to insure that there would be *a friendly belt of nations* in Eastern Europe to intervene between them and the nations of Western Europe.

How could Russia be sure that such a belt of buffer nations would continue to exist between her and any potential aggressor nations of Western Europe?

As the people of those nations would probably vote for a democratic type of government if they were permitted to have “free and unfettered elections,” the Soviet Union, therefore, felt it would be to her advantage to install Communist governments in all those nations she had occupied in Eastern Europe. She could then exercise a large degree of political and economic power over those nations.

Furthermore, she would make sure that her military machine was kept strong so that none of these “satellite” nations could break away from her control.

Fear of U.S. Economic Penetration

And in addition to these military considerations, the Soviets knew that if Communist regimes existed in Eastern Europe, Russia could keep Western economic interests out of those countries.

Since capitalism and Communism are naturally hostile to each other, there would of necessity be a barrier between the Communist East European and the capitalist West European countries.

Russia knew that if she permitted American economic penetration into Eastern Europe she could not hope to compete. At the close of World War II much of Russia lay in ruins. The Soviet Union, like many of the countries of Europe, was herself in need of a massive infusion of capital to help rebuild her economy. America was the only nation which had sufficient capital at the end of the Second World War to help Russia. The U.S.S.R. would have to turn to America for a loan even to help rebuild her own industry.

Russia was well aware that America was the “arsenal of democracy” during World War II — sending an endless supply of munitions, foodstuffs, and all types of goods to the Allied nations.

Why did Russia decide to enclose herself and her satellites in a cocoon of isolationism immediately following World War II? Why did she ring down the Iron Curtain?

The simple answer is that Russia didn't want the democratic world to be able to see how *weak* she really was! She knew she could not match America in either economic or military areas, so she would just slam the door to outsiders. The Soviets would keep all contaminating Western democratic influences out of the Communist bloc. This was the best way for her to build up her strength, so that in time she could compete with the West.

Later, as she built up her military strength roughly to a par with America, she toned down her threats and her sword rattling.

The West's Fear of Russia

If Russia nourished deep fears toward the West — and toward America in particular — so did the U.S. and Western Europe harbor deep fears toward the Soviets.

Knowledgeable Americans and Westerners realized there are certain goals which the Communists have cherished since the beginning of their revolution in Russia in 1917.

Before Lenin died in 1924, he laid down a strategy for *Communist* conquest of the world. Here is a paraphrased version of his strategy by which he believed the Communists could do this:

First, the Communists must take *Eastern Europe*.

Secondly, they must gain control of the masses of *Asia*.

Thirdly, Communist forces would then encircle the United States, the last stronghold of capitalism. “We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands,” said the Communists.

Truman's “Get Tough” Policy

American foreign policy shapers following World War II came to

believe that the Russian Communists were bent on *world conquest*. They believed the Soviets planned to export international Communism to as many nations as possible.

Unfortunately, in the climate of wretchedness, despair and poverty which prevailed even in Western Europe following World War II, there was plenty of *fertile ground* for Communist penetration. The Communist Party made alarming gains in Italy, France and other countries of Western Europe shortly after the Second World War.

How could the West guarantee that Russia didn't take advantage of the weakened position of Western Europe, and aid the Communist parties in those nations in gaining control of the governments?

It was fortunate for America and for the world that the U.S. was provided with a "get tough" President at the close of World War II. President Truman understood what the Communists were up to, and he knew what was necessary to counteract them and their schemes for world domination.

President Truman in October, 1945 delivered a "get tough" speech in which he proclaimed that American policy was "based firmly on fundamental principles of *righteousness and justice*." He stated unequivocally that the U.S. "*shall not give our approval to any compromise with evil*."

Then, remembering Soviet actions in Eastern Europe, Truman added: "We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed on any nation by the force of any foreign power."

The following January, 1946, Truman told the U.S. Secretary of State:

Unless Russia is faced with *an iron fist* and strong language, another war is in the making. Only one language do they understand — "*how many divisions have you?*"... I'm tired of babying the Soviets.

The "Iron Curtain" Descends

Winston Churchill, speaking at Fulton, Missouri on March 5, 1945 declared that the U.S.S.R. had rung down an "Iron Curtain." Churchill asserted: "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an *iron curtain* has descended across the continent." Churchill, with President Truman's approval, called for an *Anglo-American alliance* to bring about "conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries."

He stated that Communists didn't really want war. But they did want "the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines."

Churchill, however, warned that such dangers couldn't be removed

“by *closing our eyes* to them . . . nor will they be removed by a policy of *appeasement*.”

The Western Allies developed a new policy towards Communism shortly after World War II. It was a fact that the mighty Red Army had its boot firmly planted over Eastern Europe, and the Soviets had no intention of removing that boot. The only way the West could remove that boot was to go to war, and the nations of Western Europe (and the U.S.) were weary of war.

If the Western Allies deemed it unwise to drive the Red Army out of Eastern Europe by force, they could at least begin implementing a policy of *containment*. The Russian Bear must be contained so that she could not range any further afield.

In February 1946, George Kennan formulated the U.S. strategy of “containment.” This doctrine of foreign policy became official U.S. policy in 1947.

Kennan warned that the Soviet leaders possessed a “neurotic view of world affairs. And they have learned to seek security only in patient but deadly struggle for total destruction of rival power, never in compacts and compromises with it.” He stated that Soviet power “is neither schematic nor adventuristic”:

It does not take unnecessary risks. For this reason it can easily withdraw — and usually does — when strong resistance is encountered at any point. Thus, if the adversary has sufficient force and makes clear his readiness to use it, he rarely has to do so.

Later, George Kennan described Russian power politics. He said the Soviets move

inexorably along the prescribed path, like a persistent toy automobile wound up and headed in a given direction, stopping only when it meets unanswerable force. If the West wanted to thwart the Russian aims, it would be necessary to “*confront* the Russians with unalterable *counterforce* at any point where they show signs of encroaching,” and this must be done with “superior force.”

As Russia had rung down the Iron Curtain to seal off her Eastern European satellites, so must America and the West make sure that they “contain” the Russian Bear by the use of both military and economic means.

The “Truman Doctrine”

During 1946 and early 1947 Russia continued to create difficulties for the Western nations by backing Communist guerrillas in Greece, and by putting pressure on Turkey. It looked as if the Communists might gain control of those two strategic nations.

Britain declared that it could not afford to continue her aid to

Greece and Turkey, so President Truman in March, 1947 asked Congress to vote funds for military aid and assistance for those two countries in their resistance of Communist aggression.

At that time, President Truman stated: "*It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure.*" This policy of assisting other nations in their struggle to resist Communist aggression became known as the "Truman Doctrine."

The U.S. Congress appropriated \$400,000,000 for that purpose, and by 1949 the Communist threat in Greece and Turkey had subsided.

The Marshall Plan

It is well known that wherever there is poverty, squalor, and degradation, Communism tends to thrive. It is seldom, if ever, that Communism appeals to the peoples of an enlightened, prosperous, highly-industrialized nation.

At the close of the Second World War there was much devastation and poverty in Europe — especially in Germany, Poland, Italy and some of the Eastern European countries. The Communist parties in those countries made alarming gains. If something wasn't done quickly, there was a danger that all of Europe would go over to Communism. This frightening prospect alarmed the peoples of the West. They did not want to see their free enterprise system and their democratic way of life flushed down the Communist conspiratorial drain.

But what could be done to stem the Communist tide in Western Europe and around the world? It was obvious that the West would have to aid those countries which were in danger of being subverted by Communism.

The U.S. Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, proposed a plan (in June, 1947) for the economic rehabilitation of Europe. The economic aid which he offered Europe was designed to meet the Communist threat head on by restoring a strong, vibrant economy in Western Europe.

Excerpts from the "Marshall Plan," by Harry S. Truman, give us a deeper insight into the origin, purpose and scope of this ambitious plan to help Europe get back on its feet.

Here, in Mr. Truman's own words, is how that plan for European recovery originated:

We had sent food to Europe, but *millions* there still did not have enough to eat. We had made loans to the countries of Europe, but the war had so disrupted the patterns of trade and industry there that the amounts we loaned were far less effective than we had hoped. I was disturbed because the loan to Britain had failed to accomplish what we thought it would.

Detailed reports came to my office daily from our government agencies about conditions abroad. A steady stream of appeals poured in from representative leaders of many foreign nations, virtually all of whom expressed the gravest concern over the economic situation and over the gains which Communism might score if there was no improvement. On April 26, when Secretary Marshall returned from the Moscow conference of Foreign Ministers, he arrived in a pessimistic mood. He had gone to Moscow with the hope that he could persuade the Russians that the United States was working for peace. The Russians, however, were interested only in their own plans and *were coldly determined to exploit the helpless condition of Europe to further Communism* rather than cooperate with the rest of the world.

Marshall's report confirmed my conviction that there was no time to lose in finding a method for the *revival of Europe*. General Marshall is one of the most astute and profound men I have ever known. Whenever any problem was brought before him, he seemed to be able to put his finger at once on the very basic approach that later would usually be proposed by the staff as the best solution. . . .

What Marshall perceived in the plans which his State Department staff laid before him was the *importance of the economic unity of Europe*. If the nations of Europe could be induced to develop their own solution of Europe's economic problems viewed as a whole and tackled co-operatively rather than as separate national problems, the United States aid would be more effective and the strength of a recovered Europe would be better sustained.

This was precisely the approach I had in mind. Marshall and I were in perfect agreement. It was my feeling that, beyond economic considerations, the idea of co-operation would stimulate new hope and confidence among the nations of Europe and thus provide a realistic argument against the Communists' counsel of despair. . . .

Europe Must Help Itself

This was our proposal, that the countries of Europe agree on a co-operative plan in order to utilize the full productive resources of the continent, supported by whatever material assistance we could render to make the plan successful.

I had referred to the idea as the "Marshall Plan" when it was discussed in staff meetings, because I wanted General Marshall to get full credit for his brilliant contributions to the measure which he helped formulate. And it was Marshall who had envisioned the full scope of this approach. He had perceived the inspirational as well as the economic value of the proposal. History, rightly, will always associate his name with *this program, which helped save Europe from economic disaster and lifted it from the shadow of enslavement by Russian Communism. . . .*"

Despite much Communist harassment, sixteen nations (plus West Germany) participated in the Marshall Plan. In the next three years, the U.S. spent \$12 billion through the Economic Cooperation Administration.

The European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) was highly successful in revitalizing the economies of Western Europe. And at the same time as their economic strength waxed, the Communist parties in Western Europe waned.

In Truman's inaugural address in 1949 the President proposed extending the same sort of aid to underdeveloped nations throughout the world. It was hoped that this would help to hold back Communist expansion throughout the whole earth.

Both Poland and Czechoslovakia wanted to take part in the Marshall Plan, but the Soviet Union would not let them accept U.S. aid. Russia then decided she had better establish a Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), and did so in January, 1949. The purpose of this Communist organization was to unite both economically and politically East European satellites with the Soviet Union.

When the Western Allies saw that Russia would not cooperate with them in the rehabilitation of Germany, they decided to go ahead and unify the French, British and American occupation zones, thereby establishing the West German Federal Republic (West Germany). When West Germany was established in 1949, it immediately joined the Marshall Plan.

Also, it was in 1948 that the Soviet Union harshly criticized Marshal Tito, the dictator of Communist Yugoslavia. Tito then decided to declare his country's independence from Soviet control.

The Berlin Blockade

The Soviet Union was upset toward the West for establishing the nation of West Germany. In response to this, in 1948, Russian troops blocked all highway, railroad and water traffic through East Germany to West Berlin. Since West Berlin was 110 miles inside the Russian occupation zone, this posed a serious difficulty for the Western Allies. Russia thought this blockade would force the Western powers to leave Berlin. But not so.

The Americans, British and French immediately set up the *Berlin airlift* which operated day and night, for 11 months. When the Soviets became convinced that the Western powers had no intention of leaving West Berlin, they finally decided to lift the blockade in May, 1949.

Apparently the deafening roar of countless Allied airplanes into West Berlin merely served to underline Russian weakness. The Soviets did not dare shoot down the Allied airplanes, so a continuing blockade only revealed their own timidity toward the West.

The Berlin blockade helped underscore the fact that the Western

powers had better *hang together* or else they might all hang separately. Accordingly, in April, 1949 the U.S., Canada, Britain and nine other Western European nations formed a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). These NATO countries pledged to mutually defend themselves and to prevent further Russian expansion in Europe.

The U.S. then decided to organize the ANZUS defense treaty to resist Communist aggression in Asia. In September, 1951 the U.S. signed the ANZUS mutual defense treaty with Australia and New Zealand.

Russia's Atomic Bomb

The Soviet Union tested its first atomic bomb on August 29, 1949. Until then, the U.S. had maintained its A-bomb monopoly. Now the race toward a nuclear Armageddon was on. All the world would thereafter live under the constant threat of nuclear annihilation.

The Communists had continued gaining strength during the 1940s. Communist Russian forces occupied Manchuria at the close of World War II. When the Soviets pulled out in 1946, the Chinese Communists took over most of northern Manchuria.

The Russians had also occupied northern Korea, where they finally established the "People's Republic" north of the 38th parallel. America occupied southern Korea, and when they left, the South Koreans established an independent government.

In China, the Communists continued gaining strength. Mao Tse-tung's Communist forces fought the nationalist armies of Chiang Kai-shek. The U.S. continued giving military and economic aid to Chiang, but when the Communists in China continued putting the pressure on Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist forces, he and his nationalist government fled to the island of Formosa in late 1949. This gave the Communists complete control of mainland China.

Thus the world's most populous nation, with over 600 million people, capitulated to Communism.

But soon the "Cold War" was to heat up dramatically in one of the least heard of places — Korea.

The Korean War

At the close of the Second World War the U.S. stood at the pinnacle of power — both economically and militarily. No nation on earth could seriously challenge the might of the U.S. In 1945 General George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, reported to the Secretary of War:

Never was the strength of American democracy as evident nor has it ever been so clearly within our power to give definite guidance for our course into the future of the human race.

At the conclusion of the world's second global conflict (which resulted in the deaths of approximately fifty-five millions) the Anglo-Saxon, democratically ruled nations of America, Britain, and the Commonwealth, plus the other Western Democracies were powerful enough to maintain peace and order in the world.

When President Truman first took office in 1945, he made it clear that under his leadership the U.S. would not be pushed around by Stalin and the Communists.

But somewhere along the line President Truman appears to have veered away from his original resolute firmness. When the Communists confronted the United Nations in the Korean struggle, the U.S. lost its nerve. Neither the U.S. President nor the top civil and military leaders in Washington appear to have grasped the full significance of the situation in the Far East.

Only a few military men, such as General Douglas MacArthur, really understood the Oriental mentality. They realized that America and the Western democracies would have to stand up to the Communists with firmness, with unflinching resoluteness, or all of the Far East would eventually fall under the heel of Communism.

Causes of the Korean War

Japan gained control of Korea in 1895, but when the Allies defeated her in 1945, both the U.S. and Russian forces moved into Korea. The Russians occupied Korea north of the 38th parallel (north latitude), and U.S. troops occupied Korea to the south of that parallel.

In 1947 the United Nations General Assembly declared that elections should be held throughout Korea in order to choose *one* government for the entire country. Since Russia opposed the U.N. resolution, free elections were never held in North Korea, but elections resulted in a democratic government being established in the south.

The Communists set up a government in the North, called the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. They then built up a strong army, receiving Russian military aid.

America withdrew her troops from South Korea in June, 1949. The Communists of North Korea believed this was the signal for them to attack.

On June 25, 1950, North Korean troops invaded South Korea. On June 30th President Truman authorized the use of American land, sea and air forces to aid South Korea. He had authorized U.S. air and naval support on June 27th.

At the same time the U.S. requested the United Nations Security Council to send UN troops to help defend the integrity of South Korea. At the time, the Russian delegation to the UN was boycotting the Council. When the final vote was taken, the Security Council voted to send UN troops to help oust the Communist aggressors from South Korea.

The Korean War was the very first war in which a world organization played a military role. This Korean conflict was the first major challenge for the young United Nations — which had only been born five years earlier.

Sixteen United Nations countries eventually sent troops to help the South Koreans, and military aid, food or equipment was contributed by forty-one countries.

It should be noted, however, that the United States contributed more than *90 percent of all the troops*, military equipment, and supplies during the entire Korean War! Communist China eventually entered the war on the side of North Korea, and Soviet Russia supplied military equipment to the North Koreans.

The Korean War turned out to be one of the bloodiest wars in history. During that see-saw war, South Korea lost about one million civilians, and several millions were made homeless. In addition, South Korea had about 400,000 casualties — with 58,127 killed and 175,743 wounded. Another 166,297 were missing in action.

The *United States* sustained 162,708 casualties, with 54,246 dead, 103,284 wounded, and 5,178 missing.

Other UN countries had a total of over 17,000 casualties.

But Communist casualties were much higher. Communist North Korea sustained 624,000 casualties, with 522,000 dead and 102,000 of their men taken prisoners. Communist China sustained 967,000 casualties, with 945,000 dead, and 22,000 prisoners taken by their enemies.

All told, the United Nations forces sustained a little over a half million casualties; but the Communist casualties numbered nearly three times that figure.

Outbreak of Korean War

When North Korea attacked South Korea, the Communist North Koreans had an army of 135,000 men, many of whom were battle-toughened soldiers who had fought in Russia and China during World War II. North Korea also had airplanes, artillery, and tanks.

The South Korean Army numbered about 95,000 men, most of them inexperienced and poorly trained. They had few planes or heavy guns — and no tanks!

The combined UN forces, at their peak strength, amounted to almost 1,110,000 men. About 590,000 of them were South Koreans, and approximately 480,000 were Americans. Roughly 39,000 came from Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Great Britain, The Netherlands, South Africa, Turkey and other UN member countries.

The North Korean Army grew to over 260,000 during the war, and Communist China sent well over a million troops to help them.

When General MacArthur learned of the North Korean attack on South Korea, he said it was as though he was having a nightmare:

How, I asked myself, could the U.S. have allowed such a deplorable situation to develop? I thought back to those days, only a short time before, when *our country had been militarily more powerful than any nation on earth*. General Marshall, then Army chief of staff, had reported to the Secretary of War in 1945: "Never was the strength of American democracy as evident nor has it ever been so clearly within our power to give definite guidance for our course into the future of the human race." But in the short space of five years this power had been frittered away in a bankruptcy of positive and courageous leadership toward any long-range objectives. Again I asked myself, "*What is United States policy in Asia?*" And the appalling thought came, "*The United States has no definite policy in Asia.*"

When the Communist North Koreans attacked the South, the ill-equipped and ill-trained southern troops were sent reeling back. Before long, however, American troops joined the South Koreans. On July 5th American troops fought the North Koreans for the first time at Osan, about 30 miles south of Seoul.

With the approval of the UN Security Council, Truman named General Douglas MacArthur as Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations forces in Korea. MacArthur now was given command over all the Allies — Americans, South Koreans, and other UN troops.

General MacArthur directed operations from his headquarters in Tokyo. He named Lt. Gen. Walton H. Walker (who was later killed in a

freak jeep accident) as field commander of the Allied Ground Forces in Korea.

As pressure mounted, the UN forces were driven back and back, until they only had a toe-hold left in the southeast corner of the Korean peninsula — the Pusan perimeter. The picture looked very dark.

The Inchon Landing

General Douglas MacArthur masterminded a brilliant surprise move that changed the course of the war. He launched the Inchon Landing on the west coast of Korea on September 15, 1950. This daring landing at Inchon was the first blow in a successful counter-offensive. The North Koreans were stunned. Their supply lines were severed.

Before long the Allies began fighting their way out of the Pusan perimeter, and headed north toward Seoul, driving hard.

Shortly afterwards the Allies, under command of MacArthur, had recaptured the South Korean capital of Seoul, and were poised to strike into North Korea.

MacArthur's UN forces attacked northward and had captured the North Korean capital, Pyongyang, by October 19th.

By November 24th, the Allied army had crushed most North Korean resistance and was moving northwestward toward the Yalu River — the border between Communist China and North Korea. Another Allied force advanced into northeastern Korea. Communist North Korea was as good as defeated! The war looked as if it was just about over.

On the brink of total victory, high government officials in Washington weakened in resolve. They let their vision be clouded by fear and vacillation. They forgot President Truman's high-minded words in October 1945 that the U.S. "shall not give our approval to any compromise with evil."

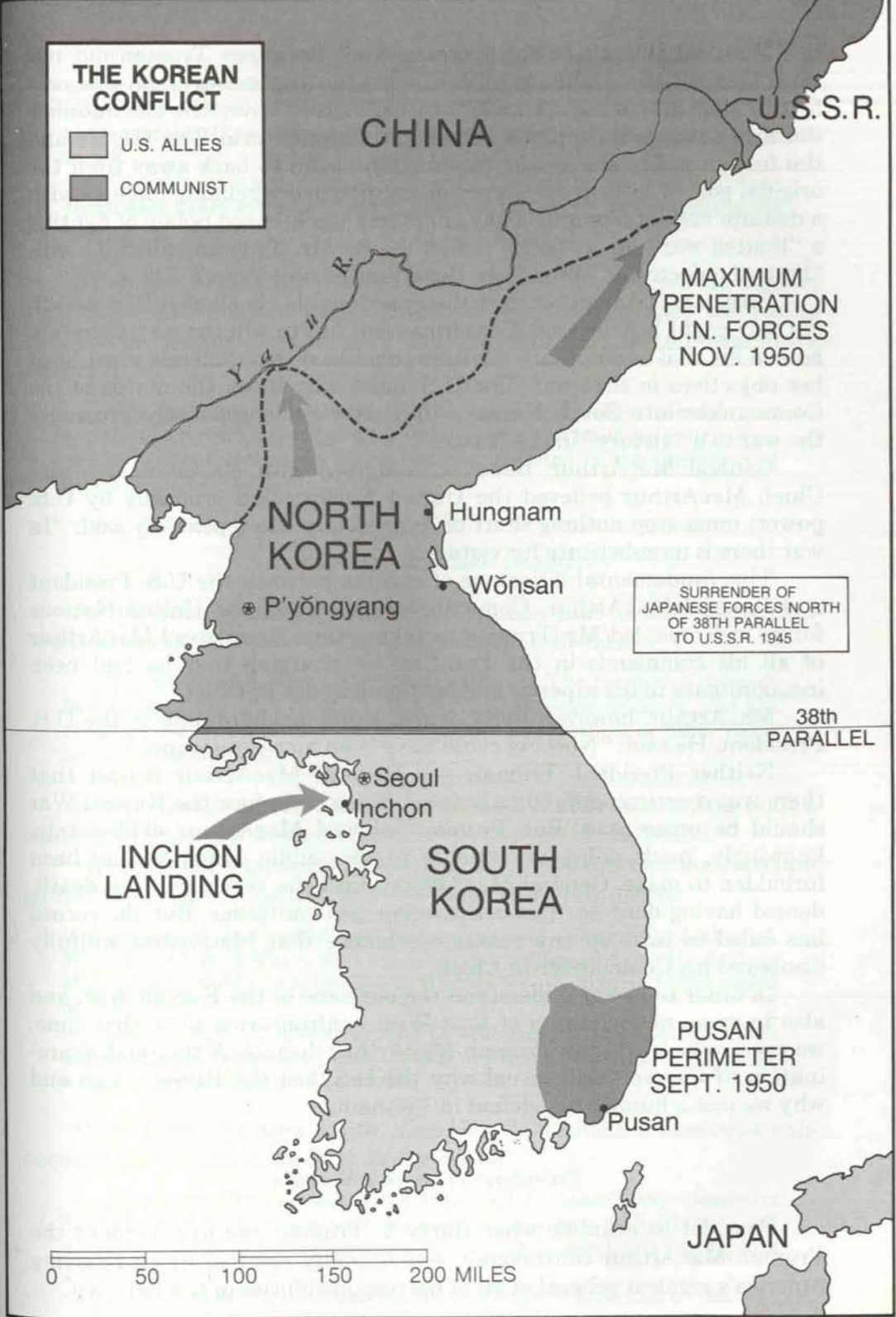
China, learning of the Allied *indecision* at the highest levels of command, concluded that she could safely send her Communist forces streaming across the Yalu River into North Korea to assist the beleaguered North Korean army. The Chinese learned that their factories, supply depots, ports, and railroads would *not* be attacked by American aircraft. Spies had learned that American policy was to limit the war, and under no circumstances would American forces attack China. Also, they knew Truman had ruled out *any* use of nuclear weapons.

The Truman-MacArthur Dispute

President Truman had begun his presidency with a *firm resolve* to stand up to Communism — not intending to let them push America around. His "get tough" policy was soon dampened down to an uneasy accommodation with the Communists.

THE KOREAN CONFLICT

- U.S. ALLIES
- COMMUNIST



CHINA

U.S.S.R.

MAXIMUM
PENETRATION
U.N. FORCES
NOV. 1950

NORTH
KOREA

Hunghnam

Wŏnsan

P'yŏngyang

SURRENDER OF
JAPANESE FORCES
NORTH
OF 38TH PARALLEL
TO U.S.S.R. 1945

38th
PARALLEL

INCHON
LANDING

Seoul

Inchon

SOUTH
KOREA

PUSAN
PERIMETER
SEPT. 1950

Pusan

JAPAN

0 50 100 150 200 MILES

How did this affect the Korean War? President Truman did not want General MacArthur to push the war too aggressively, and was very fearful that if he sought to win a total "victory" over the Communists (both Koreans and Chinese), this might trigger World War III. He and the foreign policy shapers in Washington began to back away from the original goal of hitting the Communists with overwhelming force — with a definite view of *winning*. They adopted a weak-kneed policy of fighting a "limited war" (or a "police action" — as Mr. Truman called it) with "limited objectives." What were those limited objectives?

President Truman reached the questionable conclusion that an all-out war might be triggered if America went out to win the war, therefore he and his civil and military advisors concluded that America must limit her objectives in that war. The U.S. must only block the moves of the Communists into South Korea — but dare not aggressively prosecute the war to a "victory" in the North.

General MacArthur, however, disagreed with his Commander-in-Chief. MacArthur believed the United Nations (led primarily by U.S. power) must stop nothing short of *total victory*. He repeatedly said: "In war there is no substitute for victory."

This fundamental difference of opinion between the U.S. President and General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations forces in Korea, led Mr. Truman to take action. He relieved MacArthur of all his commands in the Far East — charging that he had been insubordinate to his superior and his Commander-in-Chief.

MacArthur, however, hotly denied being insubordinate to the U.S. President. He said: "Nothing could have been more grotesque!"

Neither President Truman nor General MacArthur denied that there was *a serious difference* between them as to how the Korean War should be prosecuted. But Truman believed MacArthur deliberately, knowingly, made policy statements to the public which he had been forbidden to make. General MacArthur, until the very day of his death, denied having done so. The controversy still continues. But the record has failed to turn up any concrete evidence that MacArthur willfully disobeyed his Commander-in-Chief.

In order to better understand the outcome of the Korean War, and also to grasp major events of East-West confrontation since that time, we need to look into the Truman-MacArthur dispute. A thorough examination of the facts will reveal why the U.S. lost the Korean War, and why we met a humiliating defeat in Vietnam.

President Truman's Version

First, let us examine what Harry S. Truman had to say about the Truman-MacArthur controversy, which finally resulted in his relieving America's greatest general of all of his responsibilities in the Far East.

I fired him (MacArthur) because he wouldn't respect the authority of the President. I didn't fire him because he was a dumb son of a (expletive deleted), although he was, but that's not against the law for generals. If it was, half to three-quarters of them would be in jail. . . .

I've given it a lot of thought, and I have finally concluded . . . that there were times when he . . . well, I'm afraid when he wasn't right in his head.

After MacArthur made a brilliant, surprise landing on the Inchon Peninsula, and made a swift march to the 38th parallel (capturing 130,000 North Koreans) President Truman sent him this commendatory telegram:

Few operations in military history can match either the delaying action where you traded space for time in which to build up your forces, or the brilliant maneuver which has now resulted in the liberation of Seoul. . . . *Well and nobly done.*

Conference at Wake Island

At this point, Truman came to the opinion that he and MacArthur ought to get together and to discuss the Korean situation:

I decided it was about time that we do so. The (expletive deleted) fool hadn't been back in the U.S. for fourteen years or more, and the messages I'd sent him through other people he somehow or other never seemed to understand. . . .

It was finally agreed that Truman and MacArthur would hold a conference (just two weeks before the election) at Wake Island.

Mr. Truman's personal physician, Dr. Wallace Graham, accompanied the President on that trip. He made these comments:

I was with the President, when he was going to meet MacArthur on Wake Island. And MacArthur was always a showman type. He deliberately tried to hold up his landing so that we would go in and land ahead of them.

Harry caught it right away, and he told MacArthur, "You go ahead and land first. We've got plenty of gas. We'll wait for you." And that's what happened. That's what we did.

Here, from the book *Plain Speaking*, is Truman's comment concerning the landing incident at Wake Island:

MacArthur was always playacting, and he wasn't any (expletive deleted) good at it. I knew what he was trying to pull with all that stuff about whose plane was going to land first, and I wasn't going to let him get away with it.

So . . . I made it quite clear that he was to go in first, and he did.

Then Truman added:

... After we landed, there was a welcoming party there on the ground, but I looked out the window, and MacArthur wasn't there.

Even after we stopped the engines and they opened up the door of the plane, the (expletive deleted) still didn't show up.

So I just sat there. I just waited. I'd have waited until hell froze over if I'd had to. I wasn't going to have one of my generals embarrass the President of the United States.

Finally, the son of a (expletive deleted) walked out of one of the buildings near the runway there. He was wearing those (expletive deleted) sunglasses of his and a shirt that was unbuttoned and a cap that had a lot of hardware. I never did understand... an old man like that and a five-star general to boot, why he went around dressed up like a nineteen-year-old second lieutenant. . . .

The President was evidently quite concerned about the possibility of the Chinese Communists entering the war. He, therefore, enquired of MacArthur:

I asked MacArthur point blank if the Chinese would come in, and he said under no circumstances would they come in. He says, "Mr. President, the war will be over by Thanksgiving and I'll have the American troops back in Tokyo by Christmas," he went on like that.

Later, MacArthur issued a statement of his own in which he spoke of the possibility of Red China's "imminent military collapse..." This and other statements, after being told not to make them by the President, annoyed Truman and others in Washington.

Truman Fires MacArthur

Mr. Truman was about ready to take action:

I wanted, if possible, an even... better example of his insubordination, and I wanted it to be one that... everybody would recognize for exactly what it was, and I knew that, MacArthur being the kind of man he was, I wouldn't have long to wait, and I didn't. He wrote that letter to Joe Martin. And you've read it. He repeated that he wanted to use Chiang Kai-shek's troops and repeated that... all that stuff about there being "no substitute for victory."

President Harry S. Truman continued:

We had a series... several meetings with what they called the war cabinet... I called everybody together, and I said, 'I'm going to fire the son of a (expletive deleted) right now.' And they all agreed. All except General Marshall. He said he was afraid... it might cause a lot of trouble with Congress as far as the defense budget was concerned. And there were some other arguments, but not too many. The only question was how to do it with the least fuss.

According to Truman, he then gave General Marshall all of the

MacArthur-Truman correspondence, after which time George C. Marshall concurred:

I spent most of the night on that file, Mr. President, and you should have fired the son of a (expletive deleted) two years ago.

Truman continues:

And so we went right ahead, and we did it. There were a good many details to be worked out. I asked General Bradley to be sure we had the full agreement of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which he got; they were all unanimous in saying he should be fired. And he had to arrange to turn the command over to General Ridgway.

When Truman was later informed that MacArthur might hear of his decision to fire him and resign, Truman gave emphatic instructions: "And I told Bradley, I says, 'The son of a (expletive deleted) isn't going to resign on me, *I want him fired.*'"

That is Harry S. Truman's account of what happened between him and MacArthur at the Wake Conference, and in the aftermath of that conference leading up to his dismissing General MacArthur.

But MacArthur's version of what took place is quite different.

The MacArthur Version

General MacArthur has given a very full account of the events which led up to his being relieved of his duties in his autobiography, *Reminiscences*. Few in America have ever fully understood the actual facts of the Truman-MacArthur dispute. And it is not possible to understand how America lost the war in Korea, and how she has hesitantly hovered in the twilight area of fear and indecision ever since the policy of no-victory in Korea — until one sees the actual record of America's change of policy during the Korean War.

In his *Reminiscences*, MacArthur tells of his "frustration in Korea" at learning that America had switched from a policy of "victory" to that of accepting a *stalemate*. MacArthur asked: "What is U.S. policy in Asia?" Then he said he had to answer that question as follows: "The U.S. has no definite policy in Asia."

The distinguished general tells how the United Nations forces under his command finally succeeded in driving the North Korean Communist forces back north of the 38th parallel.

After MacArthur's UN troops retook Seoul, he and the assembled UN troops and dignitaries entered the South Korean capital building: "...I asked that all present rise and join me in reciting the Lord's Prayer."

Then MacArthur turned to Syngman Rhee and said:

Mr. President, my officers and I will now resume our military

duties and leave you and your government to the discharge of the civil responsibility. . . .

The South Korean President, according to General MacArthur, then rose and clasped his hand as he said: "We admire you. We love you as the savior of our race." As he said this, tears streamed down his cheeks.

High Tributes to MacArthur

General MacArthur received many commendatory tributes from notable men from all over the world as a result of the brilliant Korean victories.

President Truman wired MacArthur:

I know that I speak for the entire American people when I send you my warmest congratulations in the victory which has been achieved under your leadership in Korea. . . .

The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff:

The Joint Chiefs of Staff are proud of the great successes you have achieved. We realize that they would have been impossible without brilliant and audacious leadership and without the full coordination and the fighting spirit of all forces and all arms. . . .

The British Chiefs of Staff in London:

We send you our warmest congratulations on your *brilliant victory*. We have admired not only the skill with which you have conducted an extremely difficult rear guard action against great odds over many anxious weeks, but equally the bravery and tenacity with which the forces under your command have responded to your inspiring and indefatigable leadership. We believe that the brilliant conception and masterly execution of the *Inchon counter-stroke* which you planned and launched whilst holding the enemy at bay in the south *will rank amongst the finest strategic achievements in military history*.

Secretary of the Army Pace:

While the record of our Army throughout our national history is one of unflinching response to true leadership regardless of odds and obstacles, I doubt that the response of our forces in the crucible of Korea to your inspired, courageous leadership has ever been surpassed. *May God grant to you the full fruits of victory* which unflinching courage and determination so richly merit.

Prime Minister Yoshida of Japan:

The bold stroke in your strategy has changed overnight the whole picture of the Korean situation. To you, the indomitable and inspiring Commander-in-Chief, the world owes an infinite debt of gratitude.

General Eisenhower (then President of Columbia University):

I can not stay the impulse to express the conviction that you have again given us *a brilliant example of professional leadership*. Your fortitude in patiently gathering up the necessary reserves to make a significant counter-stroke at a time when everyone of those soldiers must have been desperately wanted on the front lines, and your boldness in striking deep into the enemy's vitals with your counter-offensive were particularly shining examples of the kind of thing I mean.

U.S. Admiral Halsey:

“Characteristic and magnificent. *The Inchon landing* is the most masterly and audacious strategic stroke in all history.”

“*The Greatest General*”

From *U.S. General Spaatz:*

My highest admiration, as an old-time soldier myself, of the way our inadequate military forces have been applied in an impossible situation and achieved victory. One of the most, if not the most, significant military operations in history — the change from what appeared to us in the U.S. a helpless situation into victory. *We all pay tribute to the greatest general of all times.*

Sir Winston S. Churchill:

I never was apprehensive of a Dunkirk in Korea. In trading space for time in the counter-attack MacArthur did a perfect job.

Secretary of Defense Marshall and former Secretary of Defense Johnson both paid tribute to MacArthur's brilliant campaign victory. James F. Byrnes and John Foster Dulles also praised the UN victory under MacArthur.

General MacArthur then mentions that it was about this time that he “began to have misgivings as to the concepts by higher authority regarding the future of Korea.” He says:

The rule of the day was timidity and appeasement which would not end the war, but increase the military efforts against us. I discussed my fears with General Walker, who agreed completely.

The Wake Conference

MacArthur's version of what happened at the Wake Conference agrees only partly with President Truman's account. The following comments by General MacArthur are from his autobiography *Reminiscences*:

I had been warned about Mr. Truman's quick and violent temper and prejudices, but he radiated nothing but courtesy and good humor during our meeting. He has an engaging personality, a quick and witty tongue, and I liked him from the start. . . .

The General then added:

Near the end of the conference, the possibility of Chinese intervention was brought up almost casually. It was the general consensus of all present that Red China had no intention of intervening. This opinion had previously been advanced by the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department. General Bradley went so far as to bring up the question of transferring troops in the Far East to Europe, and said he would like to have two divisions from Korea home by Christmas for this purpose.

The Red China Menace

General MacArthur continued:

My views were asked as to the chance of Red China's intervention. I replied that the answer could only be speculative; that neither the State Department through its diplomatic listening posts abroad, nor the C.I.A. to whom a field commander must look for guidance as to a foreign nation's intention to move from peace to war, reported any evidence of intent by the Peiping government to intervene with major forces; that my own local intelligence, which I regarded as unsurpassed anywhere, reported heavy concentrations near the Yalu border in Manchuria whose movements were indeterminate; that my own military estimate was that with our largely unopposed air forces, with their potential capable of destroying, at will, bases of attack and lines of supply north as well as south of the Yalu, no Chinese military commander would hazard the commitment of large forces upon the devastated Korean peninsula. The risk of their utter destruction through lack of supply would be too great.

There was no disagreement from anyone. This episode was later completely misrepresented to the public through an alleged but spurious report in an effort to pervert the position taken by me. It was an ingeniously fostered implication that I flatly and unequivocally predicted that under no circumstances would the Chinese Communists enter the Korean War. This is prevarication.

Thus, General Douglas MacArthur strongly denied having said that the Chinese would not attack under any circumstances the UN forces in Korea. If MacArthur and his forces were given a free hand to punish the Chinese Communists in their sanctuaries north of the Yalu River, then MacArthur believed it unlikely that there would be a massive Chinese attack. But MacArthur was hand-tied so far as bombing Chinese military bases, ports, etc., north of the Yalu River.

Then General MacArthur mentions how surprised he was when Mr.

Truman (while at the Wake Conference) stepped up to the microphones, and read to those present a citation by which the President awarded MacArthur the Distinguished Service Medal. This was his fifth D.S.O. medal.

MacArthur revealed that he was not cheered by what he saw at the Wake Conference:

The conference at Wake Island made me realize that a curious, and sinister, change was taking place in Washington. The defiant, rallying figure that had been Franklin Roosevelt was gone. Instead, there was a tendency toward temporizing rather than fighting it through. The original courageous decision of Harry Truman to boldly meet and defeat Communism in Asia was apparently being chipped away by the constant pounding whispers of timidity and cynicism. The President seemed to be swayed by the blandishments of some of the more selfish politicians of the United Nations. He seemed to be in the anomalous position of openly expressing fears of over-calculated risks that he had fearlessly taken only a few months before.

It appears, from MacArthur's assessment of the thinking in Washington, that by this time timidity and accommodation with the Communists was the reigning sentiment. In his *Reminiscences*, MacArthur then explained the dilemma in which he found himself:

This put me as field commander in an especially *difficult situation*. Up to now I had been engaged in warfare as it had been conducted through the ages — to fight to win. But I could see now that the Korean War was developing into something quite different. . . .

The Defeated North Koreans

On November 6th, 1950 General MacArthur issued a special communiqué in which he outlined the situation in Korea:

The Korean War was brought to a practical end with the closing of the trap on enemy elements north of Pyongyang and seizure of the east coastal area, resulting in raising the number of enemy prisoners-of-war in our hands to well over 135,000 which, with other losses mounting to over 200,000, brought enemy casualties to above 335,000, representing a fair estimate of North Korean total military strength.

The *defeat* of the North Koreans and the destruction of their armies was thereby *decisive*. In the face of this victory for United Nations arms, the Communists, without any notice of belligerency, moved elements of Chinese Communist forces across the Yalu River into North Korea and massed a great concentration of possible reinforcing divisions, with adequate supply, behind the privileged sanctuary of the adjacent Manchurian border. The present situation therefore is this: While the North Korean forces with which we were initially engaged have been destroyed or rendered impotent for military action, a new and fresh army faces us, backed up by a possibility of large reserves

and adequate supplies within easy reach of the enemy but beyond the limits of our present sphere of military action. . . .

Then General MacArthur says that,

Despite the welter of *restrictions* placed upon me by Washington, I felt there remained one weapon I could use against massive Chinese intervention. I ordered General Stratemeyer to employ ninety B-29s on the following morning to *destroy the Yalu bridges* and cut this easy line of communication between Manchuria and North Korea, over which large armies of Chinese Reds could swarm. . . .

Those orders were never carried out! But why? MacArthur says:

An immediate dispatch came from Secretary Marshall countermanding my order and directing me "to postpone all bombing of targets within five miles of the Manchurian border." It seemed incredible that *protection* should be extended to the enemy, not only of the *bridges* which were the only means they had for moving their men and supplies across that wide natural river barrier into North Korea, but also for a 5 mile deep area on this side of the Yalu in which to establish a bridgehead. It would be impossible to exaggerate my astonishment, and I at once protested.

Policy of Appeasement

General Douglas MacArthur was by now quite concerned:

I could not have agreed more that the situation in Korea was fraught with disaster. *The danger was that by meeting naked force with appeasement* we would not only perpetrate military disaster in Korea, but would enable *Communism to make its bid for most of Asia*. This was a far larger, more complex, long-range problem than Washington seemed to comprehend.

MacArthur could see that the UN forces in Korea were in great danger unless something drastic was done. He says: ". . . This would mean the ultimate annihilation of our entire command. I estimated *our forces* would have to be at least *tripled* to cope with such a situation, but no promise of reinforcements by Washington was forthcoming. . . .

General MacArthur believed Washington's decision not to bomb the Yalu bridges was *sheer folly*:

Meanwhile, behind the curtain of *fright* and *frustration* thrown up along the Yalu by Washington, the Chinese Communists, over a period of twenty days, were stealthily surging over the Yalu bridges into position for an attack. Under cover of darkness, and the deadly pattern of anti-aircraft defense permitted by the UN restrictions, they poured more than 200,000 fresh troops into North Korea between November 6th and November 26th. *The order not to bomb the Yalu bridges was the most indefensible and ill-conceived decision ever forced on a field commander in our nation's history.*

Why did the Chinese Communists, who well knew America could have obliterated their forces by using her air power, pour their troops across the Yalu River into North Korea?

General MacArthur in his *Reminiscences* gives the answer:

That there was some *leak in intelligence* was evident to everyone. Walker continually complained to me that his operations were known to the enemy in advance through sources in Washington. I will always believe that *if* the U.S. had issued a *warning* to the effect that any entry of the Chinese Communists in force into Korea would be considered an act of international war against the U.S., that *the Korean War would have terminated* with our advance north. *I feel that the Reds would have stayed on their side of the Yalu.* Instead, information must have been relayed to them, assuring that the Yalu bridges would continue to enjoy sanctuary and that their bases would be left intact. They knew they could swarm down across the Yalu River without having to worry about bombers hitting their Manchurian supply lines.

General Lin Piao later published an official leaflet in China, in which he admitted the following: *"I would never have made the attack and risked my men and military reputation if I had not been assured that Washington would restrain General MacArthur from taking adequate retaliatory measures against my lines of supply and communication."*

U.N. Sensitivities

What had caused an aggressive President Truman to begin espousing a weak-kneed approach toward the Communists? Why did he give up the "win-at-all-costs" approach for his "limited objectives"?

It is now clear that he had a great deal of pressure put on him from various members in the United Nations. Many were concerned that World War III might be triggered by an aggressive policy against Communist China. MacArthur didn't share that view, and it now appears he was right.

On November 29, MacArthur wired Washington urgently recommending that Chiang Kai-Shek's Formosa troops be used to help reinforce the UN forces in Korea.

MacArthur Says:

My recommendation, Washington replied, was under consideration, but a firm answer would be delayed because it involved "world-wide consequences." We shall have to consider the possibility that it would *disrupt the united position* of the nations associated with us in the United Nations, and leave the United States isolated. . . . Our position of leadership in the Far East is being most seriously compromised in the

United Nations. The utmost care will be necessary to avoid the disruption of the essential Allied line-up in that organization.

American officialdom in Washington was too concerned with *world opinion!* They appear to have been more concerned with what other nations were thinking, than with doing the right thing.

Truman Capitulates

Notice what happened: "United Nations member governments," said MacArthur, "refused to consent to the use of the eager, fresh troops offered by Chiang Kai-Shek, nor were sizeable reinforcements forthcoming from any other source. In a press conference, President Truman threatened once that he might make *atomic weapons* available to the UN command in this uneven battle, *but within forty-eight hours Prime Minister Attlee hurried to Washington, and nothing more was heard of it. . . .*"

These penetrating comments from the Supreme Commander reveals what was really taking place in Korea. MacArthur says:

This message (from the Joint Chief of Staff to consider "a withdrawal to Japan") seemed to indicate *a loss of the "will to win" in Korea. President Truman's resolute determination to free and unite that threatened land had now deteriorated almost into defeatism.* Washington planning was not directed toward methods of counterattack, but rather toward the *best way to run. . . .* The thought of defeat in Korea had never been entertained by me. It was my belief that, if allowed to use my full military might, without artificial restrictions, I could not only save Korea, but also inflict such a destructive blow upon Red China's capacity to wage aggressive war that it would remove her as a further threat to peace in Asia for generations to come.

MacArthur's Plan for Victory

On December 30th, MacArthur composed a reply to the Joint Chiefs of Staff in which he outlined a policy for *victory*:

. . . Should a policy determination be reached by our government or through it by the UN to recognize the state of war which has been forced upon us by the Chinese authorities and to take retaliatory measures within our capabilities, we could: (1) blockade the coast of China; (2) destroy through naval gunfire and air bombardment China's industrial capacity to wage war; (3) secure reinforcements from the Nationalist garrison on Formosa to strengthen our position in Korea if we decide to continue the fight for that peninsula; and (4) release existing restrictions upon *the Formosan garrison* for diversionary action, possibly leading to counter-invasion against vulnerable areas of the Chinese mainland.

Notice, however, that MacArthur was not suggesting that U.S. troops would invade the Chinese mainland. But he thought it good to let the Chinese Nationalists on Formosa loose on Communist China!

General MacArthur then added:

I believe that by the foregoing measures we would severely cripple and largely neutralize China's capability to wage aggressive war and thus *save Asia from the engulfment* otherwise facing it. . . . I am fully conscious of the fact that this course of action has been rejected in the past for fear of provoking China into a major effort, but we must now realistically recognize that China's commitment thereto has already been fully and unequivocally made and nothing we can do would further aggravate the situation as far as China is concerned.

MacArthur's disagreement with President Truman and with Washington brass was well known and tolerated. But he continued to irritate Washington with his suggestions for a more aggressive approach toward the Communists in China and Korea. He argued that the Russians were not in a position to do much, since they had only one link with Vladivostok. Their sole railway link could easily be severed, reasoned MacArthur. They were very weak in that area, and would not, therefore, risk their necks to save the Koreans or the Chinese.

Furthermore, reasoned MacArthur with devastating logic, the Russians were not in a position to challenge the U.S. They didn't have at the time sufficient numbers of atomic bombs to stand up to America. It would have been foolhardy to have confronted the U.S. and the Russians knew it.

No Substitute for Victory

The final straw that broke the camel's back (Harry Truman's back) was MacArthur's reply to a Congressman's enquiry concerning his views relative to the Far East.

Congressman Joe Martin (Minority Leader of the House of Representatives) wrote MacArthur on March 8th, requesting his views:

In the current discussions on foreign policy and overall strategy many of us have been distressed that although the European aspects have been heavily emphasized we have been without the views of yourself as Commander-in-Chief of the Far Eastern Command. . . .

Then the Congressman mentioned that he was enclosing

. . . a copy of an address I delivered in Brooklyn, N.Y., February 12, stressing this vital point and suggesting that the forces of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek on Formosa might be employed in the opening of a second Asiatic front to relieve the pressure on our forces in Korea. . . .

He further stated:

I would deem it a great help if I could have *your views* on this point, either on a confidential basis or otherwise. Your admirers are legion and the respect you command is enormous. May success be yours in the gigantic undertaking which you direct.

General MacArthur later explained that he felt it his *duty* (as befitting tradition in such matters) to answer Congressman Martin and furnish him with the information he had requested.

MacArthur's reply (the letter that caused him to be *fired* by Mr. Truman) is short and to the point:

My views and recommendations, with respect to the situation created by Red Chinese entry into war against us in Korea, have been submitted to Washington in most complete detail. Generally these views are well known and clearly understood, as they follow the conventional pattern of meeting force with maximum counter-force as we have never failed to do in the past. Your view with respect to the utilization of the Chinese forces on Formosa is in conflict with neither logic nor this tradition.

It seems strangely difficult for some to realize that here in Asia is where the Communist conspirators have elected to make their play for global conquest, and that we have joined the issue thus raised on the battlefields; that here we fight Europe's war with arms while the diplomats there still fight it with words; that if we lose the war to Communism in Asia the fall of Europe is inevitable; win it and Europe most probably would avoid war and yet preserve freedom. As you point out, we must win. There is no substitute for victory.

U.N. Impotence

General MacArthur then mentions that Congressman Martin, without consulting him, released his letter. "... There was an instant hue and cry that I wanted to spread the war. This put the cart before the horse — I only wanted to *end the war*, not to spread it. I had not started it, and many times had stated, 'Anyone in favor of sending *American* ground troops to fight on *Chinese* soil should have his head examined!'"

General Douglas MacArthur believed that much of the pressure which had been put on President Truman and other American leaders during this critical time was the direct result of UN pressure.

"... But the United Nations proved unequal to the task. After Red China entered the conflict, it yielded to *counsels of fear*, and abandoned pledge commitments to restore to the people of Korea a nation which was united and free," said the UN Supreme Commander.

MacArthur continued: "Such abandonment of principles by the UN in whose solemn declaration the peoples of Asia had placed such trust



General Douglas A. MacArthur served brilliantly in the Pacific theater both during and after World War II. He and Robert E. Lee were probably the two greatest American generals of all time. During the Korean War, MacArthur told President Truman and the world, "in war there can be no substitute for victory!" — ACME Photo

and faith, was *a catastrophic blow* to the hopes of the free world. Its disastrous consequences were reflected throughout Asia. Red China promptly was accepted as the military colossus of the East. Korea was left ravished and divided. Indo-China was partitioned by the sword. Tibet was taken almost on demand. Other Asian nations began to tremble toward neutralism. Sadly, we wasted the opportunity to retrieve the basic mistake of the 1946-1947 Marshall Mission in offering appeasement to the Red Chinese at the expense of Nationalist China, under the naïve concept that the Reds were only agrarian reformers”

MacArthur added:

. . . All this and more has followed from *the United Nations' fatal decision not to see it through in Korea*. The free world plunged from invincible position of moral strength into the confusion of uncertain bewilderment. We fostered a practice of *doubtful expediency* and the eventual misery of *timid appeasement*. The result was a tragic and precipitous loss in prestige.

Fear of China and Russia

The West and America in particular *lost face* when they changed their long-standing military policy from “win” and “victory” to that of accommodation and stalemate.

MacArthur says he was chided for regarding the Korean conflict a war and not as a “police action.” He asked:

How could Red China have been more at war against us? Every ounce of her military and economic force was thrown into the Korean struggle. Lacking naval and air power, she was incapable of anything more. She was already strained to the breaking point, a 100 per cent war effort against us. How can one reasonably say it is not war when approximately 150,000 Americans and many times that of our ally, South Korea, were killed or maimed? The preponderance of these casualties were inflicted by Red China.

Russian Weakness

The General continued:

Attempts have been made to justify the extraordinary military policy which placed our arms in a *strait-jacket*, based on the possibility that if we followed our tradition and fought to win, it might precipitate *Soviet Russia's entry* into the war. But the entry of Soviet Russia, or Red China, was a risk inherent in the *original decision* to intervene in Korea. . . . Her position in Siberia was of necessity defensive and highly vulnerable because of her limited and tenuous supply line. This consisted of a single railroad system which could be cut by air interdiction

almost at will. There was little local supply in eastern Siberia, and its military needs depended entirely upon this sole transportation system. At no place in the world would she have been weaker for battle. At this time, while *we had the atomic bomb, she had not yet developed its manufacture*. There was never serious danger of active Soviet intervention. The Russian policy is not to sacrifice its own troops, but to use those of its friends. The enormous expansion of Soviet influence since the end of World War II has been brought about without the Russian soldier firing a shot in battle

MacArthur said:

Approximately three-fifths of our casualties took place during the indecisive aftermath which followed my recall. It reversed U.S. military doctrine of a century and a half, from the *attack* to the *defense*, although the history of warfare shows the latter never attained more than an *indecisive stalemate*. It accepted at tragic cost the policy of *indecision* that in war there can be a *substitute* for victory. . . . All of this destroyed Oriental faith in Western fortitude, in Western determination, and in Western interest in Asia. This largely cost the free world its psychological gains which were the result of our World War II victory in the Far East.

Was MacArthur Insubordinate?

Nothing incensed MacArthur more than the false allegation that he had been insubordinate. He utterly rejected this charge:

Several years after my abrupt relief just when *victory was within my grasp*, the charge was made that I had been insubordinate. Nothing could have been more grotesque. It was completely repudiated by all members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, my immediate military seniors in the conduct of the Korean War, who specifically denied under oath before the Senate Committee investigating the reasons for my recall, that I had ever committed such a breach of regulations. The committee itself was unanimous in its agreement. It was stated that General Bradley had charged me with such an offense. But General Bradley, in answer to direct questions by Senators George, Byrd, and Morse, three times swore that there had been no such dereliction on my part. . . .

It is clear that the Senate Committee which investigated MacArthur's dismissal from his commands by Truman, failed to find any proof that General MacArthur had been insubordinate!

The chairman of the British Chiefs of Staff, Field Marshal Lord Alanbrooke, gave this testimony concerning MacArthur:

The decisions MacArthur finally arrived at as regards the war in Korea were, I think, based on a Pacific outlook and, as such, in my opinion were right. He has been accused of taking actions without previous political approval, but he had been unable to obtain the political policy and guidance he had sought. To my mind a general who

is not prepared to assume some responsibility on his own, when unable to obtain political direction, is of little value.

How did MacArthur feel? He publicly stated on many occasions that he held no rancor or malice toward anyone on account of his being relieved of his commands; but he believed the charge of insubordination was untrue and he felt that the very manner in which it was done was totally wrong.

He wrote:

The legal authority of a President to relieve a field commander, irrespective of the wisdom or stupidity of the action has never been questioned by anyone. . . . Since the beginning of time, commanders have been changed, some through whim, some through cause, but never in history was there a more drastic method employed than in my relief — without a hearing, without an opportunity for defense, with no consideration of the past. Up to the moment of my recall, I had been receiving laudatory commendations from the President, publicly and through his liaison officer at my headquarters. No slightest opportunity was given me to explain my position to answer allegations or objections, to present my future concepts and plans.

Furthermore, the very manner in which this was handled was most unfortunate. MacArthur adds:

The actual order I received was so drastic as to prevent the usual amenities incident to a transfer of command and practically placed me under duress. No office boy, no charwoman, no servant of any sort would have been dismissed with such callous disregard for the ordinary decencies.

I was first appraised of the action through a press dispatch over the public radio. It is claimed that Washington tried to inform me, before announcing my relief to the public, through the Secretary of the Army, Mr. Pace, then on a visit to Japan and Korea, but could not reach him. This is incredible. Secretary Pace had been with me in my office just before, and had reflected a most complimentary attitude in Washington. He was in Korea at the moment in immediate message contact with my headquarters, which had similar contact with Washington.

Was President Truman right in relieving General MacArthur of his Far Eastern duties?

Many, both in America, and throughout the world, believe that President Truman's decision to relieve MacArthur of his Far Eastern commands was the biggest mistake of his presidency.

Frustration in Korea

Allied hopes for a quick end to the war disappeared when China had sent Communist troops against the Allies on November 25 and 26, 1950, and forced the Allies to begin their retreat from North Korea. With-

drawal from the North Korean capital of Pyongyang occurred in December.

About this time, General Walker was killed in a jeep accident. Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway took command of the Eighth Army on December 27.

Communist forces began to attack the South Korean capital of Seoul on New Year's Eve, and occupied the city on January 4, 1951. After retreating about 25 miles south of Seoul, the Allies dug in and ended their retreat.

The Allies reoccupied Seoul on March 14 without having to fight for the city. By June 1951 their advance had moved a short distance into North Korea.

At this point the whole pattern of the war changed. Both sides dug in and began fighting along a battle line situated a few miles north of the 38th parallel.

Even though truce talks began in July, 1951, fighting continued for two more years. During this period, neither the North nor the South made important advances, but many bitter battles for strategic positions were fought. This period of the Korean War is sometimes called the "Battle for the Hills." Infamous battlefields included Pork Chop Hill, Bloody Ridge, Old Baldy, Heartbreak Ridge and Finger Ridge.

"Containment" Defined

America's Allies in Europe were strongly opposed to the risk of igniting World War III by expansion of the war in the Far East. And various UN members were opposed to an aggressive policy against the Communists in Korea.

If America concentrated too much of her military strength in the Far East, instead of in Europe, they felt this would make them more vulnerable to a Soviet attack.

It is clear that the U.S. government at this point clearly modified its previous objectives in Korea. The goal was no longer to drive the Communists out of Korea, and the establishment of a democratic government over all Korea. The Allies decided they would be willing just to retain control over South Korea. In other words, the doctrine of "containment" of the Communists was given a new definition in Washington.

The War Continues

The war in Korea continued indecisively. General Ridgway had flown to Tokyo to replace MacArthur, and Lt. Gen. James A. Van Fleet became commander of the Eighth Army.

Before long Russian MIG-14 jets were supplied to the North Koreans. Dogfights became common. The U.S. began using helicopters to carry wounded men from battle zones to hospitals, and for other military purposes — including the carrying of troops into combat.

During the Korean War, the U.S. Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps lost more than 2,000 planes. Over 1,000 Communist planes were destroyed by the Allies. It is estimated that Navy and Marine fliers killed about 100,000 Communist troops, and the U.S. Air Force fliers killed approximately 184,800.

Truce Talks Begin

When Jacob Malik, the Soviet delegate to the U.N. proposed a cease-fire on June 23, 1951, hopes for peace in Korea soared. General Ridgway (after being instructed by Washington) suggested that a meeting take place between Allied and Communist military officers to discuss a Korean truce.

The actual truce talks began on July 10 at Kaesong but were moved to Panmunjom on October 25. There was great difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory solution to the Korean impasse.

The main issue preventing a settlement was that of voluntary repatriation of prisoners. The United Nations insisted that prisoners on both sides be permitted to choose whether or not they would return to their homelands. Since many Chinese prisoners of the Allies had actually fought against the Communists during the Chinese civil war, they violently protested against a forced return to live under Communism. Also, some North Korean captives refused to return home. By the latter part of April, 1952, the truce talks were deeply bogged down over the issue of voluntary repatriation.

Eisenhower Becomes President

A number of incidents happened about this time which influenced the outcome of the Korean War. Dwight D. Eisenhower became President (1953-61) of the United States in January, 1953. He had visited Korea shortly before being inaugurated as President.

Joseph Stalin, the Man of Steel, died on March 5, 1953. After his death, Soviet leaders began talking of the possibility of settling disputes peacefully.

Why did the Communists agree to a truce in Korea? Why didn't they fight until they had driven the UN forces out of that ravaged land?

The well-known commentator and historian, Alistair Cooke, made this significant comment regarding America's involvement in the Korean War:



President Truman gives General Dwight D. Eisenhower a hearty handshake in Dec. 1951 at the White House. A little over one year later, Eisenhower moved into the White House as America's 34th President. — AP Wire Photo

The Korean War was *the first United Nations war*. It was to be the last in which the Americans would carry the brunt of the fighting. After two years they had had enough of it, and a year later General — by now President — Eisenhower stopped it. This was almost certainly done by *a secret threat to use tactical atomic weapons*, a move not reported until thirteen years later. It began to dawn on the old practitioners of *real-politik* at the United Nations that it was not the Security Council that kept the peace but America's possession of the atomic bomb — and, now, of the hydrogen bomb. . . .

The Korean truce talks were resumed on April 26, 1953. By now, the Communists were ready to accept voluntary repatriation. They agreed to let the prisoners indicate their choice by talking with the Neutral Nations' Representation Commission (which included representatives of Czechoslovakia, India, Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland).

The fighting in Korea ended on July 27, 1953. A truce was signed. This truce established a two-and-a-half-mile wide buffer zone along the final battle line which divided the two sides. North Korea actually lost about 1,500 square miles of territory to South Korea in the settlement. Both North and South Korea agreed not to increase their military strength. A Military Armistice Commission (with representatives from both sides) was set up to enforce the terms of the truce. According to the truce, prisoners were to be exchanged, and a political conference would later be held at which a final settlement could be worked out.

In 1954, representatives of all the countries which had fought in Korea, and Russian officials, met in Geneva, Switzerland to draw up a permanent peace plan. But the negotiators failed to find a solution to the Korean impasse. They were unable to draw up any permanent peace plan, and found it impossible to agree on a satisfactory way of unifying Korea. Neither could they agree on the important questions connected with the withdrawing of foreign troops from Korea.

As a result of this total impasse, Both Communist and United Nations troops remained dug in on both sides of the buffer zone. To this very day a permanent peace treaty has not been signed.

The Deadly Cuban Missile Crisis

Never before in history has such utter destruction on this planet seemed so imminent as during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

What were the events which led up to that crisis between the world's two superpowers — America and Russia?

Who was the real architect of the Cuban Missile Crisis? And what led him, irresponsibly, to take the whole world to the very brink of a nuclear *Armageddon*?

Nikita S. Khrushchev (1894-1971) served as Premier of the USSR during the period of 1958-64. He evinced little pity for the weaker nations or his political enemies.

Khrushchev was born April 17, 1894 in the village of Kalinovka near Kursk in the southwestern part of Russia. His father was a poor peasant, and also worked as a coal miner.

As a young boy, Nikita worked as a shepherd during most of the year. He attended church school in the winter. When he was only fifteen years old, he began working in the coal mines where he repaired equipment and machinery.

Khrushchev did not take part in the Russian revolution of October, 1917, in which the Communists (*Bolsheviks*) seized political power in the Soviet Union. When he was 24 years old, he joined the Communist party (in 1918). Khrushchev fought in the Russian civil war (1918-1920) in which the *Bolsheviks* defeated those opposed to their new government.

In the early 1920s the Communist party sent Khrushchev to a school which prepared adult workers for management positions or for higher education.

Khrushchev's Rise to Power

Nikita Khrushchev graduated from the workers' school in 1925. During the next few years he held Communist party positions in Kiev and in the Donets Coal Basin region. In 1929 the Communist party sent the promising Khrushchev to Moscow to attend the J. V. Stalin Industrial Academy. This was a school for the training of gifted persons for factory management.

He became a member of the powerful committee of the Communist

party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1934, and was appointed first secretary (or head) of the powerful Moscow city party organization in 1935.

Khrushchev was made first secretary of the Ukraine Communist party in 1938, and carried out Stalin's ruthless purges of those in its ranks. Nikita Khrushchev became one of Joseph Stalin's close associates, and was made a full member of the *Politburo*, Russia's top executive body, in 1939.

For two years, Russia managed to stay out of World War II. Hitler invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, but he didn't launch his *blitzkrieg* against Russia until June 22, 1941. After the Nazi invasion of Russia, Khrushchev directed the withdrawal of industrial equipment from the Ukraine before that food rich region was occupied by the Germans.

During World War II he was a top political adviser in the Soviet army, also helped organize the Ukrainian guerilla army, and took part in planning the historic defense of Stalingrad (now called Volgograd).

After Soviet forces drove the Nazis out of the Ukraine, Nikita Khrushchev worked to get war-torn farms, steel mills and coal mines back into operation.

Dictator of Soviet Russia

Khrushchev was recalled to Moscow as a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party in December 1949. When Joseph Stalin died in March 1953 Georgi Malenkov became Russia's new Premier. But only six months later, Nikita Khrushchev had elbowed a number of power-seekers aside and had become secretary of the Communist Party of the entire Soviet Union.

A fierce power struggle soon followed. After Stalin's death, a "collective" leadership had replaced the single ruler of the USSR. If Khrushchev were to reach the top position of power, he would have to outwit all his rivals such as the clever Lavrenti Beria, Kaganovich, Malenkov, and Vyacheslav Molotov. All of these men along with Khrushchev were members of the powerful *Presidium*, which had replaced the *Politburo* in 1952.

One by one, Khrushchev's rivals were dealt with. Lavrenti Beria was executed in 1953. Premier Malenkov resigned in February, 1955, and was succeeded by Nikolai Bulganin.

Dethroning a Dead Dictator

Premier Khrushchev delivered a "secret" report at the 20th All-Union Party Congress in 1956. This report on "The Personality Cult and its Consequences," scathingly denounced the rule, personality and pol-

icies of Joe Stalin. Even though a program of *destalinization* had already begun, it was given new impetus by this bitter attack on the dead dictator.

After charging Stalin with crimes and butcheries against the Soviet peoples, Khrushchev closed the concentration camps, and many of the forced labor camps. Under Premier Khrushchev a much greater degree of freedom and meaningful public controversy was permitted.

But this new atmosphere of relative freedom soon led to serious repercussions in other Communist countries, and created much unrest which finally exploded in an episode of heroic Polish defiance of Russia in 1956. This was put down, and so was a serious revolt in Hungary the same year.

In 1957 Kaganovich, Malenkov and Molotov vainly plotted to remove Khrushchev from his powerful leadership position. But the plot backfired and Khrushchev then removed them all from important positions; and not long afterward, Marshal Zhukov, who had supported Premier Khrushchev against them, was himself removed from his important post.

By March 1958 Khrushchev was in a strong enough position to be able to replace Bulganin as Premier — thus becoming the undisputed leader of both the Soviet state and the Communist Party.

One reason for Khrushchev's phenomenal rise to power was the deceptiveness of his peasant background. He could be a jovial person and had a somewhat clownish appearance. This rather friendly exterior, however, concealed a shrewd and scheming mind which was capable of intriguing plots and outright ruthlessness. His jovial, often uncouth manner was deceptive. He could turn on charm, giving the appearance of great camaraderie, but he could also become very belligerent.

“Peaceful Coexistence”

Premier Khrushchev greatly altered Soviet foreign policy. Vladimir Illyich Lenin, the founder of Soviet Communism, had believed that war between the *democratic* (capitalistic) and *communistic* (socialistic) countries could not and should not be avoided. Nikita Khrushchev strongly disagreed. He espoused the doctrine of “peaceful coexistence.”

Premier Khrushchev explained his policy of peaceful coexistence in the following manner:

It is not an army, but peace that is required to propagate communist ideas, disseminate them, and establish them in the minds of men. . . .

War will not help us reach our goal — it will spoil it. . . .

Marxism-Leninism is our main weapon. We will conquer the capitalist world by using this mighty *ideological weapon* and not a hydrogen bomb. . . .

We produce the hydrogen bomb with the sole object of cooling the ambitions of some excessively zealous politicians and generals in the capitalist countries.

But Khrushchev's policy of "peaceful coexistence" caused a serious rupture among the Communist-aligned nations. Communist China violently disagreed with Khrushchev. They called for a more bellicose policy toward the capitalist countries of the world.

Khrushchev visited the U.S. in 1959, and toured numerous farms and factories. He also met President Eisenhower at Camp David, Maryland, and the friendly give-and-take exchanges during those meetings helped somewhat toward easing international tensions.

But it was Khrushchev who broke up the Paris Conference in 1960, when he demanded that President Eisenhower apologize for the U.S. having sent numerous U-2 spy planes over Russia. Eisenhower refused to make an apology, and Khrushchev left Paris in a huff. The conference broke up without having really accomplished anything.

Shoe-Pounding Episode

In the fall of 1960 Premier Khrushchev headed the Russian delegation to the UN General Assembly. At that Assembly he raged at the U.S. over the spy plane incident. He was also incensed over UN interference in the Republic of the Congo (now Zaïre). To punctuate his anger, Khrushchev took off his shoe and pounded the desk at the UN in an undignified display of heated emotion.

But Khrushchev's days as dictator of Russia were numbered. It was the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, more than Khrushchev's failures in managing Russia's agriculture program, which finally resulted in his being toppled from power.

Khrushchev's Version of the Cuban Crisis

What led up to the Cuban Missile Crisis? During that crisis the whole world held its breath — while the two superpowers squared off against each other. Many believed a nuclear Armageddon was imminent.

In order to better understand the Russian version of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, let us look at the account of that hair-raising episode — as seen through the eyes of Premier Khrushchev. In his autobiography, *Khrushchev Remembers*, we are given some very interesting glimpses into that mind-chilling confrontation.

Khrushchev asserts the Caribbean crisis of October 1962 came to a head this way:

At the time that Fidel Castro led his revolution to victory and entered Havana with his troops, we had no idea what political course his regime would follow. . . .

We decided to send Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan to America. . . .

While Mikoyan was in the U.S., Fidel invited him to visit Cuba. Mikoyan accepted. . . . Shortly after Mikoyan's visit we established diplomatic relations with Cuba, and we sent a delegation there. . . .

Meanwhile the plot was thickening. Castro was no longer sitting on the fence; he was beginning to behave like a full-fledged Communist, even though he still didn't call himself one. He was enlisting *Communists* into his governments.

"America . . . Missed Their Chance"

Khrushchev continued:

All the while the Americans had been watching Castro closely. . . . So by the time Castro announced he was going to put Cuba on the road toward Socialism, the Americans had already *missed their chance* to do anything about it by simply exerting their influence: there were no longer any forces left which could be organized to fight on America's behalf in Cuba. That left only one alternative — *invasion!*

The Cubans asked us for arms. We gave them tanks and artillery and sent them instructions. In addition we sent them anti-aircraft guns and some fighter planes. As a result of our assistance Cuba was solidly armed. . . .

Then Khrushchev mentions the *Bay of Pigs* invasion fiasco of April 1961 when exiled Cuban counterrevolutionaries tried to overthrow Fidel Castro, but were badly defeated.

After Castro's crushing victory over the counterrevolutionaries, Russia intensified its military aid to Cuba. Russia welcomed Castro's victory, of course, but at the same time the Russians were quite certain that the Bay of Pigs invasion was only the beginning and that the Americans would not let Cuba alone.

We were sure that the Americans would never reconcile themselves to the existence of Castro's Cuba. They feared, as much as we hoped, that a Socialist [Communist] Cuba might become a magnet that would attract other Latin American countries to Socialism. . . . Everyone agreed that *America would not leave Cuba alone unless we did something*. We had an obligation to do everything in our power to protect Cuba's existence as a Socialist country and as a working *example* to the other countries of Latin America. It was clear to me that we might very well *lose Cuba* if we didn't take some decisive steps in her defense.

What could Russia do to prevent Socialist Cuba from being toppled? Khrushchev's fertile brain hatched up a crafty plot to foil U.S. intentions toward Cuba.

The fate of Cuba and the maintenance of Soviet prestige in that part of the world preoccupied Khrushchev even when he was busy conducting the affairs of state in Moscow and traveling to the other countries. While he was on an official visit to Bulgaria, for instance, one thought kept hammering away at his brain: what will happen if we lose Cuba? He knew it would be a terrible blow to Marxism-Leninism. It would gravely diminish Communist stature throughout the world, but especially in Latin America. If Cuba fell, other Latin American countries would reject Communism, claiming that the Soviet Union hadn't been able to do anything for Cuba except to make empty protests to the United Nations.

What could Russia do to protect the fledgling Communist state in the Caribbean?

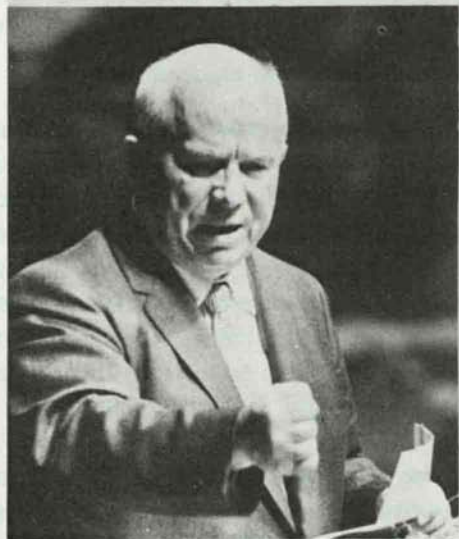
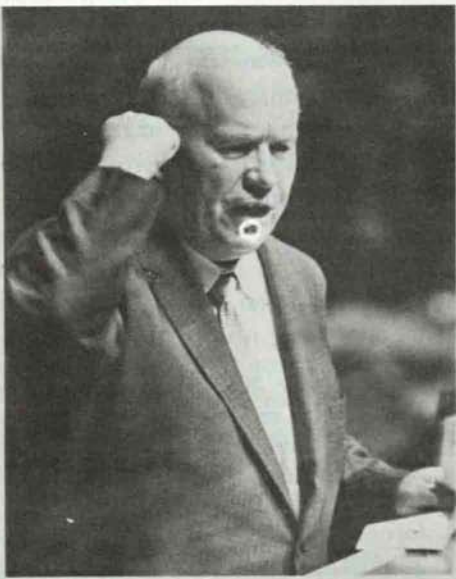
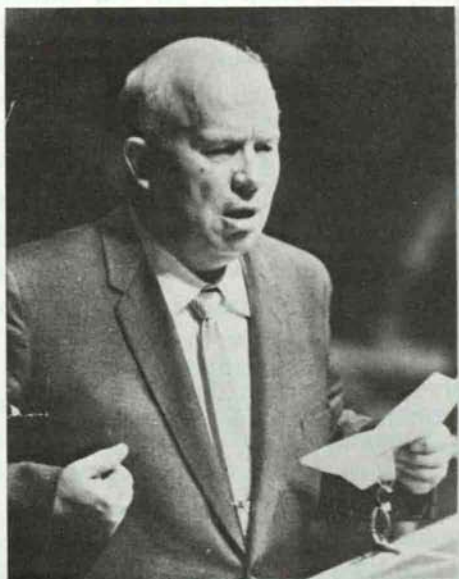
"We had to think up some way of confronting America with more than words," says Khrushchev in *Khrushchev Remembers*. "We had to establish a tangible and effective deterrent to American interference in the Caribbean. But what exactly? The logical answer was *missiles*."

The United States had already surrounded the Soviet Union with its own bomber bases and missiles. We knew that American missiles were aimed against us in Turkey and Italy, to say nothing of West Germany. Our vital industrial centers were directly threatened by planes armed with atomic bombs and guided missiles tipped with nuclear warheads. As Chairman of the Council of Ministers, I found myself in a difficult position of having to decide on a course of action which would answer the American threat but which would also *avoid war*. Any fool can start war, and once he's done so, even the wisest of men are helpless to stop it — especially if it's a nuclear war.

Premier Khrushchev explains how Russia decided to put nuclear-tipped missiles in Cuba. He says:

It was during my visit to Bulgaria that I had the idea of installing missiles with nuclear warheads in Cuba without letting the United States find out they were there until it was too late to do anything about them. I knew that first we'd have to talk to Castro and explain our strategy to him in order to get the agreement of the Cuban government. My thinking went like this: if we installed the missiles *secretly* and then if the United States discovered the missiles were there after they were already *poised and ready to strike*, the Americans would think twice before trying to liquidate our installations by military means." The Russian missiles would soon be installed, and, like a deadly cobra, ready to strike a fatal blow at the U.S.

"I knew," says Khrushchev, "that the United States could knock out some of our installations, but not all of them. If a quarter or even a tenth of our missiles survived — even if only one or two big ones were left — we could still hit New York, and there wouldn't be much of New York left."



Nikita Khrushchev, dynamic, blustering, somewhat uncouth, became the leader of Russia following Stalin's death. — *Wide World Photo*

But why, according to Khrushchev, did the Russians install missiles in Cuba? Did they really hope to devastate America with nuclear weapons?

I want to make one thing absolutely clear: when we put our ballistic missiles in Cuba, *we had no desire to start a war*. On the contrary, our principle aim was only to *deter America from starting a war*. We were well aware that a war which started over Cuba would quickly spread into a world war. Any idiot could have started a war between America and Cuba. Cuba was eleven thousand kilometers away from us. Only a fool would think that we wanted to invade the American continent from Cuba. Our goal was precisely the opposite: we wanted to keep the Americans from invading Cuba, and, to that end, we wanted to make them think twice by confronting them with our missiles. This goal we achieved — but not without undergoing *a period of perilous tension*.

Premier Khrushchev continued: "... Then one day in October President Kennedy came out with a statement warning that the United States would take whatever measures were necessary to remove what he called the 'threat' of Russian missiles on Cuba. The Americans began to make a *belligerent show of their strength*. They concentrated their forces against Cuba, completely surrounding the island with their navy. Things started churning. In our estimate the Americans were trying to frighten us, *but they were no less scared than we were of atomic war*."

Khrushchev admitted he was threatening American cities with "a real threat of destruction."

We hadn't had time to deliver all our shipments to Cuba, *but we had installed enough missiles already to destroy New York, Chicago, and the other huge industrial cities, not to mention a little village like Washington. I don't think America had ever faced such a real threat of destruction as at that moment*.

Russia was almost in a position to use *nuclear blackmail* to force America to do her bidding.

The Cuban Quarantine

When America blockaded Cuba, the Russians were prevented from continuing vital deliveries of their nuclear and missile hardware. Khrushchev tries to gloss over this fact.

"Meanwhile we went about our own business. We didn't let ourselves be intimidated. Our ships, with the remainder of our deliveries to Cuba, headed straight through an armada of the American navy, but the Americans didn't try to stop our ships or even check them. (But the Soviets later turned back their ships which were carrying contraband war materials.) We kept in mind that as long as the United States limited itself to threatening gestures and didn't actually touch us, we

could afford to pretend to ignore the harassment.

What was the upshot of the Cuban Missile Crisis? Although Russia withdrew the missiles, Khrushchev concluded in his memoirs that it was “an episode of world history in which, *bringing the world to the brink of atomic war, we won a Socialist Cuba*. It’s very consoling for me personally to know that our side acted correctly and that we did a great revolutionary deed by not letting imperialism intimidate us. *The Caribbean crisis was a triumph of Soviet foreign policy* and a personal triumph in my own career as a statesman and as a member of the collective leadership. *We achieved, I would say, a spectacular success without having to fire a single shot!*”

The American Version

In the late summer of 1962, America learned that impressive shipments of Soviet arms, equipment and personnel had begun arriving in Cuba. The U.S. President authorized reconnaissance flights over that island in order to obtain photographic proof of what was happening.

The U.S. Attorney General during the Cuban Missile Crisis was Robert Kennedy, brother to President John F. Kennedy. In his book, *Thirteen Days*, Robert F. Kennedy gives a number of interesting facts concerning the Cuban missile buildup. He says:

The photography having indicated that the missiles were being directed at certain American cities, the estimate was that within a few minutes of their being fired *eighty million Americans would be dead*.

President Kennedy’s special assistant, Theodore C. Sorensen, later wrote a moving account of the thirteen tense days when American leaders in Washington agonized over how to meet the Cuban Missile Crisis. Since Mr. Sorensen took an active part in the deliberations and final decisions relative to that crisis, he is one of the most qualified persons to relate the chain of events which transpired during the nightmarish period. In his book entitled *Kennedy*, we are given a moving account of that time.

According to Sorensen’s account, by early September, 1962, “forty-two Soviet medium and intermediate range ballistic missiles — each one capable of striking the United States with a nuclear warhead twenty or thirty times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb — were in route to Cuba. . . .”

What would America do? U.S. unease over the Cuban missile buildup was communicated to the Russians. All the while, Soviet leaders assured the Americans there was nothing “offensive” in the Cuban missiles. They were there for the sole purpose of *defending* Cuba.

On September 13, President Kennedy delivered an explicit state-

ment expressing American concern and intentions over the Cuban missiles: "If at any time the Communist build-up in Cuba were to endanger or interfere with our security in any way . . . or if Cuba should ever . . . become an offensive military base of significant capacity for the Soviet Union, then this country will do whatever must be done to protect its own security and that of its allies," said the President.

A Soviet Blunder

Kennedy was angry because Khrushchev had deliberately tried to deceive America into believing that Russia had no intention of installing offensive missiles in Cuba.

U.S. military experts had assumed that no missiles would be installed in Cuba until an operational network of Russian SAMS (Surface to Air Missiles) had first been established. It seemed inconceivable to Americans that the Soviets would have tried to build offensive missile sites in Cuba before they had their SAMS ready. Would the Russians dare to take such a desperate gamble?

When a careful analysis of the U-2 photographs clearly revealed that the Soviets were rapidly building *offensive* missile sites in Cuba, Kennedy immediately became alarmed! According to Mr. Sorensen, those missile sites "covered Washington, Dallas, Cape Canaveral, St. Louis and all SAC bases and cities in between; and it was estimated that the whole complex of sixteen to twenty-four missiles could be operational in two weeks. . . ."

America's serious dilemma was simply how could she "get rid of this missile complex before it became operational, either through an air strike's knocking it out, or by pressuring the Soviets into taking it out."

"Time Was Running Out"

Theodore Sorensen relates how the Cuban crisis built up to a climax: ". . . More MRBM (medium range ballistic missiles) sites were discovered, for a total of six. . . . The literally (over 25) miles of film taken of the island — which was blanketed daily with six or seven flights now revealed excavations for three IRBM sites as well. *The 2,200-mile-range IRBMs, when readied in December, would be capable of reaching virtually any part of the continental United States. . . .*

The knowledge that time was running out dominated our discussions and kept us meeting late into the night. The stepped-up U-2 flights had apparently not alerted the Soviets to our discovery. But we had to formulate and declare our position, said the President, before they knew we knew, before the matter leaked out to the public and before the missiles became operational.

What should the United States do to make sure that those deadly missile sites didn't become operational?

At President Kennedy's many meetings with his staff during the perilous thirteen-day crisis, many proposals were made, including: Just doing nothing; using diplomatic warnings and pressures; and the possible offer of removal of our missile bases in Turkey in exchange for the dismantling of the Russian missiles in Cuba. A secret approach to Castro was also considered, as well as a naval blockade, an air strike (or "surgical" strike to remove the sites), and an outright invasion of Cuba — all of these possible alternatives were considered.

But which was the best solution?

The U.S. President and his advisers, after much discussion and debate, narrowed America's course of action down to *two* alternatives: *air strikes* against the sites, or a *naval blockade* of Cuba.

After much further discussion it was finally decided that the safest and best approach would be a *naval blockade* of the island. Mr. Sorensen makes this comment:

Despite all these disadvantages, the *blockade* route gained strength on Thursday as other choices faded. It was a more limited, low-key military action than the air strike. It offered Khrushchev the choice of avoiding a direct military clash by keeping his ships away. It could at least be initiated without a shot being fired or a single Soviet or Cuban citizen being killed. Thus it seemed slightly less likely to precipitate an immediate military riposte.

Moreover, a naval engagement in the Caribbean, just off our own shores, was the most advantageous military confrontation the United States could have, if one were necessary. Whatever the balance of strategic and ground forces may have been, the superiority of the American Navy was unquestioned; and this superiority was world-wide, should Soviet submarines retaliate elsewhere. To avoid a military defeat, Khrushchev might well turn his ships back, causing U.S. allies to have increased confidence in our credibility and Cuba's Communists to feel they were being abandoned.

Furthermore, adds Mr. Sorensen: "Precisely because it was a limited, low-level action, the argument ran, the blockade had the advantage of permitting a more controlled escalation on our part, gradual or rapid as the situation required. It could serve as an unmistakable but not sudden or humiliating warning to Khrushchev of what we expected from him. . . ."

But President Kennedy realized that even after the decision was taken to go the blockade route, there were still a number of unanswered questions: "How should we relate it to the missiles? *How would it help get them out?* What would we do if they became operational?"

From the beginning, Kennedy wanted to leave Khrushchev a way out. President Kennedy then consulted with Dwight Eisenhower, and

advised the Joint Chiefs of Staff to order all service commanders to be fully prepared for any possible military action. U.S. defenses at the American Guantanamo base in Cuba were strengthened. De Gaulle and NATO were briefed on the gravity of the Cuban crisis.

And it was decided that America would use discretion in the way she applied the blockade: "He (Kennedy) asked Navy Chief of Staff Anderson, Jr. to describe plans and procedures for the *blockade*. First, said the Admiral, each approaching ship would be *signaled to stop* for boarding and inspection. Then, if no satisfactory response, a *shot* would be fired into her rudder to cripple but not to sink. . . ."

Kennedy Tells The World

Events during the Cuban missile build-up continued moving swiftly to a climax. American forces in the U.S. and around the world had been given a red alert. American custodians of nuclear weapons in Turkey, West Germany, Italy and elsewhere were instructed to take extraordinary precaution to make certain that their deadly atomic weapons were not fired except under the President's orders.

All the while, President Kennedy was trying not to force Khrushchev's hand. He did not want to *humiliate* him — thereby possibly driving him to some desperate action.

Mr. Kennedy's firm resolve is revealed in his statement: "It shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full *retaliatory reponse* upon the Soviet Union." This is the kind of language which an aggressive Khrushchev would understand.

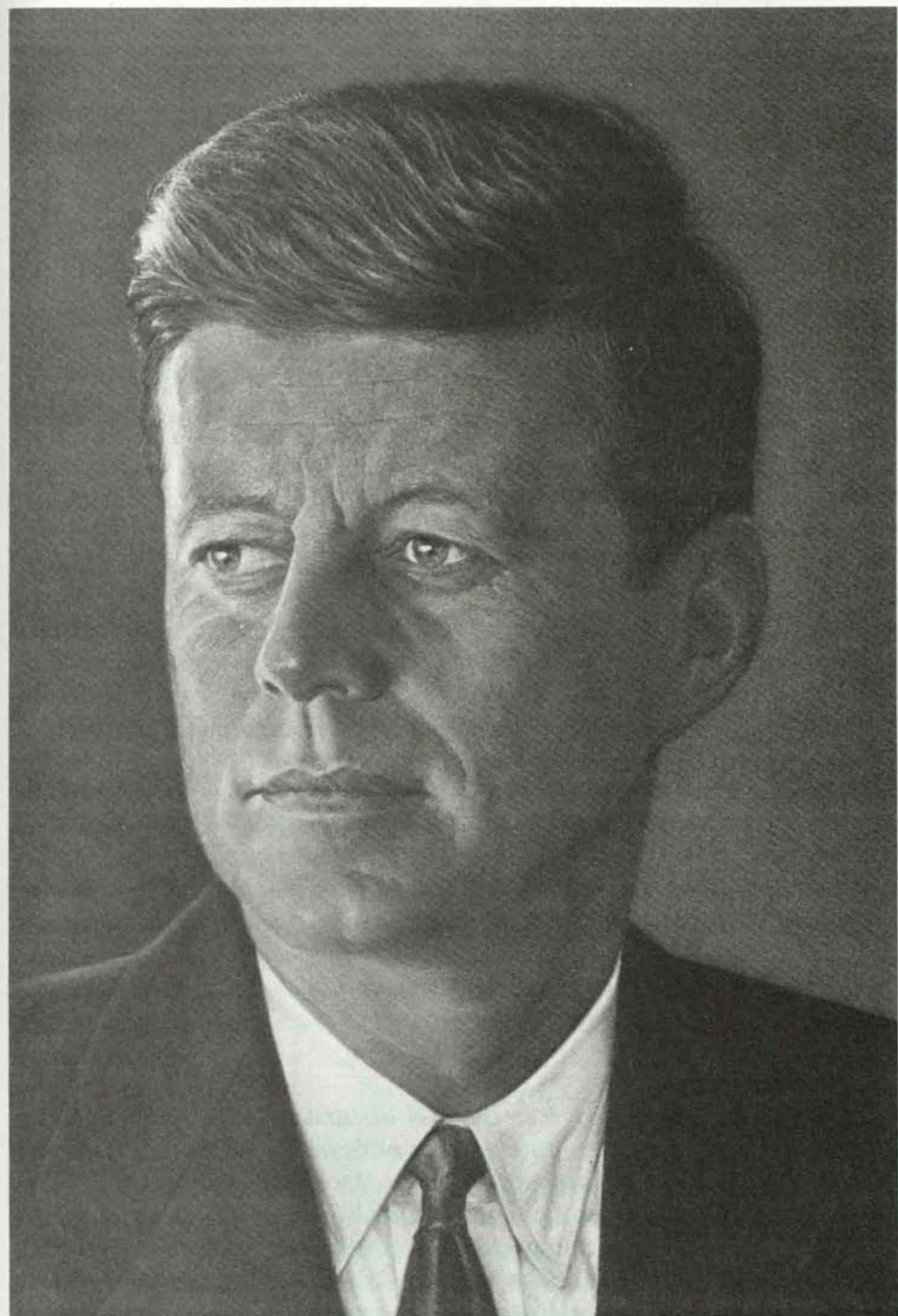
President Kennedy had worked diligently on his address to the nation — and to the world. He did not want it to sound *belligerent*, and neither did he wish it to evince any *timidity*.

By Monday, October 21, Kennedy was ready, his speech written and rewritten. In his speech, a grave President was about to tell the nation and the world what the Soviets had been doing in Cuba, and what the American response would be:

"Good evening, my fellow citizens," said the President.

"This government, as promised, has maintained the closest surveillance of the Soviet military build-up on the island of Cuba. Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that *a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island*. The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere. . . .

"This urgent transformation of Cuba into an important strategic base, by the presence of these large, long-range and clearly *offensive*



John Fitzgerald Kennedy, America's 35th President, stood up to the deadly Russian threat when Nikita Khrushchev placed missiles in Cuba. Painting by Sam. J. Patrick.

weapons of sudden mass destruction, constitutes an explicit threat to the peace and security of all the Americas. . . .”

This speech by the President officially announced the Cuban Crisis to the world. This was a clear, unmistakable expression of the American will not to let the Russians get away with their *nuclear blackmail* right on our doorstep.

A Calm President

America was very fortunate to have a cool-headed President in the White House at the time of the Cuban Crisis. Theodore Sorensen, in his book, *Kennedy*, recalls: “Similarly, in our meetings and in his office during those two weeks, he was calm and deliberate, his mind clear, his emotions controlled, never brooding, always in command. He retained that composure even when fatigue was overtaking us all. . . .

“The Presidency was never lonelier than when faced with its first *nuclear confrontation*. John Kennedy never lost sight of what either *war* or *surrender* would do to the whole human race. His UN mission was preparing for a negotiated *peace* and his Joint Chiefs of Staff were preparing for *war*, and he intended to keep both on rein. He was determined, despite divided counsel and conflicting pressures, to *take all necessary action and no unnecessary action*. He could not afford to be hasty or hesitant, reckless or afraid. The odds that the Soviets would go all the way to war, he later said, seemed to him then ‘somewhere between one out of three and even. . . .’ ”

Americans had feared that a quarantine of Cuba might provoke many peoples around the world — especially America’s allies. But when Kennedy stood firm, he found that Prime Minister Macmillan, De Gaulle, Dr. Adenaur and Willy Brandt and the people of West Berlin, and a host of others around the world showed that they were solidly behind what he had done. And the OAS (Organization of American States) rallied behind the U.S. quarantine action.

A Scene at the U.N.

America’s representative to the UN Security Council, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, with photo interpreters and intelligence analysts by his side, made a brilliant presentation before the UN Security Council on October 23rd, and then again on October 25th.

The U.S. Ambassador pointedly asked the Soviet Ambassador Zorin if he denied the fact that missiles were in Cuba: “All right, sir, let me ask you one simple question: Do you, Ambassador Zorin, deny that the U.S.S.R. has placed and is placing medium — and intermediate — range missiles and sites in Cuba? Yes or no. Don’t wait for the translation. Yes or no.”

The flabbergasted Zorin replied: "I am not in an American courtroom, sir. . . ."

The American Ambassador shot back: "You are in the court of world opinion right now!"

And Zorin quickly replied: ". . . and therefore I do not wish to answer a question that is put to me in the fashion that a prosecutor does. In due course, sir, you will have your reply."

U.S. Ambassador Stevenson replied: "I am prepared to wait for my answer until Hell freezes over, if that's your decision."

Clearly, the Russians were beginning to realize that their dastardly deceitfulness, and their attempted nuclear blackmail, had backfired on them. The shock of this Soviet treachery was turning much of the world's opinion against the Russians.

Kennedy's Personal Orders

President Kennedy was very careful in his direction of the Cuban blockade not to let events get out of his hands. He issued a clear order to the military that he was personally in charge of the entire operation, and wanted to make sure that they didn't do anything to cause matters to get out of control.

But, in the meantime, the Russians continued hastily building the missile sites. Then, low-level U.S. reconnaissance flights were ordered to fly over Cuba — flying just above the treetops, but below the range of the Russian SAMs. Their low-level photos "showed in remarkable detail more Soviet military personnel and weapons than anticipated, all Cubans excluded from missile areas and *two deadly MRBMs ready to operate.*"

By now eighteen Russian dry cargo ships were steaming toward the quarantine. And five of those ships had large hatches. They were being watched with special care by U.S. reconnaissance.

Tension Build-up

Soon, every Soviet ship was known by name to the Americans, and they also knew which of the ships were suspected of carrying deadly armaments. As the ships plowed through the waters heading straight for the American naval blockade, tension began building up.

Just as the quarantine went into effect, American intelligence reported that about a half dozen Soviet subs were joining the Soviet ships. U.S. orders were prepared to sink any subs interfering with the blockade.

Then . . . suddenly . . . came welcome news. The Russian ships nearest Cuba had either stopped or altered their course.

Premier Khrushchev then asked an American businessman to tell President Kennedy that he should agree to a summit, and that the Caribbean conflict could lead to nuclear war. Khrushchev by now admitted that offensive Soviet missiles were in Cuba. Furthermore, Khrushchev said, Russian submarines would sink any U.S. vessels which attempted to force a Soviet ship to stop.

Then, as the U.S. naval quarantine tightened its grip around Cuba, things began heating up.

On *Thursday*, October 25, a Russian tanker was hailed — and on personal instructions from Kennedy (who thought the tanker may not have received instructions from Moscow) was let pass on to Cuba — like all nonsuspicious tankers.

On *Friday*, October 26, a Panama-owned, Greek-manned, Lebanese-registered freighter, (under charter to the Soviets) was halted and boarded — after the U.S. Navy had first obtained the President's personal authorization.

Kennedy preferred not to have to intercept any Soviet ships until necessary, but he wanted a nonbloc ship under Soviet charter to be the first ship to be boarded. This would show that America meant business.

After the Lebanese-registered freighter was boarded and inspected by an unarmed U.S. boarding party, and after it was found that they were only carrying trucks and truck parts, the freighter was given U.S. permission to pass on through the blockade.

Russians Halt Their Ships

But America wasn't all that concerned about Lebanese freighters and Soviet tankers. It was the Russian cargo ships and their submarine escorts which the U.S. was deeply concerned about. Unless the Soviets showed their willingness to remove the offensive missiles from Cuba, Kennedy was determined to stop the Russian cargo ships by *Friday*. But he wanted to give the red-faced Khrushchev as much time as possible to make and communicate his uncomfortable decision to his cargo ships.

Theodore Sorensen, in his book *Kennedy*, says:

Gradually, rather than dramatically, the good news came in, mixed, in fact, with "bad" news recounted above. Sixteen of the eighteen Russian ships, including all five with large hatches, were reported Wednesday to have *stopped* — then to be lying dead in the water or moving in uncertain circles — and, finally, Thursday and Friday to have turned around. "That's nice," observed one member of our group. "The Soviets are reacting to us for a change." U.S. planes followed them all the way back to Soviet ports. A minimum of force had obtained a maximum gain. The value of conventional strength in the nuclear age had been underlined as never before. The quarantine, speculated the President later, "had much more power than we first thought it did because, I

think, the Soviet Union was very reluctant to have us stop ships which carried . . . highly secret and sensitive material." The Soviet military, he reasoned, long obsessed with secrecy, could not risk letting their missiles, warheads and electronic equipment fall into our hands.

When President Kennedy authorized the U.S. Navy to blockade Cuba, he made it clear that this action did not rule out possible "surgical" strikes against the Cuban missile sites. Neither did it rule out the possibility that the U.S. might launch an invasion against Castro's Cuba and remove those sites herself.

Various options were still open to the President. He could further tighten the blockade to strangle the Cuban economy. He could step up the low-level flights, which were already harassing both the Cubans and the Soviets. A leaflet drop could be used to inform the Cuban citizens what Castro's policy of cozying up to the Soviets was about to do to their nation.

President Kennedy refused to be rushed by overzealous generals or admirals. But Kennedy had previously authorized full-speed preparations for a possible invasion of Cuba.

Even though the Russian ships had turned back, the Soviets inside Cuba continued feverishly building the missile sites. Several letters began to be sent back and forth between Khrushchev and Kennedy.

Khrushchev's Offer

Mr. Sorenson, reporting on this crisis, says: ". . . A new Khrushchev-to-Kennedy letter was received at the State Department Friday evening, October 26 — long, meandering, full of polemics but in essence appearing to contain the germ of a reasonable settlement: inasmuch as his missiles were there only to *defend Cuba against invasion*, he would withdraw the missiles under UN inspection if the U.S. agreed *not to invade*. . . . In Khrushchev's letter the offer was a bit vague. It seemed to vary from one paragraph to the next, and was accompanied by the usual threats and denunciations. Nevertheless, it was with high hopes that the Executive Committee convened Saturday morning, October 27, to draft a reply."

But, says Mr. Sorensen: "In the course of that meeting our hopes quickly faded. A new Khrushchev letter came in, this time public, making no mention of the private correspondence but raising the ante: *The Jupiter missiles in Turkey must be removed in exchange*. . . ."

Khrushchev wrote the President: "We will remove our missiles from Cuba, you will remove yours from Turkey. . . . The Soviet Union will pledge not to invade or interfere with the internal affairs of Turkey; the U.S. to make the same pledge concerning Cuba."

Everything was in combat readiness on both sides. The forces of the United States were alerted world-wide. Both air-strike planes and the largest invasion force mounted since World War II were massed in

Florida. Kennedy and his advisors felt nuclear war to be closer on that day than at any time in the nuclear age. If the Soviet ships continued coming, if the missile crews continued working and if Khrushchev continued insisting on concessions, then — Kennedy believed — the Soviets must want a war. And war would be unavoidable.

Kennedy Holds His Ground

What would President Kennedy's next step be? He wrote a letter to Premier Khrushchev. Here are excerpts from that important letter:

The *first* thing that needs to be done . . . is for work to cease on offensive missile bases in Cuba and for *all weapons systems in Cuba capable of offensive use to be rendered inoperable*, under effective United Nations arrangements.

As I read your letter, the key elements of your proposals — which seem generally acceptable as I understand them — are as follows:

1. You would agree to remove these weapons systems from Cuba under appropriate United Nations observation and supervision; and undertake, with suitable safeguards, to halt further introduction of such weapons systems into Cuba.

2. We, on our part, would agree — upon the establishment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations to ensure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments — (a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect and (b) to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba.

. . . the first ingredient, let me emphasize . . . is the cessation of work on missile sites in Cuba and measures to render such weapons inoperable, under effective international guarantees. The continuation of this threat, or a prolonging of this discussion concerning Cuba by linking these problems to the broader questions of European and world security, would surely lead to an intensification of the Cuban crisis and a grave risk to the peace of the world.

Robert Kennedy later wrote in his book *Thirteen Days*:

“The Soviet Union had secretly established missile bases in Cuba while at the same time proclaiming privately and publicly that this would never be done. We had to have a commitment by tomorrow that those bases would be removed. I was not giving them an ultimatum but a statement of fact. He (Khrushchev) should understand that if they did not remove those bases, *we would remove them* . . . there would be not only dead Americans but dead Russians as well.”

Furthermore, Robert Kennedy continued telling the Russian Ambassador, Dobrynin: “Time was running out. We had only a few more hours — we needed an answer immediately from the Soviet Union. I said we must have it the next day.”

President Kennedy had stood firm. He had flatly refused to remove America's Jupiter missiles from Turkey. And he steadfastly demanded

that Russia remove all of her offensive weaponry from Cuba. There could be no prolonged parlying so long as Khrushchev held a gun to America's head — so long as his nuclear sword of Damocles was poised, ready to plunge into the heart of the U.S.

The Russians had continued frantically building their offensive missile sites. American patience was just about at its end. It was at this point that President Kennedy requested that his brother, Robert, deliver to the Soviet Ambassador a strong verbal message. Mr. Robert Kennedy later said that he told the Russian Ambassador that the point of escalation was at hand. The U.S. could either proceed toward peace and disarmament, or she could take “strong and *overwhelming retaliatory* action . . . unless (President Kennedy) received *immediate* notice that the missiles would be withdrawn.”

Khrushchev Accepts Kennedy's Terms

During this entire Cuban Missile Crisis, the world had held its breath. Would this *terra firma* become a charred, dead planet? Was mankind ready to push the nuclear buttons which would usher in the long-dreaded Armageddon?

Or would sanity prevail? Would the Soviet and American leaders keep cool, and draw back from the brink of nuclear oblivion?

By *Sunday* morning, October 28, Khrushchev had broadcast to the world the news that he was *accepting* Kennedy's terms. “. . . In the course of the 9 a.m. newscast a special bulletin came in from Moscow. It was a new letter from Khrushchev, his fifth since Tuesday, sent publicly in the interest of speed. Kennedy's terms were being accepted. The missiles were being withdrawn. Inspection would be permitted. The confrontation was over,” writes Ted Sorensen.

President Kennedy, the nation, and the whole world breathed a tremendous sigh of relief. John F. Kennedy was given the good news just before he left to attend a church service. He expressed “tremendous satisfaction” and requested to see a copy of Khrushchev's message on his way to church.

What About the Future?

Khrushchev admittedly took a big gamble in trying to install offensive missiles in Cuba. The Soviets intended to use them as *blackmail* to force the retreat of American power around the world. It was therefore the Russians who had to back down. It was they who *lost face* in the eyes of the whole world!

America and the whole world can be thankful to Providence that U.S. intelligence discovered the Soviet treachery when it did. This great nation should feel deep, heart-felt gratitude that, as Churchill once put

it, some "Guiding Hand" had again directed our leaders during the time of the world's greatest peril since the beginning of man's six thousand long years of recorded history.

All mankind ought to be grateful that the world was snatched back from the brink of a frightening nuclear Armageddon — and consequent nuclear annihilation. Our escape was by the slenderest of threads. Right now, it could have all been over, and the earth a scorched, lifeless cinder orbiting the sun.

The Vietnam Debacle

If the stalemate in Korea humiliated the United States and seriously undermined American prestige in the world, the more recent debacle in Vietnam only served to further erode American prestige and influence in an already unstable world.

In the Korean conflict, America began the war (aided by a rather feeble U.N. participation) with the full intention of *winning*. But during the course of that war, America's win strategy was changed to a no-win policy.

General Douglas A. MacArthur was quite incensed by the U.S. shift to a no-win policy in Korea. He believed victory was the real object in war:

"Once war is forced upon us," said MacArthur, "there is no other alternative than to apply every available means to bring it to a swift end. War's very object is victory — not prolonged indecision. In war, indeed, there can be no substitute for victory." But, alas, it was General MacArthur's all-out victory approach to the Korean War which caused him to be relieved of his command in the Pacific.

No Clear Military Goal

Both the Korean and the Vietnam wars were *undeclared* wars. The United States never declared war on its "enemies" during either of those conflicts. From the very start there was never any firm determination on the part of the United States to actually win the Vietnam War. During the struggle American officials defined "winning" as merely preserving South Vietnamese independence. If one accepts this definition of "winning" then it is clear that America was actually defeated in that twelve-year war!

How did the United States become so deeply involved in the Vietnam war? Why did America think it necessary to involve herself in such a titanic struggle, many thousands of miles from the U.S.? Many believe the United States had no valid reason for sacrificing over 50,000 lives while spending over \$150 billion in the Vietnam conflict.

The Vietnam Background

France had ruled over French Indochina since the last half of the 19th century. When Japanese forces occupied Indochina (Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia) in 1940, Vietnamese resistance was organized and led by Ho Chi Minh. Ho had U.S. support against the Japanese occupying forces all during World War II.

But following the surrender of the Japanese in 1945, Ho Chi Minh proclaimed Vietnam's independence. After World War II, the French returned to Indochina, seeking to reassert their colonial rule. France signed an agreement with Ho Chi Minh in which the French recognized Vietnam as a "free state within the French Union," but it meant little. France's attempt to re-impose colonial rule was met by determined Viet Minh resistance. Ho Chi Minh, a devoted Communist, soon became the leader of the League for the Independence of Vietnam (Viet Minh) in northern Vietnam.

A clash between French colonial interests and the Communists, led by Ho Chi Minh, was inevitable. Serious disagreements finally culminated in hostilities between French and Communists forces on December 19, 1946. The French-Indo-Chinese war continued for the next eight years, culminating in the humiliating defeat of the French by the Communists in May 1954, at Dien Bien Phu. The Communist forces were led by General Vo Nguyen Giap.

A Divided Vietnam

Shortly after this crushing French defeat, a nine-nation peace conference was arranged in Geneva, Switzerland. At that historic conference, the war in Cambodia and Laos was ended, and Vietnam was divided at the 17th parallel. The Communists were given control over Vietnam north of the 17th parallel. Ho Chi Minh headed that government, called the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Vietnamese territory south of the 17th parallel became known as the Republic of Vietnam after Emperor Bao Dai was deposed in 1955. At that time Ngo Dinh Diem, who had strong U.S. backing, became Premier, and later President. Neither the United States nor South Vietnam signed the Geneva agreements of 1954, but both agreed to abide by those accords.

The Geneva agreements stipulated that Vietnam must be *reunited* in 1956 through free elections which were to be supervised by an international commission. But when 1956 arrived, President Diem of South Vietnam refused to hold the agreed-upon elections. He contended that free elections were utterly impossible, because North Vietnam would not permit pre-election campaigning north of the 17th parallel. Diem feared

that the popular Ho Chi Minh and his Communist followers would therefore receive most of the votes in the north, thereby gaining Communist control of a united Vietnam.

Diem's refusal to hold agreed-upon elections infuriated Ho Chi Minh and the Communists, who were sure that they would benefit from such elections to be held in both North and South Vietnam. From the time of Diem's refusal to hold elections, the Communists vowed to seize control of South Vietnam. They immediately set about organizing a revolutionary movement in the South. These insurgents became known as the Viet Cong or VC. Viet Cong is but a shortened form of the words *Viet Congsan*, meaning Vietnam Communists.

The following year (1957), Viet Cong forces, supported by Communist North Vietnam, began attacking the government and officials of South Vietnam. For the next few years, these attacking forces consisted of guerrillas and terrorists (Viet Cong). Most of the Viet Cong's officers had been trained in North Vietnam and were later sent secretly back into South Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese Army (ARVN) opposed the Viet Cong. The ARVN began receiving military and economic aid from America — and were assisted by U.S. "advisers."

Initial U.S. Involvement

Initial American involvement began in the early 1950s. Even before Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the U.S. had sent military supplies and advisers to assist the French in Indochina.

After the 1954 Geneva accords, President Dwight D. Eisenhower pledged U.S. support for South Vietnam. And American aid did much to rehabilitate that war-torn country.

President Diem of South Vietnam stayed in power because he had American aid and support. But as corruption, nepotism and government inefficiency became increasingly evident, he and his corrupt regime became more and more unpopular. From October to June 1963, seven Buddhist monks burned themselves to death in protest against Diem's Catholic-dominated government. Growing dissatisfaction with the corruption and ineffectiveness of the Diem regime culminated in a military coup in November 1963.

When the Communist-backed Viet Cong guerrilla attacks began in early 1957, the insurgents didn't have much popular support in South Vietnam. The Viet Cong began attacking farm villages, particularly in the Mekong Delta. Some of the most battle-hardened Viet Cong had been fighting for nearly twenty years, first against the Japanese, then against the French, and finally against the Republic of South Vietnam backed by the United States.

The Viet Cong could only muster about 20,000 men in 1960, and were outnumbered by the South Vietnamese Army by ten to one. Even so, they were strong enough to attack forts and army units in the South. They became masters at guerrilla tactics, striking suddenly at many different locations in South Vietnam. South Vietnamese troops tried in vain to protect their country from these Viet Cong attacks.

Then, in December 1960, the National Liberation Front (NLF), was organized in Hanoi. It was founded for the express purpose of giving political support to the Viet Cong. Not long afterward, the NLF set up local councils to govern areas of South Vietnam which had come under the control of the Viet Cong. They also built munitions factories, and supplied ammunition, money and medical supplies to the Viet Cong. Before long, a flood of supplies and troops flowed into South Vietnam from the North — chiefly over the network of trails and roads known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

The Viet Cong had become so well organized and so successful in the South by 1961, that the U.S. felt it had to choose between allowing the collapse of the South Vietnamese government or increasing American support. At the time, America had only about 750 military “advisers” in South Vietnam. The total number of American advisers in Vietnam rose from around 2,000 in December 1961, to over 15,000 by the end of 1963. President Kennedy ordered a step-up in military aid to South Vietnam, including a substantial increase in American advisers, technicians, pilots and planes. When Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963, there were about 16,300 U.S. military men in South Vietnam.

On November 1, 1963, President Diem’s government was overthrown by dissatisfied South Vietnamese generals. They reportedly received encouragement from the U.S. in their plot to overthrow Diem’s corrupt government. President Diem and his brother Nhu were executed the following day. From then until June 1965, ten successive, short-lived regimes governed South Vietnam. In June 1965, a military junta headed by Air Force Commander Nguyen Cao Ky assumed power in South Vietnam.

Gulf of Tonkin Incident

Direct U.S. military action against North Vietnam didn’t occur until 1964. On August 2, 1964, two U.S. destroyers were patrolling north of the 17th parallel when they were attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo boats. America quickly retaliated by sinking two of the PT boats. Then American planes bombed the PT boat bases. This incident caused the U.S. to become directly involved in military action against the aggressive Communist North Vietnamese.

After the attack upon America's destroyers *Maddox* and *C. Turner Joy* in the Gulf of Tonkin on August 2, 1964, America decided to strike directly at North Vietnam. President Lyndon B. Johnson asked Congress for powers "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

Congress granted President Johnson those powers by an overwhelming vote. Later, however, some Congressmen stated that they had misunderstood the full implications of this action. But this vote of Congress gave President Johnson a legal basis for U.S. military support of South Vietnam in the war. Six years later, after the U.S. had become deeply involved in the Vietnam morass, Congress repealed the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. By then Congress was determined to put the bit into the mouth of the President so that he would be unable to commit further American troops and resources without their direct consent.

President Johnson ordered continuous bombing raids over North Vietnam below the 20th parallel in February 1965. And on June 8th, U.S. commanders were authorized to commit 23,000 advisers to combat. By the end of that year, U.S. army, navy, air and marine forces in Vietnam reached 184,300 men.

The U.S. began making bombing strikes against Hanoi and Haiphong on June 29, 1966. By December, U.S. forces in Vietnam had reached 385,300 men — not including 33,000 troops stationed in Thailand and some 60,000 men in the U.S. fleet. America was becoming progressively more deeply involved in the Vietnam quagmire.

The war in Vietnam was different from any war ever fought in history. Russia, China and other Communist nations continued giving military aid and moral support to the North Vietnamese and to the Viet Cong fighting in the South while America continued giving massive support (both in men and in war matériel) to the government of South Vietnam.

New ground warfare tactics had to be devised to combat the unconventional format of the Vietnam operation. America soon devised the "search and destroy" missions as a means of countering the hit-and-run tactics of the Communists. Also, "free-fire zones" for artillery were established. Armed U.S. helicopters were used quite extensively because of their great mobility.

In the meantime, American casualties began to mount. The "no-win" conflict was costing dearly. It soon became apparent that the U.S. was being bled white in the futile effort to destroy the elusive Communist aggressors and engraft "democracy" onto South Vietnam. The average Vietnamese couldn't even tell the difference between Communism and Democracy. Frankly, they didn't care all that much which type of government governed them — just so long as they could live in peace, had enough rice, sufficient clothes and other necessities of life.

As the war continued to escalate, more American and Vietnamese casualties were added to the grim tolls. And as U.S. casualties increased, large-scale *protests* against the war erupted all across the U.S. On October 21st and 22nd, 1967, thousands of protestors marched on Washington D.C., and hundreds were arrested when they attempted to storm the Pentagon.

In spite of widespread dissatisfaction with the U.S. involvement in Vietnam, American troop strength climbed to 474,300 by December 1967 — 1,500 more than peak U.S. strength during the Korean conflict.

Escalation Continues

At least one North Vietnamese battalion had fought through into South Vietnam by the latter part of 1964. By mid-spring, 1965, large numbers of North Vietnamese troops began arriving in the South. South Vietnamese morale had sunk extremely low by late 1964. America began seriously considering the possibility of bombing the North as a way of ending the war.

Savage Communist attacks on two U.S. camps at Pleiku in early 1965 finally decided the issue. America decided to use her air power to help bring the Communists to heel. U.S. and South Vietnamese pilots began bombing the infiltration routes and the military installations in North Vietnam, and they also bombed Communist-controlled areas in the South in an attempt to stop the flow of men and supplies.

In the meanwhile, American troop strength was still being increased until it reached the *half million* mark by 1969! The North also continued to receive armaments and technical assistance from the Soviet Union, China and other Communist countries.

In spite of massive U.S. military aid, growing U.S. troop commitments and heavy bombing, the U.S. and the South Vietnamese were unable to inflict permanent setbacks on the Viet Cong and their North Vietnamese allies.

The Tet Offensive of 1968

As the American involvement increased, South Vietnamese and American optimism over winning the war grew. Confidence was flowing. Shattering the hollow optimism, on January 30, 1968, the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese attacked 30 provincial capitals in South Vietnam. These large-scale attacks by the Communists were launched against urban centers and military bases in the South. Called the "Tet offensive," the surprise attacks caused heavy damage and the loss of many lives in the cities of Hue and Saigon. The U.S. Embassy in Saigon was even occupied for a few hours, and the Communists, in one of the longest

C H I N A

THE VIETNAM CONFLICT

-  U.S. ALLIES
-  COMMUNIST
-  NEUTRAL
-  MAJOR CONFLICTS
-  GUERRILLA ACTIONS
-  AIR STRIKE TARGETS
-  SOVIET MISSILE SITES
-  MAJOR U.S. BASES

BURMA

NORTH

COMMUNIST PATHET LAO
CONTROLS EASTERN LAOS

LAOS

Plain of Jars

VIETNAM

GULF OF
TONKIN
INCIDENT

Dien Bien Phu

Hanoi

Haiphong

Vinh

Vientiane

Udon Thani

Nakhon Phanom

Mu Gia Pass

THAILAND

Ubon Ratchathani

Bangkok

HO CHI MINH TRAIL
INFILTRATION AND SUPPLY ROUTE
FOR VIETCONG IN S. VIETNAM

QUANG TRI PROVINCE

DMZ

17th PARALLEL

SOUTH
CHINA
SEA

Hue

Danang

U.S. LANDINGS

Chu Lai

DAK TO

IA DRANG VALLEY

SOUTH

Qui Nhon

CAMBODIA

Phnom Penh

ZONE C
VIETNAM

Nha Trang

Cam Ranh Bay

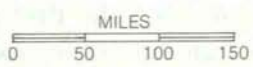
Phan Rang

Saigon

Mekong
Delta

MAYAGUEZ
INCIDENT

GULF OF SIAM



battles of the war, attacked the U.S. marine base of Khe Sanh. The North Vietnamese withdrew after a 77-day siege, and U.S. marines then abandoned the base in mid-1968.

It was in March 1968, that the infamous *My Lai massacre* of an estimated 347 Vietnamese civilians occurred.

President Johnson announced a bombing halt over ninety percent of North Vietnam on March 31st, and also asked Hanoi for a peaceful response. Even as the fighting continued, preliminary peace talks between the U.S. and North Vietnam opened in Paris on May 10th.

Shortly afterward, Chicago police and National Guardsmen clashed with ten to fifteen thousand anti-war demonstrators during the Democratic National Convention (August 26-29, 1968).

In the meantime, many hoped and worked for peace. On January 18, 1969, expanded peace talks (including representatives from the Viet Cong as well as the South Vietnamese) opened in Paris.

By April 1969, American forces in South Vietnam had reached a final peak of 543,400. U.S. battle deaths totaled 33,641 by April 3rd — surpassing by twelve those killed in the entire Korean conflict!

Disenchantment at Home

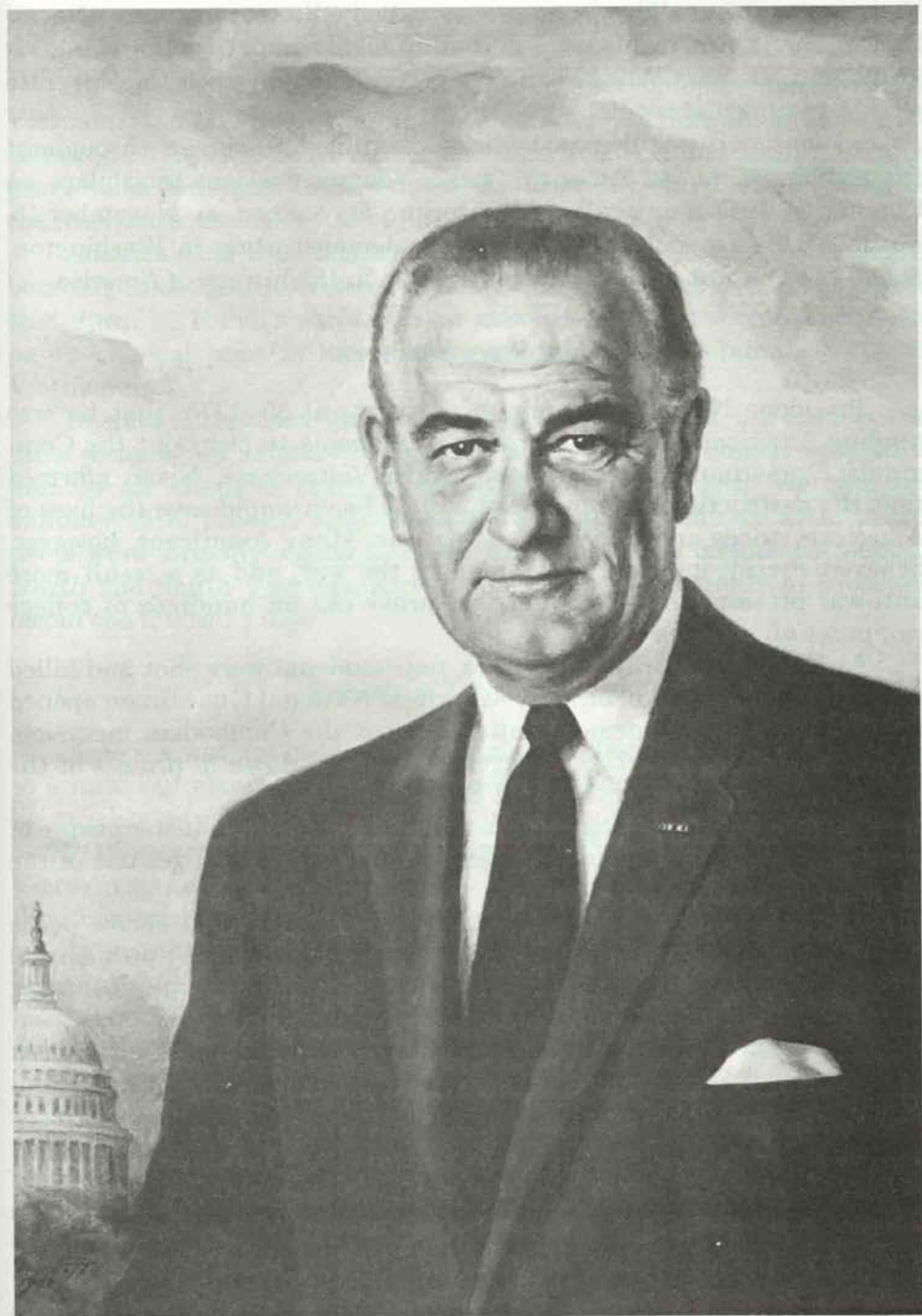
Back home, more Americans were becoming disenchanted and even bitter over America's continued involvement in the seemingly endless Vietnam war. The ranks of those sick of the war grew. The anti-Vietnam faction in America (known as "doves") began exerting greater pressure at various levels of government. These war protests and his failure to decisively end the war are credited with having forced President Johnson out of the U.S. presidential race in 1968.

After Richard M. Nixon's inauguration in January 1969, he began altering U.S. tactics — combining intensified bombing and the invasion of Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia in 1970 with the withdrawal of U.S. troops. But in spite of the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam, many in America became increasingly more vocal over the costly, bloody war.

America was still enmeshed in her longest war. U.S. casualties continued to mount and the war crimes such as the massacre at My Lai caused many to turn against the war. Furthermore, the war in Vietnam was costing U.S. taxpayers dearly.

Politically, the anti-Vietnam war effort was led by Senators William Fulbright, Eugene McCarthy, Robert F. Kennedy and George S. McGovern. Their influence began to be felt.

In June 1969, President Richard M. Nixon announced the first of several withdrawals of U.S. forces from Vietnam. President Nixon told Americans that their fighting men would soon be replaced by South



Lyndon B. Johnson (36th President) tried to build the "Great Society" in America, but the Vietnam debacle and civil unrest at home dogged his steps — until the weary President chose not to seek re-election.
— *White House Collection*

Vietnamese forces. This process was called "Vietnamization." Nevertheless, many Americans were becoming highly impatient for the long-drawn-out Vietnam War to end. They were unhappy with the slow rate of U.S. troop withdrawals.

Violent anti-war demonstrations continued to spread throughout the nation. All across America, "peace" demonstrations took place on October 15, 1969, a day called Moratorium Day. Then, on November 15, about 300,000 persons held an anti-war demonstration in Washington, D.C. — the biggest anti-war demonstration in the history of America.

Kent State Shootings

President Nixon then announced on April 30, 1970, that he was sending American combat troops into Cambodia to clear out the Communist "sanctuaries" used by the North Vietnamese. Nixon affirmed that the destruction of Communist supply bases would save the lives of American troops and also shorten the war. Many Americans, however, believed President Nixon was widening the war, and as a result more anti-war protests and student strikes broke out on hundreds of college campuses all over the U.S.

At Kent State University, Ohio, four students were shot and killed and nine were wounded, on May 4th, when National Guardsmen opened fire during a student demonstration against the Cambodian incursion. Shortly afterward, 100 U.S. colleges were closed down in protest of the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State killings.

It was becoming quite clear to America's leaders that the people of the United States were fed up. They wanted America to get out of the war as quickly as possible.

On January 25, 1972, President Nixon revealed that secret peace negotiations had been conducted since the previous June by presidential adviser, Henry A. Kissinger. Many in America began foolishly believing that peace in Vietnam was just around the corner.

But when Communist forces on March 30 launched their biggest attack against South Vietnam since the Tet offensive of 1968, all illusions regarding an immediate peaceful solution to the Vietnam struggle evaporated.

Nixon quickly retaliated by ordering the resumption of bombing of North Vietnam on April 15 — the first intensive bombing of the North since 1968. On May 1, the important city of Quang Tri, capital city of South Vietnam's northernmost province, fell to Hanoi troops. To demonstrate America's resolution, President Nixon ordered the immediate mining of Haiphong and other North Vietnamese ports on May 8, even though many nations trading with North Vietnam vehemently objected. After initial setbacks, South Vietnamese troops brought the Communist invasion to a halt.

Last U.S. Troops Depart

On August 11, 1972, the last U.S. combat troops departed from Vietnam. And on October 26th, Hanoi announced that secret talks had achieved a tentative peace agreement. But by December 18th, the Paris peace talks had again broken down. An angry President Nixon ordered the heaviest bombing of the war against North Vietnam.

America's big B-52 bombers were used in those massive saturation bombing raids against targets in Hanoi, and 15 of those U.S. planes were shot down by Hanoi's surface-to-air missiles. America was beginning to pay a colossal price in her attempt to punish the Communist North Vietnamese.

In spite of repeated snags to the peace negotiations, the Paris peace talks resumed on January 8, 1973. President Nixon promptly ordered a halt to all offensive military operations against North Vietnam on January 15th. Finally, after years of fighting, on January 27th, peace pacts were formally signed in Paris. The signatories included America, North and South Vietnam, and the Viet Cong. A ceasefire in Vietnam began the following day.

Release of U.S. Prisoners

America was not only concerned about bringing the war in Vietnam to a halt, but about getting assurances that her prisoners of war would be speedily returned. Between February 12 and April 1, 1973, 596 American POWs were released by North Vietnam. The U.S. military pullout of Vietnam was completed on August 15th, when all U.S. warplanes ceased their bombing missions throughout Indochina.

It was now clear to the South Vietnamese that they had been deserted. Abandoned. All American military forces had now left Vietnam. The South Vietnamese were now on their own. True, they still received military matériel and economic assistance — but now they must learn to swim by themselves — or sink!

The governing officials of South Vietnam didn't agree with the Paris peace settlement. They believed they were being betrayed. President Thieu denounced the tentative accords as unacceptable to South Vietnam. The South Vietnamese knew there was every likelihood that it would be just a matter of time until the war resumed. They knew full well that the North Vietnamese had no intention of honoring their "peace" agreements.

The South Vietnamese began bracing themselves for the final onslaught which they knew was not far away.

The Paris peace agreements of January 27, 1973 had hardly been signed when the Communists began violating them. The Communists

continued their infiltration, subversion, and their massive buildup for the final *coup de grace* against South Vietnam.

An estimated 200,000 North Vietnamese soldiers were in South Vietnam by the end of 1974 — building infiltration routes and supply lines — getting ready for the final stroke.

The final tragic chapter in the long Vietnam War began on January 9, 1975, with the fall of Phuoc Binh — the first major Communist victory since the January 1973 Paris peace agreement.

When Ban Me Thuot fell to the Communists on March 13, the Saigon government was persuaded that it ought to withdraw its forces from most of the Central Highlands. But their “withdrawal” turned into a total rout. Communist forces overran the towns of Kontum and Pleiku on March 18. The Communist onslaught struck panic into many of the South Vietnamese and led to a disorganized mass movement of refugees who by now were streaming to the coastal areas.

Government forces began to withdraw from the northern part of the country on March 20, 1975. The Saigon government planned this to be an orderly retreat to more defensible positions, but this retreat soon became a disorderly debacle — as both civilians and soldiers raced south — hoping to escape the wrath of fast-approaching Communist armies.

The cultural capital of South Vietnam, Hue, was abandoned on March 24th, and Danang (the second largest city) was in imminent danger. On March 27th, the U.S. began a hastily organized airlift of refugees from Danang. By the 29th, Danang was plunged into chaos as thousands of panicky soldiers literally fought off civilians to get aboard the planes which were trying to evacuate the refugees.

President Gerald R. Ford ordered U.S. Navy ships to evacuate helpless refugees from the coastal cities to safety in the South. Communist forces finally entered Danang on March 30.

Fears of a Communist attack on Saigon mounted. The U.S. immediately began an airlift of military and medical supplies to Saigon as the country's third largest city, Qui Nhon, was also abandoned.

It was now clear that the coastal area was falling to the Communists without much opposition. Before long, Cam Ranh, Tuy Hoa and Nha Trang were abandoned. And the Communists intensified their attacks in the Mekong Delta.

Then the Communists launched an attack on Xuan Loc, 35 miles northeast of Saigon, on April 11. South Vietnam was now being squeezed to death by the deadly anaconda-like Communist forces closing in on all sides. The agony would soon be over.

On April 20th, Communist gunners had reached the important air base at Bien Hoa, only 15 miles from Saigon, and had rendered it virtually useless.

President Thieu Resigns

By now it was clear that all hope was lost. On April 21st, President Nyugen Van Thieu resigned. Communist forces now held more than two thirds of South Vietnam, and were menacing the very lifeline of Saigon. All of Saigon's approaches were about to be sealed off by the Communists.

In Thieu's national farewell address, he defended the accomplishments of his ten years in office, and bitterly accused the United States of violating its promises to help uphold the anti-Communist government of South Vietnam.

It was becoming clear by now that the Communists might be willing to negotiate peace with the Saigon government — but only if General Duong Van Minh ("Big Minh") was the head of the Saigon government. Big Minh had been a longtime proponent of neutrality and cooperation with the Communists. Big Minh was installed as President on April 28, while Communist forces were within one mile of Saigon city limits.

The Tragic End

President Gerald Ford ordered a total evacuation of all Americans from Vietnam on April 29th — saying the move "closes a chapter in the American experience." The U.S. President's decision had been inspired by the Communist assault on Saigon's Tan Son Nhut airport, where two U.S. marine guards had died.

The final evacuation on April 30th of all the remaining 395 U.S. personnel in Saigon was carried out by 81 helicopters. This massive helicopter airlift also spirited away 4,475 Vietnamese to U.S. ships which were waiting offshore.

It was only after the complete American withdrawal on April 30th that the Viet Cong accepted Big Minh's unconditional surrender. Vietnam had finally arrived at the tragic end of its long-drawn-out war.

The final bloody chapter of Vietnam's tragic history had been written. Indochina had been convulsed in war ever since the Japanese took over that part of Southeast Asia in 1940. A third of a century later, Vietnam was once again at peace. But a massive reconstruction and rehabilitation program would have to be carried out before the wretched people of the war-torn country would be able to restore the necessities of life.

The Cost Was High!

The Vietnamese War was one of the bloodiest, most destructive in the history of mankind. It was also one of the most costly. According to

the U.S. Defense Department, America spent \$101 billion between 1966 and 1972 in Indochina. Russia and China spent \$4.1 billion in aid to Indochina during that same period.

An estimated two million died in that sanguinary war. Over 56,000 of that number were Americans. Overall, the U.S. spent over \$150 billion in Vietnam in direct military spending.

During the period from January 1, 1961 to January 27, 1973, America sustained a total of 210,048 casualties. These casualties don't include another 150,332 wounded which didn't require hospitalization. Of the total 210,048 casualties, 46,397 were actual battle deaths. Another 10,346 died from causes other than battle.

The North Vietnamese and Viet Cong dead are estimated at over 900,000, and the South Vietnamese lost over 400,000 dead.

In Saigon and other cities, graft and corruption, prostitution and crime ran rampant. One thing which the Communists did when they gained control of South Vietnam in 1975 was to bring organized prostitution to an end. Their program of rehabilitating the "ladies of the evening" has helped make many of them into useful citizens.

Many Americans continue to blush at the thought of some of the napalm bombings, defoliation programs and massacres committed by the U.S. forces during that bitter war.

My Lai Massacre

The worst of all U.S. atrocities during the Vietnam War was the My Lai massacre of 1968.

The My Lai massacre occurred only weeks after the great slaughter during the January Tet offensive. Many thousands suffered and died in that bloody conflict before the Communist thrusts were brought to a halt. As the Communist attacks erupted throughout much of South Vietnam, it was sometimes very difficult for Americans to know who were their friends and who were their enemies — for the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese looked exactly like the South Vietnamese.

Not knowing who really was the enemy may explain why some Americans became trigger-happy and filled with hatred toward the unidentifiable yet omnipresent enemy. Many American soldiers saw their comrades blown to bits by land mines, or shot before their eyes. Undoubtedly, some American troops became so filled with revenge that they were carried away in the heat of passion and committed atrocities. My Lai was undoubtedly only one of a number of these atrocities committed during that period of hate and confusion.

On March 16, 1968 a unit of the U.S. army division under the command of Lt. William L. Calley, invaded the South Vietnamese hamlet of My Lai. This village was allegedly a Viet Cong stronghold.

What happened was sickening, both to battle-hardened soldiers and to shocked Americans who later heard of the incident.

During the course of the operations to clear the Viet Cong out of My Lai, unarmed civilians including both women and children were shot to death — some at point blank range. The U.S. Army finally estimated that 347 were killed during that tragic event.

The My Lai massacre remained unknown to the American public until the autumn of 1969, when a former soldier sent a series of letters to government officials, forcing the U.S. Army to take action. During the ensuing proceedings, several soldiers and veterans were charged with murder, and numerous officers were accused of dereliction of duty for their part in covering up that gruesome episode.

Special painstaking investigations by the House of Representatives and by the U.S. Army concluded that a massacre had in fact taken place at My Lai. Though many soldiers were originally charged, only five were court-martialled, and only one, Lieutenant Calley, was convicted. Lt. Calley was found guilty of the premeditated murder of at least twenty-two Vietnamese civilians and sentenced to life imprisonment on March 29, 1971. But a Federal district court overturned the conviction in September 1974. The U.S. Army subsequently released Calley.

The My Lai massacre aroused widespread controversy at the time, and contributed to growing disillusionment with the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.

Like Whipped Dogs

When U.S. forces withdrew from Vietnam with their tails between their legs, like whipped dogs, America experienced the greatest “loss of face” in the eyes of the Orientals that she had ever suffered.

As South Vietnam fell into the iron grip of the Communists in 1975, President Thieu of South Vietnam bitterly accused America of deserting the South Vietnamese.

How did the world look upon the American-South Vietnamese defeat of 1975? Acerbic comments from the world press revealed that America had suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Communists. After the fall of Saigon in early 1975, the London *Daily Telegraph* described South Vietnam’s surrender as “world communism’s biggest victory, the free world’s biggest defeat.”

Many began asking if the “domino theory” might have some validity after all. Now that the Vietnam domino had fallen, and the Laos domino had also toppled before the Communists, would the South Korean domino soon fall before the onslaught of world Communism? And would the other “dominoes” of Southeast Asia all fall before Communism in the not-too-distant future?

But the counsels of fear and timidity prevailed in Washington even before America entered the Vietnam War. As early as 1959, Joseph E. Johnson, Chief of the Policy Planning Division of the U.S. State Department, declared: "From now on, every decision facing the U.S. in this field must be taken in the light of the fact that a good part of this country could be destroyed. . . . We must be prepared to fight limited wars; limited as to weapons and as to goals, to stabilize the situation temporarily, tide things over. But victory is no longer possible."

During the war in Vietnam, General Maxwell D. Taylor, President Johnson's special consultant on Vietnam, told a group of Americans that he opposed unlimited bombing of Communist North Vietnam because, said he, "it would destroy the Hanoi Government."

And President Johnson himself declared: "We're not asking any unconditional surrender on the part of the adversary. We're just saying to 'em, 'Come into the room and let us reason together. Let's talk out our difficulties.'"

America's Secretary of Defense during much of the Vietnam War was Robert S. McNamara. He once said that the United States had "a very limited objective in Southeast Asia — very, very limited. We are not seeking to destroy the Government of North Vietnam."

With such statements, is there any wonder that the North Vietnamese felt relatively secure? They could continue to send scores of thousands of North Vietnamese soldiers streaming across into South Vietnam — and could be assured that the mighty American giant would do little or nothing.

The U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Arthur Goldberg stated in February 1967: "We are not engaged in a 'holy war' against Communism." And in March that same year he added: "We're ready for unconditional negotiations!"

"Timid Military Tactics"

Many in the United States feared the prospect of America getting more deeply involved in a titanic struggle in Southeast Asia. They wanted to see America *cut her losses* and get out as quickly as possible!

General Curtis LeMay further said:

The popular philosophy that we can, by *cautious* and *timid* military tactics, keep the war from escalating into a larger conflict is the *ultimate in military blindness*. The only way to win a war is to escalate it in one way or another above what the enemy can take. If we feel that we can't win without unacceptable risk, we have *no business fighting in the first place* Thus, whenever we commit our young men to mortal combat, we should be equally prepared to commit our leaders, our cities, our families and civilians — our own or the enemy's. Modern war is that serious, and we should not forget it.

But it was the council of fear and timidity which ultimately carried the day in Washington — and America lost its most humiliating war to a tenth-rate nation.

If one studies the “Rules of Engagement” imposed on U.S. servicemen fighting in Vietnam, three points become crystal clear: First, no other armed force (at least in modern history) was ever asked to fight under such severe and unheard-of restrictions — restrictions which clearly aided the foe. Secondly, U.S. clear superiority in firepower (both air and artillery) was deliberately not exploited in the tragic war in Vietnam. Thirdly, in the air war against the North Vietnamese, American airmen were hamstrung by orders that “targets, munitions and strike tactics will be selected to minimize risk of collateral damage to civilian population.”

But, with American forces fighting with one hand tied behind their backs, is there any wonder that the U.S. would eventually have to crawl out of that tragic struggle — leaving the enfeebled South Vietnamese at the mercy of the Communists? And make no mistake about it — when the American forces left, it was clearly understood around the world that it would only be a matter of time until the North Vietnamese dealt the final *coup de grace* to the battered and bleeding nation of South Vietnam. The so-called “Paris peace accord” arranged by Secretary Kissinger and Le Duc Tho in 1973 was merely a peace *farce* — not a genuine “peace accord” as was widely hailed at the time. These two men of “peace” were given the Nobel Peace Prize the same year — but for what?

The Mayaguez Incident

After the Communists had gained control of Laos and had seized both Cambodia and Vietnam in 1975, they were not content with their vaunted victories. They wished to do everything possible to humiliate the United States. One final slap at the U.S. giant might, they thought, be a fitting way to further humiliate America.

On May 12, 1975, the Communist Cambodians seized the U.S. container ship, *Mayaguez* and its 39-man crew. What their intentions were wasn't perfectly clear. But America had had enough. It wasn't willing to be slapped around by a tenth-rate little Communist nation.

On May 12, 1975, the White House announced that a Cambodian naval vessel had fired on the unarmed *Mayaguez*, boarded it, and forced the container ship into the port of Sihanoukville. President Ford called this seizure “an act of piracy” by the Communists of Cambodia.

The President then instructed the State Department to “demand immediate release of the ship” because, said the State Department,

“failure to do so would have the most serious consequences.” America appealed to Communist China in vain to help the U.S. recover the ship and its crew.

The Rescue Operation

All diplomatic initiatives produced no results. President Ford, therefore, ordered the rescue operation. Despite strong protest from the Thai government, 1,100 marines were flown to U Taphao air base in Thailand for possible use in the rescue operation.

The actual operation began in the early hours of May 14, when U.S. planes sank three Cambodian gunboats which were attempting to transport the crew of the *Mayaguez* to the Cambodian mainland.

The major confrontation during this dangerous rescue mission occurred late in the afternoon on Tang Island in the Gulf of Siam. Two hundred marines battled the Khmer Rouge for over twelve hours. The U.S. marines had been landed on the island by helicopter in the mistaken belief that the *Mayaguez* crew were being held as hostages there.

After U.S. assault forces hit Tang Island, Phnom Penh radio broadcast an announcement in which it stated that it was freeing the ship and its crew.

Not long afterward, tough U.S. marines boarded the *Mayaguez* but found the crew weren't on board the ship. About two hours later, the U.S. destroyer *Wilson* retrieved the crew from a small boat which was flying a white flag. At about this same time, U.S. carrier planes began making punitive air strikes on Ream, apparently to prevent possible air attacks by Cambodian planes.

The successful operation was concluded on May 14 when some 300 marines were airlifted from Tang Island. Then a second air attack, this time on an oil depot near Sihanoukville, was also made by U.S. carrier planes.

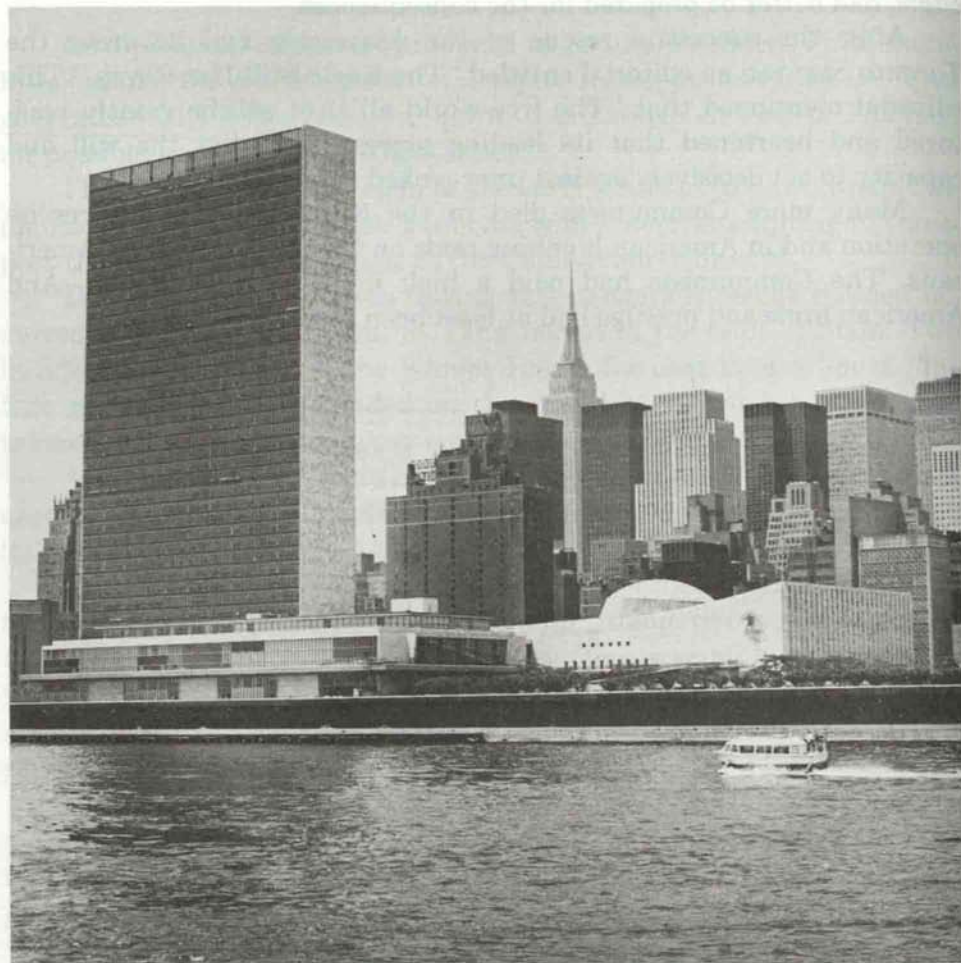
The Cambodian Minister of Information, Hu Him, broadcast from Phnom Penh on May 4th stating that Cambodia had decided to release the ship because “our weak country cannot have a confrontation with the U.S.” the U.S. Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, on May 16th, said that the rescue operation showed that “there are limits beyond which the United States cannot be pushed.”

How many lives did this rescue operation cost America? The Defense Department reported on May 20, 1975 that fifteen American servicemen were killed, fifty wounded, and three missing. Then the following day, twenty-three more servicemen were reported to have died in a helicopter crash related to the rescue mission. All told, the lives of thirty-eight were lost in that daring, yet dangerous, rescue mission.

What did that rescue operation accomplish? America secured the recovery of the *Mayaguez* and its thirty-nine man crew. But more importantly, America's swift action in the rescue mission sought to demonstrate to the whole world that she still had some fight in her, and that anyone who pulls the feathers on the tail of the mighty *American eagle*, had better be prepared for the consequences.

After the successful rescue of the *Mayaguez* and its crew, the *Toronto Star* ran an editorial entitled "The Eagle Still Has Claws." This editorial mentioned that "The free-world alliance will be greatly reassured and heartened that its leading power...still has the will and capacity to act decisively against unprovoked aggression."

Many more Communists died in the fighting during the rescue operation and in American bombing raids on Cambodia than did Americans. The Communists had paid a high price for their lesson. And American pride and prestige had at least been somewhat restored.



United Nations building in New York. The U.N. became man's hope of future peace following W.W.II, but, like the League of Nations before it, the U.N. is too weak to guarantee world peace. — *United Nations Photo*

Groping for Peace

America has played the leading role both in the creation of the United Nations, and also in its continued existence. Should America be proud of her financial and moral support of the U.N.? Or has this unruly international political child become so ungovernable that America is having second thoughts?

The United Nations has been in existence for nearly a third of a century. Has this world's "last hope for peace" been successful in keeping the peace which was won after World War II?

Goal of the United Nations

President Franklin D. Roosevelt first coined the name "United Nations" in 1941. He used this expression to describe the countries fighting against the Axis powers. But the expression "United Nations" was first used *officially* on January 1, 1942, when twenty-six nations joined in the *Declaration by United Nations*, in which they pledged themselves to continue their joint war effort, and they also promised not to make peace with the Axis powers separately.

When did the Allied leaders first declare the need for a new peace-keeping organization to replace the old League? This clearly-seen need was first stated officially on October 30, 1943, in the *Moscow Declaration on General Security* which was issued by the United States, Great Britain, China and the USSR. Those same four nations convened the *Dumbarton Oaks Conference* (August-October, 1944), at which time they drafted specific proposals for a charter for the new organization. Then in February, 1945, further agreement was reached by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at the *Yalta Conference*. It was decided that all states which had adhered to the 1942 declaration, and which had declared war on Germany or Japan by March 1, 1945, would be invited to attend the founding U.N. conference which was to be held in San Francisco from April 25 through June 26, 1945.

San Francisco Conference of 1945

Only thirteen days after Roosevelt's death in April, 1945, delegates from fifty nations met in San Francisco for the United Nations Confer-

ence on International Organization. At that historic conference, major disagreements arose between the Big Three (Russia, Britain and the U.S.) and the smaller, less powerful nations.

When the delegates at the San Francisco Conference refused to open their deliberations with prayer, many (especially the more devout ones) predicted that the U.N. would not bear any significant fruit for good.

The Big Three were adamant in their belief that they could guarantee future peace only if they continued to cooperate as they had done during the war. Britain, Russia and the U.S. all insisted that the United Nations Charter should give them the power to *veto* actions of the Security Council.

The smaller, less powerful nations disagreed. They strongly opposed the veto power, but in the end they had to bow to the wishes of the Big Three. They did, however, succeed in adding to the importance of other United Nations organs, such as the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. They hoped that important responsibilities could be shared more equally in the General Assembly and in the Economic and Social Council, rather than in the Security Council, where the Big Three would wield the all-important veto power.

President Truman's Appeal

The final session of the United Nations San Francisco Conference was addressed by President Harry S. Truman. He closed his address with a sincere appeal to the delegates to do everything within their power to make the charter a success:

“By this charter,” said Mr. Truman, “you have realized the objectives of many men of *vision* in your own countries who have devoted their lives to the cause of world organization for peace.

“Upon all of us, in all our countries, is now laid the duty of transforming into *action* these words which you have written. Upon our decisive action rests the hope of those who have fallen, those now living, those yet unborn — the hope for a world of free countries — with decent standards of living — which will work and co-operate in a friendly civilized community of nations.

“Let us not fail to grasp *this supreme chance* to establish a world-wide rule of reason — to create *an enduring peace under the guidance of God.*”

As President Truman addressed the delegates, he told them: “You have created a great instrument for peace and security and human progress in the world. The world must now use it.”

All fifty nations which attended the San Francisco Conference voted to accept the U.N. Charter on June 26, 1945. After signing the

Charter, the various Governments of the five permanent members (Britain, Russia, China, France and the United States) of the Security Council and of the other nations still had to ratify this important document. The United Nations charter was not ratified until October 24, 1945, the date annually celebrated as United Nations Day.

The U.N. Preamble

What were the *goals* of the United Nations Organization as expressed in its Preamble? Jan Christian Smuts of South Africa is credited with having drafted the U.N. Preamble. Here is the actual wording of that document:

We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

The U.N. Charter is in effect its *constitution*. That Charter contains the actual *plan* used for organizing the U.N. and the rules by which it is governed. The U.N. members all agree to carry out the requirements of the Charter. The Charter has 19 chapters which are divided into 111 articles which explain the *purposes* (i.e. goals), and *principles* (i.e. basic beliefs), and operating methods of the U.N.

Goals and Purposes of the U.N.

According to the U.N. Charter, there are *four purposes* and *seven principles* of the United Nations. The very *first* purpose of the U.N. is to *preserve world peace and security*. The *second*, to encourage all nations (members and non-members alike) to be *just* in their actions toward

each other. The *third*, to help all nations *cooperate* in trying to solve their problems; and the *fourth* and final purpose of the U.N. is to serve as an international agency through which the nations can work toward these all-important goals.

What are the seven all-important principles of the U.N.? The first principle is that all members have equal rights. The second — all members are expected to carry out their duties under the U.N. Charter. The third — they all agree to the principle of settling their disputes peacefully. The fourth principle states that the members of the U.N. all agree not to use force or the threat of force against other nations — except in self-defense. Fifth, U.N. members agree to help the United Nations in every action it takes to execute the purposes of the Charter. The sixth principle stipulates that the U.N. agrees to act on the belief that non-member states have the same duties as member states to help preserve world peace and security. The seventh and final principle is that the United Nations accepts the concept of not interfering in the domestic affairs of member nations.

U.N. Membership

How does a nation become a member of the U.N.? The first fifty members, when they signed and ratified the U.N. Charter in 1945, became the founding members of the U.N. Since that time, nearly one hundred other nations have joined the U.N. Presently there are 144 member nations, and others continue to apply for membership.

The U.N. Charter states that membership is open to all “peace-loving states” who are “able and willing” to carry out the solemn duties required by the Charter. Before a member nation can be accepted into the U.N., it is necessary for both the Security Council and the General Assembly to approve the application of such a would-be member.

A member nation which violates the Charter may be suspended or expelled from the U.N. Such action has never yet been taken.

Major U.N. Organs

There are six major organs of the U.N. which carry on the work of the organization: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretariat, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice and the Trusteeship Council.

Besides these six major organs, a number of *specialized agencies* related to the United Nations deal with such problems as health, labor, food and agriculture tariffs and trade, atomic energy, finance and communications.

Here are the main U.N. agencies:

Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO)
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
 International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

(WORLD BANK)

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
 International Development Association (IDA)
 International Finance Corporation (IFA)
 International Labor Organization (ILO)
 International Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO)
 International Monetary Fund (IMF)
 International Telecommunications Union (ITU)
 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

(UNESCO)

Universal Postal Union (UPU)
 World Health Organization (WHO)
 World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

The General Assembly of the U.N. held its first session in London in the early part of 1946. At that time the delegates took up the question of where the permanent headquarters of the U.N. should be located. In December 1946 the Assembly accepted a generous gift of eight and a half million dollars from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to buy eighteen acres of land along New York City's East River. Also, the city itself donated additional adjoining land. Then, in 1948, the U.S. Congress approved an interest-free loan of sixty-five million dollars for the construction of the U.N. buildings. The buildings, however, were not completed until the autumn of 1952.

U.N. Organizational Structure

Let us look briefly at the actual organizational structure of the United Nations. We shall examine the function of each of the six principal organs of the U.N. — the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat.

The GENERAL ASSEMBLY, in which each U.N. member has but one vote, is the chief deliberative body. This assembly is, in fact, the only major organ of the U.N. in which *all* members are represented. Regardless of a member nation's size, population, wealth, or power, each has only *one* vote. The General Assembly elects or takes part in electing the members of the other major U.N. organs, and it also directs the operations of some U.N. bodies. Furthermore, the Assembly also controls the U.N. budget and it decides how much of the budget each member should contribute, and how much of the United Nations' funds each U.N. body should receive.

But the General Assembly has no real executive power. The only

decisions of the General Assembly which the U.N. members must obey are those concerning the U.N. budget. The Assembly can make endless *recommendations*, but that is all that it can do — except for its budgetary recommendations — which must be obeyed by all U.N. members.

The responsibility for keeping the world's peace does not rest with the General Assembly, but with the Security Council. However, in 1950 the General Assembly approved a resolution called "Uniting for Peace," in which it gave the General Assembly power to step in whenever peace is threatened and when the Security Council fails to Act. The Assembly can in such emergencies, *recommend* actions for the U.N., including the use of armed force if and when necessary.

The U.N. Charter charges the SECURITY COUNCIL with the responsibility of keeping the peace. The Council is empowered to investigate any situation which threatens the peace of the world.

The Security Council has only *five permanent* members (Britain, France, the People's Republic of China, Russia and the U.S.) and ten non-permanent members. These non-permanent members of the U.N. are elected to two-year terms by the General Assembly. Each member of the Security Council has only one delegate on the Council.

The TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL of the U.N. supervises the administration of lands which have been entrusted to the care of individual U.N. member nations. Originally, there were eleven territories which were held under trusteeship administration. Nine of these have now gained their independence. The Trust Territory of New Guinea (under Australian administration) and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (under American administration) are the only territories which are still under the authority of the Trusteeship Council.

The INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, located at The Hague in the Netherlands, is the main *judicial* body of the U.N. It is composed of fifteen judges who are elected to nine-year terms. No two judges may come from the same nation, and the world's major civilizations and legal traditions must be represented at all times in that judicial body. Traditionally, this court includes one judge from each of the nations who are permanent members of the Security Council.

All members of the U.N. have automatic access to this court, with the proviso that any nation which seeks a ruling from the court must agree to accept its decision.

A number of international disputes concerning fishing rights and the ownership of border territory have been settled by this court. Those disputes included quarrels between Britain and Norway, Belgium and the Netherlands, and Nicaragua and Honduras.

Also, some non-member states such as Switzerland and Liechtenstein, have taken their disputes before the court for settlement.

The SECRETARIAT is the executive or administrative arm of the United Nations. Its Chief Executive is the Secretary-General, whose executive office is the most important single position of authority in the U.N. He is appointed and serves for a five-year term.

U.N. Successes

In spite of disputes which arose early in the development of the U.N., some initial successes were achieved. Russia actually cooperated with the U.S. and the West in some U.N.-sponsored actions.

These early successes included the settlement (1946) of the Syrian and Lebanese controversy with France and Great Britain. Syria and Lebanon complained that Britain and France were illegally occupying their territory. Also, the U.N. achieved what some consider a monumental success — with its agreement to allow the partitioning of Palestine between Israel and the Arabs. The United Nations also helped to reduce tensions between India and Pakistan during the early years of their border dispute over Kashmir. In addition, the U.N. was instrumental in helping to secure the withdrawal of the Dutch from Indonesia.

But in spite of some of these initial “successes” of the United Nations, that organization, like the League of Nations before it, proved unable to help resolve the more important issues affecting the international peace and security of the world.

Crippling Veto Power

Because of serious conflict between the Soviet Union and the other members of the Big Five, the U.N. was badly crippled by Russia constantly using her veto. By the end of 1955, the U.N. veto had been used 78 times — with 75 of those being cast by Russia.

Thus, right from the beginning, the U.N. proved hopelessly shackled by the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council.

What could the U.N. do to overcome this seemingly unsurmountable obstacle? Not much. To this very day, the veto power of the five permanent Security Council members has remained one of the main stumbling blocks to any effective United Nations action in any part of the world.

Realizing the U.N. was impotent because of Russia continually using her veto, the Western nations reacted by trying to develop the General Assembly beyond its original scope. Britain and the U.S. generally had strong support from among the Commonwealth and Latin American nations, and as a result they generally commanded a majority.

Later, however, as the number of Afro-Asian members increased in

the General Assembly, both the Russian and the Anglo-American blocs were outmaneuvered and outvoted on many important issues.

The U.N. Record

What are some of the international disputes which the U.N. has proved unable to settle?

In 1948 the U.N. didn't really bring about a peaceful solution to the Jew-Arab struggle. Even though the U.N. exerted some pressure at the time of the Suez crisis during the 1956 invasion of Suez, it was Big Power politics and their military muscle which forced the hands of Britain, France and Israel who had invaded Suez.

Then during both the Six-day War of 1967 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973, it was not the U.N., but America and Russia which dictated the final settlement. Without U.S. and Russian support, neither the Arabs, nor the Israelis would have been able to achieve their objectives.

Also, the U.N. wasn't able to prevent the Korean War.

When Communist North Korean forces attacked South Korea in 1950, Russia was boycotting the Security Council — because the U.N. had refused to admit Communist China as a member. Since Russia was not present to cast her veto, the Security Council was able to establish armed forces to repel the North Korean attack. This U.N. action gave birth to the very first U.N. army.

But what was the result of that United Nations effort to defeat Communist North Korea? Though many U.N. member nations sent troops to Korea to repel the Communists, yet that war ended in a complete stalemate.

Some consider that the U.N. must be credited with preventing crises in Cyprus from exploding into a much bigger war. This may be so. But for twenty or so years, Cyprus has continued to experience strife and bloodshed. The Greek and Turkish populations inhabiting that island still have not settled their differences. Even though U.N. forces have helped to keep friction to a minimum, yet whenever the Greeks and Turks were ready for war, the U.N. always had to step aside.

Also, during the early 1960s, when the Congo erupted in bloodshed, the U.N. was appealed to, and sent troops to help restore order in that troubled area. In the end, although U.N. forces helped the Congolese government regain control of the country and made it possible for them to return to a normal way of life, Russia, France and other U.N. members utterly refused to pay their share of the United Nations' Congo expenses. So even when the U.N. "wins," it seems to lose!

The sad truth is that the U.N. has not been able to achieve its

primary objective — the preventing of future wars — the achievement of lasting peace and security among the nations of this earth.

It is Big Power politics and military might — not the U.N. — which, when all is said and done, dictates the outcome of all major struggles on this earth today.

Furthermore, U.N. members don't even agree on what the United Nations' peacekeeping function should be. Some nations prefer to use their own forces to deal with certain types of conflicts (e.g. America in Vietnam). Other members (especially those from the Afro-Asian bloc) seem to think U.N. peacekeeping should be concerned primarily with fighting racial discrimination such as in South Africa and Rhodesia.

There are other U.N. woes. The U.N. has had its share of financial problems — almost from its inception. The U.S. has supplied about one-third of all of the United Nations' finances since it began a third of a century ago. Now, the U.S. is having a closer look at the U.N., and is beginning to be sadly disillusioned with what it finds. America's Ambassador to the U.N. has spoken out against those nations among the Afro-Asian bloc who continually ask for American financial assistance in private, while bitterly attacking America in public.

Such attacks are causing America to think twice about support of this hopelessly divided organization.

It is true that certain agreements in peripheral areas of international cooperation and disarmament have been worked out within the U.N. (e.g., cooperation in outer space, arms limitation on the international seabed, and the peaceful use of atomic energy). Nonetheless, major agreements and negotiations have all been arrived at on a bilateral basis.

As a result of the major nations preferring to use the bilateral approach to solving the major world's problems, the U.N. has played a relatively secondary role in the more recent world crises — including the Arab-Israeli Wars of 1967 and 1973, the India-Pakistan War of 1971, and the Vietnam War which finally ended in 1975.

As the United Nations' peacekeeping role has declined, it has expanded its activities in the field of economic and technological development, particularly in the less developed countries of Africa and Asia. And it is true that the U.N. and its many related agencies have made a very significant impact in areas such as disease control, technological cooperation, and aid to refugees. During the past years, the U.N. has changed its focus from rebuilding the countries ravaged by World War II to raising the living standards of the Third World. It has been able to work out a means by which the advanced, developed countries can jointly contribute, with a minimum of national antagonism, and by

which the less developed countries can receive aid with a minimum of resentment and suspicion.

Many in America, and around the world, are now disillusioned with the United Nations. They can clearly see that the U.N. has never had the proper governmental machinery with which to deal effectively with the telling problems of today's divided world. When the U.N. was born, the founding nations were unwilling to sign away to the United Nations Organization substantial portions of their own sovereignty. They were not sure they could maintain their national identities, their hopes and ideals if they gave away much of their sovereignty to a world peacekeeping organization which they weren't even certain would succeed. They had seen the impotence of the League of Nations. How could they be sure that this new organization, the United Nations, would fare any better? How could they make certain that their national interests would be properly served by such a world peacekeeping organization?

Some Pessimism

Some are now very *pessimistic* about the future of the United Nations. They are convinced the U.N. has only served to undermine peace, actually hindering the achievement of that elusive goal since World War II. They look upon the U.N. as a sounding board for the Communists, the Afro-Asians, the Arabs and others. They look upon the invitation to Yassir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to speak before the General Assembly, as a further step in the weakening of that organization. Many also believe that the U.N. resolution which declared that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination" is merely another factor contributing toward the inevitable dissolution of the United Nations. These same critics of the U.N. believe that the powerful Afro-Asian bloc which now dominates voting in the General Assembly has become a sort of Kangaroo Court.

After the U.N. passed its anti-Zionism resolution (72-35, with 32 abstentions), the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Daniel Patrick Moynihan, declared: "A great evil has been loosed upon the world. The abomination of anti-Semitism . . . has been given the appearance of international sanction."

Blunt Speaking

Continued U.N. viability was again shaken when General Amin, head of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), appeared before the U.N. General Assembly in the autumn of 1975 and lectured America, and at the same time demanded "the extinction of Israel as a state." The

U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Patrick Moynihan, later commented concerning Uganda's President Idi Amin. Moynihan noted that "it's no accident, I fear, that this 'racist murderer' — as one of our leading newspapers (the *New York Times*) called him this morning — is head of the Organization of African Unity."

The U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. continued: "Every day at the U.N., on every side, we are assailed because we are a *democracy*. In the U.N. today there are in the range of *two dozen democracies* left; totalitarian Communist regimes and assorted ancient and modern despotisms make up all the rest. Nothing so unites these nations as the conviction that their success ultimately depends on our failure. Most of the new states have ended up as *enemies of freedom*."

That was blunt speaking. But many feel it is past time for the U.S., Britain and the other democracies of the world to speak up on behalf of freedom and democracy.

Many in America and elsewhere believe it is high time we take a good hard look at the United Nations to see whether all of the financial support (of which presently about one quarter of the U.N.'s entire budget comes from the U.S.) is really worth it.

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

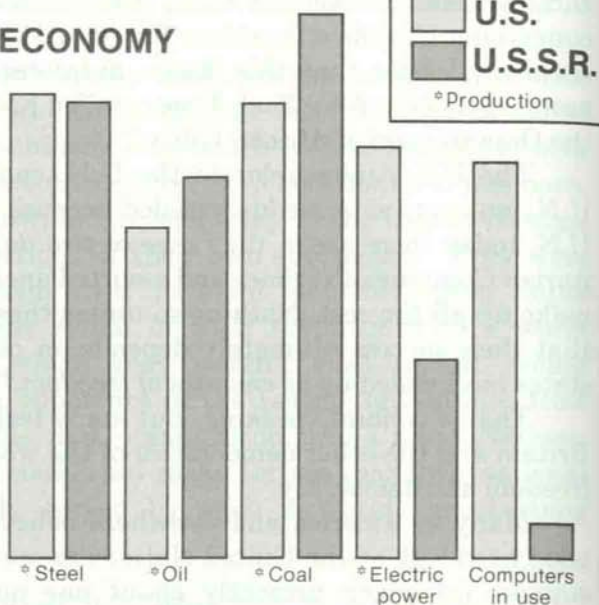
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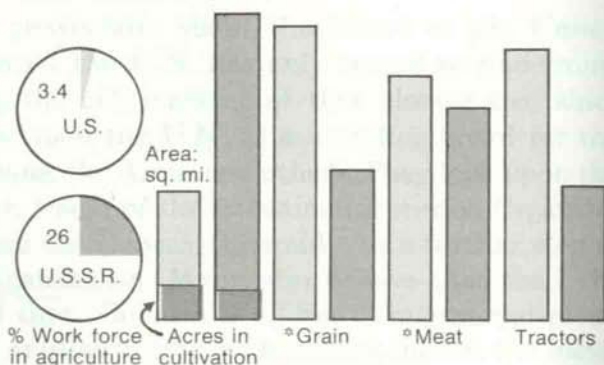
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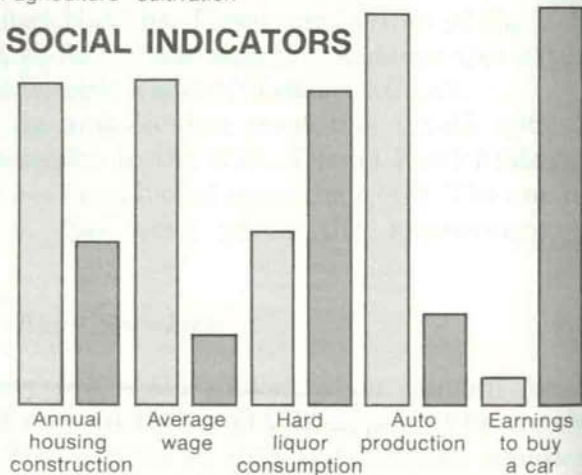
ECONOMY



AGRICULTURE



SOCIAL INDICATORS



America versus Russia

Nearly one hundred and fifty years ago Alexis de Tocqueville uttered an amazingly accurate prophecy regarding the rise of the world's two superpower giants — America and the Soviet Union.

An Amazing Prophecy

That remarkable prophecy, given in the early 19th century, reads as though it had been written quite recently:

There are at the present time two great nations in the world, which started from different points, but seem to tend towards the same end. I allude to the Russians and the Americans. Both of them have grown up unnoticed; and while the attention of mankind was directed elsewhere, they have suddenly placed themselves in the front rank among the nations, and the world learned their existence and their greatness at almost the same time.

All other nations seem to have nearly reached their natural limits, and they have only to maintain their power; but these are still in the act of growth. All the others have stopped, or continue to advance with extreme difficulty; these alone are proceeding with ease and celerity along a path to which no limit can be perceived. The American struggles against the obstacles that nature opposes to him; the adversaries of the Russian are men. The former combats the wilderness and savage life; the latter, civilization with all its arms. The conquests of the American are therefore gained by the plowshare; those of the Russian by the sword. The Anglo-American relies upon personal interest to accomplish his ends and gives free scope to the unguided strength and common sense of the people; the Russian centers all the authority of society in a single arm. The principal instrument of the former is freedom; of the latter, servitude. Their starting-point is different and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.

So said Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835 — nearly a century and a half ago!

Only Two Superpowers

There are just two superpowers in the world today — America and the Soviet Union. After World War II, the U.S. emerged as the indispu-

table economic and military giant of the world. Soviet Russia, though battered during the Second World War, came through that war the second strongest world power.

At the end of the earth's second titanic struggle, America had the atomic bomb, and also possessed enormous economic strength. Perhaps it was inevitable that a suspicious Communist regime in Moscow should look with deep misgivings upon the dynamic American economic and military titan. Also, perhaps it was quite natural that the United States looked upon the growing might of the Soviet Russian giant with deep distrust — noting that the Red Army had unceremoniously swallowed up most of Eastern Europe as well as some of the Baltic states — and it was clear that Russia intended to keep her boot firmly planted on those parts of Europe.

These facts led President Truman and the American nation to adopt a policy of "containment" following World War II. Communism would have to be contained so that it couldn't gobble up more countries.

The Soviet Union's reaction to containment was to intensify the Cold War under the leadership of Joe Stalin. Russia would seal off herself and her satellites from the rest of the world — from Western penetration and influence. Until the Soviet-dominated Communist nations built up their strength to either parity or superiority with the West — they would just remain in their cool self-imposed isolationism.

Thus, the Siberian blasts of the Cold War which began at the close of World War II have continued blowing across the world ever since.

Many now ask: Is today's apparent thaw, called *détente*, the result of a genuine warming of relations between the Soviet Union and the Western nations? Or, is it a deliberate attempt by Moscow to lull the West into thinking the Communists have turned soft and have now become more humane?

Is the present Soviet-American *détente* deliberately calculated to cause the West to let their guard down? Is today's uneasy East-West rapprochement a policy which is designed to give Communist Russia many advantages and favors at the expense of the capitalistic West?

Agricultural Comparisons

How do the two superpowers — America and Russia — compare in size, in economic strength, and in military might?

Soviet Russia is the largest nation on earth and comprises about 8,649,489 square miles. The United States is the fourth largest nation, and comprises about 3,615,191 square miles.

The Soviet Union has a population of over 255,000,000, whereas the U.S. population now exceeds 215,000,000. But even though Russia is considerably larger than America both in population and its size, the

United States far outproduces the USSR. The annual gross national product (GNP) of the Soviet Union is now estimated to be about \$873 billion, while that of the United States is over \$1.5 trillion — nearly double that of Russia.

Slightly less than one third of Russia's total work force is employed on the land, whereas only one twentieth of the U.S. work force is employed on America's farms. The Soviet Union has nearly 50,000 collective and state farms, but the average Russian worker is only one tenth as productive as his American counterpart. Nonetheless, the Soviet Union actually produces more wheat and grain crops than any other country. Also, there is more livestock in the USSR than in America. The Soviets claim their milk production is equal to all of the production of the U.S., Britain and West Germany.

Even though the Soviet Union is nearly two and a half times the size of the United States, little more than one tenth of her land is well suited for farming. Neither corn nor soybeans (both important crops in America) grow well in Russia. Furthermore, the Russian climate is much colder and her growing season much shorter than that of the U.S. And recent Soviet attempts to utilize vast tracts of virgin land in the production of wheat and other grain crops have not been all that successful. Her recent disastrous grain crop failures attest to that fact. Russia had to purchase vast amounts of grain from the U.S. in 1972; and with another disastrous grain failure in 1975, (34 percent less than expected), the Soviets again eagerly sought American grain to feed their hungry millions.

Russia's most dramatic move toward agricultural self-sufficiency is her 45-billion-dollar project to develop 124 million acres of generally unfertile clay and sand flatlands that stretch north and east over vast stretches all the way from Moscow and Leningrad across European Russia into Siberia.

Grain output per Soviet farmer is 5.3 metric tons, compared to 50.8 for his American counterpart. Grain output per acre in Russia only averages about 1.41 metric tons, as compared with 6.3 metric tons per acre in the U.S.

Soviet Industry

When the Communist Revolution seized control of Russia in 1917, the Soviet Union was a very backward nation — both agriculturally and industrially. Russia has come a long way toward modernizing her agriculture and industry since that time, but she still has a long way to go before she will have completed that task.

In spite of massive assistance from the West (the opening of the world's largest truck factory on the banks of the Karma River, about 600

miles east of Moscow, is one of the more modern examples of Western assistance) Russia is still not moving forward as rapidly in her industrialization as she would like. Much of the financing and technical know-how for the building of the gigantic Karma River truck production complex came from America. Long-term American credit, both private and U.S. Government, helped finance its construction. The entire cost of the truck factory is estimated to have been about \$4 billion. But the factory is expected to produce 150,000 diesel trucks a year. During 1973, total Soviet production of trucks and buses was 685,000, whereas the U.S. built more than 3 million during that same year.

Some time ago Fiat of Italy also built a large automobile producing plant at Togliatti in Russia. During 1973 it produced about 660,000 passenger cars. But Soviet roads are not the best. Without good roads cars aren't nearly as useful as they could be. The U.S. often produces 10 million or more cars per annum. There are now 130 million cars, buses and trucks clogging America's roads.

Here are a few interesting comparisons between America and Russia. The U.S. produces about 117 million tons of steel each year, the Soviet Union about 155 million tons. (Though during 1974-75 the U.S. outstripped the Soviet Union).

The Soviet Union, during 1974 surpassed the U.S. in the production of oil, coal, pig iron and mineral fertilizers. *Pravda's* top commentator, Yuri Zhukov, recently stated that the Soviet Union is now the world's leading producer of the aforementioned four "important indices."

Mr. Zhukov did, however, admit that in 1974 Russia slipped in her steel output to second place behind the U.S., though she had outproduced America during the previous three years.

He told a national television audience that he was certain that "our Soviet workers will achieve new capabilities to help us exceed the Americans and occupy first place in the world."

Yuri Zhukov also stated that Russia leads the U.S. in production of tractors, cement, cotton fabric and metal-cutting machinery. He added: "Of course, there are many other indices in which the Americans are still ahead of us. And, incidentally, the gap between the number of indices is still very large. We must work very hard to fill this gap and fulfill in the end Lenin's behest to economically compete with capitalism."

Military Comparisons

Generally speaking, the United States is far ahead of Russia in the production of both goods and services — with an overall figure just about double that of the Soviet Union. But what about military production?


Russia has tended to concentrate her industrial production more in

HOW THE GIANTS MEASURE UP


U.S. U.S.S.R.

Armed forces 




Tanks 




Artillery 

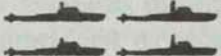


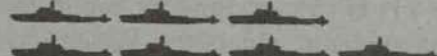
Megatonnage 

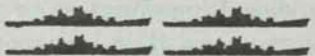


Attack submarines 



Missile submarines 



Major combat ships 




Strategic Missiles 






 Tactical aircraft




 Strategic aircraft



 Computers in use



 Aircraft carriers

the area of the military (more guns and less butter), whereas the United States has put the major emphasis on domestic production (more butter and fewer guns)!

Many in America are worried about the rapid Soviet build-up in military hardware. Ever since the Cold War began in 1945, the United States has maintained a comfortable lead in the manufacture and deployment of strategic military equipment. With a clear headstart in the production of nuclear weapons, and with far superior technology, the U.S. has easily been able to keep well ahead of the Russians in this vital area. As long as America possessed superior weapons and technology, U.S. military men didn't worry about the fact that the Russians maintained a larger number of troops in uniform than did America and the West.

Now, however, both in America and throughout the West, many are becoming quite concerned with the rapid advances the Soviets are admittedly making in the manufacture of high-quality weapons and in their overall technology. Presently, the Soviets have a greater number of weapons deployed than does the U.S. and her NATO allies.

It is this alarmingly rapid build-up of strategic weapons and weapons systems which the West now finds so frightening. They are being told that Russia has already achieved parity, or near parity, with America and the West in overall military power. Some have even charged that the United States has let the Soviets surpass them in overall military strength.

"Our Military is Without Equal"

President Ford, in his annual state of the union message on January 19, 1976, disagreed, however. He claimed:

America has had a unique role in the world since the day of our independence 200 years ago. And ever since the end of World War II, we have borne — successfully — a heavy responsibility for ensuring a stable world order and hope for human progress. . . . We are at peace — and I will do all in my power to keep it that way.

Our military forces are capable and ready; our military power is without equal. And I intend to keep it that way.

Our principal alliances with the industrial democracies of the Atlantic Community and Japan have never been more solid. . . .

However, many Americans are deeply disturbed by the thought that Russia may have already achieved "parity" with the U.S. in overall military strength, and might conceivably even forge ahead in the near future.

It is now estimated that the Soviet Union spends between 10 and 15 percent of its gross national product on defense — as compared to about

5 percent for the United States. (The U.S. defense budget is now running over \$100 billion annually!). Even though Russia's GNP is only about half that of the U.S., nonetheless it is estimated that she is spending about twenty to forty billion dollars more for military purposes than America. If the U.S. continues paring back her military budget, the Russians will gain a clear military lead — an indisputable superiority — in the very near future. And that's what is troubling many military men, as well as prominent senators and government officials.

How do the U.S. and Russia compare in actual military strength?

Soviet Military Strength

The Soviet Union now has about 4,500,000 men in her armed forces, compared to 2,084,350 for the U.S. The USSR has approximately 42,000 tanks, America only around 10,000. The U.S. has about 1,710 strategic missiles, the Soviets have 2,378. Our actual megatonnage is now about 4,000, the Soviets possess 10,000. America has 463 strategic aircraft, the Soviets have only 135. And in tactical aircraft, we have approximately 8,500, and the Soviets have only about 6,100. (All of these figures are approximate and are constantly changing.)

Ten years ago, the U.S. held a 4-to-1 edge in the total number of strategic missiles and bombers. Now the Soviets have about 2,537 long-range bombers and missiles, as compared to 2,142 for the U.S. However, the U.S. still retains a 4-to-1 edge in the total number of nuclear warheads that these weapons can launch. This is due to America's lead in the development of MIRVs (multiple, independently-targeted re-entry vehicles).

Naval Comparisons

America has 182 major combat ships, the Soviets have 226. The U.S. has 14 aircraft carriers, the USSR has only 1. The United States has 73 attack submarines, Russia has 253. America has 41 missile-launching submarines, the Soviets have 73.

Most people have little conception of the horrifying power contained in one of the U.S. submarines. For instance, a single U.S. submarine, armed with deadly Poseidon missiles, packs more firepower than all of the retaliatory forces of Britain and France combined — and it is virtually impossible to detect this quiet-running submarine's location at any given moment!

In April 1975, the Soviets demonstrated their challenge to American domination of the world's oceans by staging the most extensive sea and air exercise in their entire history. Those exercises extended all the way from the Sea of Japan to the Caribbean, and from the Azores to Nor-

way's North Cape. Moscow has also recently consolidated its position in the Indian Ocean by building a base at Berbera in the Somali Republic, and now has a South Atlantic seaport in Angola.

Even though Russia has professed to be hotly pursuing détente with America, she has nonetheless continued vigorously building up her military — trying to shift the strategic balance in her favor. The stark truth is that the SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) and other arms negotiations (which are usually regarded as essential to détente) have been exploited by the Soviets to achieve military gains over the U.S.

Does Détente Favor Russia?

Notice how one-sided the détente concessions have been. Because of America's superiority in the MIRVs, the U.S. has had a clear built-in advantage in strategic nuclear power. During this present period of détente, the Soviets have insisted that agreements must be based on parity between the superpowers. Clearly, they were happy to call for "parity" in this area — since they were far behind the U.S.

But in the field where the Soviets hold a decisive advantage over the United States (i.e. conventional military forces in Europe) — they flatly refuse to even discuss parity.

The leaders in the Kremlin are using superpower détente as a means of gaining global military supremacy.

Is America Still Ahead?

Has the Soviet Union already reached parity with the United States in overall military strength? Perhaps nobody in either Russia or America really knows for sure the answer to this question. But it would appear that the United States still has a slight overall military edge over Russia.

What are some of the indications of this?

Firstly, the United States has the MIRV's — which would enable her to knock out important enemy targets with great accuracy and with comparatively less defense expenditure than the big, cumbersome and very expensive Russian nuclear warheads.

Secondly, the United States is far ahead of Russia in general weapons development and in overall technological advances. America's recent development of her deadly cruise missiles (which can fly undetected below enemy radar defenses) clearly underlines America's strength in this field. (The Soviets, realizing the U.S.'s lead in the development of cruise missiles, are pressing to have them banned).

America's Secretary of Defense, Donald H. Rumsfeld, made the following comments regarding the cruise missile:



Richard M. Nixon tried to thaw out relations between the U.S. and Communists. His warmer relations between America and China and Russia was referred to as Détente. During his unhappy second term, the Watergate scandal forced him to resign as America's 37th President.
— *United Press International Photo*

... The cruise missile will have a quite different use than a B-1 (bomber). It is based on a new technology — essentially that of a pilotless, subsonic aircraft We seem to have a considerable lead over the Soviet Union in this field.

Cruise missiles potentially are very accurate, but slow. They can be launched from aircraft, from land, from surface ships or from submarines. They would well have a variety of potential uses, both strategic and tactical. In our budget we are funding the air-launched cruise missile with the thought that it would be a valuable weapon to be carried by a B-52 for a variety of purposes.'

“Need to be Vigilant”

The Secretary of Defense also gave a timely warning about détente:

If one thinks that détente means that the Russians are our friends — that we can trust them, and that they will conduct themselves the way we do in our country, that they believe in freedom and individual, God-given rights of man, that they will not continue to support “just wars of national liberation,” or that they will not continue to develop substantial military strength to serve their interests — anyone who thinks that is dead wrong. That is not what Soviet policy or behavior is all about.

Détente, most precisely, from our standpoint, is an approach that the United States is using with the Soviet Union to determine if it's possible to relax tensions.

Mr. Rumsfeld also warned about avoiding “a sense of euphoria that can accompany a marginally improved relationship” between America and Russia.

We have to avoid being lulled into thinking that, because our strength has given us relative peace and stability, we therefore no longer need to be vigilant. That is just plain wrong. We do need to be vigilant. And we must be wise enough to realize that the reason we are at the negotiating table with the Soviet Union is because we are militarily strong.

President Ford and his administration appear to be wary of Communist intentions. Mr. Ford is a realist, and hopes to achieve “peace through strength.”

As America begins the third century of her national existence, will she be able to muster sufficient moral strength, and enough military might to deter aggressive Communists from taking over much of today's free world?

In addition to American superiority in the area of MIRVs and the cruise missile, the U.S. also has a strategic advantage over Russia in her far-flung bases scattered all around the globe. However, the Soviet Union is rapidly establishing a globe-girdling net of air and naval bases.

What Russia Wants From U.S.

What do the Communists expect to get from détente?

When relations first began to thaw between the U.S. and Russia many Americans — as well as non-Americans — were euphoric — hoping the Iron Curtain had really rusted away. Many vainly imagined the Cold War was just about over.

At the close of World War II Russia had been decimated — at least 18,000,000 soldiers and civilians killed. Many of her chief cities lay smouldering. Her productive capacity had suffered terribly under the brutal blows of the world's most devastating war.

Ravaged by the Nazi armies of Hitler, Russia was in no position to compete with the steadily growing agricultural and industrial might of America.

The U.S. undoubtedly prevented the collapse of the Soviet fighting machine in the dark days of World War II — through massive infusions of military and economic aid. The Soviet Union, however, instead of loving and respecting America, came to distrust her — even to fear the powerful American giant.

But why?

All during World War II the U.S. continued growing in economic and military strength, and in international dominance. American cities had not been devastated like those of much of Europe and Japan. American war deaths totalled only 298,000 during World War II, whereas Russia lost an estimated 11,000,000 soldiers and 7,000,000 civilians — a colossal loss by any standard!

The truth is that nobody really knows exactly how many Russians — both soldiers and civilians — died during the second World War. Some think as many as 25,000,000 may have died.²

Russia saw herself greatly weakened through World War II. But at the same time, she witnessed with envy the U.S. rise to an economic and military pinnacle to which no nation had ever before attained. Russia feared that America might exploit her strengthened position by seeking to dominate the rest of the world.

Furthermore, just before the end of World War II, the U.S. dropped A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki — not only proving that she actually possessed such terrible weapons, but demonstrating her willingness, if she deemed it wise, to use them.

In other words, at the close of World War II, Russia, comparing herself with the U.S., felt like a dwarf economically and militarily.

² Demographic evidence suggests that the Soviet Union may have lost 25,000,000 or more persons during World War II. Of these, losses of men of military age may have been between 15,000,000 and 20,000,000 (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 22, 1973 ed.).

This lack of economic and military *parity* between these two giants, and the resultant inevitable inferiority of the Russians, triggered a long Cold War.

The Cold War Thaws

However the Communist leaders in Moscow soon began to realize that the vaunted superiority of their *socialist* system just didn't exist. The *capitalistic* system produced superior technology and a higher standard of living. To this very day, a tremendous technological gap has continued between the West and the Communist countries. If the Soviets are ever to catch up with the West, and with America in particular, they will have to receive a massive transfusion of Western technology — Western ideas and inventions — all the way from computers to electric shavers.

But the USSR gradually began to catch up in her nuclear capacity with the West. Russia's proliferation of powerful A-bombs began to give her a heightened sense of national self-confidence. She now felt she could hold her own with the U.S. or with the other nations of Western Europe.

Russia at last felt she could begin to relax — could let the Cold War thaw into warmer relations between herself and the nations of the West, the U.S. in particular. Perhaps cultural, economic, scientific and other exchanges would prove to be a useful tool to the U.S.S.R. Russia fully realized she would gain more by *détente* than would the Western nations.

And also now the Soviet Union can boast the world's second largest gross national product, and a high enough standard of living to assure her that she can afford to open, at least a little, the gates of the hitherto tightly-sealed *Iron Curtain* which had surrounded Russia for two decades.

Why Russia Favors Détente

What does Russia hope to receive as a result of her policy of *détente* with the West? Why is the USSR so desirous of strengthening *détente* with Washington — even though President Ford loathes even to use the word “*détente*”?

What does Russia hope to get from her present pursuit of *détente* with the West? She hopes to receive massive infusions of technology, foreign capital and expertise. The Soviets want Western technology, equipment and easy, pay-later credit terms. *Détente* also helps Russian leaders to pare back a little in military spending in order to put a few more consumer goods at the disposal of avid Russian buyers.

Many Americans, like Senator Jackson, are having second thoughts over these U.S.-Soviet "deals." They question the wisdom of our exporting to Russia massive credit, technology, and machines. They doubt the wisdom of our building factories (like the recently-completed Karma River truck factory) in the USSR, and they are skeptical about helping the Soviets develop and exploit their sources of energy — while we are lacking adequate capital to properly develop our own badly-needed sources of energy.

There may be some positive *benefits* to détente — but there are also inescapable *pitfalls*.

The Leaning Elephant Lesson

Russians, like most people, respect a show of strength, determination and will. This fact was driven home to me personally recently when I visited the Soviet Union with my wife.

Many Americans who have visited the Soviet Union have come away firmly convinced that the majority of the Soviet peoples are friendly toward America, and are quite interested in what the U.S. does.

And this is the distinct impression I received when my wife and I visited Soviet Russia. While in Bangkok, Thailand, we had a very friendly visit with officials of the Russian Embassy, and we were quite impressed with the friendliness of the Soviet peoples whom we met there.

In fact it appears that a Soviet official at the Bangkok Embassy must have gone to some lengths to make our stay in Russia a memorable occasion, for when we arrived at the Moscow International Airport, we were given the red-carpet treatment.

To our surprise, we were driven to our Moscow hotel in a beautifully-carpeted limousine which was roughly comparable to a Cadillac. And everywhere we went, we were treated with great respect and courtesy.

What kind of an impression did we receive from our visit to the Soviet Union? We concluded that the Soviet people are very friendly to Americans and appear to be keenly interested in any information they can get concerning our country. The Russians impressed us as being a people who want to be both understood and liked. Several times, we were asked what we thought of the Soviet peoples and their country.

An Obtuse Taxi Driver

But we also had one very exasperating experience which proved to us that Communists respect tenacity and a show of determination.

We were ready to depart from our Moscow hotel, and be driven to

the International Airport at Moscow. We were supposed to arrive at the airport an hour early — in order to fill out necessary papers, check our luggage through, and take care of any last minute formalities before departing for London.

Since neither my wife nor I spoke Russian, we asked the concierge at our Moscow hotel to tell our Russian-speaking taxi driver to take us to the International Airport. But from the beginning of our trip to the airport, we had anything but red-carpet treatment. It soon became apparent to us that we had unfortunately been given a not-too-alert taxi driver. We should have arrived at the Moscow airport in plenty of time, but our driver took a wrong turn and drove us miles out of our way. We learned to our consternation that he had taken us to the wrong airport — the inter-Russian air terminal — instead of taking us to the international terminal as we had requested. And we lost another ten or fifteen minutes driving from the inter-Russian air terminal to the international terminal.

These delays caused us to arrive at the international terminal about a half hour late. Would this cause us to miss our plane to London?

Seeing the "Manager"

While checking in at the airport, we were informed by an English-speaking woman employee that it was already too late for us to get seats on our previously scheduled flight. (We still had about 25 or 30 minutes left before the plane was scheduled to take off for Copenhagen en route to London). To our utter amazement, we were told that there was only one seat available!

What could we do to make sure that we got on that plane? I suspected that we were being given the run-around — were being lied to.

At that point, I decided to ask the young English-speaking Russian woman employee of the airport to let me speak to the airport manager, since I still thought we ought to be able to get on that particular flight — having booked the seats months in advance.

This obliging Russian lady took me down a labyrinth of corridors and into a room — where there was a junior official plus several Russian women. I asked the young lady to explain to this official the circumstances of our late arrival at the airport; and I asked her to tell this Russian airport official that it was not our fault that we arrived late. Furthermore, I asked her to request his assistance in getting us on the flight which was scheduled to depart in only minutes. Repeatedly, I heard him say "Nyet" (no).

As we left his office and were going back to where my wife was waiting with our luggage, I again asked the young Russian lady to let me speak to the manager. And this time she apparently did take me into the

manager's office. At least the Russian official looked like as though he might really have the authority to speak to the pilot and get us on board the plane. By this time, the door of the plane had been shut, the engines were warming up, and the plane was ready to taxi out to the end of the runway for the take-off for London.

Would we make it?

By now I was pretty annoyed, so I asked the young Russian lady interpreter to please tell the "manager" about our plight — how we were given a taxi driver who didn't appear to know where he was going — how he had taken us to the wrong airport, causing us to be late — through no fault of ours.

Also, I asked her to tell this manager (or whoever he was) that I had contacted relatives, informing them of the arrival of our flight at the London airport, and had no way of letting them know we had missed our plane. Furthermore, we had no reservations in Moscow for the night, and the next London flight left a day or so later.

"Hold that Plane"

This airport official (presumably the manager) at last seemed to get my message. He grabbed the phone and gave some kind of an order — apparently ordering the pilot to hold the plane until my wife and I were on board. The pilot supposedly informed him that it was too late for us to catch that flight. Anyway, the manager's authoritative reply must have persuaded the pilot to hold the plane. I only knew about two Russian words — da (yes) and nyet (no). During the conversation with the pilot, I heard this manager say "Da, da, da, da . . . !" My own interpretation of what he said ran something like this: "Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah . . . I know, but you just hold that plane anyway. I'm sending these people right out!"

The "manager" nodded to the Russian lady who had accompanied me, muttered a few words, and we departed from his office.

This lady interpreter then told me we were going to get on the flight after all. We practically ran through a maze of corridors — back to where my wife was impatiently waiting with our bags — then hurriedly filled out a form or two. (We were told to forget about weighing our bags, although we had previously had to pay about \$65 for excess baggage at the Bombay airport as we boarded the plane for our Moscow flight. Presumably, we would have had to pay a similar amount here as we departed from the Moscow international airport had we not been so hurried.)

In order to save time, we were told to get into a car, and were driven directly to the aircraft. The jet engines of the airplane had been roaring for some minutes. We quickly boarded the plane, took our seats, and

sure enough, just as I had suspected, the plane had more than one vacant seat — as we had been told when we began first checking in at the airport. Actually, about half the seats were empty.

As we sat down in our seats, I heaved a sigh of relief and took comfort in knowing that, after all, the Russians are very human — just like other people. Even Communist Russians can be appealed to and persuaded to cut through red tape *if the right approach* is used — the approach of the “smiling, leaning elephant.” I learned that the principle of importunity — of doggedly persevering — works in Russia, as in any other country.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn

How do foreigners view America’s flirtation with détente? Perhaps present-day Russian thinking and Communist tactics can be understood best through the eyes of *Alexander Solzhenitsyn* than through any other living being. He is a Russian author, expatriate, and eyewitness to the horrors of Communism.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn was born in 1918 and served in the Russian Red Army during World War II. He rose to the rank of artillery captain, and was decorated for bravery.

While still serving on the German front in 1945, Solzhenitsyn was arrested for criticizing Joseph Stalin in letters to a friend. It was while languishing in Moscow prisons that he was confronted with the tragic fates of other political prisoners.

After being sentenced to eight years in labor camps, he worked as a menial laborer and was finally stricken with cancer — from which he later recovered. After Solzhenitsyn completed his prison sentence, he was exiled to Kazakhstan.

After Stalin’s death in 1953 his standing with the Russian leaders improved dramatically, and his citizenship was restored in 1956.

His first novels vividly describe the grimness and horrors of life in the vast labor-camp system of Soviet Russia. Solzhenitsyn’s *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* was permitted to be published in 1962, after Nikita Khrushchev personally intervened in an effort to encourage anti-Stalinist feeling in Russia. His book was immediately hailed as an exposé of the brutal Stalinist methods, and it placed its author in the foremost ranks of Soviet writers.

But when Khrushchev was toppled from power in 1964, Soviet censorship was again tightened, and Solzhenitsyn began to be regarded as a very dangerous and hostile critic of Soviet society. Nevertheless, Solzhenitsyn’s books found publication and an enormous audience abroad, and in the Soviet Union they were circulated in *samizdat* (self-publishing underground) editions. Eventually, Solzhenitsyn was ex-

pelled from the Union of Soviet Writers and was prohibited from living in Moscow.

Solzhenitsyn was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1970, but Soviet government pressure (specifically, the threat of not being allowed to return from Stockholm) caused him to decline the prize.

Solzhenitsyn feared that he might again be imprisoned. But even so he courageously decided in 1974 to authorize publication of *The Gulag Archipelago*. This vast work documented, with personal interviews and reminiscences, the operation of the oppressive Soviet totalitarian system from 1918 to 1956.

Solzhenitsyn was arrested in February 1974, and was formally accused of *treason*, stripped of his citizenship and forcibly *deported* to the West.

Since he was proficient in German, Solzhenitsyn decided to take up residence in Switzerland with his family who were also permitted to join him. He belatedly accepted personally his Nobel Prize in Stockholm in 1974.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn is highly respected as a fearless novelist, who in vivid terms, describes techniques of terror and the resultant moral debasement. He is also a leader of a small but vociferous group of intellectual dissidents who ceaselessly endeavor to expose the nature of the oppressive Soviet system.

Solzhenitsyn's Exposé

While visiting America during the summer of 1975, Alexander Solzhenitsyn gave dramatic warning to all the world — and especially to all Americans.

Some of his more startling revelations will serve as a stern warning to any who would continue the policy of appeasement toward Communist Russia:

Nikita Khrushchev came here and said: "We're going to bury you." People didn't believe that — they took it as a joke,

Now, of course, the Communists have become more clever in my country. They do not say, "We're going to bury you" any more. Now they say, "Détente."

Nothing has changed in Communist ideology. The goals are the same as they were

Let me remind you with what sort of system the Communists started. They came to power by an abhorrent uprising. They drove away the constituent assembly. They introduced the *Cheka* (dreaded secret police) and shooting and *executions without trial*; they crushed workers' strikes; they plundered the villages, and they crushed the peasants in the bloodiest possible way.

They crushed the church. They brought 20 provinces of our country into a condition of famine — this was the famous Volga famine of 1921. . . .

Civil war, which was started by the Communists, was a slogan of the Communists. When they got the country into a civil war, then they asked America: "Help feed our hungry."

And generous and *magnanimous America* did feed their hungry. The so-called American Relief Administration was set up, headed by your future President Hoover, and indeed, many millions of Russian lives were saved.

But what sort of *gratitude* did you receive for this? Not only have the Communists tried to erase this whole event from the popular memory so it's almost impossible today in the Soviet press to find any reference to the American Relief Administration, they even started to accuse you of a clever scheme of American imperialism to set up a spy network in Russia.

"The Situation Is Catastrophic"

The emotion-charged Solzhenitsyn continued: "I'm not going to tell you sweet words. The situation in the world is not just dangerous. It isn't just threatening. *It is catastrophic.*"

According to Solzhenitsyn, the Western allies made needless concessions to the Communists following the defeat of the Axis powers in 1945. The West ought to have been more firm with Russia.

This out-spoken, deeply concerned Russian author also sees the fallacies of *détente*. He points out:

. . . The Soviet Union has used *détente* in its own interest, is using it now, and will continue to use it in its own interest.

For example, in China and in the Soviet Union they're both participating in *détente*, but they have grabbed three countries of Indo-China in a quiet way. True, perhaps as a consolation, they will send you a table-tennis team!

You helped us many years with Lend-Lease, but the Communists have done everything to make us forget this, to erase it from our minds, not to remember it

Everything poisonous which could be said about the United States was said in Stalin's days . . . "Blood-thirsty American Imperialism Wants to Seize Control of the World."

Some say that the Soviet leaders have now given up their inhumane ideology. Not at all, not at all. They haven't given it up one step

It's (the Communist system) a system where unmasked *butchers of millions* like Molotov, and others lesser than him, have never been tried in the courts, but retire on tremendous pensions. . . .

Solzhenitsyn explains that what the Communist leaders in Russia are following is not really *détente*.

This is not a *détente*, if we here with you today can spend our time in a friendly way, while over there (in Russia) people are groaning and dying and in psychiatric insane asylums. The doctors are going around and putting injections in people which destroy their brain cells.

And the second sign of true *détente* is the following: that it be not one based on smiles, not on verbal concessions. It has to be based on a firm foundation. You know the word from the Bible, "Not on sand, but on Rock." There has to be a guarantee that this will not disappear overnight or be broken overnight. . . .

"Imminent Fall of the West"

During February, 1976, while America was celebrating her Bicentennial, Solzhenitsyn visited England and was interviewed on BBC television. During that interview, he made even more startling revelations regarding Russia, *détente*, and the West's continued capitulations to the Communists:

Over the last two years terrible things have happened. The West has given up all its world positions.

The West has given everything away so impetuously, has done so much to strengthen tyranny in our country. . . .

But your *capitulations*, like all political processes, move very quickly. The speed of your capitulations has so rapidly overtaken the pace of our (Russia's) regeneration, that at the moment, the Soviet Union can only move along one path: the flourishing of totalitarianism.

At the moment, the question is not *how* the Soviet Union will find a way out of totalitarianism, but *how the West will be able to avoid the same fate*.

I wouldn't be surprised at the sudden and imminent fall of the West. . . .

The situation now is such that one must think not of what might happen unexpectedly in the Soviet Union, because in the Soviet Union nothing will happen unexpectedly. . . . *The West is on the verge of a collapse created by its own hands.*

Alexander Solzhenitsyn observed how the West changed its strategy since the early days of President Truman's presidency when the West, under his firm leadership, stood firm — refused to concede anything to the Communists. The doctrine of "containment" was not only preached, but was practiced by the West. The Nobel Prize winning author laments:

There was a time at the beginning of the '50's, when this nuclear threat hung over the world. But the attitude of the West was like *granite*, and the West did not yield. Today this nuclear threat still hangs over both sides, but the West has chosen the wrong path of making concessions. . . .

The most important aspect of *détente* today is that there is no ideological *détente*. You Western people simply can't grasp the power of Soviet propaganda. . . .

What does the spirit of Helsinki and the spirit of détente mean for us within the Soviet Union? The strengthening of totalitarianism.

I would like to emphasize. . . . You think that this is a respite, but it is an imaginary respite. *It's a respite before destruction.* As for us [the Russian peoples], we have no respite at all. We are being strangled even more, with greater determination. . . .

Many Westerners, today, have espoused the idea that it is better to let the Communists take over their country than to have a lot of blood and destruction in resisting such a take-over. But Solzhenitsyn doesn't agree:

All my life and the life of my generation, the life of those who share my views, we all have one standpoint: better to be dead than a scoundrel. In this horrible expression of Bertrand Russell ("better Red than dead") there is an absence of all moral criteria.

Looked at from a short distance, these words allow one to manoeuvre and to continue to enjoy life. But from a long-term point of view, it will undoubtedly destroy those people who think like that. It is a terrible thought. . . .

Will the West heed Solzhenitsyn's warnings and quit making endless concessions to the Communists? Or will the Western world continue chasing the elusive goal of peace — looking for it at the end of the phantom rainbow of détente?

Know Your Enemy

Why will détente not work?

Simply because the Communists can never be trusted.

It is well known that, according to Communist philosophy, promises are like pie crust — made to be broken.

Before his death in 1924, *Lenin* laid down to his faithful followers a blueprint for *world conquest* by the aggressive forces of Communism. First, they planned to take over Eastern Europe. This they have already accomplished.

Secondly, they planned to take over Asia. With the fall of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to the Communists, they are well on their way to achieving their second goal.

Thirdly, they planned to encircle the United States which — according to their thinking — will fall like an overripe plum into their lap!

The Congressional Record of March 1, 1967 quotes Lenin as having made this prediction:

Capitalists the world over and their governments, will, in their desire to win the Soviet market, shut their eyes to the above-mentioned activities (subversion and espionage) and will thus be turned into blind

deaf-mutes. They will furnish credits, which will serve as a means of supporting the Communist parties in their countries, and, by supplying us with materials and techniques which are not available to us, will rebuild our war industry, which is essentially for our future attacks on our suppliers. In other words, they will be laboring to prepare their own *suicide!*

The crafty Lenin once said:

The soundest strategy in war is to postpone operations until the moral disintegration of the enemy renders the mortal blow possible and easy.

The Communists are cunning. They are clever. They are determined. They will stop short of nothing to attain their goal.

Dimitry Z. Manuilsky (who represented the Soviet Union while presiding over the Security Council of the UN in 1949) reportedly made the following statement at the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow:

War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack.... To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeois will have to be *put to sleep*. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular *peace* movements on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of *concessions*. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to *cooperate in their own destruction*. They will leap at another chance to be friends. *As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist!*

Some Alert Americans

Not all Americans have been lulled to sleep by Communist peace slogans and glib pronouncements of *détente* with the West.

U.S. General Thomas S. Power clearly understands Communist Russian motives and tactics:

Any pacts and agreements with the Soviets can be expected to be as meaningless and one-sided in the future as they have been in the past. Instruments of this kind are a favorite Soviet device to make their intended victims *relax their guard* and, therefore, tend to increase rather than decrease the threat of aggression. This applies, in particular, to proposed *disarmament* and similar agreements designed to weaken our deterrent posture.

General Nathan F. Twining had no faith in any appeasement policies of the U.S. government. General Twining once remarked:

If we keep trying to *appease* the Soviets with foolish offers and *concessions*, and keep reducing our military capabilities toward their level, and also keep tying our military technology into unrealistic cost-effectiveness straitjackets, I believe we can look forward to a major

crisis. . . . The hour is late, and the enemy is watching the clock.

According to Dr. Fred Schwarz, all of the Communist tactics are tantamount to acts of war:

. . . To the Communist, every negotiation is an act of war. Every delegation is an act of war. Every peace petition is an act of war. Every disarmament conference is an act of war.

Realizing that the Communists are bent on ruling the world, far-sighted Americans have wisely concluded that the best way to deal with the Communists is through *strength*.

America's Real Deterrence

General Thomas S. Power is a strong advocate of a strong America. Says General Power,

Deterrence is more than bombs and missiles and tanks and armies. Deterrence is a sound economy and prosperous industry. Deterrence is *scientific progress* and good schools. Deterrence is effective civil *defense* and the maintenance of law and order. Deterrence is the practice of religion and respect for the rights and convictions of others. Deterrence is a high standard of morals and wholesome family life. Deterrence is honesty in public office and freedom of the press. Deterrence is all these things and many more, for only a nation that is healthy and strong in every respect has the power and will to deter the forces from within and without that threatens its survival.

How right he is!

The Father of our Country, George Washington, was also a realist. He knew appeasement was folly. He told Congress, January 8, 1790: "*To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace. A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined*"

Washington realized that aggressive nations respect strength — not weakness! But the dismal record of appeasement and concession after concession in recent years should alarm us and strike a note of urgency in our national deliberations and considerations. Have we forgotten and ignored the wisdom of Washington? Do we turn a deaf ear to the cries of Solzhenitsyn? Have we turned away from those rock solid principles which made this nation great? Are we following the path of least resistance and going the way of ancient Rome?

Only time will tell.

"Fortress America"?

What course should U.S. foreign policy take? Should America retreat from her role as "world policeman" and withdraw into a defensive posture within the framework of a "Fortress America"?



Gerald Ford was sworn in as America's 38th President. Aware that "détente" was one-sided in Russia's favor, Ford gave orders to drop the use of the word from American foreign policy.

Or should the U.S. maintain, or possibly even extend, her worldwide commitments?

Right now, formal treaties solemnly bind America to defend about 42 countries around the globe. And in addition to these formal treaties binding us in a firm commitment to defend these nations, we have informal, but nonetheless deep, commitments to others, such as Israel. Furthermore, we are pledged to defend about one hundred and forty-five nations who are members of the U.N. — should circumstances call upon us to help maintain their national integrity.

For nearly thirty long years following World War II, the U.S. did her level best to serve as world policeman. Never in the history of the world has any nation taken on such a globe-girdling task. No country has ever voluntarily taken on such a crushing defensive burden.

But we need to ask if the U.S. really should try to be a world policeman? Or should we tend to our own fences, and let the other nations of the world settle their own internal squabbles?

In the wake of the Vietnam debacle, many Americans are giving serious thought to the matter of foreign policy. This is being hotly debated in Congress and throughout the nation. They ask: should the U.S. retreat from her position of maintaining a balance of power throughout the entire world? What should the U.S. do with the Panama Canal?

Giving up The Panama Canal

As Americans celebrated their 200th anniversary, U.S. foreign policy became one of the hottest issues in their presidential campaign. And the Panama Canal became one of the main foreign policy issues.

In 1903 the U.S. signed a treaty with Panama which granted the U.S. the right to build, maintain and defend the Panama Canal. But how long was the U.S. to have *sovereignty* over the canal? According to Articles II and III of the 1903 treaty with Panama, the United States was granted rights, powers and authority over the 647 square miles of Panamanian territory “in perpetuity.”

But does this really mean that the U.S. could *possess* the Panama Canal Zone *forever*? Many Panamanians, and even some Americans, want to indulge in semantic jiggery-pokery in order to hoodwink others into believing that “in perpetuity” doesn’t really, after all, mean *forever*. “In perpetuity” simply means “perpetual,” “everlasting” or “forever” — nothing more nor less.

Many Americans were pleasantly surprised to see Mr. Reagan come out boldly against American weak-kneed, pussy-footing foreign policy tactics. These patriotic Americans want to see the U.S. use firmness in

dealings with the Communists, the Panamanians and with all foreign nations.

The question is whether or not "in perpetuity" really means that the U.S. actually has *sovereign rights* over the Panama Canal Zone, or does she merely have the rights to use that territory. Reagan stated that Articles II and II of the 1903 treaty with Panama means that the Panama Canal Zone "is sovereign U.S. territory every bit the same as Alaska and all the States that were carved from the Louisiana Purchase." And many Americans agreed with him when he said: "We bought it, we paid for it, we built it and we intend to keep it."

Many now believe that if the U.S. relinquishes her sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone, then a great deal of instability would prevail in Central America. Even though U.S. government officials who would negotiate away U.S. rights over the Canal Zone attempt to give assurances that America would still be responsible for *defending* the Canal, Nonetheless, if the U.S. were to grant the Panamanians the right to assume actual sovereignty over the Canal Zone, she will lose real control. From that time forward, America will be standing on slippery banana peels in Central America.

"A Short Cut"

Just how vital is the Panama Canal to the U.S. — economically and militarily?

General George S. Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, states:

"The Panama Canal is of great military importance. While there are ships, such as aircraft carriers, that can't transit, nevertheless the canal does provide a short cut for the rest of the fleet." America's Deputy Defense Secretary William P. Clements, Jr., believes the U.S. needs security guarantees in any new treaty: "It is not so much the physical presence of U.S. troops in the Canal Zone itself that insures safety as it is the assurances that our armed forces could and would repel any foreign attack — and that right of assurance will not change under any proposed treaty."

A Nationalistic Fever

But America has already shown enough weakness in playing her hand to inspire further Panamanian nationalism.

General Omar Torrijos Herrera has already boasted: "I will lead a war of national liberation to regain our territory." Furthermore, he has declared: "The Canal's operations could come to a total halt if the United States Congress refuses to approve a new treaty more acceptable to Latin American countries."

General Herrera knows how to whip up nationalistic fervor among the Panamanians. On one occasion, he told a mass throng of about 200,000 people gathered in the public square in Panama City: "When all hope is lost of removing this colonial enclave, Omar Torrijos will come to this same square to tell you: 'Let us advance!' Omar Torrijos will accompany you, and the rifles of the *Guardia Nacional* (the Panamanian army) will be there to defend the integrity and dignity of the people."

During 1973, the Panama Canal Company, a U.S. government corporation, recorded its first financial loss in 59 years. In order to break even, the canal must average 38 ship transits per day. At present, however, the Panama Canal is averaging only 32. During 1976 it is expected that only about 13,000 will use it, whereas a record of 15,523 ships used the canal in 1970. The canal company estimates they will have lost about \$37 million from mid-1975 through September 1977.

A recent Library of Congress study concluded that the Panama Canal isn't, economically speaking, all that important to the U.S. "While the Panama Canal is indeed an important facility for world and U.S. commerce, it is not of overwhelming or critical economic importance," said the report.

In 1925 about half of all U.S. inter-coastal commercial cargo passed through the canal. Now, only about 2 percent goes through it. Overall, only about 1 percent of the total gross national product of the United States uses the canal.

Since the Panama Canal isn't of too much economic importance to America, today, then why do many Americans want to hang onto their right to possess the Canal Zone "in perpetuity"?

The Panama Canal still has considerable military importance to the United States. Furthermore, the 51-mile-long canal is a living symbol to many Americans of a golden era of American history.

The Panama Canal, however, is just one ticklish foreign policy question facing the U.S. in its role as world policeman.

A Crucial Question

Retroactively, and rather belatedly, many Americans are now asking whether, in the first place, America should ever have tried to police the whole world. Even to this day, with binding formal treaties between the U.S. and about 42 different nations, America is heavily over-extended. In fact, we need to ask a yet more fundamental question, whether any country — regardless of its economic or military strength — should accept the mantle of world policeman?

Even more crucial is the question: *Can* any nation effectively serve as policeman to the whole world?

Many, both in the U.S. and abroad, are now beginning to realize that no nation will ever be able effectively to take on this herculean task. For any country to successfully fulfill the role of world peace keeper, requires Messiah-like powers, which, quite frankly, even America does not possess. The U.S. simply isn't rich and powerful enough — or wise enough — to usher in a messianic era of peace and prosperity throughout the whole world.

In 1888, Benjamin Harrison was elected President of the United States. During that same year he said: "*We Americans have no commission from God to police the world!*"

Perhaps many Americans are just now beginning to realize the real truth of that statement. The U.S. can in many ways help needy nations around the world. We can assist them in business, economics, technology and in many other ways. But there is a limit as to how far our nation can or should go — when it comes to interfering in the internal political squabbles of other countries.

Would not America have been far wiser, following World War II, to have built up Europe and Japan, and to have helped those nations who were both willing and able to help themselves, without letting herself become policeman to the entire world?

Would it have been far better had the U.S. not let herself become involved in the political squabbles of far-off nations in Asia who really didn't know the difference between Communism and Democracy? Wouldn't it have been far wiser for our nation to have followed the sage advice of Washington and Jefferson — and to have avoided "entangling alliances" with so many nations around the earth?

President Washington counselled: "It is our true policy to steer clear of *permanent alliances* with any portion of the foreign world... (but) we may trust to *temporary alliances* for extra-ordinary emergencies."

But, once we were committed to the policy of waging an active war in Korea and Vietnam, wouldn't it have been far wiser to have stopped short of nothing but *victory*? Was it necessary for the U.S. to reach a humiliating stalemate in Korea? If we hadn't tied the hands of our military — when we had the Communists pushed right up to China — couldn't we actually have won that war?

The same could be said for Vietnam. Why didn't we go all out to win that war — if we really believed it was a "just war" and that an American military presence was justified? Why did we sacrifice nearly 57,000 lives needlessly? Why did American political and military weakness hand Vietnam over to the Communists? And, more importantly, will America let herself be drawn into other wars in which she lacks even the willpower to declare war on her enemies? Vietnam was the first defeat in America's long, proud history. But unless the weak-kneed,

timid approach of American political and military leaders can be stiffened, will the U. S. have to watch as more countries are taken over by Communism?

Only "Complete Victory"

America needs to heed the prudent advice of two of its greatest sons — Teddy Roosevelt and Douglas MacArthur. In 1917, Teddy Roosevelt said:

The only proper rule is never to fight at all if you can honorably avoid it, but never under any circumstances to fight in a half-hearted way. When peace comes it must be the peace of complete *victory*.

And in 1951, General Douglas A. MacArthur counselled:

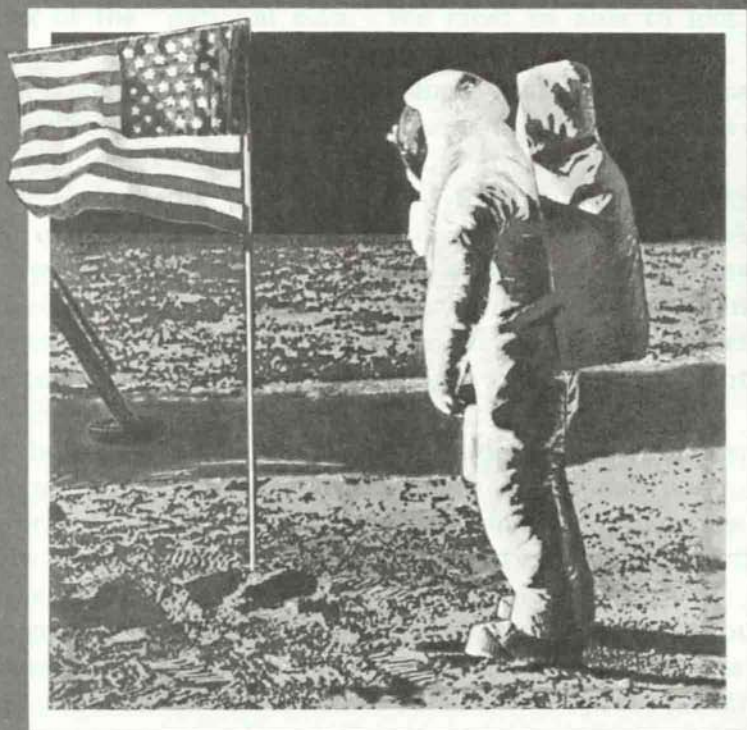
Once war is forced upon us, there is no other alternative than to apply every available means to bring it to a swift end. War's very object is *victory* — not prolonged indecision. In war, indeed, there can be no substitute for *victory*.

The road to true world peace is fraught with many pitfalls. America, and all the world — whether we like it or not — is doomed to live under the uncertainties of a nuclear threat which could, at any moment, mushroom into a horrifying Third World War. The next world war will involve such terrifying weapons that none of us even wants to think about the awful consequences.

America's future presidents will continue to face the threat of Communism. Although they must realize, on the one hand, that America cannot be the "world's policeman," they must also possess the moral fiber and courage to stand firm and resolute in the struggle against Communism.

BOOK V

**AMERICA-
TODAY AND
TOMORROW**



America's Lost Virginity

What is the true condition of America today? Is the real state of the union good — or bad? Is the U.S. still at the pinnacle of economic and military power, or has she already begun to slip from her position of world dominance?

America's "Warts"

In order to get a true picture of America today, we must look at both sides of the "national coin." We must be able to look modern America squarely in the face — viewing not only her beauty, strength and noble traits of character and her many notable achievements, but we also need to look at her "warts" — those unpleasant aspects of a rich, powerful, somewhat ungrateful America.

As we look at the "seamy side" of the United States, let us not accept or espouse an attitude of "doom and gloom" toward America's future, even though the American ship of state is drifting toward the rocky shore of certain disaster and destruction unless she alters course! The next two hundred years of these United States can be much greater than the past two centuries — if we choose and follow the right path — never veering to the right or left!

But the option is squarely on the shoulders of the American people. This nation can choose to follow the path of law and order, of hard, honest work, of morality and deep gratitude for all our blessings — or we can follow the opposite course — and eventually lose everything, including the very liberties which we cherish so highly!

This great American nation is, in many ways, a polluted country. In many areas of the U.S. the very air we breathe is polluted. So is much of our water and food. Rachel Carson's book, *Silent Spring* (1962) sparked a national awareness to the growing insecticide pollution of America's streams, rivers, lakes, the farmlands, food, and almost everything we touch today.

Greedy Americans, clutching desperately after the "Almighty Dollar," have ravished and polluted this Fair Land until it would barely be recognizable to our forefathers — should they be alive today.

How do other nations view America today? One view of America is that of a rich, affluent Uncle Sam, standing knee-deep in garbage while sending the world's first men to romp on the moon.

America's unprecedented affluence, and the resultant pollution of their land, water and the very air they breathe, is only part of the story. Since the dawn of history, a surfeit of material things has generally tended to corrupt and debase its recipients.

America is no exception. Our glut of material things, plus our abandonment of the old moral values of our forefathers, is certainly weakening the entire fabric of our nation, including the all-important family life of our peoples.

Ben J. Wattenberg made a penetrating observation in his informative book, *The Real America*:

There is the theory of Lost National Virginity. America, so the argument goes, is a young nation — but not as young and *innocent* as it once was. Following World War II, America became the dominant power in the world. With that power, so goes the theory, came the inevitable corruption and *arrogance of power*. Americans understand that they themselves, as individuals, are far from perfect. They may *cheat* once in a while on their income tax, maybe they cut a corner or two in business life. But what Americans are prepared to shrug off in their personal lives, they find deeply disquieting in national affairs. Add *Vietnam* to the *Bay of Pigs*, add *Watergate* to *My Lai* — and mass disillusionment and disenchantment are the result. *Virginal no longer*, America has lost the special status it once held in the eyes of the rest of the world and, sadly, in its own eyes as well.

Physically speaking, much of America's once-virgin land has been despoiled, polluted, ravaged.

But worst of all is the *mind pollution* which adversely affects the average American today. The typical American views about 11 films per year, but more importantly, he spends about three and one-half hours per day in front of his TV set, while into his mind is funnelled a constant stream of sex, violence, crime and other forms of mind pollution. It is impossible to overestimate the harmful effects of this type of pollution on the mind of the average American — especially on the minds of our impressionable youths.

Let us examine some of our nation's modern faults.

Our Sick, Sick Nation

One of America's most pressing problems is that of the health of the nation. How can America cope with her alarming increase of cancer and other diseases?

As Americans have become affluent, glutted with a surfeit of material things — we have also become complacent, haughty, and ungrateful.

And our overabundance has often led to excesses, which in turn has contributed to sickness and disease.

With the world's highest standard of living (with thousands of factories belching forth smoke and refuse), the very *air* we breathe, the *water* we drink, and the very *food* we eat has become more polluted with ever-increasing amounts of additives, colorings, preservatives.

And even though Americans are the best-clothed and best-fed people on earth, nonetheless many are undernourished because of eating "foodless" foods — foods which have been robbed of their natural food components. As an example: because of the profit motive, the food processing industry removes the life-giving germ from wheat, and the mineral-rich bran — and sells us the white, starchy part of the grain of wheat.

What is the result of our poor diet, lack of exercise, baleful habit of smoking, excessive consumption of alcohol and the constant mental strain under which the average American lives? The result of this way of life is an avalanche of sickness.

Shocking Health Statistics

What is the real state of America's health — both physically and mentally?

The state of America's health is truly staggering. In 1973, Americans spent over \$94 billion on health care. And still more was spent during '74, '75 and '76.

Notice this quote from *Newsweek*, March 29, 1976: "Many health experts agree that a substantial number of the nearly 20 million hysterectomies, tonsillectomies and other nonemergency operations performed in the U.S. each year are probably unnecessary — and might have been avoided if the patient had sought a second opinion before going under the knife

"... And a Congressional committee earlier this year estimated that more than 2 million of the elective operations performed in 1974 were not only unnecessary — but also killed about 12,000 patients and cost nearly \$4 billion."

About half of the U.S. population is afflicted with some chronic disease. According to Dr. Paul Dudley White, physician to the late President Eisenhower, "The United States is one of the most unhealthy countries in the world." And according to Dr. Herbert Ratner, "America is the most over-medicated, most overoperated and the most over-inoculated country in the world. It is also the most anxiety ridden country with regard to health."

Notice these shocking statistics: About 25 million Americans have some kind of heart disease, and over a million die annually from cardiovascular diseases.

Over a third of a million (about 350,000) people die each year from cancer, and an estimated 50 million Americans now living are destined to contract this dreadful disease. About one in four Americans will contract cancer sometime in his lifetime.

Another 22 million are afflicted by an allergic disease. Mental illness has struck down 19 million! Arthritis has crippled 17 million, and 15 million Americans have gallstones.

Fourteen million are suffering from emphysema. Twelve million are afflicted with osteoporosis (weak bones), and six million are stone deaf. Another five million suffer from ulcers.

And these are only a few of the literally hundreds of diseases which Americans are suffering from right this very moment. As America celebrated her 200-year birthday, the state of her mental and physical health was "not good."

Even though *heart disease* is the number one killer, even more dreaded is omnipresent cancer. When a heart attack or a stroke strikes down a victim, it usually does so with little or no warning, and the end result is not necessarily fatal. But when cancer strikes, there is the awful near certainty that in most instances there will not only be many months or years of pain, suffering and expensive treatments, but that it will usually claim the life of its victim.

Every year, 22,000 Americans commit suicide. In the 15-19 year age group, suicide is the number three cause of deaths.

Two million Americans consult a doctor every day. Thirty million spend time in a hospital each year. And hospital costs in all categories (including insurance costs of doctors and patients) are soaring astronomically. In fact, Americans have got to the place where millions literally *can't afford* to have a serious illness.

In 1974, over \$100 billion was spent on health and medicine by Americans — about \$500.00 for each man, woman and child. The figures for 1975 and 1976 are considerably higher.

Keys to Radiant Health

Many sobering facts of vital interest to Americans are brought out in an interesting and informative book, *The Keys to Radiant Health*, by William F. Dankenbring. In his book, William Dankenbring asserts that we have become a nation of disease and anxiety. Medicine, for all its brilliant technology, has yet to address itself to the *prevention* of illness, the maintenance of good health.

Mr. Dankenbring points out that not only is our physical health in jeopardy, but our mental and moral health is also on the rocks of disaster. He shows that between 2-5 million Americans contract VD each year — that sexual immorality is the cause of our number one preventable communicable disease.

Despite all the warnings, the majority of Americans continue to indulge themselves in the potentially harmful pleasures that society provides. They are apparently content to take the *perils* along with the *pleasures*. "Right now we've decided that this is the way we want to *live* and *die*," asserts Dr. David Baltimore, a 1975 Nobel Prize winner for basic cancer research. "*And that's the real challenge in American health today.*"

How many American smokers have the courage and the strength of character to quit smoking? This noxious and expensive habit took the lives of 300,000 Americans in 1975! How many Americans who have a problem of drinking excessively will have the courage and character to quit doing those things which may cause their lives to be shortened — needlessly?

America's real health challenge: Will the people of these United States begin living balanced, moderate lives? Or will they continue their self-indulgent, lacking-in-exercise, self-polluted lives, and shorten their lives needlessly?

But physical health pollution is only one of the twin dangers to society. The other is *moral health pollution*.

America's Lost Virginity

Surely something is drastically wrong with the morals of a nation when the man who occupies its highest elective office — the Presidency — can give free rein to his amorous desires in such a way as to scandalize the nation.

During America's Bicentennial, numerous reports, articles and books concerning the sexual activities of various presidents have received widespread circulation.

It is now well known that Franklin Roosevelt had a mistress while he served in the White House. Even more titillating to the press, however, is the shocking accounts of a recent President and his many female companions.

Conservative *Time* magazine ran an article in which it discussed some of the President's escapades.

After mentioning several of his well-known movie actress friends — the article declared:

Sources familiar with the White House contend that the President's liaisons were mostly with relatively unknown young women. Most often cited are two women who displayed few secretarial skills but worked on his staff. . . .

They usually were assigned quarters near the President and were

code-named 'Fiddle' and 'Faddle' by the Secret Service.

It was apparently not uncommon for some of the President's closest male friends to send willing young women to the White House. . . . Secret Service agents would pass such casual women under presidential instructions, although they worried about it. More frequent visitors, including a number of airline stewardesses, underwent full Secret Service investigations.

Traphes Bryant served as an electrician and kennel-keeper at the White House during the Truman-to-Nixon administrations. According to Bryant, author of *Dog Days at the White House*, the housekeeping staff at the White House engaged in a "conspiracy of silence" to keep the President's trysts a secret. This President would sometimes lounge naked around the White House swimming pool when his wife was away, and women would arrive, undress, and join him.

One day while on duty, Bryant said:

"Just as the elevator door opened, a naked blonde office girl ran through the hall between the second-floor kitchen and the door leading to the West Hall. There was nothing to do but to get out fast and push the basement buttons."

Bryant tells us that the staff always scurried about after a woman had visited the President to retrieve telltale hairpins. One day, however, his wife allegedly found a woman's undergarment tucked into a pillow slip. She is quoted as having said calmly to her husband: "Would you please shop around and see who these belong to? They're not my size."

Columnist Earl Wilson, in his book *Show Business Laid Bare*, said the President kept a stable of actresses, secretaries, models and stewardesses. His sexual score card, Wilson claims, ran into the hundreds because women found him irresistible.

Was the President at all ashamed of his trysts? Did he blush at the thought that others might learn of his example of immoral conduct?

The President's "secret harem" may have enhanced his image in the eyes of ex-mobsters, advocates of the "new morality," and the morally bankrupt, but there are still many millions in this land who have not abandoned all sense of right and wrong. Those who still cling to the sound principles of "morality" are both embarrassed and saddened to be told that their President set such an example of shameful conduct while holding the highest office in the land!

Sex and Politics

The extent of immorality among America's top leaders is so widespread as to be rather well known. The *Los Angeles Times*, May 14,

1976, disclosed that a study of high-priced prostitutes showed that 60% of their clients are political leaders or powerful corporate chieftains who usually prefer "kinky" sex. A report delivered to the American Psychiatric Association declared that public figures frequently seek flagellation while they are held in bondage, and indulge in fetishism, exhibition and voyeurism.

The prestigious newspaper reported: "The study was conducted by two assistant psychiatry professors at the New York Medical College. They say their survey of elite prostitutes determined that corporate executives, or 'power broker,' and high-ranking federal, state and local officials make up a *majority* of the call girls' customers."

How involved are high-ranking politicians in this national scandal which deeply afflicts our nation?

Doctors Samuel S. Janus and Barbara Bess reported that, according to their survey, politicians tend to become habitual customers, unlike most other clients of these ladies of the evening. The study says the politicians involved were congressmen, federal and state judges, governors, state legislators, mayors, city councilmen and district attorneys.

This widespread, high-level patronage of "elite prostitutes" is just one more lamentable indication of America's downward moral plunge.

Sex scandals in politics crop up repeatedly. Who will soon forget the celebrated liaison between Wilbur Mills, former House Ways and Means Chairman, and stripper Fanne Foxe, the "Argentina Firecracker" and "Tidal Basin Bombshell"?

Who will soon forget the equally titillating scandal involving Congressman Wayne Hays and Elizabeth Ray, whom he employed as a \$14,000-a-year committee clerk? Ray, who claims she can neither type nor file, insisted she was hired solely to be Hays' mistress and for sexual purposes. After denying the charges at first, Hays later admitted the affair and was forced to resign his powerful office as chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and Administration Committee.

The sex scandal grew as Ray claimed she had actual tape recordings of love making with over a dozen Congressmen and Senators, and who threatened to spill the secrets to the FBI.

One can only wonder where the chain of sexual escapades would end? What has happened to morality, virtue, and old-fashioned marital faithfulness?

America's Moral Decline

In his Farewell Address to the nation in September, 1796, the Father of our country told his fellow Americans that the two "great

pillars of human happiness” are “religion and morality.” And, said Washington, “these *firmest props* of the duties of men and citizens” lead a nation to “political prosperity.”

Historians have oft noted that when any nation or empire (such as the Roman Empire) began experiencing a serious *moral* and *spiritual decline* — then that nation was on its way to total eclipse.

Judging by this criteria, one is led to ask: Is America headed the way of the ancient empires of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Greece and Rome?

What is at the very heart of America’s problems of crime and lawlessness, immorality, mental and physical illnesses and her rapidly declining position as a world power?

James R. Schlesinger, former Secretary of Defense, put his finger on America’s number one problem when he said: “The *real problem* we face is what is happening to the *moral stamina* of the West. . . .”

During an interview in the summer of ’75 he pinpointed America’s real problem:

So I think that our basic problem as a nation is not our physical strength or our stance. It is a question of reviving the underlying *moral stamina* and the internal fiber of this nation, as well as of other free-world nations.

Are there any indices by which Americans can judge the moral or spiritual condition of their nation?

An accurate index of a nation’s morality (or lack of it) can usually be found in its attitudes, teachings and practices concerning marriage, sex and family life.

It is common knowledge that when a nation’s *homes* begin to fall apart — then such an unfortunate country is in serious trouble. And America’s homes are crumbling.

Look at the way divorce has climbed steadily since 1962:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Rate per 1,000 Population</i>
1962	413,000	2.2
1963	428,000	2.3
1964	450,000	2.4
1965	479,000	2.5
1966		

499,000	2.5
1967	
523,000	2.6
1968	
584,000	2.9
1969	
639,000	3.2
1970	
708,000	3.5
1971	
773,000	3.7
1972	
845,000	4.1
1973	
915,000	4.4
1974	
970,000	4.6
1975	
1,026,000	5.8

These figures clearly show that the divorce rate in the U.S. has more than doubled in the past decade. It has often been said that in one way or another divorce touches every third home in America today. And in Los Angeles, the divorce capital of the nation, every third marriage ends in divorce.

The steady but shocking rise in divorce in America has brought with it a mountain of woe and suffering. When a couple go through the emotional wringer of getting a divorce, they naturally suffer a great deal of mental and emotional anguish.

But worst of all is the suffering experienced by the defenseless children — especially young children. The scars left from a traumatic divorce will in many cases never be erased from the child's mind — even when he reaches adulthood.

Furthermore, according to actual statistics, those children who come from broken homes are themselves more apt to end up getting divorces when they get married — thus perpetuating a never-ending circle of divorce and broken homes.

Children were intended to have the love, teaching, encouragement and example of *both* parents — not just one. When divorce splits open a home, it is always a *tragedy* — regardless of who may be at fault.

What are some of the contributory causes of skyrocketing divorce in the United States? New easy divorce laws, availability of free legal services, the increasing acceptance of divorce as a social phenomenon,

and the women's liberation movement coupled with an ever-increasing number of working wives.

America's Attitude Toward Sex

One of the surest indications of a nation's moral decline is revealed in its attitudes toward sex. No sane theologian, psychologist or teacher would advocate a return to the repressive Victorian concepts of sex and morality. During the Victorian era, many did have warped ideas regarding sex. Many Victorians even looked upon the natural use of sex in marriage as a necessary evil by which the world's population was sustained and augmented. Their concept of sex and marriage was not unlike that of some of the early Church Fathers.

Here is what the famed historian Edward Gibbon had to say concerning certain extreme beliefs regarding sex which were adopted by the "Church fathers" in the centuries immediately following the death of the apostles.

The *chaste severity of the fathers* in whatever related to the commerce of the *two sexes* flowed from the same principle — their abhorrence of every enjoyment which might gratify the sensual and degrade the spiritual nature of man. It was their favourite opinion, that if Adam had preserved his obedience to the Creator, he would have lived forever in a state of *virgin purity*, and that some harmless mode of vegetation might have peopled paradise with a race of innocent and immortal beings. The use of marriage was *permitted* only to his fallen posterity, as a necessary expedient to continue the human species, and as a restraint, however imperfect, on the natural licentiousness of desire. The hesitation of the orthodox causists on this interesting subject betrays the perplexity of men unwilling to approve an institution (of marriage) which they were compelled to tolerate. . . .

Some of the Gnostics even totally rejected the use of marriage.

But today all sex restraints have been thrown to the winds. Most anything goes! The bookstores and newsstands have been deluged with an avalanche of books on sex — all the way from raw pornography to various books professing to be "straight." Many of today's books on sex actually encourage every kind of weird, kinky sex practice.

Redbook magazine revealed some interesting facts regarding sexual attitudes and practices in the United States. This magazine pointed out that "strongly religious" women report more sexual fulfillment in marriage than do "fairly religious" women. And at the very bottom of the happiness scale, according to this issue of *Redbook* magazine, are the non-religious women.

The survey found that 80% of the women questioned and 90% of those under 25 report having had *premarital intercourse*. Nearly all women (86%) have experienced oral sex. Close to one-third of all married women, and half of those who have jobs have had extramarital affairs.

Less than 4% have participated in mate swapping, but 24% say they would like to. While only 12% of the women would object to a son's having premarital intercourse, 24% would oppose it for their daughters.

Redbook took a survey of the sexual pleasures and preferences of American women, to which 100,000 readers responded. One of the most fascinating and unexpected findings was the intimate connection between sex and religion. The report indicated that the religious female is the most sexually satisfied, the most sexually active and the most orgasmic woman in the country.

The old, stereotyped image of the tight-lipped, narrow-minded, prudish religious woman probably has always been a false one. *Redbook* also points out that many of those who have sought "sexual liberation" have ended up in confusion.

The Gay Generation

It is clear that the Victorian prudishness of past generations has vanished from America. But the "sex" pendulum has swung to the opposite extreme. Now, just about anything goes!

There are an estimated *five million homosexuals* in the United States today. But homosexuals themselves estimate their number to be about *20 million!*

A homosexual is credited with having saved the life of President Ford. When the President visited San Francisco in the autumn of 1975, Oliver Sipple knocked aside Sara Jane Moore's gun hand, thereby possibly saving Gerald Ford's life. Oliver Sipple became an instant hero — and eventually a victim — when it was discovered that he was a homosexual.

The gay movement is today gaining ground throughout America. Homosexuals are pressing for recognition — trying to get their sexual life style legalized so that they can serve without molestation in the police forces of the nation, in the armed forces, or in government positions. Actually, many homosexuals have already been serving in those offices.

But in spite of their intensive campaign to achieve legal and social acceptability in the U.S., homosexuals are still looked upon by the average American as being outside the norms of society. It is still generally considered shameful to be a homosexual, or to have gay friends or relatives. For these and other reasons, many still shun the fellowship of known homosexuals.

Since America is still a very "religious" nation (with about 98% believing in God — according to a 1968 Gallup Poll) there is still enough religious teaching against homosexuality to cause large numbers to shun this unnatural sex practice. Many still believe the sexual lewdness

(including homosexuality) of Sodom and Gomorrah are fit reminders to any city, or nation, which lets itself descend into the cesspool of kinky, weird sex.

Unfortunately, however, there are increasing numbers of Americans who are willing to excuse or condone homosexual acts between consenting adults. Many are agitating to get America to follow the example of Britain and make homosexual acts between consenting adults legal in the United States. It would appear, however, that it will be many years before some of the States adopt such a legal code toward homosexual conduct.

Throughout the history of the world, female prostitution has been commonplace. It has in fact been called the world's oldest profession. But a new approach to this profession is emerging in America. Not only are there female prostitutes or "hookers," but now we have male hookers as well. But why? Women now also demand the right to seek out male prostitutes. *Coronet* magazine featured an article on this growing problem in America entitled "Male Hookers."

Coronet visits a bordello (brothel) where the customers are "Janes" and the prostitutes are men. . . .

Thanks to Women's lib and the sexual revolution, and despite inflation and tight economy, male heterosexual hooking is booming and similar bordellos are springing up all over the country to serve typical American housewives, playgirls, divorcees, girls next door and affluent women with time on their hands.

Why would women seek out male houses of prostitution? The *Coronet* article mentions one woman who gave as her excuse the following:

"I'm married and have two kids. I couldn't afford a scandal."

Another woman said: "I think women ought to demand an 'other man' in our lives too . . ."

Widespread Perversion

But the sad fact is that there are literally millions of people in these United States who are totally "bent out of shape." Many will try anything and the more far out or "kinky" it is the better. They constantly seek more bizarre ways of titilating the five senses: Weird music, mind-destroying drugs, wild orgiastic, perverted sex — or anything which will enable them to let their minds wallow in the lowest emotional and spiritual gutter they can find. That's the kind of moral and spiritual climate which we see, like a huge spiritual cancer, eating away at the very vitals of this nation. Whether or not we wish to acknowledge it, America is going the way of ancient Rome.

Any tourist who has visited the ruins of the ancient Roman city of

Pompeii will remember some of the vivid scenes and accounts of the perversions which were common-place before Mt. Vesuvius erupted and covered that wicked city with a deadly cloud of volcanic ash.

Before the destruction of Pompeii, the inhabitants of the city had chisled representations of the male sex symbol (the phallus) into the stones of the streets. Those phallic symbols pointed fornicators and adulterers in the direction of the prostitutes' houses.

America's Porno Plague

As America celebrated her 200th birthday, she was suffering from one of the worst pornography plagues ever to strike any nation.

In city after city across this nation, there are endless sex-book stalls, theaters and 8-mm. peep shows for voyeurs, sexual encounter centers and massage parlors — as well as topless (and even bottomless) restaurants and bars. In Houston, Texas, it is even possible to procure a topless chauffeur who will whisk tourists in a black Cadillac from downtown hotels to a back room porno parlor. Ex-prostitute Xaviera Hollander has sold nine million copies of her paperbacks. Some 780 American theaters, including many elegant first-run houses, show X-rated movies 52 weeks a year.

Porno — a Symptom of Decay

Time magazine reported on pornography in America:

America is deep into its Age of Porn. The old narrow Puritism is passing, and few mourn it. But the feeling of relief is mixed with growing unease and doubt: How will the current avalanche of porn change America? Many who oppose censorship now wonder if the mounting taste for porn is a symptom of decay, or corrosive boredom, of withdrawal from social concern for obsessive personal pleasures. Even those who argue that it is not harmful to the user, and that people ought to be free to do what they please in private, have begun to fear that the porn plague is in fact invading the privacy of those who want no part of it.

Time continues:

By any definition, porn has mushroomed in the past decade from a marginal underground cottage industry into the open, aggressive \$2 billion-a-year, crime-ridden growth enterprise. Its once powerful foes — the churches and their antivice allies — are now in retreat if not totally routed. Despite flurries of police busts, sporadic prosecutions and a growing sense of unease among many Americans about the gross new world in which they find themselves, most of the traditional barriers to porn are now down. The laws against pornography are uncertain, full of loopholes; harassed law-enforcement officials usually have neither the

will, the funds nor the community backing to wage an effective war on pornography; juries will often not convict. Pornography, says Raunch King Al Goldstein, publisher of *Screw* magazine, is becoming "part of the mainstream of American life."

What Is Obscenity?

In 1966, the liberal Warren Court restricted the definition of obscenity to that which was "utterly without redeeming social value." By including "utterly" in the definition, the floodgates of pornography were opened wide. Both clergymen and libertarians who appealed to the First Amendment testified at obscenity trials that it was possible for them to detect a trace of social value in almost any erotica.

In 1973, the Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Burger, tried to reverse the porn tide, and at the same time, take Justices out of the business of having to review personally all of the many pornography cases which were in dispute. The Supreme Court, by a 5-to-4 ruling, declared that local juries would have to decide what offended decent standards of taste, and give convictions if they found that a work, "taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value."

The Supreme Court decision caused a flurry of editorial changes.

The day after the decision, the office walls of *Penthouse* magazine were covered with x-ed out galleys of hastily killed articles, including one that explored a then new frontier of slick paper porn: how to make love to your dog. The rest of the spectator-sex industry pulled back too, fearing simultaneous prosecutions in hundreds of different localities with varying "community standards."

In San Francisco, the porn capital of America, prosecutors have given up. Attorney Peter Keane believes not even as foul a film as *Animal Lover* would nowadays be judged obscene by a San Francisco jury.

Debut of Porn Films

Jim Mitchell first tried his hand at making black-and-white porn films in 1967 — nearly ten years ago — using a borrowed 8-mm. camera and young men and women willing to copulate on screen for a few dollars a day. Eventually, he and his younger brother hit the financial jackpot with *Behind the Green Door* which cost about \$45,000 to produce, but grosses them nearly \$1 million. The Mitchell brothers (now incorporated as Mitchell Brothers Film Group) are considered the potentates of porn, operate ten theaters in California and produced the most expensive porn film ever made, the \$500,000 *Sodom and Gomorrah*.

Unquestionably there is "big money" in the porn industry, and many have been both willing and able to cash in on the lecherous appetites of Americans. Ventriloquist Ted Marche, 53, ten years ago opened a small dildo factory in North Hollywood. Since then, he and his son Steven, 27, have sold 4,975,000 dildos. Presently, Marche Manufacturing turns out 350 different sexual products. Sales have risen about 28% each year since 1970. Claims Steven Marche: "These toys have saved more marriages than all the preachers in the world."

The Mafia Moves In

Since the porn business is very lucrative, one would quite naturally expect organized crime to move in and take control of the industry. And that is exactly what has happened.

Organized crime, says one Washington official, now dominates the traditional porn industry, massage parlors, topless bars and strip joints. It is a growing presence in porno films as well. The Supreme Court's community-standards ruling in 1973 gave the mob its first real foothold, as a prime distributor of porno films.

The extent to which the filthy-minded purveyors of pornography will go to make and sell their prurient merchandise is scarcely believable.

Says *Time* magazine:

But now porn-film makers are breaking away from the standard formula. . . . One current porn film, *Sweet Movie*, features a striptease for children, intercourse plus murder on a bed of sugar, grisly exhumations and a band of rollicking adults who vomit, defecate and urinate on one another to the strains of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. The director, Dusan Madavejev, professes to see the film as socially beneficial. Says he: "It is meant to have a lasting aphrodisiac effect and generally tone up to orgasm."

There is no doubt that such a debauched film will have a lasting effect on anyone who views it. Such foul films are utterly decadent, debased and destructive to the foundations of society and morality. Who can deny that we appear to be going the same path as ancient Rome?

The sex taboo currently under the strongest assault is sadomasochism — sexual pleasure derived from dominating and inflicting pain on a partner or from being hurt. In X-rated movies, sadomasochism is in.

In recent months sex magazines have run large pictorial spreads on bondage: "Bondage is where the action is," a *Playboy* editor declared.

What are the effects of the new porno binge? Says *Time* magazine:

Some who have defended porn are now queasy about the new sex-cum-violence trend. Boston Psychiatrist Otto Marx, who has testified in court in defense of *Deep Throat* and other hard-core films, draws the line

at S-M films like *The Story of O*. Says he: "It is where this kind of mental and physical violence is being done in the context of sex that I begin to worry." Many are drawing the line at *Snuff*, a wretched soft-core movie in which a woman is eviscerated and sawed to pieces by a sadistic gang leader apparently modeled on Charles Manson . . .

Natalie Shainess, a Manhattan psychoanalyst, fears the new acceptability of pornography has convinced many of her young male patients that their perverse compulsions are not really problems at all. As a result, they do nothing to deal with their compulsions. According to Anthropologist Edgar Gregersen, "A great many people with S-M tendencies now conceptualize themselves as S-M people. This has a very great consequence. They are not so willing to change!"

Porno and Ancient Rome

Many Americans are convinced that there is a correlation between pornography and the decline of society. The historical evidence for making such a connection is prodigious. Pornography was clearly associated with the decline of ancient Rome.

"Yet it is difficult to escape the suspicion," admits *Time* magazine, "especially in societies with more or less Judeo-Christian moral standards, that pornography, so often not really erotic but merely dehumanizing, can be a symptom of *social disorder* . . ."

Will Americans continue to descend further and further into the porno gutter — and go the way of ancient Rome? Or will they regain their moral sense and help their porno-infected fellow Americans out of the filthy morass of crass, dehumanizing pornography? If America continues down her present immoral road, she — like ancient Rome — will dissipate her moral strength and spiritual fibre, and will be overcome by more vigorous, aggressive, and stronger nations.

The Watergate Syndrome

George Washington, in his Farewell Address to the nation, counseled: "I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs that *honesty is always the best policy.*"

But, apparently, many modern Americans either don't agree with Washington — or else they have turned a deaf ear to his wise counsel.

At all levels of government, as well as in business and industry, chicanery, corruption and outright dishonesty sometimes seem to be the common rule — rather than the exception.

Corruption in Government

All too often, the news media reports additional instances of bribery, corruption or misconduct by the elected or appointed officials of the Federal, state or local governments. A recent instance of a bad example set by an elected official was that of the Vice President of the United States under President Nixon.

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew had campaigned during his 1968 vice presidential campaign on a tough "law-and-order" platform. And as Vice President, he bitterly attacked opponents of the war in Vietnam. They were accused of being disloyal to America. Agnew also criticized intellectuals and college students for questioning and attacking traditional values. He frequently charged the news media of biased news coverage.

With such professed *morality*, the American people were deeply shocked to learn of the forced resignation of the Vice President on October 10, 1973.

But, why did Vice President Agnew resign?

A Justice Department investigation uncovered clear evidence of corruption during his years in Maryland politics. (Spiro T. Agnew had been Governor of Maryland before being chosen as Vice President.) But it was not just past misdeeds which forced his resignation. It was his alleged acceptance of bribes which overlapped with his tenure as Vice President that proved so damaging to him. Spiro Agnew also pleaded no contest to the charge of Federal income tax evasion. For those misdeeds, Agnew was fined \$10,000 and sentenced to three years' probation by the Maryland court of appeals.

This forced resignation of Richard Nixon's Vice President began to shake the confidence of the American people in the Nixon administration. But more damaging scandals were yet to be uncovered — scandals which would shock the whole nation, and would also eventually result in the forced resignation of the President himself.

Soon after Mr. Nixon's reelection in 1972, his popularity plummeted alarmingly.

Widespread public criticism began to be voiced concerning the large amount of government money spent on President Nixon's private residences.

Mr. Nixon's troubles were just beginning. Further public suspicion and dissatisfaction surfaced when the Internal Revenue Service discovered that President Nixon's donation of his presidential papers to the Federal government (which had been used as a deduction on his Federal income tax returns) were made *after* a law went into effect disallowing such deductions.

These revelations, plus mushrooming reports concerning the Watergate scandal, caused many public officials and private citizens to begin questioning Nixon's fitness to remain in the high office of Chief Executive of the United States. Hints of *impeachment* were even beginning to surface.

What Led up to Watergate

Most Americans still don't fully realize what it was that led the Nixon Administration to become so deeply mired in the sordid Watergate affair.

What was the national climate which gave rise to Watergate? What led so many high Government officials into a mentality which resulted in the Watergate break-in, bugging and subsequent coverup?

The excesses committed by high Government officials which led to Watergate were at least in part evoked (if not provoked) by extremist groups in the U.S. which threatened to tear America apart in the 60s. Those extremist groups could have brought about the destruction of the nation — had something not been done to counter them.

President Nixon, in his mid-August 1974 address to the nation, spoke of the reasoning of extremists who placed themselves above the law. He said: "It became fashionable in the 1960s, as individuals and groups increasingly asserted the right to take the law into their own hands, insisting that their purposes represented a higher morality."

Mr. Nixon also pointed out that at that time those who wanted to operate "within the law" and who insisted on the "old restraints" were maligned and accused of being "reactionaries."

Then the President warned the nation just where such a permissive,

anti-establishment attitude was taking it. "That same attitude," said the President, "brought a rising spiral of violence and fear, of riots and arson and bombings, all in the name of peace and in the name of justice Serious people raised serious questions about whether we could survive as a free democracy."

Furthermore, vital national-security leaks began to occur — thereby further imperiling the nation. Mr. Nixon mentioned his "efforts to stop massive leaks of vital diplomatic and military secrets." According to the President, it was in the midst of this climate of fear, violence, arson, bombings, riots and serious security leaks that certain Government officials decided upon a policy of taking extreme measures to combat this grave threat to the nation.

If you will think back to the 60s, you will remember that race riots, bombings, and general student unrest on college campuses all across the nation were common occurrences.

It was then that the Government decided to use the FBI, the CIA and other Government agencies to gain as much intelligence as possible on those subversive elements. And undoubtedly it became Government policy to infiltrate divisive or subversive organizations in order to know what they were up to.

Looking back to that time, it is easy to see how a few overzealous officials and agents, using more zeal than wisdom, went beyond the bounds of legality in order to achieve what they believed would be for the "ultimate good of the nation."

It was easy for certain officials to take the next step of using the FBI and other Government agencies to spy on their political opponents. This was clearly wrong.

The entire Watergate affair was one of the most sordid scandals to rock this nation since America became independent 200 years ago. How did the President of the United States become involved in the Watergate "mess"?

The Watergate Break-in

During President Nixon's re-election campaign, he appears to have decided it best to devote his time and energies to matters of government, and let others look after the re-election campaign. But before long, matters would get out of hand.

On June 17, 1972, police apprehended five men, including James McCord, who had broken into the Democratic party offices of the Watergate apartment complex in Washington, D.C., and were attempting to set up wiretap devices. Along with two other accomplices, they were tried and convicted in January 1973.

The convicted break-in participants were all either directly or in-

directly employed by President's Nixon's re-election committee. Early during the Watergate revelations, many persons, including the trial judge, John J. Sirica, had suspected a *conspiracy* involving high Government officials.

In March 1973, James McCord (one of the five convicted burglars) wrote a revealing letter to Judge Sirica in which he charged there was a *massive coverup* of the burglary. It was McCord's letter which transformed the Watergate affair into a political scandal of unprecedented magnitude.

Just how many were involved in the conspiracy? Were members of Nixon's administration involved? Was even the President himself implicated? These and other questions troubled many Americans as they sought to get to the bottom of the whole affair.

Not long after the Watergate break-in, President Nixon sought to clear himself of any suspicion. On May 22, 1973, he solemnly declared: "I can and do state categorically: I had no prior knowledge of the Watergate operation. I took no part in, nor was I aware of, any subsequent efforts that may have been made to cover up Watergate. At no time did I authorize any offer of executive clemency for the Watergate defendants, nor did I know of any such offer. I did not know, until the time of my own investigation, of any effort to provide the Watergate defendants with funds."

No scandal in America's long, proud history had ever so rocked the nation. Dr. Henry Kissinger called Watergate "a national emergency." President Nixon said that as a result of Watergate, "Confidence at home and abroad in our economy, our currency, our foreign policy, is being sapped." And he referred to America's "continued, backward-looking obsession with Watergate."

It soon became clear to top Congressmen that the whole Watergate affair would have to be investigated at the highest level. Accordingly, a special Senate committee, under the headship of Senator Sam Ervin, was established for the express purpose of investigating corrupt campaign practices.

When this special Senate investigating committee began its nationally televised hearings into the Watergate affair, John Dean (former White House counsel) testified that the Watergate burglary had been approved by U.S. Attorney General, John Mitchell, with the knowledge of top White House advisers, John Ehrlichman and H.R. (Bob) Halde- man. John Dean also accused Nixon of knowing about and approving of the coverup. These shocking revelations resulted in the removal of several top administration officials from their high offices.

This key, but controversial, witness, John Dean III, referred to the Watergate operation and its subsequent coverup as "a cancer growing on the presidency."

During the Senate Watergate hearings, Chairman Sam Ervin spoke out against those who would “pollute justice.” He said that sort of situation was enough “to make justice weep.”

His ire obviously raised, he boomed out in the Senate hearings:

The evicence thus far introduced or presented before this committee tends to show that men upon whom fortune smiled benevolently and who possessed great financial power, great political power and great governmental power *undertook to nullify the laws of man and the laws of God* for the purpose of gaining what history will call a very temporary political advantage.

The evidence also indicates that . . . the efforts to nullify the laws of man might have succeeded, if it had not been for a courageous federal judge, Judge Sirica, and a very untiring set of investigative reporters.

“I think that those who participated in *this effort to nullify the laws of man and the laws of God* overlooked one of the laws of God which is set forth in the seventh verse of the sixth chapter of Galatians: “Be not deceived, God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.”

I was in Washington, D.C., during the Senate Watergate hearings in the summer of 1973 and wrote the following report:

Here in Washington, as in much of the rest of the nation and the world, the main topic of conversation for many months has been the Watergate scandal. Never in the history of the U.S. has this nation been so deeply mired in a scandal of such proportions.

Sitting here in the Senate caucus room, watching key witnesses, makes Watergate much more meaningful. Somehow, you get a far better grasp of the historical importance of these Senate Watergate hearings when you are right here watching these men testify in the flesh . . .

The new Attorney General, Elliot Richardson, in May 1973 appointed a special prosecutor, Archibald Cox, to look thoroughly into the whole sordid affair. Cox and his dedicated staff soon began to uncover widespread evidence of political espionage by the Nixon re-election committee. And they also uncovered corporate contributions to the Republican party in return for political favors. Furthermore, they uncovered facts which revealed that there had been illegal wiretapping of citizens by the Nixon administration. This was dynamite!

The Nixon Tapes

During the Senate investigating committee’s hearings in July 1973, it was revealed that President Nixon had tape recorded all his presidential conversations since 1971. This meant that there was bound to be taped evidence either to clear the President, or to show that he knew about the coverup, and was therefore guilty of obstruction of justice.

The special prosecutor, Archibald Cox, sued Mr. Nixon to obtain the tapes. Nixon responded by firing him in October 1973. But this only compounded the President's problems concerning Watergate. Many Americans were now convinced that Mr. Nixon's precipitous and autocratic action in firing Cox was both unjust and politically unwise. Demands from government officials, the press, and private citizens that Nixon be impeached grew louder and louder. These outcries for impeachment led the House of Representatives to empower its Judiciary Committee to initiate an actual impeachment investigation.

President Nixon then appointed Leon Jaworski as the new special prosecutor, and at the same time decided to release the tapes of the Watergate conversations which had been previously subpoenaed by Cox.

At this point, President Nixon (who had stoutly *denied* early knowledge about the coverup) gave the Judiciary Committee edited transcripts of his taped conversations relating to Watergate. Even so, the President's actions failed to satisfy the American people that the truth had really been told. A steady erosion of confidence in the Nixon administration continued. Few believed that Mr. Nixon had authorized the Watergate burglary, but numerous mid-1974 polls indicated that a majority of the American people believed the President had been involved in the Watergate coverup.

President Lincoln's statement regarding the American people was being proven true: "You can fool some of the people all of the time; and all of the people some of the time; but you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

On July 24, 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered Mr. Nixon to turn over to special prosecutor Leon Jaworski all additional subpoenaed tapes related to the coverup.

Ready to Impeach

During the Watergate affair, many Americans asked themselves why it was that President Nixon was so reluctant to release the tapes — if he were in fact innocent. Later, it was revealed that Mr. Nixon had refused to hand over certain tapes because they contained sensitive material which would show that he was guilty after all. The President refused to give up the sensitive tapes, claiming "executive privilege" — stating that the confidentiality of executive communications might be seriously endangered. The Supreme Court (July 24, 1974), however, ordered President Nixon to surrender the vital tapes to Leon Jaworski.

In the meantime, the House Judiciary Committee had already completed its extensive investigations. Subsequently, it recommended (on July 27-30) three articles of *impeachment* against President Nixon. Those three articles charged the President with: 1) *obstruction of justice*

in the investigation of the break-in at the Democratic national headquarters in the Watergate Apartment complex; 2) *abuse of Presidential powers* through misuse of the Internal Revenue Service for political purposes, illegal wiretapping, establishment of a private investigative group that engaged in unlawful activities, and interference with lawful activities of the FBI, the CIA, the Department of Justice, and other government bodies; 3) and *failure to comply with subpoenas* issued by the House Judiciary Committee.

On August 5th, Nixon made public the transcripts of three damning taped conversations which were among those to be given to Leon Jaworski. By now, the President realized he could no longer cover up his part in the coverup. *Mr. Nixon rather belatedly admitted that he had in fact become aware of the Watergate coverup only six days after the actual break-in.* He also admitted he had tried to halt the FBI's investigation into the Watergate break-in.

Public opinion polls at that time revealed that the American people were deeply disillusioned, and somewhat embittered by the President's failure to tell the truth about the coverup; and they were also disappointed at the way he had handled the whole sordid affair. Nixon's popularity had plummeted to an alarmingly low level. How could a totally discredited President continue in his office with any effectiveness?

All indications, according to the news media, were that if Mr. Nixon had "come clean" right from the beginning, and had candidly told the American people that he learned about the break-in shortly after it occurred, they would have soon forgotten the whole thing.

A Disgraced President Resigns

Realizing he was guilty — and knowing full well that the whole Watergate affair had weakened America, and being fully cognizant that if the Senate were to vote on his impeachment, it might well muster the two thirds votes necessary, Mr. Nixon took the painful decision to resign his high office.

A disillusioned, but somewhat saddened nation watched via nationwide TV as the broken and bitter President announced his resignation on August 9, 1974.

Surely, few loyal Americans got any real pleasure in seeing their harassed, haggard, and humiliated President resign from the highest political office on earth. It was certainly a sad day for the nation.

Even though most Americans had come to believe that the President should step down, few felt like condemning the man. There is certainly no evidence that he had any part in the planning of the burglary — and he doesn't appear in any way to have authorized it.

But once he learned about it, he undoubtedly yielded to the temptation to take part in the coverup — fearing that to make the knowledge public would seriously damage him and his administration.

“The Final Days”

President Nixon’s downfall from the highest office on earth was a truly pathetic spectacle. During the last months of the Watergate ordeal, it was clear that the President was tired, saddened, somewhat embittered. He appeared to have aged noticeably.

Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, authors of *All the President’s Men* and *The Final Days*, vividly describe President Nixon’s final days as President. According to their deeply-researched account of Nixon’s last days at the White House, the President was a pathetic example of a broken man. His White House staff were also embittered by the whole episode.

Bernstein and Woodward relate that Nixon’s Chief of Staff Alexander Haig quoted the President as follows: “You fellows in your business [the Army], you have a way of handling problems like this. Somebody leaves a pistol in the drawer. I don’t have a pistol.”

After the President had made that statement, Haig gave orders that Mr. Nixon was not to be allowed any pills, fearing he might take an overdose.

The authors of *The Final Days* also quote David Eisenhower as being quite worried about the President — fearing that he might commit suicide. According to them, David Eisenhower had seen Mr. Nixon “walking the halls” of the White House “talking to pictures of former Presidents.”

It is only fair to add that David Eisenhower later denied having made such statements. But there is no doubt on the part of anyone that during *the final days* at the White House, Mr. Nixon was a deeply troubled man — a broken, saddened and embittered man. Woodward and Bernstein quote Barry Goldwater as supposedly asking Political Adviser Bryce Harlow: “Is the President off his rocker?” Harlow replied: “No. He was drunk.”

Shortly before his resignation, Nixon summoned Henry Kissinger to the White House. The President had been drinking, and he told Kissinger he was going to resign, and then he asked Kissinger: “Will history treat me more kindly than my contemporaries?” Then Nixon began sobbing.

Kissinger tried to console the President by telling him he would be remembered for his outstanding peacemaking. Mr. Nixon reportedly told Kissinger: “You are not a very orthodox Jew and I am not an orthodox Quaker, but we need to pray.” Nixon got down on his knees. The

President prayed out loud, asking for help, for respite from the trauma, for peace and love.

Bernstein and Woodward continue: "Kissinger thought he had finished. But the President did not rise. He was weeping. And then, still sobbing, Nixon leaned over, striking his fist on the carpet, crying, 'What have I done?' 'What has happened?'"

"Kissinger touched the President, and then held him, tried to console him as he sought to bring rest and peace to the man who was curled on the carpet like a child."

As the final days closed in on the President, his family and staff, he became moodier, more withdrawn and indecisive, and more irritable. On one occasion, he is quoted as having shouted at the newsmen and photographers. And on another occasion he is said to have screamed at Ron Ziegler, his press secretary, "Get out! Get out!"

Alexander Haig is quoted as having said of Nixon: "He's as guilty as hell." Haig gave his personal opinion of the man as "an inherently weak man who lacked guts."

Regardless of the truth of this final scenario of Nixon's agony during his last days, it is clear that both he, his family, his staff, and the whole nation had gone through an emotional wringer.

Let's hope that those who might be tempted to condemn President Nixon will remember that he did that which was very human to do under the circumstances; and who's to say that any of us would have done any better.

During America's traumatic Watergate ordeal, President Nixon told the nation: "If we learn the important lessons of Watergate, if we do what is necessary to prevent such abuses in the future . . . we can emerge from this experience a better and a stronger nation."

But . . . what important lessons should America have learned from Watergate?

Abraham Lincoln once said: "I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed, but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I must stand with anybody that stands right; stand with him while he stands right, and part company with him when he goes wrong."

No public servant can follow the footsteps of the Nazis of Hitler's Germany who believed in "blind obedience." Public officials need to be sure that they stay *within the law* — and that they don't ask others under their authority to bend the law of the land for selfish personal reasons.

Nearly three thousand years ago, David, King of Israel, said: "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God." Is this truth the single most important lesson to be learned from Watergate?

Corporate Corruption

Following closely on the heels of the Watergate scandal, the shocking exposures of large-scale corruption within some of the nation's largest corporations have had a very unsettling effect on the American psyche.

How many more shocks could the U.S. take? High-placed wrongdoing had brought about the resignation of Vice President Agnew and President Richard M. Nixon. Nearly all of the President's men — at least those in top administrative positions — tumbled from power because of high-level wrongdoing while in office.

America's tragic Watergate affair also brought to the surface high-level corruption in many of this nation's biggest corporate institutions.

In fact, it was during the Watergate scandal investigations that a total of 17 companies confessed to making illegal corporate contributions to help re-elect President Nixon — thereby knowingly violating U.S. laws.

Most of those offending companies got off very lightly — with a mere slap on the wrist. Penalties were light. The tiny fines meted out by the Watergate Special Prosecutor's Office were usually \$5,000 for a guilty corporation, and \$1,000 for the top officer. Afterward, the Watergate Special Prosecutor's Office simply closed its books.

But the widespread uproar over illegal political contributions by the large corporations would not soon abate. During the Watergate investigations, the U.S. Government began to uncover evidence of widescale corporate bribery and corruption in their dealings with foreign nations.

One under-the-table payoff which had very explosive consequences was that made by *United Brands*. In 1974, United Brands gave a \$1.25 million bribe to a high government official in Honduras to get an export tax on bananas reduced. That shameful bribe was uncovered by the Security Exchange Commission's investigation into the suicide of United Brands' Chairman Eli Black. Black had heaved his briefcase through a window of his office on the 44th floor of the Pan Am Building in New York City. That deeply troubled Chairman then leaped through the broken window to a horrible death.

The disclosure of the unethical bribe by United Brands helped bring on a Honduran coup which overthrew the government of President Oswaldo Arellano. But far worse bribery scandals were about to surface.

The Lockheed Scandal

During 1975, the American public learned that the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation had paid out astronomical bribes to many overseas

nations. In August, 1975, Lockheed admitted that it had paid out over 24 million dollars to foreign nations in recent years in order to promote plane sales.

Just what was the true extent of Lockheed's bribes to various foreign countries?

The Japanese Government was badly shaken by what appeared to be its worst scandal in 20 years. Evidence revealed that Lockheed had paid out over 12 million dollars in under-the-table bribes to nail down plane sales of about \$2 billion! Prince Bernhard of Holland was accused of being the recipient of a million-dollar-plus Lockheed payoff. The Prince denied the charge. The Christian Democratic leaders of Italy who were trying to form a new Government, ran into difficulties over charges that Italian politicians had benefitted from a \$1.6 million payoff by Lockheed to sell fourteen C-130 cargo planes. In addition to these, Lockheed has already been linked to about a dozen countries or colonies: Colombia, Holland, Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, Nigeria, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Venezuela.

Furthermore, it is charged that Lockheed paid a commission of \$9 million on a \$117 million plane sale to South Africa. A "fee" of \$3.6 million had reportedly been paid on a \$45 million deal in Nigeria, and it was alleged that an illegal payoff of \$1.3 million was made to sell \$20 million worth of the huge Hercules cargo planes to Spain. Under-the-counter Lockheed payments have been made to numerous other foreign nations. Lockheed admits giving \$202 million in bribes, payoffs and commissions to foreign agents and government officials in Holland, Italy, Japan, Turkey, etc. The company also admits that \$22 million of this sum went for *outright bribes*.

These under-the-counter payments — payoffs, kickbacks, commissions, bribes — are a growing concern to many Americans. They believe this widespread corporate corruption — the giving of illegal political contributions at home, and of large bribes abroad — is doing irreparable damage to American firms which wish to increase their business with foreign countries. The American businessman, once thought of as honest and reliable, is now being viewed in a totally different light by foreigners.

The Federal Government is quite concerned over corporate corruption of U.S. firms. President Ford has spoken out against this widescale corporate chicanery. On March 31, 1976, the President said:

To the extent that the questionable payments abroad have arisen from corrupt practices on the part of American corporations, the United States bears a clear responsibility to the entire international community to bring them to a halt. Corrupt business practices strike at the very heart of our moral code and our faith in free enterprise.

Other nations are also beginning to crack down on bribery. In Britain, a judge sentenced two building inspectors, who had confessed to receiving bribes, with these remarks:

“Unfortunately we live in an age where moral standards are on the decline. But unless our commercial and public morals are to become those of an eighth-rate banana republic, the courts must show their disapproval of corruption in public office.”

Lockheed is far from being alone in the questionable practice of payoffs. Literally dozens of U.S. concerns have been involved in “overseas payments” and illegal campaign contributions within this country.

Lockheed is the nation’s No. 1 defense contractor. This giant maker of aircraft had an estimated \$3.25 billion worth of sales in 1975. But Lockheed is not the only aircraft company to make large bribes to foreign nations. Others who have made payoffs include Boeing, Douglas, Grumman, McDonnell and Northrop. Investigators, digging through company records, have found that Northrop distributed a staggering \$30 million in payoffs to foreign agents.

In fact dozens of U.S. companies plainly admit that they have made payoffs on the side to private entrepreneurs, or to greedy foreign government officials, either to obtain contracts, or to cut through the morass of exasperating red tape necessary to do business overseas. The Securities and Exchange Commission is investigating about one hundred such cases.

Nine Other Big Spenders

Besides Lockheed, nine other of America’s biggest companies admit they have given payoffs to foreigners.

Ashland Oil, Inc. admits paying out over \$300,000 to foreign officials, including \$150,000 to President Albert Bongo of Gabon to retain mineral and refining rights in his country.

Burroughs Corporation says that \$1.5 million in corporate funds may have been used in improper payments to foreign officials.

Exxon Corporation admits having paid \$740,000 to government officials and others in three foreign countries. Also, Exxon admits its Italian subsidiary made \$27 million in secret but legal contributions to seven of Italy’s political parties.

Gulf Oil Corporation also admits paying \$4 million to South Korea’s ruling political party in order to continue with planned operations. Gulf also admits giving \$460,000 to Bolivian officials — including a \$110,000 helicopter to the late President René Barrientos Orutño — for coveted oil rights.

McDonnell Douglas Corporation admits having paid \$2.5 million in

commissions and consultant fees between 1970 and 1975 to government officials of several foreign countries.

Merck & Company, Inc. admits having given \$3 million (primarily in "commission-type payments") to employees of 36 foreign governments during the years 1968-1975.

Northrop Corporation has admitted, at least in part, Security Exchange Commission charges that it paid out \$30 million in commissions and bribes to government officials and agents in Iran, France, Netherlands, Saudi Arabia, West Germany, Brazil, Malaysia and Taiwan.

G. D. Searle & Company admits it paid out \$1.3 million to foreign governmental employees during 1973-1975 in order to "obtain sales of products or services."

United Brands Company has admitted paying a \$1.25 million bribe to Honduran officials so they would reduce the banana export tax. It also admits paying \$750,000 to European officials.

And these corporate bribery admissions are merely the tip of the iceberg. Much of the past chicanery will never be uncovered.

The revelation of widespread American bribery of foreign business entrepreneurs and government officials sent shock waves through a dozen world capitals. Lockheed's admission of paying out bribes to Holland and Japan caused serious repercussions in those two countries. For a while it was feared that the Lockheed scandal might even topple the Government of Japan. Prime Minister Miki was worried and promised to take action.

There were also fears that any proven bribery involvement with Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, might even cause the abdication of Queen Juliana.

Shoulder-Shrugging Complacency

There are many who defend corporate bribery of foreign officials and business contacts. They say bribery is *a way of life* overseas — a long standing tradition. In fact, many businessmen endorse the view that since bribery and corruption are commonplace in foreign nations, American businessmen have to go along, or lose sales to unscrupulous foreign competitors. They contend that when bribery is customary in a particular country, American businessmen ought to be able to accept it and go along with the practice. To some, the practice is quite harmless.

One upper-and middle-level corporate managers' poll which was made not long ago revealed present attitudes toward bribery. These upper- and middle-level corporate managers were asked whether they believed bribes should be paid to officials in foreign countries where such under-the-counter practices were standard. Surprisingly, 48% said yes. Other surveys have come up with similar findings. In another instance,

a similar poll revealed that three-quarters of the executives freely admitted that their companies had been asked to pay bribes.

American businessmen complain that throughout much of the world, there is the outstretched palm. Bribery in actual fact is known to grease all kinds of business transactions — all the way from selling a fleet of aircraft to securing a minor import license.

Many American businessmen argue that since “everybody does it,” why can’t they also be allowed to go along with the practice in order to prevent vital sales going to unscrupulous competitors.

But there are many in the U.S. business world who disagree. They subscribe to the belief that “Honesty is always the best policy.” They deprecate the practice of using bribes to lubricate foreign sales — regardless of foreign custom.

These anti-bribery advocates argue that a permissive corporate attitude toward bribery lessens company morals. If lower-echelon employees see the boss setting an example of handing out bribes, then why can’t they also indulge in shady practices?

Is it coincidence that several U.S. companies caught paying bribes abroad are the very same ones that broke the law at home by making illegal political contributions out of corporate funds?

Those who argue that bribery is morally wrong, also point out that American acquiescence in this practice has actually undermined chances for future fat contracts with foreign nations.

Many Americans are now urging that Congress pass laws which will make it illegal to indulge in the common practice of bribery in business deals overseas. They argue that this will prove a strong deterrent. If corporate executives know they can receive heavy fines or imprisonment, they might think twice before taking part in under-the-counter deals with foreigners. It is argued that if America has a high code of business ethics, this might put pressure on foreign nations to curb some of the bribery practices which are, admittedly, so rampant in many foreign countries.

It is a fact that many U.S. companies do succeed overseas *without* making shameful under-the-counter payments. Xerox, IBM, W. R. Grace and Phelps Dodge are only a few of the ethically-conscious American companies who are widely known for their refusal to make payoffs. So the inane argument that if you don’t go along with the practice of bribery, you can’t get sales, is baseless. Foreigners realize that America’s long lead in technology tends to put U.S.-made products in the front line of those which are generally considered more desirable.

The Dark Cloud of Corruption

The never-ending flow of disclosures of large-scale corporate bribes and illegal political contributions to officials both in America and abroad

continues to spread a darkening cloud over the global reputation of American business.

How can this cloud be removed from over the heads of U.S. business? Stringent U.S. laws to curb the practice of giving bribes to foreigners could help the situation. But, admittedly, the real impetus to overcome this problem will have to come from *top management* in business. If the chief indulges in shady practices — gives bribes, receives kickbacks, makes under-the-table deals — then his underlings will be certain to follow his example. If the boss is crooked, lower-level employees will take the cue from him, and will help forge a chain of corruption right down to the lowest echelons of the company command structure.

A few years ago, a magazine survey asked 103 business executives if they really believed the old saying: "Honesty is always the best policy." The overwhelming majority doubted whether practicing honesty would really enable a man to climb to the top in the competitive business world. Only two answered in the affirmative, and one of them said he knew he was being naive.

Here are three revealing comments from the business executives who answered the magazine survey: "In thirty years I've known of only three men who've reached executive positions cleanly, and I admit I'm not one of them." "The higher the executive is in the management ladder, the more likely he is to do some dirty work." "People who don't get dirty don't make it."

American businessmen and corporate leaders need to return to the old-fashioned concept that honesty is, after all, always the best policy. American business practice needs an housecleaning.

The old-fashioned belief in loving one's neighbor as oneself is still a valid rule to follow. All too often, however, in today's cut-throat, competitive, dog-eat-dog business world the golden rule ("Do unto others as you would have them do unto you") is totally ignored — or distorted.

Will American business change its present counter-productive course of indulging in sharp business practices at home and abroad? And will American businessmen have the courage to set the proper *example* when doing business overseas — utterly refusing, regardless of local customs, to grease the palms of would-be clients? Or will the U.S. Government have to step in and make it illegal for Americans to give bribes even to foreigners?

Sky-Rocketing Crime

Watergate and corporate crime are just two aspects of a much larger picture, however. Individual crime continues to sky-rocket all across the U.S.

If the America of today is anything — it is a crime-ridden land. This

ever-growing menace to society exacts a very high price — both emotionally and monetarily.

President Ford, in his state of the union address on January 19, 1976, declared:

To keep a convicted criminal from committing more crimes, we must put him in prison so he cannot harm more law-abiding citizens. To be effective, this punishment must be *swift* and it must be *certain*. Too often, criminals are not sent to prison after conviction but are allowed to return to the streets. Some judges are reluctant to send convicted criminals to prison because of inadequate facilities. To be effective, this punishment must be *swift* and it must be *certain*.

Nearly three thousand years ago, wise old King Solomon understood the need for speedy justice: "Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil" (Ecclesiastes 8:11).

For many decades the rate of crime continued to rise in the U.S. Few, it seems, grasp what is really behind this steep rise in crime. And fewer still are willing to do what is necessary to cope with this most serious problem.

Any way you look at the U.S. crime picture, serious crime has become an ominous national affliction. Consider these facts: The rate for all serious crimes in the U.S. has more than doubled since 1961. From 1973 to 1974 the serious crime rate showed the largest increase in the last 44 years — jumping 17 percent. Thankfully, the 1975 crime rate rose by only about 9 percent.

During the past 14 years, the rate of robberies increased 225 percent; aggravated assault, 153 percent; murder, 106 percent! And forcible rape shot up 143 percent!

America's big cities have the highest rates of crime, but the actual rate of increase is now greater in the suburbs (with a 20 percent increase last year) and in the rural areas (up 21 percent).

Homicide figures are considered the most reliable of all crime statistics. During 1974, over 20,000 Americans were murdered.

Few burglars, rapists and muggers are caught. Only 20 percent of the FBI's 10 million reported crimes resulted in arrests last year. Nevertheless, some basic facts are indisputable. Almost half of all street arrests are of teenagers and young adults; the peak age for violent crimes is 15. Forty-four percent of the nation's murderers are 25 or younger. Of those arrested for street crimes, excluding murder, 75 percent are under 25 and 45 percent are under 18.

Not only is there an increase in serious juvenile crime, but there is also a sharp rise in crimes committed by females. Of those arrested for larceny-theft last year, 33 percent were female. Women are also becoming more violent.

What is the cost of crime in America today?

During 1974, criminals struck 19 times every minute (ever three seconds). Crime in the United States rose 18% during 1974 — netting \$2.6 billion in loot. The cost to the taxpayers in combatting crime ran into multiple billions of dollars.

The number of offenses in all of the seven major crime categories (murders, rapes, assaults, robberies, burglaries, larcenies and motor vehicle thefts) was 18 percent higher in 1974 than during the previous year. And the crime rate (the number of offenses per 100,000 population) rose 17 percent in the same period.

Causes and Cures of Crime

What are the major causes — and cures — of crime in our beloved America? How can the private citizens as well as public officials help get a handle on this serious problem — before it destroys this great nation?

There are about as many “causes” of crime as there are analysts of the crime picture. There can be little doubt that the most serious trend in American life which invites crime is the serious break-down in the family structure. This includes such factors as divorce, desertion, child-beatings, child-neglect, lack of positive teaching, training and example of the parents.

A serious deterioration in religious teaching is also believed to be one of the major contributory causes of both juvenile and adult crime in America. This also applies to education. In both our churches and our schools and colleges there is often a serious lack of positive teaching of respect for law and authority.

TV Violence

Canned TV violence is also greatly to blame for the continued rise in serious crime in the U.S. What youngsters see on TV, they often mimic in real life. Three teen-age girls lured two younger girls down a lonely path in the city of San Francisco and sexually molested them. In the city of Chicago, two young boys attempted to extort \$500 from a firm by means of a bomb threat; and in Boston, a gang of youths set a woman on fire with gasoline. The police investigating these crimes concluded that in all three of the aforementioned cases, the violent acts had been directly inspired by viewing violent shows on prime-time television.

A 17-year-old girl allegedly beat, choked and robbed an 86-year-old man in his Coney Island apartment. In New York City, a 13-year-old boy blew off his father's head with a shotgun! And in New England a 12-year-old boy admitted he set fire to a playmate because she refused to take money from a cash register in her father's store. How many other

gruesome juvenile murders and other serious crimes are TV-inspired?

And it is not only during prime-time TV viewing that today's youths view violence on American TV. A recent Nielsen survey showed that 5 million kids under 11 years of age sat transfixed before their TV sets between 10 and 11 o'clock on a recent week night.

For decades now, America has had a steady diet of "shoot-'em-ups" on TV. Such programs accounted for only 20% of all prime-time TV twenty years ago. But today that figure has soared to 60%, buttressed by no fewer than 24 current crime series.

Sober estimates are that by the time an average American child has reached the age of 15, he will have witnessed on TV over 13,000 killings.

Why do TV producers feed the American public so much violence on TV? Simply because they know that violence is the TV writers' most effective attention-getting device. Violence appeals to an ever-increasing TV audience. In other words, violence pays the commercial sponsor.

Watching so much violence inspires violence. It is believed that constant, heavy exposure to TV violence numbs normal emotional sensitivities in young viewers. They can become so conditioned to violence, that they can commit such acts without flinching.

Tragically, this over-exposure to TV violence is turning Americans into "hardened, ugly Americans." If this vicariously shared violence on TV continues, we can expect to have more My Lais, more Manson-type murders, and unheard-of violence that will even tingle the ears of today's violent-prone Americans.

Family-related Causes of Crime

Many psychologists point an accusing finger at faulty parent-child relationships in a child's early life. Overly lax, overly strict or erratic child rearing contributes to delinquency, while a generally "firm but kind" approach inhibits it.

Children are more likely to turn to crime if their parents fight frequently, or if one parent is missing through death, divorce or abandonment.

Other studies show that much of today's violence is learned in the home, and that child abuse is on the rise. The Fortune Society, a group of ex-convicts, reports that over half its membership was severely abused as children. A New York study of nine juvenile murderers, including a girl who chopped a victim to pieces with a machete knife, showed that all nine had been routinely beaten by their parents.

It seems clear that the old values and restraints have been battered by recent upheavals — war, riots, assassinations, situation ethics. As disillusionment sets in, fewer and fewer Americans look to the churches, schools or parents for moral leadership. If "a society gets the criminals it

deserves," as 19th century, French criminologist Jean Lacassagne said, then America had better brace herself for more crime and violence!

When criminals realize that punishment of their crime will be neither swift nor sure they are emboldened to commit more acts of crime. Meanwhile, the vicious crime cycle continues.

The Ripoff Society

Not only is there widespread Government corruption from top to bottom, and pervasive corporate corruption, but there is omnipresent lying, cheating, fraud, corruption and every form of chicanery in the private sector of modern America. This may sound like a harsh indictment to some, but, sad to say, it is the truth! Many Americans have asked *why* there is an upsurge in fraud, theft, cheating and corruption. They ask if the U.S. is really becoming a ripoff society.

It seems that hardly a day passes without further revelations concerning consumer fraud, political chicanery, tax cheating, shoddy merchandise, medicare and medicaid frauds, overcharging, illegal price fixing, bogus repairs, worthless checks, the thumb on the scales, theft by employees, company bribes, payoffs, campaign-finance violations, securities crimes, insurance frauds, inferior merchandise, etc.

Ralph Nader told a congressional hearing not long ago: "You just have to read the *Wall Street Journal* for the week to be overwhelmed with this corporate crime epidemic sweeping the nation, the overseas as well There are securities crimes, insurance frauds, oil-company bribes, payoffs, campaign-finance violations and many, many others."

U.S. News & World Report ran a special report on "Ripoffs: New American Way of Life." The magazine asked: "Why the seeming upsurge in cheating, fraud, theft and corruption? Is the U.S. really becoming a ripoff society?"

"On the eve of the nation's 200th birthday, Americans are waking up to the unsettling discovery that they are living in a ripoff society.

"Hardly a day passes without disclosure of consumer fraud, political corruption and tax cheating.

"The taxpayer reads about bill gouging in medicaid and feels he has been ripped off. So does the manufacturer left with an unexplained inventory shortage, the merchant stuck with a drawer full of worthless checks, the home-owner who learns he paid \$2,000 for a \$500 roof job, and the auto owner whose mechanic seems more expert at levying huge bills than he is at repairing automobiles."

In April, 1976, a Gallup Poll of a cross section of America found that two out of three Americans polled believe people in general are less honest and less moral than in years past. Only ten years ago, a bare majority thought that morality and honesty was getting worse.

The Federal Trade Commission has more recently been focusing its investigations on undertakers, food advertising, mobile homes, health spas, hearing aids, home-study courses and used cars. Increasingly, consumers are having troubles involving autos, housing, insurance, furniture, containers and credit cards.

Two big ripoffs which have caused the nation to be scandalized involved the sale of meat and grain. Foreign buyers of American grain were overcharged by many millions of dollars for grain that was misgraded, short-weighted and, in some instances, badly adulterated. The U.S. Army also discovered they were being charged top prices for inferior cuts of meat, instead of receiving choice cuts as they had ordered.

It is virtually impossible to read a newspaper or listen to the daily news via radio or TV without hearing about someone being involved in graft or corruption.

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark declared: "Cynicism inhibits corrective action and stimulates others to *cut corners* and perhaps commit crime. A moral looseness sets in because *the system itself seems to have no integrity.*"

Government investigations are turning up evidence of pervasive fraud and abuse in many government-sponsored programs including welfare, medicaid, medicare, Social Security and veterans benefits. One partial study conducted in the nation's capital revealed that 65 percent of those receiving welfare payments under Washington D.C.'s general public-assistance program were ineligible for benefits. A survey of veterans attending Federal City College in Washington found that virtually all of them were receiving more Federal funds than they were legally entitled to.

Shoplifting in the U.S. now runs into many billions of dollars. It has even been called "a sport of the rich," since many who indulge in this crime are not even in need.

Why the spiraling increase in fraud, cheating, theft and corruption? The real answer lies in the fact that there is an ever-waning positive influence in America's homes, schools, churches, colleges and universities. No longer are the old-fashioned principles of honesty, hard work, thrift and personal sacrifice being taught as a normal but highly prized way of life.

Why Watergate? Why so many corporate scandals? What has happened to American society that has spawned so much corruption, both among American political figures and private individuals?

The real answers to these questions can only be found in modern American education. And this includes education at all levels: 1) in the home, 2) schools, colleges and universities, 3) churches, and in 4) The Institute of Hard Knocks.

All-important Education-in-the-Home

The first, and the most profound, educational impact on the mind of a child is, without question, made *in the home*. If the parents or guardians set the right examples, and teach sound principles of honesty, fair-play, hard work, respect for authority, loyalty, patriotism, morality and reverence for the Supreme Being and His laws — then the children brought up under such good parental examples and positive instruction will have no little or no difficulty in becoming decent, law-abiding, productive, highly successful and respected members of the community.

But if the parents or guardians set a wretched example of drunkenness, immorality, laziness, untidiness, disrespect for the laws of the land, then any children reared in such an unwholesome environment will stand little chance of becoming good citizens in the community.

If the children see their parents being slovenly, profane, hateful, disloyal, unpatriotic, selfish and unloving toward each other and toward themselves — then they are likely to follow in the same footsteps.

If the children see their own mother entertain strange men while their father is away, or if they know their father is having an affair with some other woman — perhaps his secretary — such an example will be bad for them, causing many of them to imitate their own parents.

If children hear their father boast about sharp business practices, or overhear him mention padding his expense account, cheating on his income tax, or if they see him driving well beyond the speed limit, as he nervously watches the rear view mirror, while calling the police “pigs” — such an example will be sure to be emulated.

America’s parents need to become aroused to the serious responsibility of setting the right examples, and of giving good, sound, positive teaching and instruction to their children — before it is too late — before they wind up in institutions of correction, or are killed or maimed in a horrible auto accident, caused by drunkenness, carelessness, or outright disregard for the property and lives of others.

Education in Schools and Colleges

America’s youth also ought to receive, both by example and by positive teaching, the right kind of an education in their schools, colleges and universities.

Recent studies indicate that the quality of education in many of America’s schools is deteriorating. The basics — reading, writing, arithmetic, history, English — somehow aren’t being communicated as effectively as they once were by the teachers. But why?

The lack of discipline and therefore the lack of quality instruction in many of America’s schools really isn’t the fault of the teachers — at

least in many instances. Many of America's school teachers are faced with a seemingly impossible task. They are expected to teach and train youngsters who in many cases have had little of the right type of training and parental discipline at home.

Before students can be taught, a teacher must have their attention. And before a teacher can get a student's attention, that student must be quiet and responsive toward his instructor.

Many modern American students don't know how to sit still, how to give their undivided attention to their teachers, or how to show respect toward their instructors. In all too many schools there is very poor attentiveness; therefore, little learning.

Rowdyism, violence and outright crime are rampant in all too many schools. In fact, violence and drug abuse are so commonplace that it is now necessary for policemen to patrol the corridors in many schools. Teachers have been assaulted right in their own classrooms. Many teachers have had to resort to walking down the halls of the school buildings in pairs.

When you realize the very difficult and dangerous task which many teachers face in today's schools, then you can have a little more sympathy for them in their difficult, uphill job of trying to educate undisciplined, unruly, disrespectful, and disinterested students.

America would do well to decorate many of her teachers for bravery.

A few schools are now trying to get back to the "fundamentals" of the earlier American type of schools — where the real basics were thoroughly taught, and where the right kind of balanced discipline was administered. As an example, the "fundamental schools" in the Pasadena, California school district have been having very good education results, especially when one considers the very difficult circumstances under which they have had to operate.

Before today's youth can grow up into well-educated, law-abiding, productive citizens within the American community, they need a good educational foundation. But all too often, many of America's teachers don't set the best example before their students. America's most precious heritage is her youth! They need to be trained by teachers who really understand what life is all about, and who know how to inspire their students in the important, fundamental principles of sound education. At the same time they ought to be able to teach the *true values* — how to live happy, productive, meaningful lives.

All too often permissiveness, materialism, agnosticism or outright atheism (often in the guise of Evolution) is funneled into the minds of America's impressionable youth.

America's educational bloodstream has been polluted by the theory

that life evolved without the intelligent direction of a Supreme Being who supervises His entire creation, and who controls the destinies of all nations.

According to a 1968 Gallup Poll, 98 percent of all Americans profess to believe in God. Why, then, do so many teachers and educators espouse the concept that everything just evolved without any conscious intelligence behind it? How could life have come from the not-living? How is it possible for all the laws and forces of the universe — the vast energies of Nature — to have come from *nothing*?

How could the marvelous creation, with its intricate ecology systems, have just “happened”? How could the vital web of life have evolved by *blind chance*?

The anti-God, evolutionary concept is being actively taught in many of America’s schools, colleges and universities. In the United States, there has been a dangerous drift into materialism. The Supreme Being is often either ignored or rejected outright.

And once one rejects the concept that there is an All-wise, intelligent, omnipotent Being who sits at the controls of the Universe — guiding and directing His creation — then such a person becomes a disciple of do-as-you-pleasism. If there is no Supreme Being to whom all humans must, sooner or later, give an account, then everyone can do his own thing. Situation ethics and rank permissiveness are a natural result of agnosticism and atheism.

Why has America rejected prayer in its public schools, but at the same time permits the atheistic concept of Evolution to be actively taught to children whose parents’ religious beliefs (guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution) are totally opposed to such intellectual garbage?

Much of today’s educational program — both in our schools and colleges — is geared to teach students *how to earn a living* — how to succeed in a chosen occupation or vocation — but at the same time utterly fails to teach America’s youth *how to live!* Is money everything? Has the “god of mammon” replaced the Creator God? Is it more important to teach students how to earn money — than how to live a joyous, abundant, productive, fulfilled life?

Shouldn’t American education shift its emphasis from intellectualism and materialism, to the more important *moral* and *spiritual* values: honesty, loyalty, patriotism, service, hard work, high-principled business ethics, respect for law and order, and above all else, deep respect and reverence toward that Great Being whom 98 percent of us profess to believe in? Modern education neglects this all-important “missing dimension” of learning.

Watered-down Church Education

Much of today's teaching from the pulpits has been so watered down as to have little or no lasting effect on the conduct and lives of youth.

Why is this so?

Many in the religious world have been all too willing to compromise and water down their religious principles. When the real "kernel" is removed from the moral and religious principles of the church's teachings, and when their communicants are fed with the "chaff," then it is only natural that many modern Americans — regardless of which denomination they belong to — are confused, bewildered, perplexed over what to believe and practice. Today's churches have so blurred the line between right and wrong, that many are left utterly confused!

The "new morality" — which is nothing but the "old immorality" — is simply the way of *permissiveness*. Many now believe in situation ethics: what is right and good for me is not necessarily good for you, and what is wrong or bad for you is not necessarily wrong or bad for me; and what is good and right today, may not necessarily be so tomorrow; while that which is evil at the moment may not be evil tomorrow.

It is a sad fact that the churches of the Western World are divided and confused on many important issues. A few years ago, Methodist Bishop Hazen G. Werner was quoted publicly as having said: "We have been dried out by the hot winds of secularism. We who are to overcome the world have been overcome by the world."

Dean Miller of Harvard's Divinity School admitted, "The Church simply does not have a cutting edge. It has taken the culture of our time and absorbed it."

He is not alone in such frank admissions. Yale's Chaplain Coffin also agrees: "We churchmen," said Coffin, "are gifted at changing wine into water — watering down religion."

Many of the "old-fashioned" principles of morality which America's churches taught during our early history, have been ignored, watered down or repudiated by all too many modern ministers, priests and rabbis.

The Institute of Hard Knocks

And America's youth certainly aren't learning the true values of morality and happiness in the world at large. When the homes, schools, colleges, universities, and the churches utterly fail to instill sound principles of honesty, loyalty, patriotism, and sound morality, then it is highly unlikely that the youth will learn such true values outside those institutions.

Why was the Watergate scandal possible? How could so many large American corporations become deeply enmeshed in illegal political contributions at home, and shameful bribes abroad? How can it be that America has descended into the depths of immorality, lawlessness and serious crime?

Unless and until the peoples of our highly favored nation (“the recipients of the choicest bounties of Heaven”) are willing to retrace our steps, and go back to teaching and practicing the true values in our homes, schools, colleges and churches, there will be no letup in immorality, fraud and corruption, lawlessness, and crime.

We can only change our society by recapturing the true moral values. America badly needs a change of heart. We, the peoples of these United States, need to heed the admonitions of our Founding Fathers and make “religion and morality” a vital part of our lives — from the cradle to the grave!

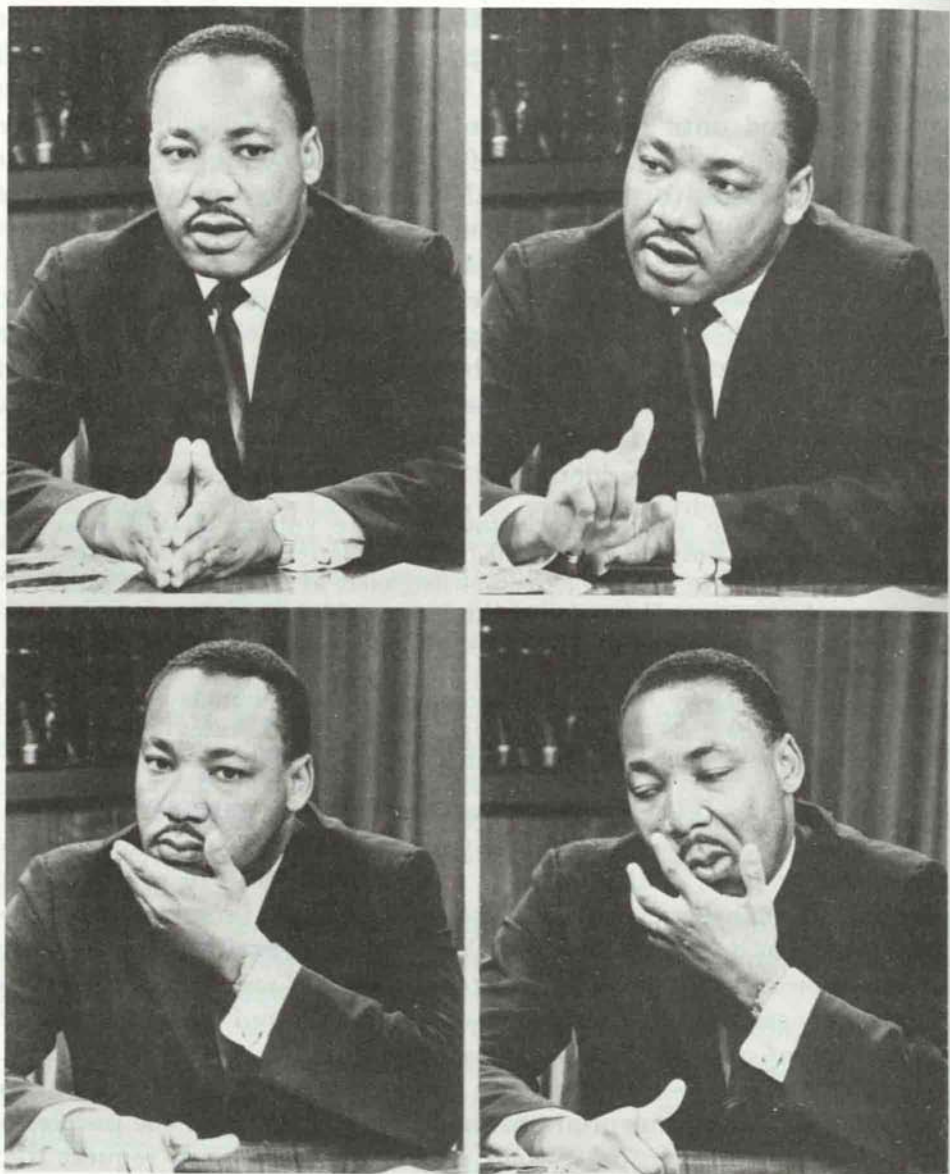
The Second U.S. President, John Adams, said this truth well:

As no truth is more clearly taught in the Volume of Inspiration, nor any more fully demonstrated by the experience of all ages, than that a deep sense and a due acknowledgment of the governing providence of a Supreme Being and of the accountableness of men to Him as the searcher of hearts and righteous distributor of rewards and punishments . . .

. . . I do hereby recommend accordingly, that Thursday, the 25th day of April next, be observed throughout the United States of America as a day of solemn humiliation, fasting, and prayer . . .

John Adams besought his fellow-Americans to take the proclamation seriously. He urged them to pray “that He (God) would interpose to arrest the progress of that impiety and licentiousness in principle and practice so offensive to Himself and so ruinous to mankind; that He would make us deeply sensible that ‘righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people’ . . . *that He would smile on our colleges, academies, schools, and seminaries of learning, and make them nurseries of sound science, morals, and religion*”

Isn’t it about time that we had another President with the courage to issue a similar Presidential proclamation, calling upon the peoples of these United States to unite their prayers in the fervent request that that same “Supreme Being” might yet “smile on our colleges, academies, schools, and seminaries of learning, and make them nurseries of sound science, morals, and religion”?



Martin Luther King became a symbol of the advancement of Civil Rights of the blacks. "I have a dream" — said King in an impassioned speech shortly before he was assassinated in Memphis in 1968. — *Wide World Photo*

From Space to Race

It still somehow seems unreal. Could men really travel all the way to the moon, land safely, walk around on its surface, then safely return to the earth for a near-perfect splash-down in the Pacific?

One of the big American achievements in the 1960s — even while racial strife came to a head in many American cities — was the space program. Even while problems on earth seethed and boiled, America was — for a brief moment — able to transcend itself and bask in the splendid glory of having landed men on the moon.

From beginning to end, the Apollo 11 space shot (including the actual moon landing) was witnessed by literally hundreds of millions of people in nearly every part of the globe.

As the blast-off at Cape Kennedy neared, mankind was united in the hope that the American astronauts would have a successful flight. As the final nerve-wracking countdown got under way, hundreds of millions of keyed-up spectators watched intently, while their pulse rose along with the giant 363-foot-high, 6,484,280-lb. Saturn V launch vehicle as it roared off its launching pad. The titanic rocket made a flawless flight from Pad 39A as hundreds of thousands of spectators cringed from the ear-splitting thunder in the wake of the Saturn launching.

As a roaring blast of orange flame lifted the rocket from its pad, it began climbing slowly into the blue sky, leaving a white trail behind it. The huge Saturn rocket rapidly accelerated and raced toward outer space, quickly became a mere pinpoint — then it was gone.

The three astronauts — Neil A. Armstrong, Edwin E. Aldrin, Jr., and Michael Collins — were enthusiastic, excited and filled with awe as powerful forces seemed to pull them back toward the earth. Commander Armstrong's enthusiasm was evident as he exclaimed: "... this Saturn gave us a magnificent ride. It was beautiful!"

The blast-off occurred on July 16th. By the 20th, the astronauts had arrived at the moon. Bright and early on the morning of July 20, Armstrong and Aldrin crawled from the Command Module through an inter-connecting tunnel into the Lunar Module where they would spend most of the next day. After orbiting the moon twelve times, the

Apollo II spacecraft was separated into two separate craft: the command-service craft (the *Columbia*) piloted by Collins and the Lunar Module (the *Eagle*) occupied by Armstrong and Aldrin.

As the *Eagle* began its powered descent toward the moon, the two astronauts intently scanned the instruments and spaceship controls. About 500 feet above the moon, Armstrong began maneuvering the craft manually to avoid landing in a rock-strewn moon crater.

Commander Armstrong hovered the *Eagle* for about a minute and a half while moving it laterally with the reaction control system until he found a clear area on which to descend. Shortly afterward, the contact light went on inside the cockpit, as the 68-inch probes dangling below *Eagle's* footpads signalled that contact with the ground had been made.

The jubilant astronauts, Armstrong and Aldrin, cut off the rocket engine then radioed, "Houston, Tranquility Base here. *The Eagle has landed!*" Aldrin described the eerie view of the lunar surface as "magnificent desolation," and the color of the moon as light gray.

"One Giant Leap"

For millennia the earth's inhabitants had gazed in wonderment at the moon — never suspecting that one of them would one day walk on its surface. Now that old dream came true.

About six and a half hours after landing, on July 20, 1969, Neil Armstrong stepped out onto the lunar soil and exclaimed: "That's one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind." Everyone back at the mission control in Houston cheered and began hugging one another. All over the world, tears of joy ran down the cheeks of fellow humans — who watched in numb amazement at such an accomplishment. It still somehow seemed like a dream.

Only twenty minutes after Armstrong's first step onto the moon, Edwin Aldrin, Jr., joined him. For over two hours the two astronauts cavorted on the moon. They set up a device to measure the composition of solar radiation reaching the moon. They also set up a screen of aluminum foil to capture particles of solar wind. They erected a seismometer to measure future moon quakes; and they set up a reflector for a laser beam so that earth scientists could bounce off the reflector laser beams from the earth. By this means they could accurately measure the distance to the moon. The astronauts also planted "Old Glory" on the moon — symbolizing America's technological achievement in the space race.

After being on the moon for twenty-one hours and thirty-seven minutes, the American astronauts activated the *Eagle's* ascent stage to launch it back into lunar orbit. Following the successful performance of

several maneuvers, the astronauts were able to dock the *Eagle* with the *Columbia*, and then the three were homeward bound.

Five More Moon Landings

Later U.S. Apollo moon landings were somewhat anticlimactic.

America launched Apollo 12 on November 14, 1969. The three astronauts who participated in the second Apollo flight were Charles Conrad, Jr., A. L. Bean, and R. F. Gordon, Jr. While Conrad and Bean descended to the Sea of Storms in the Lunar Module for their moon-walk, Gordon remained in lunar orbit at the controls of the Command Module. The astronauts had a safe and successful mission.

Apollo 14 blasted off toward the moon on January 31, 1971. On that moon-walk, Alan B. Shephard, Jr., and Edgar D. Mitchell landed their Lunar Module in the Fra Mauro area. Stuart A. Roosa remained in command of the Command Module during the moon-walk.

On July 26, 1971, the U.S. launched Apollo 15. David R. Scott and James B. Irwin descended to the moon and landed in the Hadley Rille area and explored the lunar surface in a Lunar Rover.

Apollo 16 blasted off from its launching pad at Cape Kennedy on April 16, 1972. After landing on the moon, John W. Young and Charles M. Duke, Jr., spent 71 hours and two minutes on the moon's surface. Before blasting off from the moon, they collected 214 pounds of lunar rock and soil.

On December 7, 1972, the last of the Apollos — Apollo 17 — lifted off its launching pad in a spectacular night-time ascent and headed for the moon. On board were Eugene A. Cernan, Ronald E. Evans and Harrison H. Schmitt. After making their successful landing, Cernan and Schmitt spent a record 74 hours and 59 minutes on the moon before returning with 250 pounds of lunar material to the earth.

With Apollo 17's successful splashdown, America's manned flights to the moon ended. During its highly successful Apollo moon-walk program, the U.S. gained valuable information about the moon, erected a number of instruments for future monitoring, collected many hundreds of pounds of lunar material, and achieved a tremendous boost to her national morale. America also received worldwide acclaim for the most amazing scientific feat ever performed by mortal men.

But America's space program proved to be very costly — running into many billions of dollars. American officials realized that future space programs would have to be scaled down before the American taxpayers would be willing to support them.

Many Americans complained about the "lunacy" of the moon program. Why spend over \$30 billion on the space program, they asked, when far more serious problems remain at home on the earth?

Joint U.S.-Soviet Space Project

In July, 1975, the U.S. and Russia cooperated in their first joint space project. In a highly symbolic gesture of East-West détente, and with a view to further cooperation in space exploration, a U.S. and Soviet spacecraft linked together in space on July 17. American and Russian astronauts shook hands in space. This joining of the Apollo-Soyuz spacecraft was the climax of a joint space effort between two rivals in the space exploration.

The link-up mission began on July 15, when the Soviet Soyuz manned by Commander Col. Aleksei A. Leonov and Valery N. Kubasov, was launched from the Baikonour Cosmodrome in central Asia. The launch was televised throughout Russia for the first time in the history of Soviet space exploration.

The American Apollo spacecraft was manned by Brig. Gen. Thomas P. Stafford, Vance D. Brand, and Donald K. Slayton. It blasted off from its launching pad at Cape Canaveral, Florida seven and one half hours after the Soyuz spacecraft had lifted off in Russia.

Again, as with the first moon landing, hundreds of millions watched the docking maneuver which occurred on July 16, 1975. After the Soviet and American crews carried out maneuvers to put their crafts in proper position for the docking, they had a very successful hook-up.

The first contact came on July 17 about 140 miles above the Atlantic Ocean while the two spacecraft were about 620 miles west of Portugal. Approximately 3 hours later while passing over Amsterdam, the crews met face to face for the first time. It was at that time that Stafford and Leonov first shook hands through the hatches, and greeted one another in each other's language.

The American and Soviet crews exchanged visits and shared meals on July 18. At their final meeting, Stafford said: "I'm sure we have opened a new era in the history of man." In a televised orbit-to-ground news conference, Leonov said: "This work became possible in the climate of détente."

The two-day joint Soviet-American flight ended on July 19, with the undocking of the two spacecraft. The Russian space ship landed safely on July 21 on the steppes of central Kazakhstan. One of the Soviet cosmonauts described the historic flight as "hard, very hard." The American Apollo spacecraft also returned safely on July 24, landing almost directly on target in the Pacific Ocean.

The Future in Space

What is planned in future space flight projects?

Both America and Russia now fully realize just how expensive it is to develop their space programs. The multiple billions which the U.S.

paid for her moon rock and soil was very costly. Of course, there are other boons from the space program, such as its meteorological and geological benefits.

It is both amazing and sobering to realize that a multiple billion dollar U.S. space program, combined with the united efforts of hundreds of thousands of dedicated staff members could successfully land men on the moon and return them safely to this earth on six successive occasions.

But, many ask: How is it that man can't solve his many deep-seated problems which confront him right here on this earth? When will mankind learn to devote itself in single-minded dedication to the elimination of the long-continuing human-related problems of hunger, poverty, disease, crime, broken homes, pollution — and war?

Will mankind ever succeed in getting a handle on these pressing earth-bound problems? Consider, for example, the deep seated race question.

The Race Question

As the peoples of the United States celebrated their 200th anniversary, the problems of a multi-racial society continued to trouble them. Many Americans don't realize that the problem of racial discrimination has plagued America for over three and a half centuries!

The roots of America's racial tensions are much older than the United States. The first permanent English colony was planted in America in 1607. Only 12 years later, African slavery was also introduced to Jamestown. 1619 witnessed the arrival of the first slaves from Africa. In that year a Dutch ship docked at Jamestown, Virginia, with 20 Negro slaves. Those slaves, and the many others who soon followed them, had a great part in making that first English settlement into a thriving colony. Also, they contributed much toward bringing prosperity to the other southern colonies which were later established in North America.

By the time the American Revolutionary War broke out in 1776, there were approximately two and a half million people in the Thirteen Colonies, and a half million of them were Negro slaves.

The importation and use of Negro slaves continued to thrive from that time until the Civil War, when there were 3,954,000 Negro slaves in the U.S. Most of them lived in the 15 Southern slave states, where they made up nearly one third of the South's total population of about twelve million.

It was, in fact, Negro slavery which sparked the Civil War. The slavery issue was the catalyst which drew together all of the high-pitched emotional sentiments, and culminated in the bloodiest war in America's history.

Jim Crow Laws

After the Civil War, the freed Negro slaves suffered widespread discrimination — especially in the South.

In its modern American form, however, racial segregation didn't really get started until the late 1800s. The now-infamous *Jim Crow laws* were adopted by many Southern states during the latter part of the 19th century. These infamous segregation laws required that whites and Negroes use *separate public facilities*. Even small details of public life were covered by the discriminatory Jim Crow laws. For example, Oklahoma required that whites and Negroes use separate telephone booths; and Arkansas specified that separate gambling tables were to be used. Many courts even provided separate Bibles for swearing in witnesses. A number of Southern states also adopted "grandfather clauses" and other laws that prevented Negroes from voting.

It comes somewhat as a surprise to many younger Americans to learn that the rapid spread of segregation laws through the South was actually supported by a series of decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court.

In the influential *Plessy vs. Ferguson* case of 1896, the Supreme Court supported the constitutionality of a Louisiana law requiring separate but equal facilities for whites and Negroes in railroad cars. The actual era of *de jure* (by law) segregation began with that Supreme Court ruling. During the next 50 years, many Southern states used the "separate but equal" rule to segregate the races in transportation, recreation, sleeping and eating facilities and in the public schools.

Crumbling Segregation

The Supreme Court also held that a state could validly forbid a college, even a private one, to teach blacks and whites at the same time and place. During the period 1900 to 1920, segregation was extended to all public transportation and education facilities as well as to hospitals, churches and jails throughout the Southern states. By the end of the Second World War, blacks and whites were rigidly separated by law throughout most of the South.

When did segregation in the U.S. begin crumbling? During World War I a mass migration of Negroes from the South to the manufacturing centers of the North began. Only about a tenth of all Negro Americans lived outside the South in 1910, whereas today about half of them live outside the southern states.

Beginning in the 1930s, Negroes increasingly gained in national politics, and they also began receiving a fairer hearing in the federal courts.

During World War II, with many Negroes serving in the U.S. military, and with still more migrating to the large metropolitan areas outside the South (i.e. New York City, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles), irresistible pressures began building up to break down the segregation barriers in this country. Interestingly, more Negroes now live in the metropolitan area of New York than in any Southern state!

During the 1930s the blacks became much more assertive of their rights. Then, in 1941, President Roosevelt created the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). Under the aegis of the FEPC, numerous "no discrimination" clauses were included in most government contracts.

In 1948 President Truman issued a directive calling for an end to segregation in the U.S. armed forces. At about that same time, the Supreme Court also started moving away from its earlier position toward *segregation*, and began leaning toward the principle of racial equality.

Desegregation of U.S. Schools

Desegregation really got under way in 1954. The case of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* came before the Supreme Court, which ruled against *de jure* segregation in public schools. The court held that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

In 1955, the Supreme Court implemented its 1954 opinion by declaring that the Federal district courts would be given jurisdiction over lawsuits to enforce the 1954 desegregation decision, and it asked that desegregation proceed "with all deliberate speed." In 1969, the Supreme Court, becoming impatient over petty delays, ordered public school districts to desegregate "at once."

But desegregation of the schools ran into a number of road blocks, especially in the South. Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas called out the Arkansas National Guard to prevent integration of the Little Rock schools. President Eisenhower countered by ordering Federal troops to enforce the court order for integration. Governor Faubus failed in his attempt to prevent the integration of the Little Rock schools, and in 1960 they opened peacefully on an integrated basis.

In 1962 violence erupted in Mississippi over the issue of integration of the schools. Mississippi's governor Ross R. Barnett opposed a black student entering the University of Mississippi. But the black student, James H. Meredith, supported by Federal court orders, registered at the University of Mississippi that same year. Several hundred Federal marshals were assigned to protect Meredith. A large mob gathered and

attacked the Federal marshals and two persons were killed. The following day Federal troops occupied Oxford and restored order. James H. Meredith became the first black to attend a public school in Mississippi with white students.

When two black students attempted to enroll at the University of Alabama in 1963, Governor George C. Wallace stood in a doorway as a symbolic gesture of his attempt to block them.

Numerous other confrontations between Federal and state officials occurred throughout the South, but in the end the Federal laws were upheld, and peace and order was restored.

Numerous moves were then made by the blacks to desegregate public transportation. During 1955-56 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. led blacks in Montgomery, Alabama, in a protest boycott against the municipal bus system after Rosa Parks, a black woman, refused to give up her seat to a white man and move to the segregated section of a bus. On November 13, 1956, the Supreme Court nullified the laws of Alabama and the ordinances of Montgomery that required segregation on buses.

Increasing demands of blacks for faster progress in attaining equal rights came in 1964 when President Lyndon B. Johnson asked for the most comprehensive civil rights act to date. The 1964 civil rights act specifically prohibited discrimination in *education, voting*, and the use of *public facilities*. The Federal government at last had a means of enforcing desegregation.

Even though a Voting Rights Act was passed in early 1965, it failed to prevent the rising tide of militance among disenfranchised blacks. *Watts*, a black district in Los Angeles, erupted in a paroxysm of violence, leaving much of the community burned out, and thirty-four dead! "Burn, baby, burn" young black dissidents cried as Watts went up in smoke and ashes.

During 1966 there were riots in practically all major U.S. cities as blacks began shifting to their own independent course of action, as expressed in the concept of black power, led by Stokely Carmichael, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Serious rioting also erupted in Detroit and Newark in 1967.

In spite of all desegregation attempts, varying degrees of segregation continued throughout much of America. During 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Commission) issued a report which said, "our nation is moving toward *two societies*, one black, one white — *separate and unequal*."

During the summer of 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated while in Tennessee. His assassination set off riots in 126 cities all across America.

In the meantime, new forms of *de facto* segregation began raising their ugly head in the North. Now that the northern states were receiv-

ing a flood of southern blacks, they began to feel differently toward them.

But despite all these problems of integration in the U.S., some progress was being made. In 1951, fifty-one percent of all black students were enrolled in predominantly black colleges, but by 1971 only thirty-four percent were in black institutions. And at the primary and secondary levels of education, the South had actually begun to move ahead of the North. By the autumn of 1972, forty-four percent of the black students in the South were in predominantly white schools. But only thirty percent were in predominantly white schools in the North.

Controversial Busing Issue

The early 1970s were plagued by the controversial issue of *busing* which was to be used as a tool to promote integration. Many feel it is more aptly described as a tool of the politicians to be used to get votes. But from the beginning there has been strong opposition to busing. A huge antibusing motorcade of over 3,000 drove from Richmond, Virginia to Washington, D.C. to protest government policies. The higher education bill of 1972 contained three antibusing clauses. But, even so, during the early 1970s, the Supreme Court continued to back busing plans.

As America celebrated her 200th anniversary, the nation was having serious misgivings about the *busing* issue. Boston's busing plan caused widespread disturbances during the 1974-76 school years. The Boston busing disturbances served to renew the national debate over the busing issue during the critical election year of 1976.

In spite of all of America's desegregation difficulties, only about twelve percent of black students in the U.S. still remained in completely segregated schools in 1976.

But even though many laws supporting *de jure* segregation have been declared unconstitutional, *de facto* racial separation has actually increased in the U.S. during recent decades. In actual fact, blacks residing in America's cities were more residentially segregated in the 1960s than in the 1930s! This is hard to understand. But if one is to really grasp this phenomenon, he will have to understand a little about human nature.

Waving a magic governmental legislative wand does not automatically erase discrimination from the minds of people who, all their lives, have been deeply steeped in concepts of discrimination and segregation.

When Federal authorities have tried to force integration on various cities — especially on the schools — the whites have simply fled. This "white fright" followed by "white flight" to the suburbs, or even fleeing out into smaller towns, is something which is beyond governmental legislative control.

“A Racial Showdown”

America has come a long way in helping her citizens overcome much of their prejudice toward minority groups. But the integration laws have not yet succeeded in breaking down all of these barriers. They never will.

As America enters her third century, will she be able to really get a handle on her racial problem? Will it continue to be a thorn in her side, sapping her strength and eroding the unity and happiness of her people?

During the early part of 1976, Roy Wilkins, the executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) said: “I have a feeling that we’re on our way to a *racial showdown* in this country.”

Will the American people be able to rise to the challenge and avert serious racial strife in the coming years? Can the peoples of this great “melting pot” learn to get along — not treating minority groups as second-class citizens? Will the minority groups be able to rise to the occasion — and overlook slights or insult which they may yet endure at the hands of a few?

It is past time for the peoples of America — all ethnic groups — to bury their differences and learn to love and respect all other racial groups — regardless of differences in race, language, religion or social customs.

It is astonishing to realize that even while Americans soared into space, and astronauts cavorted on the moon, back home racial unrest and discrimination were still very much present.

Democracy Versus Communism

Most major events on this earth today are shaped primarily by two political ideologies — Communism and Democracy.

The two superpowers — America and Russia — are the foremost proponents of the world's two main ideologies. American Democracy and Russian Communism are the two socio-political concepts which continue to mold the thinking of the nations around the world.

In what ways are Communism and Democracy different? Can a Communist country also be Democratic?

Roots of American Democracy

American Democracy is deeply rooted in the history of England. In 1215 English barons forced King John to sign the Magna Carta in which the British sovereign granted the nobles certain unassailable rights and privileges.

The democratic idea continued to grow in England from that time forward. When the British-descended colonists from the Mother Country settled in America, they carried with them the deeply-rooted concepts of democracy.

What is democracy? It is simply the concept that "the people" retain sovereign power over matters of the state. The people have the power to make laws and to carry them out through the instrumentality of *voting* on various issues and policies.

But their votes can be cast either directly or indirectly through their chosen representatives who sit in a legislature, parliament, congress or some kind of an assembly.

When the peoples of the Thirteen Colonies declared their Independence in 1776, they were determined that the Government which they would establish over the United States would not be monarchical, autocratic, or in any way dictatorial. They had seen enough abuses of power under the British Sovereigns — especially under King George III. Rather, they would devise a Government which would make sure that all sovereign power would rest in the hands of the people, who they believed would be better qualified to look after their own interests than would one man — or a few men — at the top.

The colonists had had enough of oppressive tyranny, and they wanted no more of it. The instrument which the Thirteen Colonies finally devised as the means of Government was the U.S. Constitution of 1787.

Few Americans realize that the venerable document is the oldest written Constitution in the world. And America is the oldest democracy in all the earth. Many nations have admired America's Constitution — and have used it as a *model* by which they would also try to establish a democratic country.

Founding Fathers and U.S. Constitution

What did some of the Founding Fathers, and early American Presidents think about America's Constitution?

While the U.S. Constitution was being framed — and hotly debated — the 84-year-old Benjamin Franklin asserted:

“In these sentiments sir, *I agree to this Constitution, with all its faults*, if they are such; because I think a General Government necessary for us, and there is no form of government, but what may be a blessing to the people if well administered for a course of years, and can only end in *despotism*, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other.”

Franklin continued his address in which he urged the members to adopt the Constitution as the best that they were likely to get:

“I doubt, too, whether any other Convention we can obtain may be able to make a better Constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all of their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected?”

“So Near to Perfection”

“It therefore astonishes me, sir,” said the aged Franklin, “to find this system approaching *so near to perfection* as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our councils are confounded, like those of the builders of Babel; and that our States are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats. *Thus I consent, sir, to this Constitution, because I expect no better*, and because I am not sure, that it is not *the best*. The opinions I have had of its errors I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. . . .”

Then the far-sighted Franklin urged the delegates to adopt the Constitution — unanimously and heartily:

“ . . . I hope, therefore, that for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of posterity, we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution (if approved by Congress and confirmed by the Conventions) wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavours to the means of having it well administered.”

Shortly afterward the delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 adopted the Constitution, and before long enough States had ratified it to make it the Supreme Law of the land.

George Washington Comments

What did George Washington think of the U.S. constitution and the Government which it established?

In a letter from Washington to Patrick Henry, written from Mount Vernon on September 24, 1787, Washington said “I wish the Constitution, which is offered, had been made more perfect; but I sincerely believe it is the best that could be obtained at this time. And, as a constitutional door is opened for amendment hereafter, the adoption of it, under the present circumstances of the Union, is in my opinion desirable.”

The American “Experiment”

Washington, and subsequent Presidents referred to the American Democratic Government as an “experiment.” Never before in the entire history of the earth had such an experiment been tried. Many, both in America and abroad, thought that the experiment would ultimately collapse amidst the bickerings and feudings of the states, as they proved utterly unable to iron out their differences.

“The Last Best Hope”

It is clear that many early Americans looked upon the U.S. experiment in democratic government as the world’s last best hope for achieving peace, happiness and prosperity.

President Abraham Lincoln, in his Second Annual Message, delivered on December 1, 1862, concluded with these solemn words:

“Fellow citizens, we can not escape history. We of this Congress and this Administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial [the Civil War of 1860-65] through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know

how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We, even we here, hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free — honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. *We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth.* Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just — a way which if followed the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless.”

America’s most dynamic President, Teddy Roosevelt, also looked upon the American democratic republic as a “formidable experiment.” In his Inaugural Address on March 4, 1905, President Teddy Roosevelt urged his fellow-Americans to have gratitude to the Supreme Being for their blessings, and to make sure that they made their Government work to the good of all. He said:

My fellow-citizens, no people on earth have more cause to be thankful than ours, and this is said reverently, in no spirit of boastfulness in our own strength, but with gratitude to the Giver of Good who has blessed us with the conditions which have enabled us to achieve so large a measure of well-being and of happiness. . . .

. . . *Never before have men tried so vast and formidable an experiment* as that of administering the affairs of a continent under the forms of a *Democratic republic*. . . . Upon the success of *our experiment* much depends, not only as regards our own welfare, but as regards the welfare of mankind. *If we fail, the cause of free self-government throughout the world will rock to its foundations*, and therefore our responsibility is heavy, to ourselves, to the world as it is to-day, and to the generations yet unborn. . . .

Yet, after all, though the problems are new, though the tasks set before us different from the tasks set before our fathers who founded and preserved this Republic, the spirit in which these tasks must be undertaken and these problems faced, if our duty is to be well done, remains essentially unchanged. We know that *self-government is difficult*. We know that no people needs such high traits of *character* as that people which seeks to govern its affairs aright through the freely expressed will of the freemen who compose it. But we have faith that we shall not prove false to the memories of the men of the mighty past. They did their work, they left us the *splendid heritage* we now enjoy. We in our turn have an assured confidence that we shall be able to leave *this heritage* unwasted and enlarged to our children and our children’s children. To do so we must show, not merely in great crises, but in the everyday affairs of life, the qualities of practical intelligence, of courage, hardihood, and endurance, and above all the power of devotion to a *lofty ideal*, which made great the men who founded this Republic in the days of Washington, which made great the men who preserved this Republic in the days of Abraham Lincoln.

From Washington, on down through later Presidents such as Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt, our national leaders were very conscious of this “splendid heritage” — the great American “experiment” in Republican Democracy.

But today this noble experiment faces its gravest crisis.

The Communist Threat

Since World War II nearly all of Asia (including China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, etc.) have come under the suffocating influence and the oppressive rule of the Communists. Even Cuba, on our very doorstep, has turned from emulating the ways of the capitalistic and democratic nations of the West, and has adopted Communist ideologies.

Many now look upon *Communism* as the *wave of the future*. They point the finger accusingly — stating that Democracy has failed to bring peace, happiness and prosperity to the world. Now, many people in foreign lands believe it is the turn of the Communists to see what they can do to bring Utopia to the peoples of this weary earth.

There is widespread disillusionment over the failures of Democracy. Many in Western Europe, and some even in America, are beginning to question the basic ideals and concepts of Democracy and its handmaid capitalism. During America's Bicentennial celebration, a major weekly U.S. news magazine ran an in-depth article entitled "Is Democracy Dying?" Another weekly U.S. news magazine ran a cover story: "Can Capitalism Survive?"

These articles in two of America's top news magazines show that many Americans, as well as others, are asking serious questions concerning both Democracy and capitalism. They see that there are many evils inherent in the capitalistic and Democratic system. Many are confused. They don't know where to turn.

As America celebrated her 200th year, many Americans had become turned off over many of the problems which they had witnessed in recent years: Watergate, corporate corruption, scandals among America's political leaders, the failure of the U.S. to bring the Communists to heel in Korea and Vietnam.

One confused, disenchanted American wrote to the author:

"... I hate the political systems of the world; they are all inter-related. Aristocracy evolved into Democracy but unfortunately so does a Republic evolve into a Democracy and *every Democracy that ever was, committed suicide*. Now believe it or not Communism is practically the same as oligarchy and so is Socialism. Every one except a Republic is nothing but a government of the oppressive rich."

It is true that all democracies which existed before the American Democratic model — the great experiment — were rather short-lived. But the American democratic model has already stood for 200 long years! There is a reason why that Government has withstood the storms of conflict and war from within and from without for two long centuries. Survived the terrible Civil War, World War I and II, and also the shocks of violent racial strife, sky-rocketing crime, riots, student unrest, and the corrosive influence of Watergate.

And not only *survived*, but even *thrived* as has no other nation.

Why — how has it survived? To understand, let us review the basic systems of government and compare them.

Three Types of Government

Actually, there are just three basic types of Government: 1) government exercised by *one* person (autocracy, monarchy, or dictatorship), 2) government by the *few* (aristocracy, oligarchy or plutocracy); 3) government by the *majority* (democracy, ochlocracy).

Let us define further the divided types above:

ARISTOCRACY is government by the *best* individuals or by a small privileged class. It is government in which power is vested in a minority consisting of those *believed to be best qualified*.

AUTOCRACY is government in which *one person* possesses unlimited power.

Then there are also the following ancient and modern systems:

COMMUNISM is a theory advocating *elimination of private property*. A system in which goods are owned *in common* and are made available to all as needed, at least in theory. It is a totalitarian system of government in which a single authoritarian party controls state-owned means of production with the professed aim of establishing a stateless society.

DEMOCRACY refers to government *by the people*, especially *rule of the majority*. A government in which the supreme power is vested in *the people* and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a representation usually involving free elections.

DICTATORSHIP is a form of government in which absolute power is concentrated in a *dictator* or a small clique.

MONARCHY is defined as undivided rule or absolute sovereignty by a *single person*. A government having a hereditary chief of state with life tenure and usually absolute powers.

OCHLOCRACY is government by the *mob* — mob rule.

OLIGARCHY is government by the *few*. A government in which a small group exercises control especially for corrupt and selfish purposes.

PLUTOCRACY. This is government by the *wealthy*. A controlling class of rich men.

REPUBLIC. A Republic is a government having a chief of state who is not a monarch and who in modern times is usually a president. It is a government in which supreme power resides in a body of citizens entitled to *vote to elect* officers and representatives responsible to them and who *govern according to law*.

SOCIALISM refers to any of various economic and political theories advocating *collective or governmental ownership and administration of*

the means of production and distribution of goods. It is a system of society in which there is *no private property*. The means of production are owned and controlled by the state.

THEOCRACY, finally, is government of a state by immediate *divine guidance* or by officials regarded as divinely guided.

All humans on this earth are governed by one of the three basic types of government — by *one* man, a *few* men, or by the *many* who have the final say in making, interpreting, and enforcing the supreme laws of the land.

In spite of its imperfections and limitations, there is much more freedom to believe, worship and do as one feels impelled by his own conscience, in a *democracy* — than in a nation which is ruled by a *few* (as in Soviet Russia) or by a single *dictator* (as in Nazi Germany).

Abuses of Democracy

True, there have been many abuses of power in this Democratic Republic. The whole Watergate affair, then the subsequent revelations of CIA and FBI abuses clearly underline the fact that it is possible for power to be misused in a Democracy. Some have even spoken of the “Imperial Presidency” — referring to the tendency for the U.S. Chief Executive to gather near-autocratic power into his hands.

But there are always far more abuses of power in a totalitarian state. Reliable estimates indicate that as many as 25,000,000 may have been killed during the totalitarian regime of the Communist leaders under Joe Stalin. Apparently even larger numbers were liquidated in Communist China. This was done so that glorious Communism could be engrafted onto those nations. But it took massive purges and relentless blood spilling before the peoples of Russia and China would accept Communism.

Not one single nation has ever voluntarily accepted Communism! It is only through the instrumentality of violent revolutionary overthrow of government, or through the superior strength of an outside power, that Communism has ever been engrafted onto any nation.

America's Founding Fathers didn't want the United States to adopt a purely *democratic* form of government, that is, if by “democratic” one means that the *majority* would always decide each issue. The Founding Fathers of these United States did, however, intend that the American governmental system would include the *democratic principle*. They fully understood that it is nearly impossible to have a “pure democracy” where all members of a city state, or county can give their vote, or express their will on every issue.

The early political fathers of this country decided that a “pure

democracy” was out of the question. Many of them deeply distrusted the principle of “majority rule.” America’s Founding Fathers wanted to let “the people” retain the final say. But how could they insure that the people would be able to exercise ultimate control of the government?

The framers of the U.S. Constitution went to great pains to make sure that there was a delicate *balance of powers* between the Federal and State governments. They devised a system of Federal government whereby all powers would be divided among three branches — legislative, judicial and executive. Each of these three branches would be kept strictly separate, and no one who served in one branch could, at the same time, serve in either of the other branches.

Thus, by devising a clever system of *checks and balances*, the Founding Fathers hoped that each of the three branches of U.S. government would keep a watchful eye on the other branches — thus preventing any large-scale abuses of power.

It is true that some of the Communist countries often *claim* to be “democratic,” but this is mere window dressing. They are not true democracies. The Communists only allow a one-party system. Then they put forward their own Communist candidates for the people to elect; but they seldom, if ever, allow a non-Communist to be on the ballot.

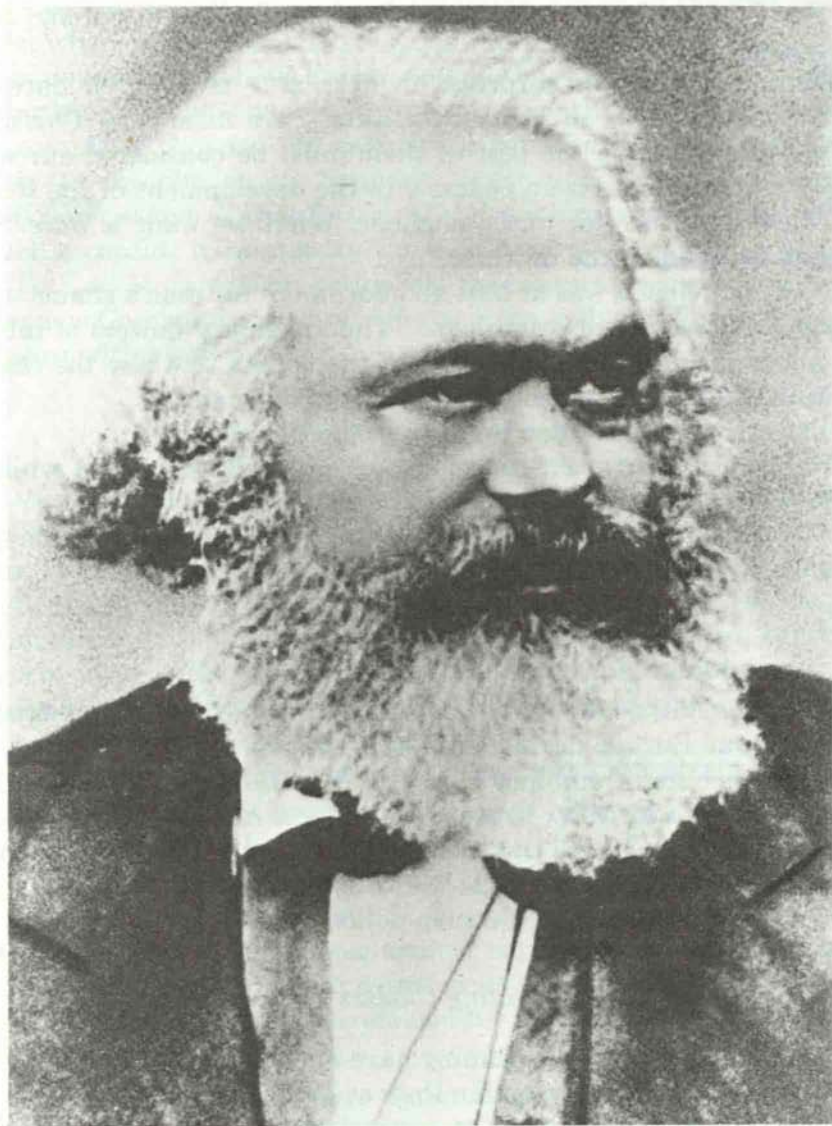
The very fact that “the people” of the U.S., working through their chosen representatives, were able to bring pressure to bear upon President Nixon and force his resignation, bears ample testimony to the fact that the supreme power of the U.S. system still resides with “the people.”

Understanding Communism

What is Communism? This word comes from the Latin word *communis*, meaning *common* or belonging to all. Plato expressed communal ideas in his book *The Republic* in the 300s B.C.

In 1516 an English statesman and philosopher named Sir Thomas More suggested in his book *Utopia* that all citizens share equally the wealth produced by industry. From time to time, others have preached, or even tried to practice, such a doctrine, but the communal idea never got very far until Karl Marx began to aggressively teach his concepts of Communism.

In order to understand Communism, we must realize it is based on *atheism*. Karl Marx, the founder of Communism, once wrote: “Philosophy makes no secret of the fact. Her creed is the creed of Prometheus — ‘In a word, *I detest all the gods.*’ This is her device *against all deities of heaven or earth* who do not recognize as *the highest divinity the human self-consciousness itself.*”



Karl Marx, with the help of Engels, wrote the *Communist Manifesto*. Marx, more than any other man, was the brains behind the Communist movement. — Foto CTK

Karl Marx insisted strongly, "*Religion* is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the feeling of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of unspiritual conditions. *It is the opiate of the people.*"

"The first requisite for the people's happiness," he declared, "is the *abolition of religion.*"

Should one then be surprised to hear at a much later date, the Russian Commissioner of Education state: "*We must hate Christians and Christianity.* Even the best of them must be considered our worst enemies. *Christian love* is an obstacle to the development of the revolution. Down with *love* for one's neighbor. What we want is *hate*. Only then shall we conquer the universe."

To Marx, religion was at best an adornment for man's chains under the oppressive system of capitalism: "The imaginary flowers of religion adorn man's chains. Man must throw off the flowers, and also the chains."

"Man makes religion, religion does not make man."

"The criticism of religion is the basis of all criticism."

"Religion is man's self-consciousness and self-estimation while he has not found his feet in the universe."

"The *abolition of religion,*" said Marx, "as the illusory happiness of the people, is the demand for their real happiness."

Communism Shakes Europe

As Marx's *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848) began circulating throughout Europe during the latter part of the 19th century, the nations' rulers began trembling before this new Communist ideology.

In his *Manifesto*, Marx wrote: "*A spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of Communism.* All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies."

"Let the Ruling Classes Tremble"

Communists from the beginning have openly boasted that they will use *violence*, if necessary, to attain their evil ends:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the *forcible overthrow* of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes *tremble* at the Communist revolution. *The proletarians* [workers] *have nothing to lose but their chains.* They have a world to win."

Karl Marx fully realized that it would take some time before the Socialist ideas could take root, blossom and produce the fruits of a full-blown Communist society. Here is how he thought this would eventually come about:

“In a higher phase of Communist society, when the enslaving subordination of the individual in the division of labor has disappeared, and with it also the antagonism between mental and physical labor; when labor has become not only a means of living, but itself the first necessity of life; when, along with the all-around development of individuals, the productive forces too have grown, and all the springs of social wealth are flowing more freely — it is only at that stage that it will be possible to pass completely beyond the narrow horizon of *bourgeois* rights, and for society to inscribe on its banners: *Jeder nach seinen Faehigkeiten, jedem nach seinen Beduerfnissen* (From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs).”

To Karl Marx, violent action was necessary to bring about the birth of the new Communist society: “*Force* is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one.”

The Pragmatic Lenin

Vladimir Illich Lenin was more of a pragmatist than an idealist. He did, however, follow rather closely the ideological concepts of Karl Marx. It was his goal to put Marx’s theories into practice.

Lenin’s own words clearly reveal his blueprint for the future of Communism: “Mankind can pass directly from capitalism into socialism, i.e., into social ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to the work of the individual. Our party looks further ahead than that: Socialism is bound sooner or later to ripen into Communism, whose banner bears the motto: ‘From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.’”

Do the Communists believe in “Democracy”? If so, what purpose does it serve in their scheme of things?

“Democracy,” said Lenin, “is of great importance for the working class in its struggle for freedom against capitalists. But democracy is by no means a limit one may not overstep; it is only *one of the stages* in the course of development from feudalism to capitalism, and from capitalism to Communism.”

According to Lenin, once Communism was fully established, the state would just wither away. But it is very much apparent that the Soviet Union has anything but withered away. Notice Lenin’s theory regarding the state:

Only Communism renders the state absolutely unnecessary, for there is *no one* to be suppressed — “no one” in the sense of a class. . . .

The fundamental social cause of excesses which consists in violating the rules of social life is the *exploitation* of the masses, their want and their poverty. With the removal of this chief cause, excesses will inevitably begin to “wither away.” We do not know how quickly and in

what succession, but we know that they will *wither away*. With their *withering away, the state will also wither away*.

Only now can we appreciate the full correctness of Engels' remarks in which he mercilessly ridiculed all the absurdity of combining the words "freedom" and 'state.' While the state exists there is *no freedom*. When there is freedom, there will be no state.

The economic basis for the complete *withering away* of the state is that high stage of development of Communism when the antagonism between mental and physical labor disappears, that is to say, when one of the principal sources of modern *social* inequality disappears — a source, moreover, which it is impossible to remove immediately by the mere conversion of the means of production into public property, by the mere expropriation of the capitalists.

It will become possible for the *State to wither away* completely when society adopts the rule: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," i.e., when people have become so accustomed to observing the fundamental rules of social life and when their labor becomes so productive that they will *voluntarily work* according to ability.

Lenin's Religious Bigotry

Lenin, like Karl Marx, was very anti-religion. He declared: "*Religion* is one of the forms of *spiritual oppression* which everywhere weigh upon the masses who are crushed by continuous toil for others, by poverty and loneliness."

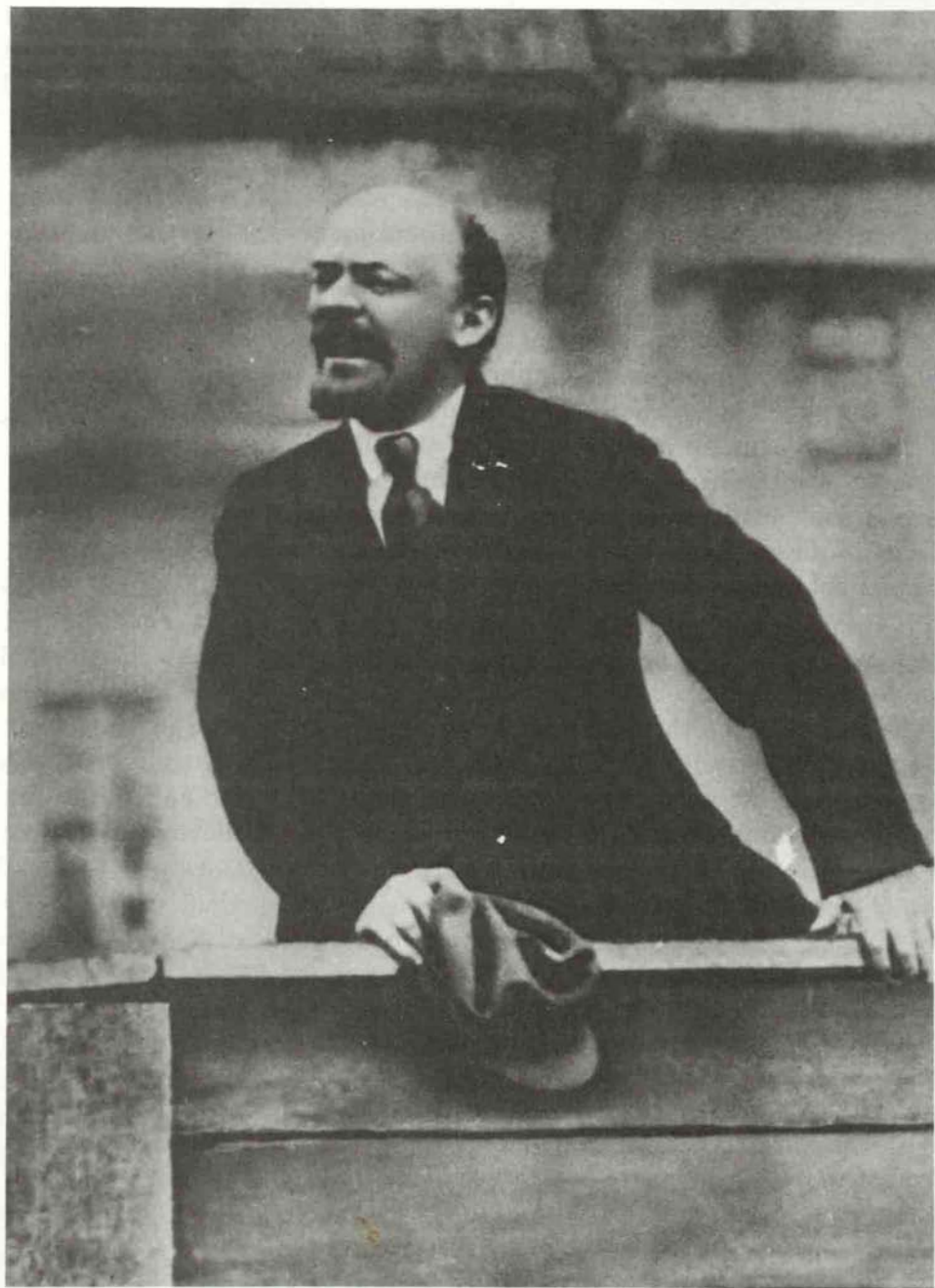
Added Lenin: "*Religion* teaches those who toil in poverty all their lives to be resigned and patient in this world, and consoles them with the hope of *reward in heaven*. As for those who live upon the labor of others, religion teaches them to be charitable in earthly life, thus providing a cheap justification for their whole exploiting existence and selling them at a reasonable price tickets to *heavenly bliss*. Religion is a kind of *spiritual intoxicant*, in which the slaves of capital drown their humanity and blunt their desires for some sort of decent human existence."

Religion to Lenin was like a fog. But he believed it could be tolerated, privately, in the lives of individuals, but *not* in the Communist Party. He said: "The modern *proletariat* (workers) ranges itself on the side of *Socialism*, which, with the help of science, is dispersing the *fog of religion* and is liberating the workers from their faith in a life after death, by rallying them to the present-day struggle for a better life here upon earth."

Lenin bluntly asserted, "Our program necessarily includes the propaganda of *atheism*."

Communist Duplicity

The Communists, according to Lenin, believe in using deceit and trickery to conceal their true aims and thereby to deceive their oppo-



The Fiery Vladimir Illich Lenin took Marx's ideas and fanned Communist ideology until it burst into white hot flames, culminating in the Russian Revolution of 1917. — Foto CTK

nents. This helps explain the devious turns and twists of Soviet foreign policy.

“Every ‘peace program’ is *a deception* of the people and a piece of *hypocrisy* unless its principal object is to explain to the masses the need for a revolution,” Lenin claimed. He added:

“We must be ready to employ *trickery, deceit, law-breaking, withholding and concealing truth*. We can and must write in the language which sows among the masses *hate, revulsion, scorn*, and the like, toward those who disagree with us.”

Lenin believed in using the existing “bourgeois state institutions” when the Communists could employ them to their own advantage — but with the object of *smashing* them ultimately.

“There can be a question only of utilizing *bourgeois state institutions* with the object of *destroying* them. The Communist Party enters such institutions not in order to do constructive work, but in order to direct the masses to *destroy* from *within* the whole bourgeois state machine and parliament itself.”

It is crystal clear from these statements of Lenin that the Communists will use every type of trickery and deceit, every stratagem imaginable to achieve their object. Since they do not believe in a Higher Power, they don’t think they have to answer to anyone (except their Communist masters) for their dastardly deeds; this, therefore, leaves them open to totally exploit the baser elements of human nature.

Was Lenin sincere? Do the Communists really believe in *their way of life* — that it is man’s only salvation?

They certainly do!

Notice Lenin’s answer to this question: “Outside of *Socialism* there is *no salvation* of mankind from war, hunger, and the further destruction of millions and millions of human beings.”

The Communists are dedicated to their cause, and are often willing to die for their beliefs. They believe they are taking part in a deadly struggle between their system (Communism) and Democratic capitalism. They are convinced that one or the other must eventually perish from the earth. Lenin once said: “In the end, one or the other will triumph — *a funeral dirge will be sung over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism.*”

It is clear from the writing of both Marx and Lenin that the Communist leaders of Russia intend to aggressively push Communism to the ends of the earth. Their aim is simple — *world domination!* And they will use every form of deceit or trickery to achieve their goals.

It therefore behooves the peoples of the United States — and the entire world — to beware the menace of Communism!

Now, we should be able to better understand the statement of the

Russian Communist, Dimitry Z. Manuilsky (Soviet Russia's representative who presided over the Security Council at the U.N. in 1949) which he made at the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow:

War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. To win we shall need the element of *surprise*. The *bourgeois* will have to be *put to sleep*. So we shall begin by launching the most *spectacular peace movements* on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. *As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist!*

The Soviet Empire

What is the true extent of Soviet expansionism since World War II?

Since 1939, Soviet Russia has taken over three countries, and parts of five others, in Europe. Six independent Communist-ruled nations in Eastern Europe are now Soviet satellites — and are totally dominated by Moscow. Since the Second World War, in Europe alone, Russia has absorbed 23.6 million people into her empire.

Since that terrible war, the Soviet Union has firmly established its domination, or at least its strong influence, over 64.1 million people in five countries: Outer Mongolia, Laos, North and South Vietnam and North Korea.

In Latin America, Castro's Communist-controlled Cuba — right on Uncle Sam's doorstep — is a staunch ally of the Kremlin, and seeks to export Communism to Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and other parts of this troubled world.

On the continent of *Africa*, the Soviet Union has already established military footholds in two black nations — Angola and Somalia. Not content with that, Russia is trying to extend its sway over Mozambique and other African countries which Moscow hopes are ripe for plucking.

Just how extensive is the modern "Russian Empire"? All told, the Soviet empire — run by the Communists from Moscow — has a strong influence over, controls, or totally dominates 425,500,000 people — nearly *half a billion!* That's about 14 percent of the world's total population. The total area of this sprawling Russian-controlled, Communist empire is 9,896,952 square miles — nearly 19 percent — one-fifth! — of the world's total land mass! Of course, another 800,000,000 people enslaved by Communism are in mainland China — another 22 percent of the world's population!

Democracy and Communism Compared

When one contrasts the founding principles of Communism — atheism, deceit, lying, murder, hate, etc. — with those of American Democracy — freedom of religion, speech, assembly, and the press; honesty, fair play, morality and love of one's fellow-man — then the comparison is like that between night and day.

Compare, for a moment, America's Founding Fathers (Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, etc.) with the founders of the Russian Communist state (Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin) and you will see a vast difference between their basic concepts of life.

The Soviet Communists do not believe in freedom of speech or freedom of the press. Lenin asked: "Why should freedom of speech and freedom of the press be allowed? Why should a government which is doing what it believes is right allow itself to be criticized? It would not allow opposition by lethal weapons. Ideas are much more fatal things than guns."

The Communists consider their Party, their State and their goal of world domination more important than individual rights and liberties.

Russia's national constitution assures Soviet citizens freedom of speech, press, and assembly. It also supposedly guarantees freedom of religious worship and freedom of "anti-religious propaganda."

But there is *a wide gap* between what the Soviet constitution "guarantees" and what the Russians are actually permitted to do. Repeatedly, the Soviet government and the Communist Party have violated and ignored many of the rights set forth in the Russian constitution. Citizens of the USSR are punished severely if they dare publicly criticize government policies, the Communist Party, or their leaders. Alexander Solzhenitsyn was sent to prison for criticizing Joe Stalin in a letter to a "friend" near the end of World War II.

Free Enterprise vs. Communism

One freedom which Americans should highly cherish is their freedom to own property, and to freely buy and sell. The free enterprise system practiced in America and the West enables the economy of a nation to thrive.

The basic theory behind Communism is that the State owns and controls all means of production and distribution. But the system of free enterprise — the capitalistic system — is fundamental to a free, Democratic society.

Somehow, the Communists can't understand that when the State owns and controls everything, the whole system gets bogged down

through indifference. Human nature is such that an individual will work harder, be more diligent, and have much more of a caring attitude toward property — if it is his own property — not that of the State. This fundamental flaw in “human nature” makes it impossible for pure Socialism or Communism to be an efficient economic system!

A Prodigal Returns

Former black militant leader Eldridge Cleaver spent seven long years in self-imposed exile from the United States. During that time he visited many Communist countries.

Like the prodigal son returning home, Eldridge Cleaver (a one time Black Panther revolutionary who formerly plotted to destroy “the pig power structure” of the U.S.) has returned to his beloved country a sadder, but much wiser, American.

He now preaches the gospel of Americanism — saying that the many liberties, privileges, opportunities and blessings which Americans — blacks included! — enjoy here in the United States are far superior to that which the Communists have in their Communist-dominated countries. He claimed: “After all my travels and seeing the Socialists’ world up very close, really seeing how the Soviet Union and China function, well, I now think that the U.S. should be *second to none militarily*, that we have to strengthen, not demise our military.”

Before Cleaver exiled himself into the Communist countries, he looked upon the “enemy” as “U.S. imperialism.” But he now sees the real enemy is the Soviet Union.

Eldridge Cleaver now thinks that most of the Third World countries are nothing but petty dictatorships. But worst of all are the Communist governments who supply their people with the barest necessities and are totally unresponsive to the will of their people.

What makes America so much more attractive to Cleaver? He now realizes that in spite of Uncle Sam’s blemishes, it is far better living in the U.S. than under the Communist leaders.

Cleaver took a good close-up look at Communism in Cuba, Algeria, China, North Korea and North Vietnam, as well as in the Soviet Union, and he now realizes how blessed we Americans are, even those who are less well off, when compared to the average citizen dwelling under the banner of Communism.

Why The Berlin Wall?

Since there are so few real liberties in Communist nations, and because there is often strict control by the state police, many have sought to *flee* from the suffocating influences of a socialistically-Communist

nist state. The Berlin Wall was actually built to keep East Germans from fleeing the “Communist paradise” of Communist East Germany, for the democratically controlled state of West Germany.

The Iron Curtain around Soviet Russia and the Bamboo Curtain encircling Communist China were erected to keep their own oppressed peoples from *fleeing* those countries — while at the same time preventing “contaminating” ideas of Western democracy and capitalism from entering and taking root within.

It is a simple matter of fact that no Communist-run economy has proved efficient. If it were not for the massive importation of Western technology, ideas and business techniques into the Communist countries, they would trail even further behind the West.

How greatly blessed are the peoples who live in the democratic nations of the West — where they enjoy the benefits of a free enterprise system. How richly blessed are the democratic peoples of the West who have so many freedoms that they don't really know what to do with them all — and frequently abuse those very liberties!

Americans need to realize the *stark contrast* between the democratic, free enterprise system of the U.S. and the oppressive Communist way of life which robs the citizens of Communist countries of the freedom, prosperity and joy which, by God-given right, they ought to be able to share with the rest of mankind!

When one compares the actual *fruits* of Communism and Democracy — there really is no comparison. In spite of the many frailties and flaws of Democracy, it is far superior to the atheistic, soul-destroying, initiative-numbing, heartlessness of Communism.

In spite of the problems inherent in the free enterprise system, and despite the “warts” of democracy, all Americans need to realize that they are far better off living under a freely-elected democratic government, than under the corrosive influence of a godless and callously-corrupt Communist regime!

If we Americans don't *cherish* more highly the many priceless *freedoms* we now enjoy, and stoke up the fires of liberty, it is possible we might have to learn about the evils of Communism — from cold, cruel, firsthand experience.

A major question facing us today is whether Democracy — government of, by and for the people — can survive!

Is Democracy Dying?

An article which appeared in *U.S. News & World Report* entitled: “Is Democracy Dying?” pointed out in 1976 that never have so many doubts been raised about democracy's future. Today judgments on democracy range from cautious to depressing. The magazine reported: “In

the U.S., its record recently is found to be anything but dazzling: a disastrous war in *Vietnam*, messy scandals flowing out of *Watergate* and other *abuses of Government power*, and the persistent miseries of *hard times*."

But abroad, the picture is worse. India, "the world's biggest democracy," has accepted the authoritarian yoke. Other nations of Asia and Africa are abolishing ill-fitting democratic raiment and emerging as military dictatorships or tribal autocracies.

Former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Daniel P. Moynihan speaks his mind forthrightly:

"The United Nations has become a locus of a general *assault* by the majority of nations of the world on the principles of *liberal democracy*." He added: "*Democracies are becoming a recessive form of government*, like monarchies used to be — something the world is moving *from*, rather than *to*. We've taken enough punishment lately to wake ourselves up and realize we may be in trouble."

Evidence of growing anxiety over democracy's ability to cope with the complexity and pressures of an urbanized, logical society is everywhere.

Max Beloff, principal of University College at Buckingham, England commented significantly:

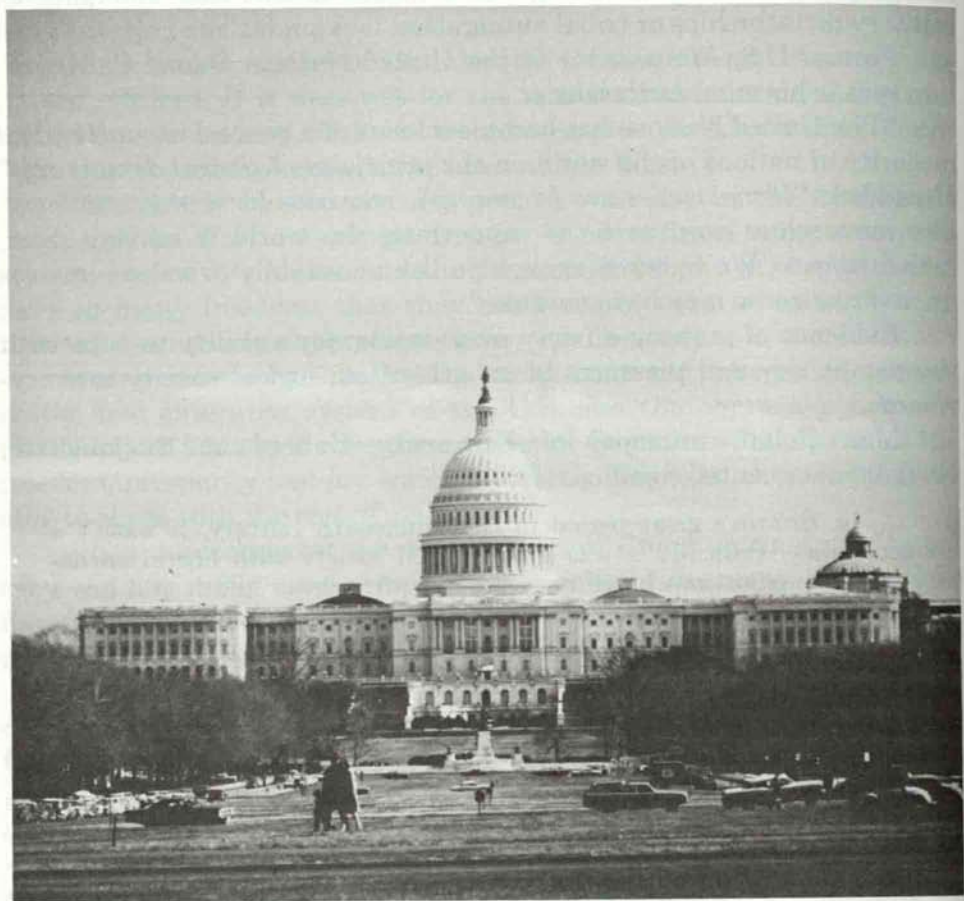
In *Britain's* great period in the nineteenth century, it wasn't a democracy. Basically it was a deferential society with liberal parliamentary institutions based on a property franchise. And it still has a ruling class, or a class giving leadership. What Britain has not been able to cope with, like other countries, is democracy. I'm not at all sure democracy can work except under the very exceptional circumstances existing in the U.S.

Robert L. Heilbroner, author of *The Worldly Philosophers* and *Business Civilization in Decline* (soon to be published) when asked, "Aren't the democracies facing more-immediate troubles?" commented: "Yes. We're up against *a crisis of political faith*. The culture of self-indulgence, hedonism, good-time-ism that has emerged in the last 25 or 50 years is not the kind of culture that brings about political or social cohesion. It's a disruptive culture."

Will our Democracy survive the external threat of International Communism and the threat from within of the crisis of political faith, self-indulgence, hedonism and the crisis in moral values?

Will our noble experiment survive? Will the world's last best hope" long endure?

It will if each of us really appreciate and jealously guard our wonderful liberties!



The beautiful, majestic U.S. Capitol — symbol of the world's oldest democracy. — *Ambassador College Photo*

America, America

As the weary delegates to the Constitutional Convention filed out of Independence Hall on September 17, 1787, a woman, waiting anxiously at the entrance, asked Benjamin Franklin, “Well, Doctor, what have we got, a republic or a monarchy?”

America’s far-seeing elder statesman’s short answer revealed his fears about the future of the American “experiment” in democracy: “A republic, if you can keep it,” replied the eighty-four year old Franklin.

The peoples of these United States should from time to time look back over their 370 years of history — beginning in Jamestown in 1607 — to see just how it was that this vast, fertile land was won. How did we become the world’s richest, most powerful nation?

The peoples who colonized America cherished a burning conviction that they had *a very special mission* to fulfill in life. They nurtured a deep belief that they had a “divinely appointed destiny,” and thought of themselves as “being chosen for a special mission in the world.”

When the devout Pilgrims waded ashore at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, according to their first governor, William Bradford, “they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of Heaven who had brought them from all the perils and miseries.” In 1630, the governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, John Winthrop, wrote: “We shall find that the God of Israel is among us. The eyes of all people are upon us.”

The *Pasadena Star News* (April 13, 1976) clearly described that special feeling: “The sense of divinely appointed destiny, of being chosen for a special mission in the world to bring ‘light to the nations,’ as Scripture phrased it, pervaded the life of the colonial communities, fired the American Revolution, and has tinged the country’s outlook ever since.”

That same conviction of Providential care over these United States has been perpetuated to this very day in America’s Great Seal (as shown on our one dollar bill). America’s official Great Seal illustrates the “eye of God” above an Egyptian pyramid — with the cryptic words “*Annuit Coeptis*” — “He [God] has favored our undertakings.” The early American settlers firmly believed the “eye of God” was upon their under-

takings. His Providential care and protection was often referred to in the early proclamations of Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Madison.

America at "the Summit"

America's ascent to greatness has placed her at the very pinnacle of power and prosperity. While speaking at a dinner held in his honor in New York on May 25, 1949, Winston S. Churchill acknowledged that America had "arrived at the *summit* of the world."

How did the United States get her vast wealth and power? What caused America's meteoric rise to greatness? How could this comparative late-comer on the world scene rise to such an unprecedented pinnacle of economic and military power — leaving all other nations far behind?

Is America's fabulous wealth and her awesome military might the result of her own ingenuity? Was it by mere blind *chance* that we happened to inherit the earth's goodliest heritage — a happy blending of the earth's most productive land with one of the mildest, most salubrious climates?

America's Founding Fathers (especially Washington, Adams and Jefferson) firmly believed that the "Supreme Ruler of Nations" had given the Thirteen Colonies the victory over the far superior British forces. To George Washington, it was clear that it was through the instrumentality of the "Invisible Hand" of "that Almighty Being who rules over the Universe" that America had gained a signal victory over the English.

By the Treaty of Paris of 1783, Britain granted to the U.S. not only the title deed to the original Thirteen Colonies, but also all the land eastward from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic. Just 20 years after 1783, the U.S. acquired the fabulous "Louisiana Territory" west of the Mississippi for only \$15,000,000. This vast tract of land cost America only *four cents per acre!*

In 1819 America bought the Florida Territory from Spain for \$10,000,000. In 1845, the U.S. annexed the Lone Star Republic of Texas; and in 1846, Britain ceded to America the Oregon Territory — thus giving America a window to the Pacific. After Mexico was defeated by America in 1846-47, The Mexican Government ceded to the U.S. the vast California Territory. The U.S. agreed to pay Mexico \$15,000,000.

But would America now be satisfied with her territorial acquisitions? The U.S. bought a sliver of land from Mexico (called the "Gadsden Purchase") in 1853 — for the sum of \$10,000,000. With this purchase of approximately 29,640 square miles from Mexico, the U.S. territory which would comprise the original 48 contiguous states was now complete.

“Seward’s Ice Box”

Russia, as well as Spain and France, had been grasping belatedly for control of the North American continent. She had taken possession of Alaska, and boldly claimed parts of western Canada; in 1812 Russia even established a thriving colony of about 400 people at Fort Ross — just north of San Francisco. But Russia foolishly sold her California colony to John Sutter in 1841 for \$30,000 — only seven years before gold was discovered on Sutter’s property!

Russia, after several years of bargaining, agreed to sell Alaska to the U.S. for only \$7,200,000 — about *two cents per acre!* Many short-sighted Americans disapproved of this U.S. purchase of Alaska, and called it “Seward’s Icebox” and “Seward’s Folly.” After Russia got skinned by her foolish sale of Alaska to America, the Russian bear lumbered back into its lair on the Russian-dominated mainland of Asia.

How fortunate that America purchased Alaska from Russia when she did! That vast, rich land is worth much more than the original purchase price in annual trade, and its strategic value is incalculable.

200 Years of Growth — 1776-1976

How did America of 1776 compare with the America of 1976? When the Thirteen Colonies declared their independence from the Mother Country in 1776, there were only 2,500,000 people living in those colonies — including 500,000 colored slaves. Today, this nation has a thriving population of over 215,000,000 — eighty-six times the population of the colonies at the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

The annual gross national product (all of the goods and services) produced by the Thirteen Colonies at the time of the war of Independence was a little under \$3 billion. America’s annual GNP is now estimated at over \$1.5 trillion.

In 1776 there were six persons per household in the Thirteen Colonies, whereas today there are only three per household. The *median age* of the population of the Thirteen Colonies was about fifteen years; today it’s 28.2 years.

At the time of the American Revolution, the vast majority of Americans lived on farms. Today only a small percent live on farms and only 4 percent of the labor force is employed in farm labor. The annual income per person in the Thirteen Colonies was less than \$500.00. Today, the annual per capita income of the average American is about \$6,000.00 — and is still rising.

According to estimates of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the num-

ber of native Indians living in America in 1776 was less than one million. Today, there are between 600,000 and 1,000,000 descendants of those original native Indian tribes. Many were killed in the successive wars which ravaged the North American continent, for nearly three centuries; but far greater numbers died as a result of terrible plagues which ravaged their numbers.

World's Highest Living Standard

America has come a long way since 1776.

Despite inflation and heavy taxes, Americans today enjoy the world's highest standard of living! The average U.S. worker still puts in far less work time than his European or Japanese counterpart in order to earn enough to buy the necessities (such as food and clothing) or the luxuries (such as second homes, and automobiles, luxury cars, expensive sports equipment, color TV, etc.).

The average American industrial worker earns nearly \$5 per hour, and the median family income is now over \$14,200.00. Even though the average Swiss or Swedish worker earns a higher wage than his American counterpart, yet their oppressive taxes and burdensome government deductions of various types, means that the average Swiss or Swedish worker actually has less take-home pay than does the typical American worker. And since most goods and services are far cheaper in the U.S. than in Europe and Japan, the average American wage will stretch much further than the wage of any other developed country.

Furthermore, inflation (about 7%) is considerably lower in the U.S. than in most of the other industrial nations where it often ranges from about 12% to 25% annually. Thus, in spite of inflation and rising taxes in the U.S., a husband and wife and their two children enjoyed an average 2.1 percent *gain* in their real take-home pay during the ten-year period of 1963-73. And it is interesting to note that an annual improvement increase of only 2 percent or so in real take-home pay actually results in the *doubling* of the living standard every thirty-five years!

What does all this add up to? America's 87 million employed workers now produce about one-third of all of the goods and services of the entire world! Remember, the total worldwide gross national product is just a little over \$4 trillion, while America's GNP is now running a little over \$1.5 trillion.

The per capita income worldwide is now approximately \$1,000 — just one sixth of America's per capita income.

How does the living standard of the average American compare with that of the average citizen of the typical industrial nation? Overall, the typical U.S. citizen is about 25% to 35% better off than his counterpart living in the *advanced* nations of the world!

America's Natural Resources

America's fantastic natural resources give her a virtual guarantee (if she uses them rightly) that the U.S. will *continue* to enjoy the highest standard of living for years to come.

The U.S. possesses about one third of all known *coal reserves* in the world. This abundant supply of energy, if properly utilized, is sufficient to supply all our energy needs for centuries to come. America's natural resources (iron, oil, aluminum, etc.) are generally quite good, though the U.S. continues to have to import more and more minerals as well as more oil and gas.

But America's chief physical asset is her vast, rich *farmland* much of which, unfortunately, she is using up as she continues to build sprawling cities on some of her best croplands. Even though the U.S. population of over 215 million comprises only 6% of the world's population of four billion, and this tiny 6% also possesses about 6% of the land of the world, at the same time they possess 18% of the world's cropland. This means that America enjoys approximately three times the world average in arable farmlands. And this 18% of the world's cropland comprises some of the very best land in the world.

What all of this adds up to is simply this: the average American still enjoys a higher standard of living than anyone in the world. We have been blessed with more resources and other material possessions than any people on earth!

But what are we doing with those fantastic blessings? Are we using them wisely? Are we grateful for them? Or, have we become ungrateful, careless, and profligate?

John Steinbeck once said: "If I wanted to *destroy a nation* I would give it too much and I would have it on its knees, miserable, greedy and sick."

America — Land of Opportunity

Ever since the discovery of North America, this Fair Land has rightly been looked upon as the *land of opportunity*. Early explorers sent glowing reports back to Europe — telling of the super-abundance of wildlife, fish, fowl, timber, fruits, rich vegetation, sparkling rivers and natural resources. Ralph Waldo Emerson once said: "*America is another name for opportunity. Our whole history appears like a last effort of divine Providence in behalf of the human race.*"

Since the beginning of colonization of this fair continent, foreigners have flocked to our shores seeking freedom, opportunity and the good life! America has been — and continues to be — a *haven* for the poor, down-trodden, oppressed peoples of this earth.

The Statue of Liberty

No other symbol in the whole world so vividly portrays, in symbolic imagery, the deep, human yearning for true freedom as America's famed Statue of Liberty, standing majestically on Liberty Island in New York Harbor.

The Statue of Liberty represents a proud, free woman, dressed in a loose robe which falls in graceful folds to the top of the pedestal on which she stands. The right arm holds a great torch (representing enlightenment) raised high in the air. The left arm holds a tablet bearing the date of Declaration of Independence — 1776!

On the head of this proud, free woman rests a crown with huge spikes — representing the illuminating rays of the sun. At the feet of the Statue of Liberty is a broken shackle — symbolizing the overthrow of tyranny.

This symbolic statue stands 151 feet high, and weighs 450,000 pounds. The torch in the woman's hand rises 305 feet above the base of the pedestal. At night, the torch gleams with powerful incandescent and mercury-vapor lights — a symbol of *Liberty Enlightening the World*.

The liberty-loving people of France presented the Statue of Liberty to the U.S. Minister in Paris, on July 4, 1884. On October 28, 1886, President Grover Cleveland dedicated the Statue of Liberty. It was then unveiled before representatives of the United States and France.

In 1903, a poem written by Emma Lazarus was inscribed on a tablet in the pedestal of the statue. The words from that sonnet beckon the world's "huddled masses."

Not like the brazen giant [i.e. Colossus of Rhodes]
of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "*Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!*"



Statue of Liberty beckons to the world: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free!" — *H. Armstrong Roberts*

This noble "Lady of Liberty" has welcomed millions of immigrants into her bosom. In 1910, the peak year of immigration, 1,041,570 immigrated to America.

As these peoples — mostly from Europe — poured into the great American "melting Pot," they brought with them different cultures, religions, laws and social customs. But the freedom loving peoples of America have generally embraced these new-comers — the down-trodden, oppressed peoples of the earth — with open arms.

Here in America, the less fortunate peoples from other nations can — if they really apply themselves diligently — earn a good living and learn to breathe freely the invigorating air of a free society.

Since its inception in 1776, this nation has been a generous, magnanimous, open-armed nation — beckoning to the "huddled masses" of the less fortunate nations to flee to our shores for succor and for refuge.

Many tens of millions of aliens have found comfort and refuge in this wonderfully blessed country. Ellis Island served as the "gateway to America for 16 million," until it was abandoned in 1954.

Just think of that for a moment. Sixteen million aliens passed through the Ellis Island immigration center!

But not all aliens enter this country legally. As proof that this American Democratic Republic — in spite of its many shortcomings and blemishes — is still a pretty good place in which to live, consider the following: Some estimate that there are now about 8.2 million *illegal aliens* living within these United States. And in spite of the fact that most of them take our jobs, use our free government services and handouts — we, in the main, tolerate these abuses with benign indifference! Deep down, all of us know that our ancestors came to this country as aliens — in the not-too-distant past. And if the impenetrable immigration barriers prevent millions who would like to enter this blessed land from so doing, many Americans are willing to turn a blind eye when someone succeeds. In the main, our problem of coping with ever-growing numbers of illegal aliens is treated more as a petty annoyance than as a serious problem.

In many lands around the world, illegal aliens would be treated harshly — might be imprisoned, or in some instances, they would simply be shot. Here in the U.S., we often help bind up their wounds, give them clothes and food, find them a job, and in that way welcome most of them into our midst.

There are many reasons why millions of aliens enter this country illegally. Some are only after money, and much of what they earn is often sent back "home." But the broad majority, undoubtedly, hope to escape detection, and make America their permanent home — for they long to have their children grow up in the world's most blessed nation!

We in America sometimes take our manifold blessings for granted.

In fact, the average American lives like a king or queen in comparison with the poor, down-trodden, illiterate masses of humanity, barely eking out an existence.

Is America too Privileged?

No nation in the entire history of the world has ever been so blessed as these United States of America. America's sin of national ingratitude is sometimes quite obvious to others. Kakuei Tanaka, the late Prime Minister of Japan, seemed to sense our national ingratitude — our taking our many blessings for granted — when he commented: "I often wonder why you [Americans] worry so much about domestic problems when you have such an abundance of resources. For example, look at American agricultural productivity. It's easy for the U.S. to expand its output whenever it chooses. We can't do that in Japan. When I compare the situation here in Japan with the situation in your country, I think that as a nation you are too privileged."

The late Prime Minister of Japan then added: "Yes, *I think God has not been very fair* in the distribution of resources."

"The U.S.," said he, "has many domestic problems, and some Americans may be deeply concerned about the way their country is being run. But of all the 3.7 [now over 4.0] billion people on this earth, Americans have the most stable economy, they have an abundance of resources available within their own country, and they have more investments abroad than any other country. So in terms of broad economic activity, the influence of the United States, as such, has not changed at all."

Was the late Prime Minister Tanaka correct?

Was Tanaka right?

"What Is An American?"

Hector St.-Jean de Crevecoeur (1735-1813) in his "Letters From an American Farmer" asked:

What then is the American, this new man? . . . He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in a broad lap of our great *Alma Mater*. Here individuals of all nations are *melted into a new race of men*, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world The American is *a new man*, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labour, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence. This is an American.

These are the proud Americans. But have we forgotten our epic past — our splendid heritage?

Have today's Americans forgotten the "Miracle of Dunkirk"? Do we still remember the Providentially directed outcome of the "Battle of Britain"? Do we no longer remember the Allies' signal victory at *El Alemain* — one of the turning points of World War II? Are we oblivious to the many miracles that were performed by Providence at critical times in our history?

How many Americans who still daily draw the breath of freedom have forgotten that during World War II there was a feverish race between the scientists of Nazi Germany and the Allies to acquire the world's first A-bomb? And how many (or how few!) Americans have even heard about the Allies' Ultra Secret — the possession of the Axis Powers' *Enigma machines* by which the Allies often learned directly from Hitler and his top generals exactly what the Nazis intended to do next?

As America enters her third century of national existence, has she forgotten there was Providential intervention on behalf of the Allies during the Second World War? Churchill firmly believed there had been divine intervention: "I have a feeling sometimes that some *Guiding Hand has interferred*. I have a feeling that *we have a Guardian* because we have a great Cause, and we shall have that Guardian so long as we serve that Cause faithfully. And what a Cause it is!"

Lest We Forget

We as a nation must be careful — lest we forget the many signal blessings and Providential interventions during our long, proud history. If we aren't constantly mindful and if we don't cherish and guard our many blessings — including our liberties — then we could lose those precious freedoms during this, our third, century!

America's Founding Father's were very concerned about the future of the United States. They feared the corrupting influence of moral degeneracy and political unsoundness in the America of the future.

In 1837, Daniel Webster said: "I apprehend no danger to our country from a foreign foe. Our destruction, should it come at all, will be from another quarter. From the inattention of the people to the concerns of their government, from their *carelessness* and *negligence*, I must confess that I do apprehend some danger."

In January, 1838, Abraham Lincoln warned: "If danger ever reaches us it must spring up amongst us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time, or die by suicide."

In President George Washington's First Inaugural Address, April

30, 1789, he warned "that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained."

General Douglas MacArthur, speaking on December 12, 1951, said: "In this day of gathering storm, as the moral deterioration of political power spreads its growing infection, it is essential that every spiritual force be mobilized to defend and preserve the religious base upon which this nation was founded. For it is that base which has been the motivating impulse to our moral and national growth. History fails to record a single precedent in which nations subject to moral decay have not passed into political and economic decline. There has been either a spiritual reawakening to overcome the moral lapse, or a progressive deterioration leading to ultimate national disaster."

Guarding Our American Heritage

What should the peoples of America do to make sure that their nation isn't destroyed from *within* or from without? How can we make certain that we overcome our national malaise of complacency, immorality and lawlessness in order to attain far greater "greatness" during our third century?

Today, as during early colonial times, America is a "religious" nation. According to a recent Gallup Poll, 98 percent of all Americans profess to believe in God.

But a simple profession of *belief* in a Supreme Being will not necessarily insure that our peoples follow the wise laws He has given all mankind.

We need to remember Washington's admonition spoken to our nation during his Farewell Address: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert *these great pillars of human happiness* in these *firmest props* of the duties of men and citizens."

President Calvin Coolidge realized that religion and true morality are inseparable: "We do not need more material development, we need more spiritual development. We do not need more intellectual power, we need more moral power. We do not need more knowledge, we need more character. We do not need more government, we need more culture. We do not need more law, we need more religion. We do not need more of the things that are seen, we need more of the things that are unseen. It is that side which is the foundation of all else. If the foundation be firm, the superstructure will stand."

America's Founding Fathers, and many of her greatest leaders down through the last two centuries have clearly recognized that *morality* and *religion* are corner stones of national greatness.

Strengthen Family Ties

Most of America's religious leaders and sociologists realize that much of what is wrong with the United States today is the direct result of a serious break-down in family life. The real strength of a nation rests on the firm basis of strong family units. If family life is weakened, immorality, juvenile delinquency, crime and general lawlessness will prevail in the nation — especially in the up-and-coming younger generation.

What can America do to strengthen her family ties?

This nation needs to “put *father* back at the head of the family.” If there is not a strong father figure heading the family, there is less likelihood of having a happy, well-knit strong family unit.

The overwhelming majority of American families need to put *God* back at the very center of the home. All too many families either totally *ignore* the Creator, or pay him mere lip service. It has been said that “A family that prays together, stays together!” There is a lot of truth in that statement. The homes of George Washington and Dwight D. Eisenhower were homes where Scripture reading and prayer were practiced.

How many parents teach their children the sound principles in the “Volume of Inspiration” — i.e., the Bible (to use the words of President John Adams)?

How many heads of families ever conduct family *prayer* — or regularly give *thanks* to the “Divine Author of Every Good and Perfect Gift” (in the words of President James Madison), for the food on their table?

Can a strong, stable family be built on any other foundation than that which puts the Word of God, plus a wholesome fear and deep love toward the Creator-Ruler paramount?

True Americanism

How many young Americans are being taught — in the home, at school, and especially while in college — the principles of *true Americanism*? How many of today's younger generation of Americans are being taught true loyalty and allegiance to our flag and our country?

How many even know the words to our national “Pledge of Allegiance”? “I pledge allegiance to the *flag* of the United States of America and to *the republic* for which it stands, one nation *under God*, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.”

How many Americans today practice true Americanism?

True Americanism was defined by Teddy Roosevelt as follows:

Americanism means the virtues of courage, honor, justice, truth, sincerity and hardihood — the virtues that made America. The things that will destroy America are prosperity-at-any-price, peace-at-any-price, safety-first instead of duty-first, the love of soft living and the get-rich-quick theory of life.

All Americans ought to be taught a deep respect for, and loyalty toward, their nation. We should to do all within our power to keep our nation strong.

And no person can be truly loyal to his country, while he has contempt for the Constitution and for those national or state laws which regulate the life of the community.

Abraham Lincoln sometimes didn't agree with some of the laws of the land — especially those concerning slavery. But nonetheless, he made it clear that he would obey those laws as long as they were on the books, but would, through proper legislation, seek to have laws which he considered bad repealed. He did not, however, believe he could flout the laws — becoming a law unto himself. Rather, he taught strict obedience to the laws of the land. In 1838, Lincoln said:

Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular, the *laws* of the country; and never to tolerate their violation by others Let *reverence for the laws*, be breathed by every American mother, to the lisping babe, that prattles on her lap — let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; — let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice.

Our National Goal

The American peoples once believed they had a Divine commission to take the blessings of liberty, industry, frugality, knowledge, and Christianity to the rest of the world. Americans once looked upon themselves as the “Chosen People” of the end time — the “Elect of God.” Today, however, it seems we have lost all our goals — our national purpose — other than seeking as many pleasures as possible.

Even in the conduct of our foreign policy, it is now clear that America doesn't seem to have a firm national goal. The thought of giving up America's “in perpetuity” rights — written plainly in our treaty with Panama — once upon a time would have been exceedingly repugnant to the average American.

U.S. foreign policy weakness is revealed in our acceptance of a stalemate in Korea, a humiliating defeat in Vietnam, and our giving Russia our pledge not to invade a belligerent, Communistic Cuba. Dur-

ing the 1976 primaries, almost all of the major contenders for the Presidency — except Ronald Reagan, who says we should be willing to fight to retain our right over the Panama Canal — were willing to hand the Canal back over to Panama!

Teddy Roosevelt, who once said, “I took the Canal, and let Congress debate it later,” would probably turn over in his grave if he knew what American leadership is now in the process of doing!

George Washington counselled that America should not have favorite, or perpetual enemy nations — but should pursue friendly, equitable relations with all nations in both commerce and in the political sphere. The Father of our Country counselled: “It is our true policy to *steer clear of permanent alliances* with any portion of the foreign world (but) we may safely trust to *temporary alliances* for extraordinary emergencies.”

America’s third President, Thomas Jefferson advised his fellow Americans: “Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship, with all nations — entangling alliances with none”

America now has “entangling alliances” with about one third of all the nations on the face of the earth. We are committed to the defense of so many nations, that our national will and strength has been needlessly sapped. We need to listen to Benjamin Harrison, who in 1888 said: “We Americans have no commission from God to police the world.”

Admittedly, America has had good intentions, and has wanted to help as many nations as possible. We have tried to export our “American Democracy” to many other nations. But we have failed to realize that not all countries have the means to make Democracy work.

Furthermore, we need to remember that America simply doesn’t have the wealth, the military power, the human resources, or the wisdom to “police the whole world.” We are unable to usher in the Golden Age of pax-Americana throughout the world. For any one nation to police the entire world would take messianic abilities which no country on earth has.

America can help those nations which are willing and able, with our assistance, to overcome their poverty, ignorance, or degradation. We can help those who are willing to help themselves, but we can’t do everything for them.

America’s foreign policy should be based on integrity, firmness, fairness, morality — and military preparedness.

“To be *prepared for war* is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace,” said George Washington in January, 1790. That still applies.

But America’s true strength should rest primarily in the *moral* and

spiritual character of her peoples — not solely on her superior scientific technology and highly sophisticated weaponry!

The "Fearful Atomic Dilemma"

America has been fearfully and wonderfully blessed. And yet, with all of our affluence and power, we — just like all other nations — could lose everything in the twinkling of an eye — amidst the blinding flashes of a few strategically placed bombs.

Is it possible that the world's richest, most powerful nation could disappear as a world power within only minutes — as hideous mushroom clouds formed over our major cities and military installations?

President Dwight D. Eisenhower addressed the General Assembly of the U.N. on December 8, 1953. In that address he candidly admitted to the whole world that in this nuclear era, mankind has the awful problem of the fearful atomic dilemma.

Mr. Eisenhower continued his warning:

But let no one think that the expenditure of vast sums for weapons and systems of defense can guarantee absolute safety for the cities and citizens of any nation. The awful arithmetic of the atomic bomb does not permit of any such easy solution. Even against the most powerful defense, an aggressor in possession of the effective minimum number of atomic bombs for a surprise attack could probably place a sufficient number of his bombs on the chosen targets to cause hideous damage.

Should such an atomic attack be launched against the United States, our reactions would be swift and resolute

To pause there would be to confirm the hopeless finality of a belief that *two atomic collossi are doomed malevolently to eye each other indefinitely across a trembling world*. To stop there would be to accept helplessly the probability of civilization destroyed — the annihilation of the irreplaceable heritage of mankind handed down to us from generation to generation — and the condemnation of mankind to begin all over again the age-old struggle upward from savagery toward decency, right, and justice.

Nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since America's President expressed his — and America's — fervent desire and "determination to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma," but we have found *no solution*.

Since President Eisenhower's address before the U.N. in 1953 the danger of a nuclear holocaust has increased. At that time there were only three atomic powers; now there are seven or more nations which possess nuclear bombs!

And so . . . the atomic club continues to grow — and with the enlargement of that "elite" club, the chances of World War III being ignited — even accidentally — grows infinitely larger!

Right this moment, off America's Atlantic and Pacific coasts, Soviet subs carrying deadly nuclear-tipped missiles prowl international waters

— playing hide and seek with America's naval forces. Furthermore, there are deadly nuclear-tipped missiles stationed in various sites throughout the Soviet Union — with their payloads preprogrammed to hit every major U.S. city — as well as all of America's strategic military objectives.

America likewise, has its doomsday nuclear-tipped missiles poised, ready to strike pre-arranged targets throughout Russia. The U.S. has deadly land-based nuclear-tipped missiles, submarine-launched missiles, and a large fleet of bombers loaded with bombs which would make World War II's biggest bombs seem like mere firecrackers!

Where will it all end? Will there be a nuclear Armageddon which will erase all life from this planet?

The late President John F. Kennedy eloquently told delegates at the U.N. Assembly in 1961: "Mankind must put an end to war — or war will put an end to mankind.

"Today," said President Kennedy, "every inhabitant of this planet must contemplate the day when this planet may no longer be habitable. The mere existence of modern weapons — 10 million times more powerful than any that the world has ever seen, and only minutes away from any target on earth — is a source of horror.

"Together," said the grim President, *"we shall save our planet — or together we shall perish in its flames."*

But what is America to do? Is she to sit idly back, while listening agonizingly to the monotonous tick of the doomsday clock — which brings us all ever nearer the awful reality of a nuclear Armageddon?

We have been humbled by our post-World War II military defeats, bruised by our sordid Watergate mess, shamed by our widespread corporate and private scandals. But in spite of our soaring crime, juvenile delinquency, broken homes, widespread debilitating illnesses, gross immorality and lessening patriotism — we as a nation still have some redeeming traits of character.

Let nobody write off America *yet*.

"True National Greatness"

How can America make sure that she achieves her ultimate goal of "true national greatness"?

In 1899, before Teddy Roosevelt became President, he pointed Americans the way toward "true national greatness." He asserted:

We do not admire the man of timid peace. We admire the man who embodies *victorious effort*; the man who never wrongs his neighbor, who is prompt to help a friend, but who has those virile qualities necessary to win in the stern strife of actual life. It is hard to fail, but it is worse never to have tried to succeed. In this life we get nothing save by effort.

Teddy Roosevelt then added:

I preach to you, then, my countrymen, that our country calls not for the life of ease but for the life of *strenuous endeavor*. The twentieth century looms before us big with the fate of many nations. If we stand idly by, if we seek merely swollen, slothful ease and ignoble peace, if we shrink from the hard contests where men must win at hazard of their lives and at the risk of all they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by, and will win for themselves the domination of the world. Let us therefore boldly face the life of strife, resolute to do our duty well and manfully, resolute to uphold righteousness by deed and by word, resolute to be both honest and brave, to serve high ideals, yet to use practical methods. Above all, let us shrink from no strife, moral or physical, within or without the nation, provided we are certain that the strife is justified, *for it is only through strife, through hard and dangerous endeavor, that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness.*

This dynamic American leader also said:

Those who tell the Americans of the future what the Americans of today and of yesterday have done will perforce tell much that is *unpleasant*. Nevertheless, when the tale is finally told, I believe that it will show that the forces working for good in our national life outweigh the forces working for evil, and that, with *many blunders and shortcomings*, with much *halting and turning aside* from the path, we shall yet in the end prove our faith by our works, and show in our lives our belief that *righteousness exalteth a nation.*

How prophetic! Since the days of Teddy Roosevelt, America has evinced many blunders and shortcomings, and has often shown “much halting and turning aside from the path.” But it is not too late for America to get back on the path which this nation trod during its infancy.

It is the firm conviction of the author that one way in which America has turned aside from the path — the true course — set by the Founding Fathers of this nation is in her neglect of the “Pillars” of true “religion and morality” — to use the words of Washington. Has America forgotten the memory of her first President on his knees at Valley Forge — praying to “the great Ruler of Nations” for guidance and victory?

Has this nation forgotten the advice of its 84-year-old elder statesman, Benjamin Franklin, who stood up during the Constitutional Convention in 1787 and urged the delegates to have *daily prayer* — asking for Divine guidance in their important deliberations?

Many today seek to debunk the Founding Fathers — to cast doubts on their integrity and their faith in a Supreme Ruler. Pay them no heed.

Benjamin Franklin in his *Autobiography* stated his belief in a Supreme Being. He wrote:

I had been religiously educated as a Presbyterian; and . . . I never was without some religious principles. *I never doubted, for instance, the*

existence of the Deity; that he made the world, and governed it by his Providence; that the most acceptable service of God was the doing good to man and that all crime will be punished, and virtue rewarded, either here or hereafter.

America's second President, John Adams, wrote in 1816: "Dupuis has made no alteration in my opinion of the Christian religion, in its *primitive purity* and simplicity, which I have entertained for more than sixty years. It is the religion of reason, equity and love; it is the religion of the head and of the heart."

The third U.S. President, Thomas Jefferson, once wrote a good friend, explaining to him that his religious beliefs were the "result of a life of inquiry and reflection, and are very different from the Anti-Christian system attributed to me by those who know nothing of my opinions. To the corruptions of Christianity I am indeed opposed, but not to the genuine precepts of Jesus himself. I am a Christian, but I am a Christian only in the sense in which I believe Jesus wished anyone to be, sincerely attached to his doctrine in preference to all others"

All of America's presidents except four — Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson and Rutherford B. Hayes — were formally affiliated with a Christian church. But this does not mean that the four Presidents with no formal church affiliation were atheists — or that they weren't just as "Christian" as the other Presidents.

Lincoln once said: "I never behold them [the heavens filled with stars] that I do not feel I am looking in the face of God. I can see how it might be possible for a man to look down upon the earth and be an *atheist*, but I cannot conceive how he could look up into the heavens and say *there is no God.*"

Dwight D. Eisenhower was also a very religious man. He said:

"The *Bible* is endorsed by the ages. Our civilization is built upon its words. In no other book is there such a collection of inspired wisdom, reality and hope. It describes the condition of man and the promise of man with such power that, through many eras and generations, it has made the mighty humble and has strengthened the weak."

On another occasion, Eisenhower said: "Like stored wisdom, the lessons of the Bible are useless unless they are lifted out and employed. A faithful reading of Scripture provides the courage and strength required for the living of our time."

The Invisible Thread

Many Americans have forgotten that America's greatest Presidents — Washington and Lincoln — were both deeply sincere, and very religious men.

Furthermore, many modern Americans appear to have forgotten

that divine Providence, like an invisible thread, has guided the destiny of this great nation since its inception in 1776, and will continue to guide us, — if we sincerely look to Him for that badly needed guidance.

It is the author's firm belief that there exists, for those who have eyes to see, an invisible thread revealing an unseen Guiding Hand — in the affairs of this nation from its very beginning right up to this time in history. This great "Unseen Hand" has guided America through her birth, and her tumultuous years of growth — as she became the world's foremost economic and military giant. It is that great Being who has brought America to her present exalted position at the very pinnacle of world greatness.

But we need to ask: Are we — is America! — in danger of *losing* that Divine guidance and protection?

On March 4, 1809, President James Madison made the following frank admission to the nation:

"But the source to which I look for the aids which alone can supply my deficiencies is in the well-trying intelligence and virtue of my fellow-citizens, and in the counsels of those representing them in the other departments associated in the care of the national interests. In these my confidence will under every difficulty be best placed, *next to that which we have all been encouraged to feel in the guardianship and guidance of that Almighty Being* whose power regulates the destiny of nations, whose blessings have been so conspicuously dispensed to *this rising Republic*, and to whom we are bound to address our devout gratitude for the past, as well as our fervent supplications and best hopes for the future."

Do we still place our confidence in the guidance and guardianship of the Almighty?

"The Golden Hopes of Men"

Teddy Roosevelt declared back in 1912:

"In the long fight for *righteousness* the watchword for all of us is *spend and be spent*. It is of little matter whether any one man fails or succeeds; but *the cause* shall not fail, for it is the cause of mankind.

We, here in America, hold in our hands *the hope of the world*, the fate of the coming years; and shame and disgrace will be ours if in our eyes the light of high resolve is dimmed, *if we trail in the dust the golden hopes of men.*"

Will the peoples of these beloved United States let this "hope of the world" be dimmed and "trail in the dust"? Will we let crime, scandals, lawlessness and immorality, so weaken us as a nation that — regardless of our technology and our great affluence — we fall easy prey to an aggressor nation, bent on destroying us?

Or will this nation shift itself back firmly on its true foundation — the foundation of the “indispensable supports” of true “religion and morality” — “these *great pillars* of human happiness — these *firmest props* of the duties of men and citizens”?

Once before in our history America faced an awesome crisis similar in many respects to the global crisis facing us today.

At that time Abraham Lincoln said:

We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of Heaven; we have been preserved these many years in peace and prosperity; we have grown in numbers, wealth, and power as no other nation has ever grown. *But we have forgotten God.* We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us, and we have vainly imagined, in the deceitfulness of our hearts, *that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virtue of our own.* Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, *too proud to pray to the God that made us.*

On October 20, 1864, as the tragic Civil War neared its termination, a visibly saddened Lincoln issued a Thanksgiving Day Proclamation in which he urged his fellow-Americans to properly observe the soon-coming Thanksgiving day “as a day of thanksgiving and praise to Almighty God the beneficent Creator and Ruler of the Universe. And I do further recommend to my fellow-citizens aforesaid that on that occasion they do reverently *humble themselves in the dust and from thence offer up penitent and fervent prayers and supplications to the Great Disposer of Events for a return of the inestimable blessings of peace, union, and harmony throughout the land which it has pleased Him to assign as a dwelling place for ourselves and for our posterity throughout all generations.*”

Have modern Americans, as in the days of President Lincoln “forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us”?

Way back in 1765 — eleven years before America declared her Independence — John Adams wrote: “Let the pulpit resound with the doctrines and sentiments of religious liberty. Let us hear the danger of thralldom to our consciences from ignorance, extreme poverty, and dependence, in short, from civil and political slavery. Let us hear the dignity of his [man’s] nature, and the noble rank he holds among the works of God . . . and that God Almighty has promulgated from heaven, liberty, peace and goodwill to man!”

America needs to examine and heed the lessons of history. All of the mighty nations and empires of the ancient world crumbled from internal weakness. The ancient, impregnable city of Babylon was conquered through the debauched carelessness of its heedless inhabitants. Rome

fell from its lofty grandeur because of its immorality, lack of character and self-restraint, and spirit of hedonism.

Every ancient empire rose to greatness when its people were sturdy, hardy, and valiant. Every empire fell when its people lost their sense of purpose, their character and self-restraint and began loving the life of ease, complacency, self-indulgence and moral lassitude.

China built a great wall to keep out invaders — but forgot that all an enemy had to do was to bribe the gatekeeper!

Have the peoples of America forgotten that it was the lack of vigilance and complacency that catapulted World War II upon a sleepy world?

Has this generation of Americans — which experienced the tragic Vietnam debacle, the Watergate trauma, corporate and private scandals — somehow imagined, in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that all our blessings were produced by “some superior wisdom and virtue of our own”?

Has modern America, like America during the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln, become “intoxicated with unbroken success”? Are we too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God that made us?

As with Civil War America of the early 1860s, have many of today’s Americans — to use Lincoln’s words — “forgotten God”?

Are well-fed, affluent, complacent Americans willing to generously share their manifold blessings with others? Are we willing to make *personal sacrifices* to help preserve the nation’s high ideals, and attain its lofty goals?

America has been chosen by Providence as the world’s foremost guardian of liberty, a haven for the oppressed, a strong citadel of religious freedom, a storehouse of plenty to help the needy of the world — man’s “last best hope!”

Will the American *ascent to greatness* continue during this third century of her national existence — or will America’s sun begin to set — will she begin a long but rapid downward spiral into national oblivion?

America — for her own sake and for the sake of the whole world! — must remember the immortal lesson of Scripture which states the profound truth:

“*Righteousness exalteth a nation: but sin is a reproach to any people.*”

America — during her third century — can *ascend* to even higher plateaus of greatness — *if* she will only choose and follow the right course!

The Declaration of Independence

*In Congress, July 4, 1776.
The unanimous Declaration
of the thirteen united
States of America.*

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. —

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. —

That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, —

That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world. —

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. —

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. —

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. —

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. —

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. —

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. —

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. —

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers. —

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. —

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance. —

He has kept among us in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures. —

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. —

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: —

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: —

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: —

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: —

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: —

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury: —

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences: —

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule in these Colonies: —

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: —

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. —

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us. —

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. —

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation. —

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands. —

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. —

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. —

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

[From C. F. Adams's Works of John Adams, Vol. IX, p. 172.]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

MARCH 6, 1799.

AS NO TRUTH is more clearly taught in the Volume of Inspiration, nor any more fully demonstrated by the experience of all ages, than that a deep sense and due acknowledgment of the governing providence of a Supreme Being and of the accountableness of men to Him as the searcher of hearts and righteous distributor of rewards and punishments are conducive equally to the happiness and rectitude of individuals and to the well-being of communities; as it is also most reasonable in itself that men who are made capable of social acts and relations, who owe their improvements to the social state, and who derive their enjoyments from it, should, as a society, make their acknowledgments of dependence and obligation to Him who hath endowed them with these capacities and elevated them in the scale of existence by these distinctions; as it is likewise a plain dictate of duty and a strong sentiment of nature that in circumstances of great urgency and seasons of imminent danger earnest and particular supplications should be made to Him who is able to defend or to destroy; as, moreover, the most precious interests of the people of the United States are still held in jeopardy by the hostile designs and insidious acts of a foreign nation, as well as by the dissemination among them of those principles, subversive of the foundations of all religious, moral, and social obligations, that have produced incalculable mischief and misery in other countries; and as, in fine, the observance of special seasons for public religious solemnities is happily calculated to avert the evils which we ought to deprecate and excite to the performance of the duties which we ought to discharge by calling and fixing the attention of the people at large to the momentous truths already recited, by affording opportunity to teach and inculcate them by animating devotion and giving to it the character of a national act:

For these reasons I have thought proper to recommend, and I do hereby recommend accordingly, that Thursday, the 25th day of April next, be observed throughout the United States of America as a day of solemn humiliation, fasting, and prayer; that the citizens on that day abstain as far as may be from their secular occupations, devote the time to the sacred duties of religion in public and in private; that they call to mind our numerous offenses against the Most High God, confess them before Him with the sincerest penitence, implore His pardoning mercy, through the Great Mediator and Redeemer for our past transgressions, and that through the grace of His Holy Spirit we may be disposed and enabled to yield a more suitable obedience to His righteous requisitions in time to come; that He would interpose to arrest the progress of that impiety and licentiousness in principle and practice so offensive to Himself and so ruinous to mankind; that He would make us deeply sensible that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people;" that He would turn us from our transgressions and turn His displeasure from us; that He would withhold us from unreasonable discontent, from disunion, faction, sedition, and insurrection; that He would preserve our country from the desolating sword; that He would save our cities and towns from a repetition of those awful pestilential visitations under which they have lately suffered so severely, and that the health of our inhabitants generally may be precious in His sight; that He would favor us with fruitful seasons and so bless the labors of the husbandman as that there may be food in abundance for man and beast; that He would prosper our commerce, manufactures, and fisheries, and give success to the people in all their lawful industry and enterprise; that He would smile on our colleges, academies, schools, and seminaries of learning, and make them nurseries of sound science, morals, and religion; that He would bless all magistrates, from the highest to the lowest, give them the true spirit of their station, make them a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well; that He would preside over the councils of the nation at this critical period, enlighten them to a just discernment of the public interest, and save them from mistake, division, and discord; that He would make succeed our preparations for defense and bless our armaments by land and by sea; that He would put an end to the effusion of human blood and the accumulation of human misery among the contending nations of the earth by disposing them to justice, to equity, to benevolence, and to peace; and that he would extend the blessings of knowledge, of true liberty, and of pure and undefiled religion throughout the world.

And I do also recommend that with these acts of humiliation, penitence, and prayer fervent thanksgiving to the Author of All Good be united for the countless favors which He is still continuing to the people of the United States, and which render their condition as a nation eminently happy when compared with the lot of others.

Given, etc.

JOHN ADAMS.

A PROCLAMATION.

AS THE SAFETY and prosperity of nations ultimately and essentially depend on the protection and the blessing of Almighty God, and the national acknowledgment of this truth is not only an indispensable duty which the people owe to Him, but a duty whose natural influence is favorable to the promotion of that morality and piety without which social happiness can not exist nor the blessings of a free government be enjoyed; and as this duty, at all times incumbent, is so especially in seasons of difficulty or of danger, when existing or threatening calamities, the just judgments of God against prevalent iniquity, are a loud call to repentance and reformation; and as the United States of America are at present placed in a hazardous and afflictive situation by the unfriendly disposition, conduct, and demands of a foreign power, evinced by repeated refusals to receive our messengers of reconciliation and peace, by depredations on our commerce, and the infliction of injuries on very many of our fellow-citizens while engaged in their lawful business on the seas — under these considerations it has appeared to me that the duty of imploring the mercy and benediction of Heaven on our country demands at this time a special attention from its inhabitants.

I have therefore thought fit to recommend, and I do hereby recommend, that Wednesday, the 9th day of May next, be observed throughout the United States as a day of solemn humiliation, fasting, and prayer; that the citizens of these States, abstaining on that day from their customary worldly occupations, offer their devout addresses to the Father of Mercies agreeably to those forms or methods which they have severally adopted as the most suitable and becoming; that all religious congregations do, with the deepest humility, acknowledge before God the manifold sins and transgressions with which we are justly chargeable as individuals and as a nation, beseeching Him at the same time, of His infinite grace, through the Redeemer of the World, freely to remit all our offenses, and to incline us by His Holy Spirit to that sincere repentance and reformation which may afford us reason to hope for his inestimable favor and heavenly benediction; that it be made the subject of particular and earnest supplication that our country may be protected from all the dangers which threaten it; that our civil and religious privileges may be preserved inviolate and perpetuated to the latest generations; that our public councils and magistrates may be especially enlightened and directed at this critical period; that the American people may be united in those bonds of amity and mutual confidence and inspired with that vigor and fortitude by which they have in times past been so highly distinguished and by which they have obtained such invaluable advantages; that the health of the inhabitants of our land may be preserved, and their agriculture, commerce, fisheries, arts, and manufactures be blessed and prospered; that the principles of genuine piety and sound morality may influence the minds and govern the lives of every description of our citizens, and that the blessings of peace, freedom, and pure religion may be speedily extended to all the nations of the earth.

And finally, I recommend that on the said day the duties of humiliation and prayer be accompanied by fervent thanksgiving to the Bestower of Every Good Gift, not only for His having hitherto protected and preserved the people of these United States in the independent enjoyment of their religious and civil freedom, but also for having prospered them in a wonderful progress of population, and for conferring on them many and great favors conducive to the happiness and prosperity of a nation.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States of America, at Philadelphia, this 23rd day of March, A.D. 1798, and of the Independence of the said States the twenty-second.

JOHN ADAMS.

By the President:
TIMOTHY PICKERING,
Secretary of State.

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