



World History – World War II Document-Based Question

California History Standard

10.8 Students analyze the causes and consequences of World War II.

10.8.5 Analyze the Nazi policy of pursuing racial purity, especially against the European Jews; its transformation into the Final Solution; and the Holocaust that resulted in the murder of six million Jewish civilians.

10.8.6 Discuss the human costs of the war, with particular attention to the civilian and military losses in Russia, Germany, Britain, the United States, China, and Japan.

10.9.1 Compare the economic and military power shifts caused by the war, including the Yalta Pact, the development of nuclear weapons, Soviet control over Eastern European nations, and the economic recoveries of Germany and Japan.

Common Core State Standard

Reading

Key Ideas and Details

1. Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.
2. Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

Craft and Structure

4. Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary describing political, social, or economic aspects of history/social studies.
6. Compare the point of view of two or more authors for how they treat the same or similar topics, including which details they include and emphasize in their respective accounts.

Integration of Knowledge and Ideas

8. Assess the extent to which the reasoning and evidence in a text support the author's claims.
9. Compare and contrast treatments of the same topic in several primary and secondary sources.

Writing

Text Types and Purposes

1. Write arguments focused on discipline-specific content.
2. Write informative/explanatory texts, including the narration of historical events, scientific procedures/ experiments, or technical processes.

Production and Distribution of Writing

4. Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.
5. Develop and strengthen writing as needed by planning, revising, editing, rewriting, or trying a new approach, focusing on addressing what is most significant for a specific purpose and audience.

Research to Build and Present Knowledge

8. Gather relevant information from multiple authoritative print and digital sources, using advanced searches effectively; assess the usefulness of each source in answering the research question; integrate information into the text selectively to maintain the flow of ideas, avoiding plagiarism and following a standard format for citation.
9. Draw evidence from informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.

Range of Writing

10. Write routinely over extended time frames (time for reflection and revision) and shorter time frames (a single sitting or a day or two) for a range of discipline-specific tasks, purposes, and audiences.



Background

World War II was a successor or World War I in many ways, hurried on by totalitarian leaders who thirsted for power and weak leaders surrounding them who hoped they might avoid bloodshed. Sadly, with new technology, the effects of the war were devastating. As the war ended, many parts of the world suffered massive human casualties, the destruction of cities as well as production and trade lines, and irreparable damage to their relationships with foreign nations.

Prompt

Write a five paragraph DBQ using at least three documents.

What was the greatest cost of World War II – human cost, economic cost, or political cost? In other words, what the greatest loss to the countries that participated?

Vocabulary

Use at least 5 of the following 12 terms correctly within your essay to help support your thesis (starred terms must be defined):

appeasement	nuclear	final solution	attrition
genocide	fascism	atomic	theater*
alliance	communism	<i>blitzkrieg</i> *	Marshall Plan

Tasks

Include an original claim that organizes your essay

Use at least three documents

Use multiple pieces of evidence in each paragraph to support your argument

Include a counterargument

Include a conclusion

Write in complete sentences

Write in the third person

Sources

“A Date Which Will Live in Infamy”, by Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Robert Lekachman, at Iwo Jima

Ogawa Masatsugu, at Iwo Jima

Orders for Kristallnacht

Testimony from Auschwitz

Testimony at Nuremberg

“Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat”, by Winston Churchill

Public Papers of Harry S. Truman

Photos of The Blitz

“Speech to the French People”, by Marshal Petain



“Speech to the French People”, by Vice Premier Darlan
Civilian and Military Deaths in the Second World War (table)
"Iron Curtain Speech", by Winston Churchill



From Franklin Delano Roosevelt's speech December 8, 1941 ("A Date Which Will Live in Infamy")

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

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

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

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya. Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong. Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam. Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands. Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island. This morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation."



Two Accounts of Iwo Jima

"In the Pacific, there were none of the European diversions. What you tended to see were miserable piles of dead Japanese and dead Americans. I was not a virulent hater of the Japanese. I didn't collect ears, as I knew some others did. We had been fed tales of these yellow thugs, subhumans, with teeth that resembled fangs. If a hundred thousand Japs were killed, so much the better. Two hundred thousand, even better. I wasn't innocent, either. You couldn't escape it. When I heard about Hiroshima, I felt great: We won't have to invade Japan." — Robert Lekachman, at Iwo Jima

"After the main force had ... [retreated] over the gorge, they blew up the suspension bridge. The thousands who trailed behind were left to die. We were at the end of the line. Soldiers who had struggled along before us littered the sides of the trail. It was a dreadful sight. Some were already skeletons — it was so hot that they soon rotted — or their bodies were swollen and purple. What little they wore was removed by those who had less. Wearable boots were instantly taken, so most of the dead lay barefoot. The worms crawling over the more recently dead gave them a silver sheen. The whole mountain range was wreathed in the stench of death." — Ogawa Masatsugu, at Iwo Jima



Testimony of SS Private on the gassings at Auschwitz

“a) Only such measures may be taken which do not jeopardize German life or property (for instance, burning of synagogues only if there is no danger of fires for the neighbourhoods).

b) Business establishments and homes of Jews may be destroyed but not looted. The police have been instructed to supervise the execution of these directives and to arrest looters.

c) In Business streets special care is to be taken that non-Jewish establishments will be safeguarded at all cost against damage. . . . As soon as the events of this night permit the use of the designated officers, as many Jews, particularly wealthy ones, as the local jails will hold, are to be arrested in all districts. Initially only healthy male Jews, not too old, are to be arrested. After the arrests have been carried out the appropriate concentration camp is to be contacted immediately with a view to a quick transfer of the Jews to the camps....” – Orders for Kristallnacht; Message from SS-Gruppenfhrer Heydrich to all State Police Main Offices and Field Offices, November 10 1938

“I accompanied the driver Hoeblinger. A transport had arrived from Holland and the prisoners had to jump from the wagons. They were well-off Jews. There were women with Persian furs. They arrived by express train. The trucks were already there, with wooden steps before them, and the people climbed aboard. Then they all started off. In the place Birkenau once stood, there was only a long farmhouse (Bunker 2) and beside it four or five big huts. Inside, the people were standing on clothes which were building up on the floor. The block leader and the sergeant, carrying a cane, were there. Hoeblinger said to me 'lets go over there now'. There was a sign 'to disinfection'. He said 'you see, they are bringing children now'. They opened the door, threw the children in and closed the door. There was a terrible cry. A member of the SS climbed on the roof. The people went on crying for about ten minutes. Then the prisoners opened the doors. Everything was in disorder and contorted. Heat was given off. The bodies were loaded on a rough wagon and taken to a ditch. The next batch were already undressing in the huts. After that I didn't look at my wife for four weeks.”



Testimony at Nuremberg, 1946, by Rudolf Hoess, Commandant of Auschwitz

Rudolf Franz Ferdinand Hoess, "Affidavit, 5 April 1946," in Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945-1 October 1946 (Nuremberg: Secretariat of the International Military Tribunal, 1949), Doc. 3868-PS, vol. 33, 275-79.

Rudolf Hoess, born in 1900, joined the SS in 1933, and eventually commanded the massive extermination center of Auschwitz, whose name has come to symbolize humanity's ultimate descent into evil. This is his signed testimony at the Post-War trials of Major War Criminals held at Nuremberg.

1, RUDOLF FRANZ FERDINAND HOESS, being first duly sworn, depose and say as follows: 1. I am forty-six years old, and have been a member of the NSDAP since 1922; a member of the SS since 1934; a member of the Waffen-SS since 1939. I was a member from 1 December 1934 of the SS Guard Unit, the so-called Deathshead Formation (Totenkopf Verband). 2. I have been constantly associated with the administration of concentration camps since 1934, serving at Dachau until 1938; then as Adjutant in Sachsenhausen from 1938 to 1 May, 1940, when I was appointed Commandant of Auschwitz. I commanded Auschwitz until 1 December, 1943, and estimate that at least 2,500,000 victims were executed and exterminated there by gassing and burning, and at least another half million succumbed to starvation and disease, making a total dead of about 3,000,000. This figure represents about 70% or 80% of all persons sent to Auschwitz as prisoners, the remainder having been selected and used for slave labor in the concentration camp industries. Included among the executed and burnt were approximately 20,000 Russian prisoners of war (previously screened out of Prisoner of War cages by the Gestapo) who were delivered at Auschwitz in Wehrmacht transports operated by regular Wehrmacht officers and men. The remainder of the total number of victims included about 100,000 German Jews, and great numbers of citizens (mostly Jewish) from Holland, France, Belgium, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Greece, or other countries. We executed about 400,000 Hungarian Jews alone at Auschwitz in the summer of 1944. 4. Mass executions by gassing commenced during the summer 1941 and continued until fall 1944. I personally supervised executions at Auschwitz until the first of December 1943 and know by reason of my continued duties in the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps WVHA2 that these mass executions continued as stated above. All mass executions by gassing took place under the direct order, supervision and responsibility of RSHA.31 received all orders for carrying out these mass executions directly from RSHA. 6. The "final solution" of the Jewish question meant the complete extermination of all Jews in Europe. I was ordered to establish extermination facilities at Auschwitz in June 1941. At that time there were already in the general government three other extermination camps; BELZEK, TREBLINKA and WOLZEK. These camps were under the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and SD. I visited Treblinka to find out how they carried out their exterminations. The Camp Commandant at Treblinka told me that he had liquidated 80,000 in the course of one-half year. He was principally concerned with liquidating all the Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto. He used monoxide gas and I did not think that his methods were very efficient. So when I set up the extermination building at Auschwitz, I used Cyclon B, which was a crystallized Prussic Acid which we dropped into the death chamber from a small opening. It took from 3 to 15 minutes to kill the people in the death chamber depending upon climatic conditions. We knew when the people were dead because their screaming stopped. We usually waited about one-half hour before we opened the doors and removed the bodies. After the bodies were removed our special commandos took off the rings and extracted the gold from the teeth of the corpses. 7. Another improvement we made over Treblinka was that we built our gas chambers to accommodate 2,000 people at one time, whereas at Treblinka their 10 gas chambers only accommodated 200 people



each. The way we selected our victims was as follows: we had two SS doctors on duty at Auschwitz to examine the incoming transports of prisoners. The prisoners would be marched by one of the doctors who would make spot decisions as they walked by. Those who were fit for work were sent into the Camp. Others were sent immediately to the extermination plants. Children of tender years were invariably exterminated since by reason of their youth they were unable to work. Still another improvement we made over Treblinka was that at Treblinka the victims almost always knew that they were to be exterminated and at Auschwitz we endeavored to fool the victims into thinking that they were to go through a delousing process. Of course, frequently they realized our true intentions and we sometimes had riots and difficulties due to that fact. Very frequently women would hide their children under the clothes but of course when we found them we would send the children in to be exterminated. We were required to carry out these exterminations in secrecy but of course the foul and nauseating stench from the continuous burning of bodies permeated the entire area and all of the people living in the surrounding communities knew that exterminations were going on at Auschwitz . 8. We received from time to time special prisoners from the local Gestapo office. The SS doctors killed such prisoners by injections of benzine. Doctors had orders to write ordinary death certificates and could put down any reason at all for the cause of death. 9. From time to time we conducted medical experiments on women inmates, including sterilization and experiments relating to cancer. Most of the people who died under these experiments had been already condemned to death by the Gestapo. 10. Rudolf Mildner was the chief of the Gestapo at Kattowicz and as such was head of the political department at Auschwitz which conducted third degree methods of interrogation from approximately March 1941 until September 1943. As such, he frequently sent prisoners to Auschwitz for incarceration or execution. He visited Auschwitz on several occasions. The Gestapo Court, the SS Standgericht, which tried persons accused of various crimes, such as escaping Prisoners of War, etc., frequently met within Auschwitz, and Mildner often attended the trial of such persons, who usually were executed in Auschwitz following their sentence. I showed Mildner throughout the extermination plant at Auschwitz and he was directly interested in it since he had to send the Jews from his territory for execution at Auschwitz. I understand English as it is written above. The above statements are true; this declaration is made by me voluntarily and without compulsion; after reading over the statement, I have signed and executed the same at Nurnberg, Germany on the fifth day of April 1946.”



"Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat", by Winston Churchill, May 13, 1940

“But we are in the preliminary phase of one of the greatest battles in history. We are in action at many other points-in Norway and in Holland-and we have to be prepared in the Mediterranean. The air battle is continuing, and many preparations have to be made here at home. In this crisis I think I may be pardoned if I do not address the House at any length today, and I hope that any of my friends and colleagues or former colleagues who are affected by the political reconstruction will make all allowances for any lack of ceremony with which it has been necessary to act. I say to the House as I said to ministers who have joined this government, I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat. We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many, many months of struggle and suffering. You ask, what is our policy? I say it is to wage war by land, sea, and air. War with all our might and with all the strength God has given us, and to wage war against a monstrous tyranny never surpassed in the dark and lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy. You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word. It is victory. Victory at all costs - Victory in spite of all terrors - Victory, however long and hard the road may be, for without victory there is no survival. Let that be realized. No survival for the British Empire, no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for, no survival for the urge, the impulse of the ages, that mankind shall move forward toward his goal. I take up my task in buoyancy and hope. I feel sure that our cause will not be suffered to fail among men. I feel entitled at this juncture, at this time, to claim the aid of all and to say, "Come then, let us go forward together with our united strength."”



Public Papers of the Presidents, Harry S. Truman, 1945, pg. 212.

"The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians. But that attack is only a warning of things to come. If Japan does not surrender, bombs will have to be dropped on her war industries and, unfortunately, thousands of civilian lives will be lost.

"Having found the bomb we have used it. We have used it against those who attacked us without warning at Pearl Harbor, against those who have starved and beaten and executed American prisoners of war, against those who have abandoned all pretense of obeying international laws of warfare. We have used it in order to shorten the agony of war, in order to save the lives of thousands and thousands of young Americans.

"We shall continue to use it until we completely destroy Japan's power to make war. Only a Japanese surrender will stop us."

Photos of The Blitz

Homeless children after their house was bombed



London neighborhood after The Blitz





MARSHAL PETAIN'S SPEECH TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE

Vichy, France, May 15, 1941 FRENCHMEN:

You have learned that Admiral Darlan recently conferred with Chancellor Hitler. I had approved this meeting in principle. The new interview permits us to light up the road into the future and to continue the conversations that had been begun with the German Government.

It is no longer a question today of public opinion, often uneasy and badly informed, being able to estimate the chances we are taking or measure the risks we take or judge our acts.

For you, the French people, it is simply a question of following me without mental reservation along the path of honor and national interest.

If through our close discipline and our public spirit we can conduct the negotiations in progress, France will surmount her defeat and preserve in the world her rank as a European and colonial power.

That, my dear friends, is all that I have to say to you today.



VICE PREMIER DARLAN'S SPEECH TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE

Vichy, France, June 10, 1941

In my previous message I told you the Marshal (Henri Philippe Petain, Chief of State) had taken the destinies of our country in his hands at the most critical moment of our history. To take power under such circumstance was not the work of an ambitious man, but of a great patriot. We can never be grateful enough to our Chief, who gave himself to France to save her.

She is not yet saved. This is not the hour for sterile disputes or biting criticisms against the government. The hour is one for discipline and union. Defeat always engenders unhappiness. It is the French tradition to make the government responsible for the nation's misfortunes.

We owe our present misery to a regime that led us to defeat, to that regime and not the government of the Marshal, which fell heir to the disastrous situation and is trying to remedy the ills from which you are suffering and to shorten their duration.

To succeed needs courage, tenacity, abnegation and the support of the nation. If the nation does not understand this, it will perish. There are many who are trying to darken the nation's understanding. You are nervous and anxious because unhappily many of you believe anything that is said and whispered even without taking time to reflect-many believe that what you hear every day over the clandestine or dissident radio, paid for by a foreign power, is the absolute truth. They do not take the trouble to compare the disturbing similarity between the de Gaullist and Communist propaganda, which aim at the same goal-to create disorder in the country, to increase the misery of the population, to prevent the rebirth of the nation.

And this leads us to believe that the orders which the Communist leaders obey and the money they receive may come from west of our frontiers.

Frenchmen, beware and help the government in its heavy, very heavy task. This task of the government is triple: to ameliorate the French people's situation, to prepare for peace in that measure a conquered nation can, and to prepare France's future in a new Europe.

It is well that you should remember that the armistice is not a peace. The armistice is a suspension of hostilities under conditions fixed by the conqueror and accepted by the vanquished. For France not to fulfill loyally the armistice conditions and thereby give the conqueror reason to denounce her would be tantamount to suicide for France and the empire.

To apply the armistice without trying to make its conditions better means maintaining that state of things from which you are suffering so much. Since the armistice was signed by Germany and us, we have got to negotiate with Germany if we want to modify it. The Marshal entrusted the negotiations to me. He approves the developments.



You ask yourselves why the Germans agree to negotiate since they are the conquerors. Because Germany, which intends to reconstruct Europe, knows that this cannot be done feasibly unless the different European nations participate in this reconstruction of their own free will, Germany does not let victory run away with her to enable us to keep our heads above defeat. Let us know how to reduce the effects of defeat and think of the France of tomorrow.

Do you think that the armies of occupation will consent to reduce their requisitions if they have the feeling that our hostility persists? Do you think that they will permit our farmers to return to their farms if they feel France is still the hereditary enemy? Do you think our prisoners will be liberated if it appears that they will only increase Germany's enemy? Do you believe our farmers who were obliged to leave their farms could return if the Germans have the impression that France remains her hereditary enemy?

These few examples suffice, I think, for you to understand the necessity for the negotiations which, on the Marshal's orders, I have been pursuing several weeks to make your conditions better. That is the government's first task.

The second task of the government is to prepare for peace. The present situation is unprecedented in history. One of the powers with which we must negotiate is at war with another power and its troops are engaged in operations occupying part of our soil. The signature of a definite peace remains difficult as long as the major problems that are the basis for the present conflict are unsolved.

But now, without waiting for the end of hostilities, the government's duty is to act so as to create an atmosphere favorable to the establishment of an honorable peace. That atmosphere cannot be created unless we dominate our defeat. That means we must regulate our acts reasonably. Face realities courageously. Do not give way to sentimental reactions that have no other result than to widen further to our disadvantage the gap which so many wars have created between two neighboring peoples and which in the interests of European peace we must both start filling.

If that atmosphere cannot be created, I fear a disastrous peace for France. That fear is not founded on impression; it is founded on certainty.

The third task of the government is to prepare for France's future in a new Europe. That task cannot be usefully undertaken unless the second is successful.

If we do not get an honorable peace, if France is cut up into many departments and deprived of important overseas territories and enters diminished and bruised into the new Europe, she will not recover, and we and our children will live in the misery and hatred that breed war.

The new Europe will not live without a France placed in the rank that her history, civilization and culture give her the right to occupy in the European hierarchy. Frenchmen, have courage to dominate your defeat. Be assured that the future of the country is bound closely with that of Europe.



If to go along the path the Marshal and his government invite you to follow, it is necessary to conquer your illusions and consent to sacrifices, find your strength in the certainty that that path is the sole path of salvation for your country.



Civilian and Military Deaths in the Second World War

Countries	Total Deaths	% of Pre-war Population	Military Deaths	Civilian Deaths
USSR	20,600,000	10.40%	13,600,000	7,000,000
China	10,000,000	2.00%	-	-
Germany	6,850,000	9.50%	3,250,000	3,600,000
Poland	6,123,000	17.20%	123,000	6,000,000
Japan	2,000,000	2.70%	-	-
Yugoslavia	1,706,000	10.90%	-	-
France	810,000	1.90%	340,000	470,000
Greece	520,000	7.20%	-	-
USA	500,000	0.40%	500,000	-
Austria	480,000	7.20%	-	-
Romania	460,000	3.40%	-	-
Hungary	420,000	3.00%	-	-
Italy	410,000	0.90%	330,000	80,000
Czechoslovakia	400,000	2.70%	-	-
Great Britain	388,000	0.80%	326,000	62,000
The Netherlands	210,000	2.40%	198,000	12,000
Belgium	88,000	1.10%	76,000	12,000
Finland	84,000	2.20%	-	-
Australia	39,000	0.30%	-	-
Canada	34,000	0.30%	-	-
Albania	28,000	2.50%	-	-
India	24,000	0.01%	-	-
Norway	10,262	0.30%	-	-
New Zealand	10,000	0.60%	-	-
Luxembourg	5,000	1.70%	-	-
TOTAL	52,199,262	-	-	-

From: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/dna/place-lancashire/plain/A2854730>



"Iron Curtain Speech", by Winston Churchill, March 5, 1946

The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American democracy. For with this primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future. As you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done, but also you must feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining, for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the aftertime. It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision shall rule and guide the conduct of the English-speaking peoples in peace as they did in war. We must, and I believe we shall, prove ourselves equal to this severe requirement. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and goodwill in Britain -- and I doubt not here also -- toward the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships. It is my duty, however, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe. From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia; all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in some cases increasing measure of control from Moscow. The safety of the world, ladies and gentlemen, requires a unity in Europe, from which no nation should be permanently outcast. It is from the quarrels of the strong parent races in Europe that the world wars we have witnessed, or which occurred in former times, have sprung. Twice the United States has had to send several millions of its young men across the Atlantic to fight the wars. But now we all can find any nation, wherever it may dwell, between dusk and dawn. Surely we should work with conscious purpose for a grand pacification of Europe within the structure of the United Nations and in accordance with our Charter. In a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist center. Except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States where Communism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilization. The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria. The agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favorable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend all through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected by the best judges to last for a further eighteen months from the end of the German war. I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable -- still more that it is imminent. It is because I am sure that our fortunes are still in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have the occasion and the opportunity to do so. I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here today while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries. Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens; nor will they be removed by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be



and the greater our dangers will become. From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength. Last time I saw it all coming and I cried aloud to my own fellow countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind. There never was a war in history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented, in my belief, without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honored today; but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool. We must not let it happen again. This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organization and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections. If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealth be added to that of the United States, with all that such cooperation implies in the air, on the sea, all over the globe, and in science and in industry, and in moral force, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary there will be an overwhelming assurance of security. If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men, if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time but for a century to come."