

“The Most Unsordid Act:” The Lend-Lease Program and the
Wartime Goals of America

Senior Division

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Historical Paper

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As 1940 drew to a close, Europe teetered on the brink of total domination by German forces. France had recently fallen to the Nazis and Britain was facing financial crisis as Hitler threatened its shores. Up until this point, the United States had remained stubbornly neutral in this European war, insisting that its isolationist foreign policies would prevent German attack. President Franklin Roosevelt, however, felt that sending aid to Britain before it was overrun by Germany was critical to U.S. defense. Recognizing the dilemma, Roosevelt devised a program that would allow the United States to provide assistance to Britain while still maintaining the neutrality critical to its national identity. Implementing the Lend-Lease policy during World War II allowed the United States to direct much needed aid to Britain and other Allied nations at a critical time in the conflict, giving this country the opportunity to indirectly enter and prepare for the war while still remaining neutral. While the United States appeared to be coming to the aid of its ally, the Lend-Lease program was also an act of extreme self-interest. The bill had the effect of strengthening the United States' military and economy in the postwar world, in addition to preserving its neutrality as long as possible while others fought.

Commented [1]: Good set up

Following the conclusion of World War I, the American public became fearful of getting involved in another foreign war. The country began moving towards an isolationist foreign policy in an effort to remain out of any conflict that took place abroad. In 1935, as tensions rose in Europe and war loomed on the horizon, the U.S. passed the first Neutrality Act in an attempt to remain out of any possible European conflict (U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian). Three Neutrality Acts were passed between the years of 1935 and 1939, their main purpose to prevent America from making financial deals with belligerent nations, as the public felt that investment and trade ties with nations at war had drawn them into the first world war (Kimball). As described by the U.S. Department of State's Office of the Historian, a rising wave of fascism in Europe

coupled with the Spanish Civil War caused Congress to pass the Neutrality Act of 1937. Finally, in 1939, war officially broke out in Europe and the Neutrality Act of 1939 was made into law. President Roosevelt believed that Britain was essential to the United States' defense and did not agree with these Neutrality Acts, although he did sign them. In an effort to allow America to dispatch supplies to Britain and France, Roosevelt created the cash-and-carry clause, which was added to the Neutrality Act of 1937. This clause originally only permitted the exchange of goods between countries as long as the materials being traded were not arms. In 1939, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to extend the cash-and-carry clause to cover arms as well (U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian). However, both Britain and France still had to pay cash for supplies, which became increasingly difficult as the two countries began verging on bankruptcy (Kimball).

The U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian also described another attempt to send aid to Britain. In 1940, President Roosevelt signed the Destroyers for Bases deal with Winston Churchill, the recently elected British prime minister. In this agreement the United States gave Britain fifty destroyers in exchange for 99-year leases on territories in Newfoundland and the Caribbean, which could be used for U.S. air and naval bases. Churchill had hoped Roosevelt would confer the destroyers on Britain free of any charge, but the president knew that Congress and the public would oppose that arrangement. Roosevelt decided that access to British bases would assuage the military and public because these bases would contribute to the defense of the Western Hemisphere (U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian). Roosevelt kept both America and Britain satisfied with the agreement.

As 1940 ended, Britain's money was running out. "Britain's broke," declared British ambassador to the United States Lord Lothian (Seidl). Confirming this alarming statement, the

prime minister himself sent a letter to President Roosevelt, pleading for American assistance. Churchill warned FDR that soon Britain would no longer be able to pay cash for their supplies. He assured Roosevelt that the British were not afraid to continue fighting alone, however, he warned that “the voice and force of the United States may count for nothing if they are withheld too long” (Churchill). Churchill asked that Roosevelt proclaim “nonbelligerency,” meaning that the United States would do everything in its power to aid Britain just short of sending armed troops (Churchill). FDR was well aware of the threat posed by the Nazis, and was determined to send Britain aid. He was still hopeful, however, that Britain could win the war without U.S. assistance, and due to the strong isolationist sentiments in America, he wanted to avoid having to convince the public to get involved in an undesirable war (Encyclopedia of the Cold War). Roosevelt was also unsure of whether Britain was actually facing financial crisis and if Winston Churchill was someone he wanted to work with in order to achieve an Allied victory (Parrish). According to Thomas Parrish, author of To Keep the British Isles Afloat: FDR’s Men in Churchill’s London, in an effort to determine the validity of the financial claims, Roosevelt sent his associate, Harry Hopkins, to determine Churchill’s character. Upon receiving a report from Hopkins confirming the dire situation, FDR was convinced of the need to become more involved (Parrish). Having just won re-election, Roosevelt immediately began working to convince Congress and the public of the importance of aiding Britain.

According to Mark Seidl, writing for the FDR Presidential Library and Museum, Roosevelt introduced the idea of the Lend-Lease program in a press conference on December 17, 1940. Likening the proposed plan of lending supplies to Great Britain to lending a neighbor a garden hose to put out a fire to prevent your own house from burning down, Roosevelt attempted to convince the public that the Lend-Lease program was merely an act of defense to keep the United

States from further involvement in the war (Seidl). In his most successful fireside chat ever, delivered on December 29, 1940, the president aired the concept of Lend-Lease over the radio, calling the United States “the great arsenal of democracy” (The Penguin Book of Twentieth Century Speeches). As the 77th Congress prepared to formally convene, the Associated Press wrote an article describing the “basic idea of aiding Britain” and the sense of urgency surrounding the proposed plan. (Associated Press.) On January 6, 1941, President Roosevelt went before Congress asking them to grant him the authority to supply arms to Great Britain and, if the need arose, to other nations (U.S. House of Representatives: History, Art, and Archives). H.R. 1776 (the Lend-Lease bill) would “lend-lease or otherwise dispose of arms” or other materials to countries whose defense was determined to be vital to the United States (www.ourdocuments.gov). Payment would be deferred until later, and it would not be expected in dollars, rather a “consideration” grant by Britain to the U.S. that would generally consist of actions being taken to create a “liberalized international economic order” after the war (U.S. House of Representatives: History, Art, and Archives). The supplies to be sent to Britain and other friendly nations typically took the form of ships, tanks, aircraft, shells, guns, medicines, food, and fuel (Encyclopedia of the Cold War).

The bill came under immediate scrutiny from American isolationists who insisted that it would thrust the nation directly into war. Opposition also included those who worried that Lend-Lease would give Roosevelt too much power. This was not a baseless claim, for the bill gave the president “blank-check” powers, authority Roosevelt claimed was necessary so that he might act with speed and decisiveness (Special to *The New York Times*). In an effort to restrict this almost unlimited power, Congress required that funds for the Lend-Lease program be appropriated annually and that regular reports on it were mandatory (Kimball). The American Youth Congress protested the bill, stating that Lend-Lease would establish a military dictatorship under the guise

of defending democracy (Mallon). However, others completely supported the act, such as former Senator Ernest W. Gibson, the chairman of the National Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, who told of his express approval of President Roosevelt's Lend-Lease bill as a "necessary step in preserving the peace of the nation" (*The New York Times*). Press views generally varied widely on the topic, as evidenced by an article written by *The Times*, in which opinions on the Lend-Lease program from other newspapers ranged from "cautious approval to sharp questioning" (*The Times*). On March 11, after two months of fierce debate, Lend-Lease was signed into law.

Roosevelt wasted no time in putting the bill to work. He swiftly dispatched supplies to Britain, and soon additional Allied countries were given assistance. The program was large and difficult to manage (Seidl). Because the original seven billion dollars in appropriations did not sufficiently fund all of the required materials, a supplemental Lend-Lease bill was passed (Glass). Just as the first Lend-Lease bill was considered the "British bill," the second was deemed "Russia's bill," and even though some disagreed with the transfer of Lend-Lease goods to the Soviet Union, it was determined that only the Soviets had the power to defeat the Germans on the ground (Reston). By the war's end, nearly fifty billion dollars had been used for Lend-Lease, and only approximately eight billion of that amount was repaid through reverse Lend-Lease, in which the Allies provided U.S. troops with aid (The Editors of the Encyclopædia Britannica). The Lend-Lease program was ultimately a success, with its enormous shipments providing necessary assistance and motivation to keep fighting (Seidl). It also proved a massive success for the United States as it was incredibly useful in preparing them for war and increasing their military and economic powers during the war and after.

While most of the criticism for the Lend-Lease bill generally came from the those who criticized the act for pulling the country into an unwanted war, the bill had self interested motivations. According to the Roosevelt Institute, the “special relationship” between Great Britain and the United States which arose during World War II stemmed from President Roosevelt’s desire to form closer ties with Britain so that he might better defend the U.S. and at the same time strengthen America’s military and economy. As the second world war drew nearer, Roosevelt worked to strengthen America’s relatively weak military through increases in budget, attempts to convince an isolationist Congress to repeal the Neutrality Acts’ arms embargoes, and forming a closer relationship with Britain, a country which he saw as an excellent line of defense for the United States against the Axis forces. Even after the fall of France, when he was advised to concentrate on increasing America’s defenses and to focus less on Great Britain, Roosevelt continued to pursue closer ties with the nation (Roosevelt Institute). Eventually he enacted the Lend-Lease bill as a means of sending the U.K. the supplies it needed to defeat the Nazis, keeping the United States neutral while still actively participating in the war on behalf of the Allies.

The Lend-Lease program also fulfilled some of the United States’ wartime goals regarding reform of the economy and international system (Encyclopedia of the Cold War). Due to the fact that the U.S. felt that Britain would continue to pose a substantial economic threat to it after the war, during the negotiations for the Master Lend-Lease program, it was decided that a condition was for Britain to open itself up to free markets (Kimball). The U.S. wished to shift the world financial center from London to New York City, and finally penetrate international trade blocs (Encyclopedia of the Cold War). Britain and the United States worked together to create a system of economic order in the postwar world which would benefit America, as well as eliminating the concern of war debts owed to the U.S.

The arms transfers of the Lend-Lease program greatly enhanced the United States' defense by giving them time to prepare their industrial strength, which in turn took some time to reach its full potential (Kimball). The United States was allowed to prepare for the war, which many acknowledged as inevitable, while still remaining neutral (www.ourdocuments.gov). While America was eventually forced into World War II following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, exchanging Lend-Lease goods allowed Britain and the Soviet Union to continue fighting against Germany for the two additional years it took before America provided its entire force, including troops (Klare). Roosevelt devised the act to allow him to send support to Britain, while giving America adequate time to prepare for the war.

Strangely enough, many of the most prominent criticisms of the Lend-Lease program claim that the United States sacrificed far too heavily in the war and contributed more than its fair share in support of the war effort (American Historical Association). The Lend-Lease bill not only kept the United States out of the war for an additional two years, saving countless American lives in the process (American Historical Association), it also gave the country valuable time to reach its full industrial might before it needed to enter the war (Klare). The United States rose from the nineteenth largest army in the world, to the most sizable navy and airforce yet seen, allowing a once weak army to become a mighty one (Roosevelt Institute). Additionally, the bill acquired tremendous economic power for the United States, allowing the postwar world to be virtually debt free which simplified rebuilding efforts (Kimball).

A bill referred to by Winston Churchill as "the most unsordid act," Lend-Lease was, at its roots, created almost entirely for the United States' benefit. While it did supply the Allies with the means to defeat the Nazis, this program favored America far more than any of the nations it was meant to assist. The U.S. made enormous strides towards becoming a dominant world power

through the Lend-Lease program, using it as a tool to significantly advance them economically after the war and as a means of gaining one of the most powerful armies in the world, in addition to helping them meet the postwar world debt free and ready for swift rebuilding and recovery. Not only did it secure the country's defense sufficiently enough to keep American soldiers off the battlefields for two years, it also gave the country time to prepare for its inevitable entry into World War II. It was touted as a generous and benevolent act but Lend-Lease was designed for American advancement in a postwar world.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Video Clip

Anonymous "Lend-Lease, 1941." History Study Center, Accessed November 26, 2017.

http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:ho-us&rft_dat=xri:ho:sup_multimedia:vid633:mpi.

This is a video clip published by the Pathe Gazette of the first flotilla of American destroyers arriving in a British port as part of the Lend-Lease Act. As the destroyers arrived, Roosevelt's promise of more and more munitions was renewed, so that Britain could be sure of more assistance and arms coming from the New World. Britain welcomed the destroyers as a contribution to the increasing might of their navy and the narrator of the video says, "God bless all who sail in them." It provided an excellent support for my claim and was a great visual primary source.

Newspaper Articles

Associated Press. "Congress is Alert." *The New York Times*, January 2, 1941.

ProQuest Historical Newspapers (85445005). Accessed November 3, 2017.

As the 77th Congress prepared to formally convene, the controversy surrounding the Lend-Lease program was in full swing. Roosevelt was soon to address the new Congress, giving them even more details of the plan than he had previously disclosed in his fireside chat on the issue. The article described the "basic idea of aiding Britain." This newspaper article emphasizes the sense of urgency that was felt. The president, Congress, and the country were prepared to launch the Lend-Lease program so that they might secure the defense of Britain and themselves. It also demonstrates the fact that defense was a critical issue at the time and that the Lend-Lease bill would be vital to the defense of the nation. This was an interesting perspective into the current mood of the United States at the time Lend-Lease was being debated and therefore served as a useful primary source.

Barkley, Frederick R. "Roosevelt to give Aid to Britain Plan in Message Today." *The New York Times*, January 2, 1941. ProQuest Historical Newspapers (85251651). Accessed November 28, 2017.

On January 6, President Roosevelt was planning to go before a joint session of the two houses of Congress to deliver a speech advocating for an "all-out short-of-war" aid to Britain program which would most likely engage Congress in debate for some time. Roosevelt was expected to give details of his plan to send aid to the British so that they might withstand Germany until America's "great arsenal of democracy" was ready for war. The article emphasizes the importance of defense to the country at the time, and how Lend-Lease was thought to be essential to that defense. This newspaper article, like most of the others I read, provided a unique perspective into the feelings of America as it was trying to stay out of the war in Europe yet protect its national interests.

Kluckhohn, Frank L. "Roosevelt Sends More Arms Abroad." *The New York Times*, March 31, 1941. ProQuest Historical Newspapers (85473192). Accessed October 10, 2017.

This newspaper article talks about the additional shipments of war material that were making their way to Britain and Greece, and possibly Yugoslavia (to whom Americans had recently pledged support). The story also talked a bit about President Roosevelt's Jackson Day address, in which he pledged "action and more action." Roosevelt was planning to devote himself to several war issues once he returned to Washington D.C. One such issue was the implementation of the expensive Lend-Lease program. President Roosevelt also focused his attention on how to further prevent the dictator nations from "domination of the world." Further, Roosevelt visited two military forts, which tells me that the United States, while still technically remaining neutral, was preparing to go to war in support of the Allies. This primary source provided interesting additional information on the beginnings of the Lend-Lease program.

Mallon, Winifred. "Aid Bill Attacked by Youth Congress." *The New York Times*, February 8, 1941. ProQuest Historical Newspapers (85343532). Accessed December 12, 2017.

This newspaper article helped me to understand the viewpoints of those who did not support the Lend-Lease bill and gave me an interesting insight into the reasoning behind their opinions. On Wednesday, February 7, the American Youth Congress opened three-day sessions and denounced the Lend-Lease bill and demanded that it be defeated. In a brief prepared to be presented to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the Youth Congress said that peace was "the best defense of American Democracy" and stated that the bill would establish a dictatorship in America in the name of destroying one in Europe. The group said they opposed the bill because it would create a military dictatorship in the U.S. under the guise of defeating Hitler. However, others made statements declared that the opinions expressed by opponents to the bill were not representative of the entire Youth Congress.

"Fights Lend-Lease Bill." *The New York Times*, January 21, 1941. ProQuest Historical Newspapers (85287708). Accessed November 29, 2017.

This newspaper clipping was published by the New York Times on January 21, 1941. Joseph Curran, the president of the National Maritime Union, and a C.I.O. affiliate, spoke at a five-day conference of the union's National Council asking the union members to oppose the passage of the Lend-Lease bill and encouraged the public to be informed of what he called the "inherent danger" of the program. He claimed that its passage would "plunge the country directly into the European War." Curran's argument was a powerful one that would appeal to much of the American public, as they felt that the country should stay out of all foreign affairs, especially World War II.

“Gibson Approves ‘Lend-Lease’ Measure.” *The New York Times*, January 12, 1941. ProQuest Historical Newspapers (85266052). Accessed December 11, 2017.

On January 11, the former senator Ernest W. Gibson, the chairman of the National Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, told of his express approval of President Roosevelt’s Lend-Lease bill to aid belligerent democracies as a “necessary step in preserving the peace of the nation.” In the newspaper article, I felt that the senator made some compelling arguments in favor of the Lend-Lease bill that were helpful to my thesis.

Post, Robert P. “British Grateful.” *The New York Times*, March 13, 1941. ProQuest Historical Newspapers (85182909). Accessed December 13, 2017.

Just after the passage of the Lend-Lease bill had passed, Prime Minister Winston Churchill expressed the British sentiment on this bill in front of Parliament. He told of his country’s gratefulness towards the U.S. for the Lend-Lease bill, in which the most powerful democracy declared that it would devote its financial and industrial strength to defeating the Nazis so that “nations, great and small, may live in security, tolerance, and freedom.” A full house heard Churchill’s statement and cheered at its conclusion, showing that the British people were truly grateful for the assistance the program gave them, which helped to dispel the American sentiment that the British were not thankful for the aid. These events were documented by Robert P. Post in a newspaper article for the New York Times. This source was a powerful argument in support of my paper.

Reston, James B. “Lend-Lease Bill is Sent to House.” *The New York Times*, October 9, 1941. ProQuest Historical Newspapers (105163319). Accessed October 12, 2017.

In this primary source the House Appropriations Committee approved the \$5,985,000,000 second Lend-Lease bill, after a statement claimed that a turn in the war was imminent and that aid to the Allies must be sent out. The newspaper article helped me understand the pressure to approve the supplemental Lend-Lease bill and the American distaste for the Soviet Union as this second bill attempted to withhold aid from the Soviets.

Special to The New York Times. “President Calls for Swift Action.” *The New York Times*, January 11, 1941. ProQuest Historical Newspapers (85446076). Accessed October 10, 2017.

In Washington on January 10, Roosevelt called for swift action on a bill that granted him “blank-check” powers to obtain and transfer war materials to Britain and other Allied countries fighting the Nazis. The president spent most of his time attempting to soothe public fears that the Lend-Lease bill would give him too much power. This article showed how strongly Roosevelt felt about the necessity of the bill and how he felt that he had to have the powers it gave him if the Allies were to win World War II

and the country was to be kept safe. This primary source showed me one of the ways Roosevelt defended and advocated for the Lend-Lease bill.

The Times. "Press Views on British Aid Bill." *The New York Times*, January 11, 1941. ProQuest Historical Newspapers (85446245). Accessed December 12, 2017.

This newspaper article compiles the wide range of press viewpoints, from pointedly questioning to cautiously approving, on the Lend-Lease Bill. The Times gathered together some viewpoints for the article from some of America's largest and most influential cities, from Boston and Baltimore to Cleveland and Dallas. Each newspaper had a different perspective to offer; some completely supported Lend-Lease, while others strongly warned against the bill. The variety of viewpoints was very useful to me as it allowed me to see the varying opinions on the Lend-Lease bill from newspapers across the country and to better understand the reasoning behind their opinions.

Photographs and Images

56 Stat. 1500; Executive Agreement Series 253. "Lend-Lease." www.loc.gov. Accessed December 21, 2017. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/b-su-ust000011-1281.pdf>.

This primary document is a copy of the supplemental Lend-Lease Agreement. It states the terms and conditions of the bill, discussing the previous Lend-Lease bill and also how the rules of Lend-Lease will apply to the Soviet Union. The articles within cover everything from the supplying of materials to the Soviets to how the Soviets would be expected to repay the United States for the supplies that had been leased or lent. It was very useful to see the exact document and to read the articles and what the bill entailed.

"Help the Allies now to win so our men will never be necessary Cash and Carry." Postcard. November, 1939. FDR Presidential Library and Museum (Records of the House of Representatives, National Archives and Records Administration). Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://fdrlibrary.org/lend-lease>.

In November of 1939, this postcard (from the Records of the House of Representatives, National Archives and Records Administration), which supported sending aid to the Allies by altering the Neutrality Acts, was sent to members of Congress by private interest groups that supported assisting Britain. This postcard promotes the "cash-and-carry" policy which immediately preceded the Lend-Lease Bill. The postcard was further direct evidence allowing me to look at how cash-and-carry and Lend-Lease were promoted.

"Winston Churchill." Photograph. Getty Images. Accessed November 29, 2017. http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:ho-us&rft_dat=xri:ho:sup_multimedia:23575:hulton.

Winston Churchill was the British prime minister during World War II. He was incredibly active in encouraging President Roosevelt to send aid to Britain despite the opposition from the United States public and Congress. In fact, one of his main war and policy goals was to involve America in the war. Churchill successfully persuaded the president to send assistance to Britain and helped lead the Allies to victory during the second world war. The Lend-Lease Policy would never have been effected without Churchill's plea for help. This image allowed me to put a face to a name as Churchill was mentioned a great deal in my research and figured prominently in my topic.

"Franklin Roosevelt." Photograph. Getty Images. Accessed December 28, 2017.

http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:ho-us&rft_dat=xri:ho:sup_multimedia:245662:hulton.

This is a primary source photograph of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Roosevelt was critical to the Lend-Lease program as its creator and advocate, and his leadership during World War II helped lead the Allies to victory. He slowly eased the United States into the war, waiting until they were prepared before entering. This image of the president depicts his strength. It was interesting to see how he presented a picture of strength (which was necessary as the president) while suffering from physical ailments.

Gordon, Max. "Help Britain Defend America." www.rare-posters.com. Accessed December 14, 2017. <http://www.rare-posters.com/5239.html>.

This poster is from around 1942. It was published by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. The poster encourages America to speed up production to help Britain defend America. It plays on the fear of the American people of being attacked and defeated by Hitler. It also shows their fear of democracy being crushed under the Axis regime. The poster shows a boot with the Nazi insignia on the bottom about to crush the Statue of Liberty in New York City. The poster gave me an idea of how the Lend-Lease program was promoted.

"Lend-Lease to Britain. Cases of TNT gunpowder shipped from the United States under lend-lease are stacked in the dump in a tunnel one hundred feet underground dug out of solid rock in western England. The staff here works twenty-four hours a day handling Lend-Lease materials arriving from the United States." Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Accessed January 5, 2018. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2017697468/>.

This photograph is of workers handling gunpowder shipments that came from the United States via the Lend-Lease program. These shipments were stored in a deep tunnel in Great Britain, where the staff works around the clock to handle materials that had been shipped from the United States under the Lend-Lease program. This source was an excellent example of the Lend-Lease program in action and was incredibly informative.

"Lend-Lease to Britain. English workmen handle a case of motor equipment arriving

from the United States under lend-lease, at an unpacking bay of an ordnance depot in England.” Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Accessed January 7, 2018. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2017697469/>.

This is a photograph of some British workmen as they unload a case that contains motor equipment arriving from the United States from the Lend-Lease program. This was yet another example of the Lend-Lease program being put to work, and it showed me that just as much effort was required on the British end of things to manage supplies as it was on the United States’ end.

“President Franklin D. Roosevelt, half-length portrait, seated at desk, looking down, signing H.R. 1776, the lend-lease bill to give aid to Great Britain, China and Greece.” Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Accessed October 11, 2017. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001697018/>.

In this photograph, President Roosevelt signs the Lend-Lease Bill that he had worked so hard to enact. Its passage would mean that the United States could send military supplies to the British to help aid them in the war against the Nazis. This photo was very important to my research as it shows the subject of my paper officially becoming law. Without this critical step, the Lend-Lease program would never have come into being.

“Document for January 10th: ‘H.R. 1776 A Bill Further to promote the defense of the United States and for other purposes.’” National Archives: Today’s Documents from the National Archives. Accessed December 12, 2017. <https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/todays-doc/?dod-date=110>.

“H.R. 1776 A Bill Further to promote the defense of the United States and for other purposes.” This document came from the Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, HR 77A-D13; Record Group 233; National Archives. The Lend-Lease Act met Britain’s requirement for material aid and allowed the U.S. to begin preparation for war while still officially remaining neutral. The bill was defined as “An Act to Promote the Defense of the United States.” This image allowed me to look at an actual copy of H.R. 1776 and to understand how it was presented to Congress and what specific terms it contained.

Political Cartoons

Seuss, Dr. “Ho hum! When he’s finished pecking down the last tree he’ll quite likely be tired.” Library Digital Collections: UC San Diego. Accessed November 26, 2017. <https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb5461618q>.

This political cartoon, by Dr. Seuss, is a reference to America’s isolationist foreign policies and its belief that they would not be attacked by Germany if they stayed out of the war. Dr. Seuss is trying to demonstrate the fact that Germany is taking control of Europe, slowly pecking away at the European countries until they fell to the Nazis. The Americans believed that the Nazis would be content taking over Europe, and would not come for the United States because it had remained neutral and not gotten involved in

World War II. This political cartoon perfectly summarized the United States' isolationist foreign policy.

Seuss, Dr. "... and the wolf chewed up the children and spit out their bones... but those were foreign children and it really didn't matter." Library Digital Collections: UC San Diego. Accessed December 12, 2017. <https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb4642496p>.

Dr. Seuss drew many political cartoons depicting the United States' isolationist policies. This particular cartoon is meant to depict America's isolationist policies and the fact that they had no interest in entering into any foreign conflicts. As long as America was safe and not involved in foreign affairs, they didn't care what happened in Europe. Dr. Seuss's cartoons were entertaining but the opinions they presented on America's foreign policies were incisive.

Seuss, Dr. "Sometimes I wonder -- would we speed things up if we used turtles instead of snails?" Library Digital Collections: UC San Diego. Accessed December 2, 2017. <https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb5359227g>.

In this Dr. Seuss political cartoon, the artist is showing the United States' reluctance to get involved in the war in Europe and their desire to hold onto their isolationist foreign policies at all costs. Dr. Seuss's cartoons are humorous while still addressing the issues of the country at the time, and he gives a unique opinion on the events that were taking place.

Historical Document

"FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT 'The Arsenal of Democracy' (Washington, DC, 29 December 1940)." The Penguin Book of Twentieth-Century Speeches, 1999, History Study Center. Accessed October 10, 2017. http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:ho-us&rft_dat=xri:ho:sup_ref:pts00066.

In his most successful fireside chat ever, President Roosevelt spoke to the country about the need to send supplies to Britain. Roosevelt, in response to Britain's cry for help, used his signature fireside chat to attempt to convince the American public of the importance of aiding Britain. This source, taken from the Penguin Book of Twentieth-Century Speeches, gave me another look at the way President Roosevelt was attempting to convince the public and Congress to support the Lend-Lease bill.

Churchill, Winston "A Letter to Roosevelt, 1940." www.rialto.k12.ca.us. Accessed December 2, 2017. <http://www.rialto.k12.ca.us/rhs/planetwhited/AP%20PDF%20Docs/Unit%2012/WorldWarII/CHURCH5.PDF>.

This letter, sent by Winston Churchill to President Roosevelt, is a plea for help. Britain was on the brink of bankruptcy, and the prime minister was warning Roosevelt that Great

Britain would soon not be able to pay for supplies from the United States, and that he hoped that the president might continue to send them supplies without charge. The letter was vital to my project because it allowed me to read the actual letter that Churchill sent asking Roosevelt for help, which was in many ways the tipping point that persuaded the president to send complete aid to Britain.

Secondary Sources

Study Unit

“American Foreign Policy, 1920-1941.” History Study Center. Accessed November 26, 2017. http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:hos&rft_dat=xri:ho:sup:1223.

This secondary source summarized the American foreign policy starting after World War I and continued through President Roosevelt’s struggle with the Neutrality Acts and finally concluded by discussing the Lend-Lease program. It was a valuable account of American foreign policy which provided depth for my research.

Websites

“What Criticisms Have Been Made against Lend-Lease?” American Historical Association. Accessed December 13, 2017. <https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/gi-roundtable-series/pamphlets/how-shall-lend-lease-accounts-be-settled/what-criticisms-have-been-made-against-lend-lease>.

There was constant criticisms against the Lend-Lease program and many rumors about how the materials it sent to other countries were misused, and this website discussed those issues and rumors in attempt to clarify what was fact and what was fiction. This source gave me an interesting perspective into counterarguments for my paper and gave me a wider understanding of my topic.

Brownstein, Ronald. “America’s Meddling Ally.” National Journal, 30, Jan. 2015. Opposing Viewpoints in Context. Accessed December 11, 2017. <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A399610140/OVIC?u=westhsm&xid=d984b487>.

In 1940 and 1941, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill firmly believed that the survival of his country was at stake as isolationists in Congress debated U.S. President Roosevelt’s Lend-Lease bill and his desire to prepare America for its inevitable entry into World War II. This article discussed the debate surrounding the Lend-Lease bill and Winston Churchill’s patience while waiting for the United States’ decision. The article, Written by Ronald Brownstein, was informative and helpful for writing my paper.

The Editors of the Encyclopædia Britannica. “Lend-lease.” Encyclopædia Britannica. Accessed October 16, 2017. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/lend-lease>.

Encyclopædia Britannica summarized the Lend-Lease program and the events leading up to it. The United States used this system to aid the Allies in World War II by giving them important supplies and materials such as food, arms, trucks, airplanes, and other raw materials such as oil. This overview of the program was very helpful and condensed much of the important information into simple and straightforward terms.

Glass, Andrew. "Senate approves supplemental Lend-Lease Act, Oct. 23, 1941." Politico. Accessed December 7, 2017. <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/10/23/senate-approves-supplemental-lend-lease-act-oct-23-1941-243990>.

Approximately six weeks before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Senate approved the supplemental Lend-Lease act. The date of the Senate's approval of the act was the main topic for this website. It provided a more indepth account of the supplemental Lend-Lease act which was extremely useful to my paper.

"LEND-LEASE." Encyclopedia of the Cold War, 2008, History Study Center. Accessed October 11, 2017. http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:ho-us&rft_dat=xri:ho:sup_ref:col00237.

This is a maps and reference article source that summarizes the Lend-Lease program and covers the significance of the bill. This was a useful source to my paper and it contained several interesting details that gave me a wide range of additional knowledge.

Kimball, Warren F. "Lend-Lease Act (1941)." Encyclopedia.com Accessed November 28, 2017. <http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/united-states-and-canada/us-history/lend-lease>.

This source from Encyclopedia.com gave an overview of the Lend-Lease bill and discussed the plan, its opposition, and its success. The discussion of the opposition and success was especially helpful to me, as it gave me perspective for possible counterclaims for my argument and showed me the success of the program.

Klare, Michael T. "Arms Transfers and Trade." *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy*, edited by Richard Dean Burns, et al., 2nd ed., vol. 1, Charles Scribner's Sons, 2002. *Opposing Viewpoints in Context*. Accessed December 30, 2017. <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/EJ3010308008/OVIC?u=westhsm&xid=df146179>.

Written by Michael T. Klar, this article covers the relevance of arms transfers and trade during World War II and how important the Lend-Lease program was to the war effort. This was a detailed and informative source that was very beneficial to my research and my paper.

"Lend-Lease and Military Aid to the Allies in the Early years of World War II." United States Department of State: Office of the Historian. Accessed November 30, 2017. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/lend-lease>.

This online website source gives an overview of the Lend-Lease act and also discussed the United States' motivation and reasons for enacting the bill. The account of these acts was very helpful to my paper and I used this source a lot.

“The Neutrality Acts, 1930s.” United States Department of State: Office of the Historian. Accessed October 10, 2017. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/neutrality-acts>.

The Neutrality Acts, passed as fear of entanglement in another European war increased, were meant to prevent the United States from having relations with any foreign country that might involve them in another war, and these acts are what this source describes. As the Neutrality Acts were major barriers in the Lend-Lease program, it was incredibly helpful to see what each individual act did, and why they were each passed.

“Lend-Lease Act (1941).” www.ourdocuments.gov. Accessed November 27, 2017. <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=71>.

The Lend-Lease Act was passed on March 11, 1941, and set up a system to allow the United States to lease or lend war materials to any country that was deemed essential to the defense of the U.S. This website discussed the events that took place prior to the passage of the bill and concluded with H.R. 1776 becoming law. It was a beneficial source that provide useful additional information.

Roosevelt Institute. “The ‘Special Relationship’ between Great Britain and the United States Began with FDR.” Roosevelt Institute. Accessed December 3, 2017. <http://rooseveltinstitute.org/special-relationship-between-great-britain-and-united-states-began-fdr/>.

The phrase “special relationship” signifies the strong bond between Great Britain and America. It is often used to describe the alliance formed by the two countries during World War II. The website, written by the Roosevelt Institute, gave me a detailed account of the relationship between Churchill and Roosevelt and Britain and the United States and was extremely informative.

Seidl, Mark. “The Lend-Lease Program, 1941-1945.” FDR Presidential Library and Museum. Accessed December 3, 2017. <https://fdrlibrary.org/lend-lease>.

This secondary source is a website that talked about the beginnings of the Lend-Lease bill and continued to discuss the challenges and successes of the program. Lend-Lease eventually overcame all of these challenges and proved a highly successful and important program.

Shmoop Editorial Team. “World War II Timeline of Important Dates.” Shmoop. Accessed October 20, 2017. <http://www.shmoop.com/wwii/timeline.html>.

This website is a secondary source gives a brief overview of the major events that took place leading up to and during World War II. The description of events begins on January 30, 1933, when Hitler became the chancellor of Germany and continues through September 2, 1945, when World War II concluded. It was useful to me because it provided some context and a clear and set timeline for the Lend-Lease program.

“The Lend-Lease Act of 1941.” US House of Representatives: History Art and Archives. Accessed December 10, 2017. <http://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1901-1950/The-Lend-Lease-Act-of-1941/>.

On March 11, 1941, the House of Representatives voted to approve the Lend-Lease Act (H.R. 1776), which authorized President Roosevelt to lease, sell, donate, or lend military goods to any country determined to be essential to American security. This particular secondary source website gives a brief summary of the Lend-Lease policy and the day it was passed. It gave me some specific names of people who opposed it and their reasons which proved useful, as well as informing me about the day the bill was signed.

Books

Olson, Lynne. *Citizens of London: The Americans Who Stood with Britain in Its Darkest, Finest Hour*. Toronto: Bond Street Books, 2010.

Citizens of London is a riveting and well researched book that tells the stories of Averell Harriman, Edward R. Murrow, and John Gilbert Winant and their relationship with Winston Churchill. These men, sent to London to help persuade President Franklin Roosevelt and the reluctant American public to save Britain from the Nazi forces, formed close ties with the prime minister and each had unique journeys that helped shape the Lend-Lease bill that Britain needed so badly. This book was interesting because it provided an intimate look into the lives of some lesser known men involved in the Lend-Lease program that made an incredible difference in World War II.

Parrish, Thomas. *To Keep the British Isles Afloat: FDR's Men in Churchill's London*. New York: HarperCollins, 2010.

A detailed and intriguing novel, To Keep the British Isles Afloat offers an unusual perspective into the uncertain beginnings of the Lend-Lease act. President Roosevelt hoped that Britain could win the war with American financial assistance so that the United States would not have to officially enter the war. While President Roosevelt wanted to send assistance to Britain while maintaining his country's neutrality, he was unsure that the new British Prime Minister Winston Churchill was someone he wanted to work with. Roosevelt sent his associate Harry Hopkins to determine Churchill's character, and after Hopkins supported the prime minister and Roosevelt passed the Lend-Lease bill, the president sent Averell Harriman to London to keep Britain fighting. The book details the stories of Harriman and Hopkins, two individuals involved in one of the most significant partnerships between countries in history, and gave me insight into the events leading up to and during the Lend-Lease program.

