Document Based Question:

“To a greater or lesser extent, three factors were involved in explaining U.S. response to Japanese and German aggression: (a) economics, (b) national security, and (c) democratic values.”

Drawing upon the documents that follow as well as your knowledge of history, write an essay explaining how these factors influenced Franklin Roosevelt’s foreign policy from 1937 to 1941.

**DOCUMENT A**

I am compelled and you are compelled, to look ahead. The peace, the freedom and the security of 90% of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining 10% who are threatening a breakdown of all international order and law. Surely the 90% who want to live in peace under law and in accordance with moral standards that have received almost universal acceptance through the centuries, can and must find some way to make their will prevail...

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Speech in Chicago, “Quarantine the Aggressors,”

October 5, 1937

**DOCUMENT B**

The Commandant of the Third Naval District expressed “hearty accord” with President Roosevelt’s proposal to increase the nation’s naval strength by a huge and extraordinary appropriation of public funds. “A navy second to none,” said he, was needed as a “contribution to world peace,” and he denounced “all foolish nations which through mistaken ideas of altruism were unprepared to defend themselves when attacked.”

In the stock markets [according to the New York Herald Tribune, December 30], “intermittent buying in aircrafts, steels, and a selected assortment of heavy industrials pushed prices substantially higher, demand apparently being based on expectations of large rearmament expenditures by the national government.”

Council on Foreign Relations,

*The United States in World Affairs,*

1937 (Harper & Brothers, 1938)

**DOCUMENT C**

If Hitler wins in Europe--if the strength of the British and French armies and navies is forever broken--the United States will find itself alone in a barbaric world--a world ruled by Nazis, with “spheres of influence” assigned to their totalitarian allies. However different the dictatorships may be, racially, they all agree on one primary objective: “Democracy must be wiped from the face of the earth.”

The world will be placed on a permanent war footing. Our country will have to pile armaments upon armaments to maintain even the illusion of security. We shall have no other business, no other aim in life, but primitive self-defense. We shall exist only under martial law--or the law of the jungle.


June 10, 1940
DOCUMENT D

I cannot ask the American people to put their faith in me without recording my conviction that some form of selective service is the only democratic way in which to secure the trained and competent manpower we need for national defense.

Also, in the light of my principle, we must honestly face our relationship with Great Britain. We must admit that the loss of the British Fleet would greatly weaken our defense. This is because the British Fleet has for years controlled the Atlantic, leaving us free to concentrate in the Pacific. If the British Fleet were lost or captured the Atlantic might be dominated by Germany, a power hostile to our way of life, controlling in that event most of the ships and shipbuilding facilities of Europe. This would be calamity for us. We might be exposed to attacks on the Atlantic. Our defense would be weakened until we could build a navy and air force strong enough to defend both coasts. Also, our foreign trade would be profoundly affected. That trade is vital to our prosperity. But if we had to trade with a Europe dominated by the present German trade policies, we might have to change our methods to some totalitarian form. This is a prospect that any lover of democracy must view with consternation.

Wendell Willkie,
Acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention
August 17, 1940

DOCUMENT F

Our national policy is this:
First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.
Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute people everywhere who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our hemisphere. By this support we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail, and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation...
Let us say to the democracies: “We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing; powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you in ever increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. That is our purpose and our pledge.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Speech to Congress, “Four Freedoms,”
January 6, 1941
**DOCUMENT G**

The Effect of World War II on Industry

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>1939</th>
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<th>1941</th>
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<tr>
<td>Index of manufacturing output (1939=100)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>154</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corporate profits before taxes (billions of dollars)</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>17.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corporate profits after taxes (billions of dollars)</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business failures</td>
<td>14,768</td>
<td>13,619</td>
<td>11,848</td>
</tr>
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Adapted from Gilbert C. Fite, Jim E. Reese, An Economic History of the United States (1959)

**DOCUMENT H**

The United States is better situated from a military standpoint than any other nation in the world. Even in our present condition of unpreparedness no foreign power is in a position to invade us today. If we concentrate on our own defenses and build the strength that this nation should maintain, no foreign army will ever attempt to land on American shores. War is not inevitable for this country. Such a claim is defeatism in the true sense. No one can make us fight abroad unless we ourselves are willing to do so. No one will attempt to fight us here if we arm ourselves as a great nation should be armed. Over 100 million people in this nation are opposed to entering the war. If the principles of democracy mean anything at all, that is reason enough for us to stay out.

Charles A. Lindbergh, speech in New York City, “America First” April 23, 1941