

It Can't Happen Here Study Guide

It Can't Happen Here by Sinclair Lewis

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Plot Summary

The following version of this book was used to create this study guide: Lewis, Sinclair. *It Can't Happen Here*. Signet Classics, 2014.

It Can't Happen Here is a political novel set in the 1930s. The plot is told in a linear fashion and spans from 1936 to 1938. The novel was published in 1935. It is written in the past tense. The story follows the rise of a fascist regime in America, as Senator Berzelius “Buzz” Windrip is elected President of the United States and then uses military force to seize control of the government and the country. The story is told from the point of view of Doremus Jessup, a newspaper editor in the fictional town of Fort Beulah, Vermont.

The novel begins in 1936. Various politicians are running presidential campaigns, most notably incumbent President Franklin Roosevelt, Democratic Senator Berzelius “Buzz” Windrip, and presumptive Republican nominee Walt Trowbridge. In the town of Fort Beulah, Doremus Jessup follows the campaigns with trepidation, fearing Windrip to be a demagogue with harmful intentions. However, many of Doremus’ acquaintances in town support Windrip because of Windrip’s promises to end the Great Depression and make all Americans wealthy. Windrip’s campaign platform is also built on programs of oppression against women, black Americans, and Jewish Americans. With the endorsement of a group called the League of Forgotten Men, which is comprised of powerful politicians and business executives, Buzz Windrip is able to win the Democratic nomination and then the Presidency.

Soon after Windrip is inaugurated, he creates a new auxiliary to the United States Army called the Minute Men, who report only to him. Windrip uses the Minute Men to arrest the Supreme Court and most of Congress. Protests arise throughout the nation, and Windrip expands the Minute Men, using them to suppress the country’s protesters and dissidents. Windrip’s government takes over all finance and industrial operations in the country, and it hoards the majority of the country’s wealth for Windrip and his cronies. The government also enforces measures to oppress women, black Americans, and Jewish Americans. In Fort Beulah, Doremus is horrified by these developments, and he publishes a scathing anti-Windrip editorial in his newspaper, the *Daily Informer*. Windrip is arrested by the Minute Men, and government officials threaten to kill Doremus unless he only publishes pro-Windrip articles from then on.

Doremus decides to covertly publish an anti-Windrip newsletter called the *Vermont Vigilance*, which he distributes through a covert rebel network called the *New Underground*. Doremus is helped in this operation by friends and family. Eventually, the government finds out that Doremus is involved with the *Vermont Vigilance*, and he is arrested and sent to a concentration camp, which is one of many that the government has newly established across the country. At the concentration camp, Doremus is tortured and interrogated, but he resists giving up any information. Not long after, Windrip is ousted by his closest advisor, Lee Sarason, who is in turn ousted by General Dewey Haik. This turmoil among leaders weakens the government, and a mass

rebellion begins to rise throughout the country. The rebels help Doremus escape imprisonment, and he escapes to Canada. He then volunteers to work as a spy for the rebellion, so at the end of the novel, he returns to America to help with the fight against the fascist regime.



Chapters 1 – 7

Summary

Chapter 1: The novel opens in 1935 at a dinner of the local branch of the Rotary Club in Fort Beulah, Vermont. Herbert Edgeways, a retired brigadier general of the U.S. army, gives a speech about the importance of peace between nations. In response, one of the Rotary Club women proclaims that she thinks another war would be good for the discipline and character of the country. The general, at urging from the crowd, agrees with the woman. He states that countries with power have a duty to use it. Lorinda Pike, a local boarding-house manager, objects to these ideas but is shouted down by the crowd. Also in attendance at the event is Doremus Jessup, editor of a local newspaper called the Daily Informer, accompanied by his wife, Emma Jessup.

Chapter 2: After the Rotary Club dinner, local quarry owner and Doremus' childhood friend Francis Tasbrough invites the Jessups for a drink at his house. There, says he thinks Democratic Senator Buzz Windrip will be elected President of the United States if radio personality Bishop Paul Peter Prang endorses Windrip for the office. Doremus also says he fears that Windrip will become a tyrant if elected. Tasbrough says that he believes tyranny to be an impossibility in the United States, but local minister Reverend Falck privately disagrees.

Chapter 3: The narration gives additional background information on Doremus Jessup, saying that he has three children: Philip is a 32-year-old lawyer living in Worcester, Massachusetts, Mary is the wife of a medical doctor named Fowler Greenhill, and Cecilia (nicknamed Sissy) is an 18-year-old high school student. Doremus receives a letter from Victor Loveland, a classics professor at Fort Beulah's Isaiah College, Doremus' alma mater. The letter expresses concern for rising fascism at the school in the form of increasing emphasis on military training.

Chapter 4: The narration gives background information on Senator Berzelius "Buzz" Windrip, a 48-year-old member of the Democratic Party. He is aided by his secretary, Lee Sarason, who is rumored to be the true brains behind Windrip's political career. Windrip runs an energetic presidential campaign, making grand promises and vying for the support of Bishop Prang and a political collective known as the League of Forgotten Men. Meanwhile, Walt Trowbridge, the Republican nominee, is a staunch realist and pragmatist.

Chapter 5: At home, Doremus entertains his friend Buck Titus and his son Philip. Philip urges Doremus to get rid of Shad Ledue, Doremus' inept gardener and handyman. Julian Falck, a freshman at Amherst College and the grandson of Reverend Falck, arrives. Julian is in a relationship with Sissy Jessup. They all listen to the radio as Bishop Paul Peter Prang announces his endorsement of Buzz Windrip on behalf of the League of Forgotten Men.



Chapters 6 – 7: The narrative describes Doremus as a traditional liberal, although some residents of Fort Beulah view him as a potential radical leftist for certain views he has expressed over the years, including his support of the workers' strike that occurred years ago amongst the employees of Francis Tasbrough's quarry. The narrative then describes the 1936 Democratic National Convention, in which Buzz Windrip, with much fanfare, is nominated over incumbent President Franklin Roosevelt. When Doremus hears the results, he is sad and angry, and he says that he will vote for Trowbridge.

Analysis

Although the opening of the novel does not focus on the protagonist, Doremus Jessup, it does help to establish important social and political themes that relate to the later events of the narrative. The vast majority of the attendees at the Fort Beulah Rotary Club dinner appear to agree with the idea that war is a valuable thing for establishing a country's greatness and instilling its citizens with dignity and discipline. The narrative indirectly denounces this idea by mentioning the devastating Great War of 1914-1918, which ended fewer than 20 years before the time during which the novel was written and takes place. This scene appears to be quite prescient on the part of the author, accurately anticipating the onset of war in the late 1930s. Consequently, this scene appears to accurately reflect the anticipation and/or fear of the era regarding the onset of another possible war. Furthermore, the establishment of pro-war ideas is an important theme for the novel's overarching story about the rise of fascism in America, as excessive militarism becomes one of the ways in which Windrip both claims and maintains control over the country.

This section helps to develop a certain tension among the residents of Fort Beulah, which grows more pronounced over the course of the novel and serves as the basis of much of the drama of the narrative. To elaborate, the protagonist, Doremus Jessup, is a person with generally liberal ideas, believing in workers' rights and similar ideals. Meanwhile, many of his friends and acquaintances in Fort Beulah are highly conservative, arising in distinct tension. A good example of this tension is between Doremus Jessup and quarry owner Francis Tasbrough. Doremus and Tasbrough are good friends because they have known each other since childhood, but distinct differences in their social and political views come between them. As the editor of the Daily Informer, Jessup publicly supported the labor strike at Tasbrough's quarry, and Tasbrough still somewhat holds this against Doremus, believing it to be an affront to industry.

Another important example of this tension is demonstrated within Doremus' alma mater, Isaiah College. The school administrators begin to emphasize the importance of military training, and classics professor Victor Loveland sees this as a symptom of rising fascist fervor in the community and the country. This connects to the foreshadowing in Chapter 1 of rising militarism as a factor in the rise of fascism. In addition, this creates another source of tension in the Fort Beulah community that grows once Windrip comes to power. The school administrators become a part of Windrip's fascist dictatorship, along with Francis Tasbrough, with pro-democracy characters like Doremus Jessup and Victor



Loveland to try to oppose them. Ultimately, this serves as a microcosm of the countrywide conflict between fascism and democracy.

This section also introduces the reader to Buzz Windrip, painting a complex and mysterious portrait of the folksy, charismatic Senator who ultimately becomes the dictator of the United States. In Windrip, the novel appears to create the type of charismatic leader who could conceivably convince many Americans to surrender absolute power to him. He is down to earth and makes extremely grand promises, but Doremus rightly suspects Windrip of being in a prime position to amass great power during this uncertain time of the Great Depression. It is important to note that Windrip is aided by many powerful supporters such as Lee Sarason, Bishop Prang, and the League of Forgotten Men, all of whom could benefit if Windrip is elected and repays them in some way for their support.

Discussion Question 1

Discuss the function of the opening scene. What ideas and dynamics does this scene introduce? Why does this scene not focus on Doremus Jessup, the novel's protagonist?

Discussion Question 2

Discuss the community of Fort Beulah. Which characters seem to be the most important in terms of the community and the narrative? What are the natures of the relationships among the Fort Beulah residents?

Discussion Question 3

Discuss the figure of Buzz Windrip. Why does the narrative only discuss him indirectly instead of including him in any scenes? How does the narrative characterize Windrip in this section?

Vocabulary

gilded, picturesque, revere, privy, rhapsody, arduous, racketeer, proverbial, gird, culminate, clapboard, meager, betoken, catamount, subversive, impecunious, ichthyology, nebulous, placid



Chapters 8 – 14

Summary

Chapter 8: The beginning of Chapter 8 outlines the 15 main tenets of Buzz Windrip's campaign platform. The points include total control of finance and labor by the government, an increase in military, the suppression of black Americans, Jewish Americans, and women in political and professional spheres, and the instatement of Constitutional amendments by Congress that give the President absolute governmental authority in times of crisis. Doremus, discussing these points with his wife and daughter, reveals their terrible true meanings, which lie partially concealed behind flowery language.

Chapter 9-10: The narration describes the nature of Windrip's charm and background, saying he puts on the persona of a common man who possesses exceptional powers of charismatic oratory. The narration also notes Lee Sarason's role in building up Windrip's political reputation over the past years, managing Windrip from behind the scenes. The narration then counterpoints this description with acknowledgements of those like Doremus who see Windrip as a demagogue supported in his campaign by manipulative tricksters. Doremus sees the election as similar to a Rotary Club meeting, with one charismatic speaker winning over the other members.

Chapter 11: The narration notes that Walt Trowbridge's campaign is quite placid compared to Windrip's campaign. Meanwhile, incumbent President Franklin Roosevelt has formed his own political faction, the Jeffersonian Party, in support of himself in the election and against Windrip. The narration notes, however, that the Jeffersonian Party is doomed to fail because it represents reason and rationality in a time when the voters want excitement, emotion, and promises of drastic action. In Fort Beulah, Doremus continues to voice his disapproval of Windrip, but he is surprised to find that his handyman, Shad Ledue, has become an avid Windrip supporter.

Chapter 12: Days before the general election, Windrip holds a massive campaign rally in New York City. Doremus visits the convention in order to write about it for the Daily Informer. In New York City, Doremus sees organized pro-Windrip marching groups called Minute Men, and he fears that, if Windrip is elected, the Minute Men will become a permanent organization bent on menacing anti-Windrip citizens. At the rally, Windrip addresses the audience, and as part of his speech, he mentions that he does not wish to be President for money or power, as the President is paid little and is meant to be a servant rather than a ruler. Doremus is unconvinced.

Chapter 13: Windrip is elected President of the United States, much to Doremus' fear and displeasure. At a gas station in Fort Beulah, he has a conversation with Karl Pascal, an avowed communist who had led the strike at Tasbrough's quarry and had been fired after the strike failed. Karl says he is actually glad for Windrip's election, because he thinks Windrip's tyranny will help stir up a violent revolt among working-class Americans



against fascism and big business interests. Doremus privately hopes everything will be okay without the use of violence.

Chapter 14: The narration reveals that Doremus is having an affair with Lorinda Pike. He goes to her residence so that they can have sexual intercourse and discuss politics. They both express their concern for the harm Windrip may cause to the country. He later shares such concerns with Sissy, who agrees that they are valid concerns. Doremus asks about Sissy's dating life, and she confirms that she is in a relationship with Julian Falck, who shares their political concerns.

Analysis

This section, which leads up to Buzz Windrip's successful election, helps paint a clearer picture of Windrip's appeal versus his many terrifying political ideas. Although Windrip appears to be openly campaigning on ideas that seem to very clearly mirror fascism or dictatorship, Windrip's charismatic oratory appears to effectively hide the downsides of his promises from most voters. He is able to reframe his plan of achieving absolute power as a necessary and excitement measure for the swift fixing of all major problems in America. This could appeal to the voter of the time due to the effects of the Great Depression. Many Americans are suffering terrible poverty at this time, and Windrip's drastic plans sound far more appealing than the more realistic and democratically-based promises of Walt Trowbridge. Thus, despite the clear possible path from Windrip's political plans to fascism in America, voters appear willing to go along with the plan because they think it will ultimately benefit them personally.

Windrip's charismatic abilities are exemplified in Chapter 12 at Windrip's huge rally in New York City. There, Doremus witnesses the extreme fanfare of Windrip's campaign and speaking abilities, both of which help to whip the crowd in pro-Windrip frenzy. Windrip says during his speech that he wishes to be President only so that he can serve the nation, and this statement provides an excellent example of the discrepancy between Windrip's plans and his rhetoric. Windrip says he wishes to take absolute power in order to aid the country in what he calls a time of crisis, and voters are willing to support this because he is so charismatic and sounds so convincing. However, Doremus remains present for the reader as a voice of reason, foreshadowing Windrip's rise to corrupt and absolute power.

Chapter 12 further foreshadows Windrip's rise to dictatorial power with the introduction of the Minute Men. Not long after the Minute Men are introduced to the reader, the narration expresses Doremus' concerns that they will transform from a supposedly harmless marching organization to a permanent organization of general menace. This is precisely what happens in later chapters, and the existence of the Minute Men becomes one of the key factors in allowing Windrip to take and maintain absolute power. The Minute Men expand and become Windrip's own personal army, keeping order across the entire country. This transition mirrors much of Windrip's rise to power, in which something is initiated on supposedly harmless or even helpful grounds, and then its true dictatorial purpose is revealed.



Chapters 13 and 14 help to counterpoint Windrip's popularity by further illustrating the ideas and attitudes of the anti-Windrip residents of Fort Beulah, including Doremus, Lorinda, Sissy, Julian, and Karl. For example, even though Karl says he is in favor of Windrip's election, it is only because he thinks Windrip's tyranny will help incite a communist revolution in response. Doremus' own attitude is slightly milder in that he hopes the institutions of American government will endure and help to limit Windrip's attempts to abuse power. However, Doremus, Lorinda, and Sissy all share the fear that Windrip's tyranny may, in fact, not be able to be contained. These attitudes help give the reader perspective and prevent them from joining the hypothetical ranks of the pro-Windrip mob.

Discussion Question 1

Discuss the 15 tenets of Windrip's campaign platform. How does Doremus' interpretation of these points differ from how Windrip articulates them? What stance does the narrative seem to take regarding these 15 points?

Discussion Question 2

How does the narrative describe Doremus' experience in New York City? How does Windrip's political rally characterize Windrip and his campaign? What does the rally seem to foreshadow?

Discussion Question 3

How does Doremus' affair with Lorinda Pike impact the narrative? What attributes characterize their romantic relationship? How does Doremus' relationship with Lorinda differ from his relationship with his wife?

Vocabulary

ornery, surreptitious, homage, dividends, amity, negate, obligatory, unscrupulous, rouse, plutocrat, canniness, centenarian, ardent, veritable, oratory, rotund, constituents, subsistence



Chapters 15 – 19

Summary

Chapter 15: Two weeks before his inauguration, Windrip appoints Lee Sarason to be both Secretary of State and commander-in-chief of the Minute Men marching club. Windrip offers the position of Secretary of State to Bishop Prang, but Prang declines the offer. After his inauguration, Windrip issues an order stating that the Minute Men will be an armed auxiliary to the United States Army and will only be subject to orders from Windrip and Sarason. Windrip declares martial law and a state of crisis, and then he uses the Minute Men to arrest the majority of Congress and place the members of the Supreme Court under house arrest. Riots break out all over the country, but these riots are suppressed by the Army and the Minute Men. Prang goes to Washington to try to reason with Windrip, but Prang is arrested and never seen again.

Chapter 16: As Windrip's administration proceeds, Doremus regularly criticizes it in the Daily Informer. The Minute Men continue to put down strikes, protests, and riots, and the government divides the country into administrative districts. The government does not deliver on any of its extravagant promises, but it broadcasts bulletins saying that positive changes are in progress. The government encourages members of the press, such as Doremus, to speak only favorably of the government. Meanwhile, Shad Ledue becomes the leader of a local Minute Men battalion.

Chapter 17: As a commander of a Minute Men battalion, Shad is given wide-ranging power, especially as the size of the Minute Men organization continues to grow. The government continues to recruit more Minute Men and increase the organization's budget for weapons and salaries. The Minute Men become highly organized throughout the country and engage in grand displays of fanfare and loyalty to Buzz Windrip. As the strength of the Minute Men grows, the government ceases to speak of the promises Windrip made during his campaign, and instead, discontented citizens are simply silenced by violence from the Minute Men. The government does, however, deliver on many of its promises regarding social oppression, enforcing suppression of black Americans and Jewish Americans in political and professional spheres.

Chapter 18: Victor Loveland, the classics professor from Isaiah College, is fired for being too radical, although the administrators state that it is simply because the classics department is overstaffed. Meanwhile, two of Windrip's cabinet members have dinner with two widely respected rabbis. The dinner escalates into a political argument. The cabinet members shoot and kill the rabbis, but instead of receiving any penalty, the government declares the cabinet members heroes. Doremus, outraged upon hearing this, writes a highly scathing editorial of the event, declaring Windrip and his administration to be evil and criminal.

Chapter 19: After Doremus' scathing editorial circulates, Shad Ledue arrives with a squad of Minute Men and arrests Doremus for sedition. Doremus is interrogated by



government officials who threaten to kill him if he publishes anything but pro-Windrip articles ever again. Doremus' son-in-law, Dr. Fowler Greenhill, walks into the interrogation to defend Doremus, but the officials order the present Minute Men soldiers to take Fowler outside and shoot him. The soldiers do this, killing Fowler.

Analysis

Chapter 15 demonstrates the methods by which Windrip drastically and immediately transitions from newly inaugurated President to military dictator of the country. The main method by which Windrip accomplishes this is the use of brute force in the form of the Minute Men. Windrip arms the Minute Men and uses them as a means of securing control over all branches of the federal government. The Minute Men are thus revealed to be a muscle of dictatorial force as opposed to the innocent marching group they were proclaimed to be, and this revelation shares a profound parallel with Windrip's overall mode of operation. Windrip's campaign platform, although sold as a drastic measure to serve the country, was actually a plan by which to take control over the country, just as Doremus feared. The Minute Men thus symbolize the brute force and militarism necessary to a dictatorial coup, while also symbolizing the malevolent duplicity necessary in initiating and completing such a coup.

The country's reaction to Windrip's coup is significant in that it emphasizes the fact that Windrip's actions are evil and self-serving rather than for the good of the country. The widespread protest among the American populace demonstrates the general realization that Windrip has tricked the citizens of the United States into giving him power that was never meant for him. Despite being elected, Windrip's actions come as a shock and an outrage to people all over the country as more citizens recognize that Windrip appeared to have had evil ulterior motives. Windrip's violent and horrific response to these protests further emphasizes the immorality of Windrip's actions. Windrip's administration is immediately revealed to be brutish and authoritarian with no regard for American institutions such as free speech, protest, or checks on centralized power. Doremus feared this would happen, but much of the populace did not realize until it was too late.

As the nature of Windrip's administration evolves, so does the nature of Doremus' opposition to that administration. At first, Doremus' editorials against the government are rather restrained, as Doremus maintains some shred of hope that the chaos will settle down and things will return more or less to normal. However, the killing of the two innocent rabbis suddenly convinces Doremus that Windrip's administration is corrupt to the core and has tread harshly on all American traditions of decency and civility. Doremus takes a big risk in publishing his fierce anti-Windrip editorial, and he wavers back and forth on whether or not to go through with it. Ultimately, he decides to publish, and this represents a point of no return for Doremus. He has made a firm decision to oppose the violence, corruption, religious intolerance, and racial intolerance of the Windrip administration, and the narrative appears to laud Doremus' decision as the only truly moral choice.



One other important note regarding this section is the way in which it initiates the rather comical yet dark and significant character arc of Shad Ledue. Ledue, originally Doremus' inept gardener, has seized on a perceived chance to raise his station in life by joining the Minute Men. As the government places more importance and funding on the Minute Men, Ledue's power among the community grows. This dynamic is important in how it illustrates the allure of power that allows the dictatorship to continue to gain power. Windrip has set up a system that simultaneously instills loyalty and serves to suppress dissident citizens.

Discussion Question 1

What tactics does Windrip use to attain power once in office? In what ways does Windrip attempt to conceal the true nature of his grab for power? How is Windrip's transition from President to dictator significant in terms of the novel's themes?

Discussion Question 2

Discuss the episode in Chapter 18 involving Victor Loveland. How does this reflect the state of the nation from a local perspective? In what ways does Doremus react or refuse to react to this episode involving Loveland? How do Doremus' actions or inactions reflect upon his character?

Discussion Question 3

What events motivate Doremus to act against the regime? What are Doremus' methods of reacting against the regime in this section (Chapters 15-19)? How does this reflect upon Doremus? How do the consequences of Doremus' actions reflect upon the state of the country?

Vocabulary

suborn, defraud, cryptic, turbulent, manifold, auxiliary, incite, recalcitrant, quorum, timorous, melancholy, amiable, conflagration, monastic, gesticulate, adherent, homogeneous, appertain



Chapters 20 – 26

Summary

Chapter 20: After Fowler's execution, Mary comes to live with her father, Doremus, bringing her son, David. Doremus contemplates selling the Daily Informer and fleeing to Canada with his family. Meanwhile, Windrip and his supporters dub themselves Corporatists (or Corpos for short) and Windrip declares all other political parties defunct. Windrip declares that he and the Corpos have ended all crime in America. The government then unveils its new education plan, under which humanities will be disregarded in favor of subjects like mining, engineering, athletics, and military training.

Chapter 21: One day, in the November after Windrip's inauguration, Sissy tells Doremus that she has dropped out of school because of the dictatorship's educational reforms. Julian adds that he is no longer at Amherst College since the Corpos closed it down. Doremus, Sissy, and Julian confer with Lorinda Pike about possible professions for Julian and Sissy, but every business idea they think of would be hindered in some way or another by the Corpos. Doremus is eventually able to find Julian a job as a driver and assistant for a local physician.

Chapter 22: In December, Windrip announces the opening of concentration camps all across the country for the housing criminals as well as people who have supposedly been arrested for their own protection. One of the concentration camps is opened at Trianon, Vermont, which is only nine miles north of Fort Beulah. The Minute Men continue to arrest protesters, participants in labor strikes, and people who speak out against the government. Ledue even comes to Doremus' house with a squad of Minute Men and burns many books from Doremus' personal library.

Chapter 23 – 24: In response to recent events, Doremus and Buck Titus conspire to sneak out of the country and escape to Canada. They all get into a car, and they try to get across the border at multiple locations, but they are caught and turned back by guards every time. Later, Doremus' son Philip visits and urges Doremus to cooperate with the government. Philip says he believes Windrip is helping the country, and he wishes to gain political office, which will be hard if his family is seen as a group of dissidents. Doremus, enraged, yells at his son and says that there is no justification for the violence Windrip has perpetrated.

Chapter 25: Doremus, now motivated to fight back covertly against the dictatorship, resigns from the Daily Informer and gives it over to Corpo control. He then spends his time tracking down a local group of communists who work covertly to undermine the dictatorship. Doremus tries to join their ranks, but they do not see eye-to-eye. The communists wish for a revolution led by the proletariat, while Doremus simply wishes to restore the traditional American system of government.



Chapter 26: Instead of joining the communists, Doremus conspires with his friends, family, and business acquaintances to create and distribute an anti-Corpo newsletter called the Vermont Vigilance. Doremus makes contact with other underground news publications (This network is called the New Underground.) and realizes that he had been only hearing a small fraction of events in the country, as the government has seized control of all mass media. Doremus is questioned by government officials who suspect his secret activities, but they acquire no information and therefore do not arrest Doremus.

Analysis

The government's educational reforms represent measures for tightening control over the population by limiting opportunities for critical thought. The reforms generally include the removal of subjects in the humanities in favor of subjects much narrower subjects such as industrial production or military training. This is significant because an uneducated population is easier to control and manipulate, while a highly educated population is much more likely to question the legitimacy of the government. Thus, while Windrip maintains order in the short-term through use of force, the government's actions regarding education imply a desire to establish long-term control over the population. Eventually, military force may only be a secondary measure for maintaining control if the population no longer has the ability to think for itself or question authority.

Doremus' conversation with Sissy, Julian, and Florinda sheds further light on the ways in which the Corpos have extended their control over the country's economy and various industries, thus limiting individual potential in favor of central control. In lieu of staying in the country's corrupted education system, Julian and Sissy attempt to determine ways to make a living under the new order, but Florinda points out all the ways in which they would be prevented from doing business by the now rigid structure of authoritarian-controlled industry. This demonstrates how the rigid authoritarian-corporate structure of Windrip's regime favors only those who had economic power at the time of Windrip's coup and are willing to cooperate with the government. This stands in direct opposition to old American principles, as well as Windrip's campaign promises of prosperity. Ordinary citizens become stymied in the face of big business interests.

The introduction of concentration camps to the narrative is significant both in terms of the narrative and in terms of the novel's prescience. The narrative often compares Windrip's dictatorship to that of Hitler, and Windrip's use of concentration camps appears to function as a similarity between Windrip and Hitler. However, America and its allies did not become aware of German concentration camps until 1944, almost a decade after this novel was written. Sinclair therefore appears quite prescient in identifying concentration camps as a recurring attribute under dictatorships, such as Germany under Hitler or Italy under Mussolini. In terms of the narrative, the concentration camps serve as another significant extension of Windrip's malevolent power, allowing Windrip to detain his enemies for prolonged periods of time. The concentration camps become more immediate in the narrative later on in the novel when Doremus is arrested and sent to the concentration camp at Trianon.



Doremus' interaction with the local communists and his subsequent work on the Vermont Vigilance are significant in terms of the narrative's treatment of different modes of resistance. Doremus wishes to reinstate American democracy, while the communists wish to stage a proletarian revolution. The communists' methods seem suspiciously similar to Windrip's in that they do not value education or individuality, only the willingness to follow orders. Thus, Doremus instead chooses to utilize his newspaper experience to fight the dictatorship in his own way rather than simply follow orders. This dynamic bespeaks a certain dangerous similarity between fascism and communism, and the novel discusses this similarity again in later chapters.

Discussion Question 1

Discuss the education reforms instated by the fascist regime. How do these reforms reflect the motives and priorities of the regime? In what ways does the narrative criticize these reforms?

Discussion Question 2

In what ways do Doremus and his son Philip disagree with one another? What Doremus' and Philip's rationales for their respective beliefs? What stance does the narrative take on this argument, and how does the narrative make its stance clear?

Discussion Question 3

Discuss Doremus' interaction with the group of covert communists in Chapter 25. In what ways do Doremus and the communists disagree with each other? How are these disagreements significant to the themes of the novel?

Vocabulary

slander, rattle, malcontent, skittish, satisfaction, spinster, pyre, resolute, ire, beleaguered, raucous, culvert, voluptuous, roustabout, toil, filial, condone



Chapters 27 – 33

Summary

Chapter 27: Mary Greenhill, wishing to avenge her husband's death, joins Doremus' sedition efforts and helps to covertly distribute pamphlets containing information about the atrocities of the regime and the lies of the Corpo news outlets. Lorinda, meanwhile, sells her shares in the boarding house she manages and serves as the logistics manager of the operation. Lorinda has a private conversation with Doremus saying that they must break off their affair so it does not distract them from their revolution efforts. Doremus is reluctant but agrees.

Chapter 28: Sissy attempts to seduce Shad Ledue in order to acquire valuable information from him. She has dinner with him at his house, but she is unfortunately unable to pry any useful information from him. However, her courage does inspire Julian to begin on his own espionage effort; he enlists in the Minute Men with the intent of gathering information to pass back to Doremus and his group.

Chapter 29: The narrative describes the economic actions and effects of Windrip's regime. Although Windrip had promised in his campaign to make everyone richer, what he ends up doing is making everyone much poorer, with the exception of a very small number of bankers, industrialists, and soldiers to whom the government distributes the majority of the nation's wealth. The narrative then portrays a scene in which Francis Tasbrough calls Doremus on the phone and asks him to join the Corpos. Doremus, unwilling to join, tells Tasbrough that he is too old and unwell for the demands of the task.

Chapter 30: Doremus continues to work on the Vermont Vigilance. Julian keeps in regular contact, covertly passing information back to the rebels. The work seems to be progressing well, but one night, the Minute Men stage a raid on Doremus' house. They find in-progress issues of the Vermont Vigilance and arrest Doremus for sedition. He is thrown into the back of a prisoner transport vehicle where he finds Buck Titus, who has apparently also been arrested.

Chapter 31: Doremus and Buck are brought to the concentration Camp at Trianon. The guards separate them and lock Doremus in a cell. They take him out regularly to interrogate him, beating him with whips and demanding the names of everyone who conspired with Doremus against the regime. Doremus remains strong and says nothing. The guards then bring in Julian's grandfather, Reverend Falck. The guards interrogate Doremus and Falck together, and when neither one speaks, the guards kill Reverend Falck.

Chapters 32 – 33: A new prisoner arrives at the Trianon concentration camp: Shad Ledue. Ledue is responsible for arresting half of the people who are now prisoners at Trianon. Shad is rumored to have been imprisoned for attempting to steal money from



business owners without giving the stolen money to his superiors in the Minute Men. Not long after Shad arrives, he is killed by an unknown person, likely one of the people Shad had arrested and sent to Trianon. Meanwhile, Mary Greenhill manages to enlist in the regime's air force, and during a test flight, she manages to fly her plane into a plane carrying Effingham Swan, the officer who ordered her husband's death. The impact kills both Mary and Swan.

Analysis

The first half of this section helps to dramatize the tribulations and sacrifices necessary of those rebelling against a dictator, thus illustrating the significant valiance and dedication of the rebels. This dedication helps to emphasize the value of democratic principles over the harmful effects of tyranny. Doremus' own group of conspirators in the New Underground is made up of people like him, with no experience other than in regular peacetime jobs. However, they all contrive to use their various skills to contribute to the rebellion effort in spite of the immense risks. Doremus utilizes his journalism and editorial skills, Lorinda implements her skills of organization and management, and Buck helps with the operation in any way he can. Thus, the narrative illustrates how rebels need only be citizens who maintain a dedication to democratic ideals, fighting back against tyranny. Moreover, the narrative constantly reminds the reader of the brutality with which the regime treats seditionists, highlighting the immense bravery of Doremus' group.

The narrative raises the dramatic stakes even further with the involvement of Sissy and Julian. Sissy and Julian's youth, innocence, and idealism help to further emphasize the righteousness of the rebels and the inherent evil of all members involved in Windrip's fascist regime. For example, the scene in which Sissy reluctantly attempts to seduce Shad Ledue creates a powerful contrast between Sissy's innocence and selflessness and Shad's general depravity. Shad is a comically debauched and selfish character shown to respond only to base desires for things like power, money, and sex. Sissy, on the other hand, is shown as innocent and selfless in her attempt to pry information from Shad. This selflessness is demonstrated in Julian as well, who is willing to join the hated Minute Men and greatly risk his safety for the benefit of the rebel cause.

The discussion in Chapter 29 of the country's economy under Windrip helps to illustrate yet another harmful aspect of Windrip's tyranny. In hoarding the country's resources for himself and his close conspirator's Windrip is further revealed to have no compulsion to serve the country. This dynamic helps to illustrate the idea that absolute power corrupts those who possess it, for even if Windrip was ever inclined to help the common man, the temptations of his office guarantee that he will take advantage of his position as much as possible. For even if Windrip did have a change of heart, if he began to share the wealth of the country with everyone, he may very well be deposed by the members of his inner circle.

Chapters 30 and 31 help to further illustrate the cruelty of the regime by illustrating the brutal torture implemented at the regime's concentration camps, thus further



emphasizing the persecution and injustice perpetrated against lovers of democracy such as Doremus. The narrative dramatizes the torture of Doremus in such a way as to illustrate his interrogators as transparently evil and dishonest. The interrogators constantly lie to Doremus, saying his conspirators have already told them everything so Doremus should too, but Doremus is able to maintain his trust in his friends and stay strong by refusing to give up any information. This dynamic of dishonesty on the part of the Corpus is further developed when Shad Ledue is imprisoned at Trianon, introducing the idea that not even Corpus are safe from the danger of the Corpo regime.

Discussion Question 1

Discuss the covert operations of Doremus and his friends and family. Does the narrative portray these efforts optimistically or pessimistically? How do the findings of these operations help to shed light on the nature of Windrip's regime?

Discussion Question 2

Discuss Doremus' experiences at the concentration camp. How do the events at the concentration camp help to develop the themes of the novel? How do they develop Doremus' relationships with his friends and enemies?

Discussion Question 3

Discuss the character arc of Shad Ledue. How do its beginning and its ending help to contextualize Ledue's character arc amongst the themes of the narrative? How does Ledue's character arc interact with and reinforce the themes and tone of the novel?

Vocabulary

mortuary, polemics, diminution, jocular, substratum, contrariwise, martyrdom, debtor, wont, confidante, prelate, venial, alacrity, bucolic, opus, galvanize, drowse, sedate



Chapters 34 – 38

Summary

Chapter 34: Julian Falck's true intentions among the Minute Men are discovered, and he is arrested and sent to the concentration camp at Trianon. This leaves Sissy and Lorinda as the only members of Doremus' rebel group not yet arrested. Lorinda and Sissy attempt to proceed with the rebellion effort. The narration reveals that, before Shad Ledue was arrested, Sissy attempted to seduce him for information one more time, but this attempt was also unsuccessful. Later, Lorinda and Sissy receive a New Underground telegram stating that Lee Sarason has usurped ousted Buzz Windrip and taken the dictatorship for himself.

Chapter 35: The narrative details the circumstances of Sarason's power grab and the events leading up to it. In a cabinet meeting, Sarason had strongly recommended that the United States invade and conquer Mexico in order to expand America's dominance. However, Windrip said that it was too soon for such actions. In response, Sarason and General Dewey Haik joined forces to depose Windrip by force and send him out of the country, framing him as a traitor to America. Thus, Sarason became the new dictator. As dictator, Sarason attempts to start a war with Mexico, but he proves to be a rather ineffective leader, unable to influence the country and the Minute Men nearly as well as Windrip. Thus, Dewey Haik soon deposes Sarason and seizes control of the regime.

Chapter 36: At the concentration camp in Trianon, Doremus contemplates the nature of government, especially with regards to fascism and communism. He comes to the conclusion that both fascism and communism are forms of dictatorships, with an authoritarian military leader serving as the dictator of fascism, and a group of proletariats serving as the dictators of communism. Jessup comes to the conclusion that the real enemy of freedom is the bigotry that both fascism and communism seem to perpetuate. Then, during the confusion of the regime change, Emma Jessup and other rebels help Doremus escape from prison and flee to Canada. This escape is not described in detail, only briefly explicated upon by the narration.

Chapter 37: In Canada, Doremus joins up with Walt Trowbridge and the other American expatriates who now help contribute to the rebellion effort. Soon, in America, large numbers of rebels rise up to fight back against the fascist regime. This mass rebellion is led by Emmanuel Coon, a former United States General who defected from the country after Windrip rose to power. Emmanuel Coon has returned to the United States to help lead the military aspect of the rebellion. As this mass rebellion begins, Doremus volunteers to reenter the United States and work as undercover spy for the rebels.

Chapter 38: In America, Doremus operates under the alias William Barton Dobbs and pretends to be a traveling salesman of harvesting machinery. Doremus meets up with a group of farmers in South Dakota who are part of rebellion. Doremus tells them that the Corps have all but completely been driven out of South Dakota. The farmers then give



Doremus their own reports for Doremus to deliver to other members of the rebellion. As Doremus departs to go to his next destination, the narration lauds the ideals and bravery for which Doremus stands.

Analysis

The instability that infects the regime after Windrip is ousted helps to shed light on the fact that fascist regimes are very fragile if the right components are not present to maintain order. Up until this point, Windrip was able to maintain control over the nation while serving as the charismatic face of the regime while Sarason served as the brains behind the scenes. Sarason's power grab, though seemingly inevitable, actually serves to weaken the regime by removing Windrip from the equation. One would think that Sarason, as the true brains of the operation, would be able to take control of the regime, but he is revealed to be a rather ineffective leader on his own. This serves to indemnify several flaws that exist in fascist regimes. Because such regimes exist only on the strength of their hold over the population, instability in leadership can weaken this hold and thusly weaken the strength of the regime. Moreover, the corrupting nature of power will often cause the leaders to fight with one another over power and control, thus weakening the regime as a whole.

Doremus' contemplations in Chapter 36 serve as a powerful conclusion to the philosophical arguments of the novel. The main function of the novel's narrative is to demonstrate the common aspects and harmful effects of a fascist regime. One possible alternative to fascism that the book suggests is communism, but the book always presents the idea of communism with extreme reservations. For example, in Chapter 25, Doremus decides to fight the regime with the help of his friends and family instead of with a group of communists, because the communists have certain philosophical differences from Doremus. In Chapter 36, the novel endorses the idea that both fascism and communism are forms of dictatorships, just with different dictators. Doremus concludes that the real enemies are the bigotry, aggression and generalized oppression espoused by both fascism and communism. In this way, the novel endorses the view that loyalty to freedom, liberty, democracy, tolerance, and inclusiveness are the best ways to safeguard a way of life that benefits all of humanity and guards against malevolent dictatorships.

Despite the generally dark and satirical tone that dominates the narrative throughout, the novel ends on a surprisingly earnest and uplifting note. As a spy for the rebellion, Doremus not only is happy in his continued fight for democracy, and those around him even apparently laud him as a hero. The farmers with whom he meets in Chapter 38 express great awe and admiration for Doremus' heroism. Doremus is described in humble yet valiant terms, and the narration even raises him to the level of an ideal, saying that even if Doremus dies or is killed, the ideals of bravery and democracy that he represents will live on. It is important to note, however, that the novel does not end with a conclusive victory by the rebels. At the end of the narrative, the fight against the Corpus is still ongoing. This seems to function as a signal to the readers that the fight



for democracy against evil forces is always ongoing, and it is important to always remain vigilant, for one never knows the forms that evil and corruption may assume.

Discussion Question 1

Discuss the circumstances of Windrip's downfall and the following changes that the regime undergoes. What do these events seem to imply about the nature of authoritarianism and its leaders?

Discussion Question 2

Discuss Doremus' personal contemplations in Chapter 36. How do these contemplations relate to the larger themes of the novel? What morals has Doremus gleaned from his tribulations over the course of the narrative?

Discussion Question 3

Discuss the tone and circumstances of the novel's conclusion. Why does the narrative stop before reaching a clear ending? What morals does the conclusion seem to promote?

Vocabulary

flog, damask, magniloquent, detest, rejoice, purge, skullduggery, febrifuge, dulcet, decorous, flippant, coup d'état, prophetic, melodramatic, populace, garner, resent, chaplain, lucrative



Characters

Doremus Jessup

Doremus Jessup is the main protagonist of the novel. He is approximately 60 years old during the events of the novel. He is a journalist and serves as editor for the Vermont newspaper called "The Daily Informer." He is a resident of Fort Beulah, Vermont and lives with his wife Emma and his youngest daughter Cecilia. He is also the father of Mary Greenhill (née Jessup) and lawyer Philip Jessup.

Doremus Jessup is a traditional liberal who is very much opposed to Buzz Windrip's fascist rule. In response to Windrip's ascent to power, Doremus writes anti-Windrip editorials in The Informer and eventually joins an underground group of communists working to oppose Windrip. Doremus is eventually arrested and then sent to a concentration camp, but the rebels eventually set him free and bring him to safety in Canada. At the end of the novel, Doremus joins the outright rebellion against the dictatorship.

Emma Jessup

Emma Jessup is Doremus Jessup's husband. Originally, she does not oppose Buzz Windrip nearly as fervently as Doremus does, but once Doremus is arrested, she joins the rebel cause against Windrip and helps to free her husband. Emma acts as a foil to her husband in that she is very mild-mannered and generally placid, although she is not afraid to take action when she comes to view it as necessary.

Cecilia "Sissy" Jessup

Cecilia "Sissy" Jessup is Doremus Jessup's youngest daughter. She is 18 years old during the events of the novel and is in a relationship with Julian Falck. Sissy is as opposed to Windrip's rule as her father is and wishes to help in the rebel cause. She attempts to seduce County Commissioner Shad Ledue in order to discover useful information to pass on to the rebels, but this effort unfortunately does not yield significant results.

Julian Falck

Julian Falck is the grandson of local Fort Beulah minister Reverend Falck. Julian is in a relationship with Cecilia Jessup and shares her anti-Windrip views. In aid to the rebel cause, Julian joins Windrip's military force known as the Minute Men and collects information to feed back to the rebels. Unfortunately, his activities are discovered, and he is arrested and executed.



Philip Jessup

Philip Jessup is the oldest son of Doremus Jessup. He is 32 years old and works as a lawyer in Worcester, Massachusetts. He is a proponent of Buzz Windrip and wishes to gain a political office under Windrip's dictatorship. Philip comes to Fort Beulah to ask his father to cease writing anti-Windrip editorials so that Philip will have a better chance of being awarded a political position.

Mary Greenhill

Mary Greenhill (née Jessup) is the older of Doreums Jessup's two daughters. Mary Greenhill is married to Dr. Fowler Greenhill, and they have an eight-year-old son named David. After military judge Effingham Swan has Fowler executed for speaking out against the dictatorship, Mary joins the air force and flies a military jet into Swan's personal transport plane, killing them both.

Berzelius "Buzz" Windrip

Berzelius "Buzz" Windrip is a fictional United States senator who, in the world of the novel, is elected President of the United States in 1936. He wins the nomination of the Democratic Party over incumbent President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and defeats Republican nominee Walt Trowbridge in the general election. Windrip's administration becomes a fascist dictatorship under which opposition is violently suppressed. Windrip's persona is comically folksy. He is eventually deposed by Secretary of State Lee Sarason and exiled to France.

Lee Sarason

Lee Sarason is a fictional politician and newspaper owner who works closely with Buzz Windrip. Sarason is often thought to be the true brains and power behind all of Buzz Windrip's political actions, both before and after Windrip is elected President. Sarason eventually deposes Windrip and assumes the dictatorship, but his rule as dictator is relatively weak. He is soon deposed by military leader Dewey Haik.

Walt Trowbridge

Walt Trowbridge is a fictional politician who, in the world of the novel, becomes the 1936 Republican nominee for President. Trowbridge is a moderate and practical man, both in personality and politics. This moderateness and practicality is reflected in his campaign, and he is ultimately defeated by the energetic Buzz Windrip, who makes outlandish campaign promises. As Windrip establishes his dictatorship, Trowbridge flees to Canada, where he helps lead and organize the rebellion against Windrip.



Emil Staubmeyer

Emil Staubmeyer is the superintendent of schools in Fort Beulah, Vermont, and under Windrip's dictatorship, he becomes the Assistant Commissioner for the county. He is highly pro-Windrip and pro-military, and before he becomes Assistant County Commissioner, he works to infuse fascist doctrine into the operations of Fort Beulah's Isaiah College.

Francis Tasbrough

Francis Tasbrough is the owner of the local rock quarry in Fort Beulah. He is a childhood friend of Doremus Jessup. Before the events of the novel, Doremus Jessup writes editorials in support of a labor strike by the workers at Tasbrough's quarry. The strike fails, and Tasbrough remains friends with Doremus. Tasbrough attains political office under Windrip's dictatorship but does not use his influence to aid Doremus once Doremus has been arrested.

Shad Ledue

Shad Ledue is Doremus Jessup's hired gardener. Doremus constantly complains of Shad's laziness. However, under Windrip's dictatorship, Shad rises to the office of County Commissioner and uses his power against Doremus. Shad also attempts to seduce Doremus' daughter Sissy, while Sissy plays along temporarily in order to gain information for the rebel cause.

Buck Titus

Buck Titus is a successful farmer in Fort Beulah and is one of Doremus Jessup's closest friends. Buck attempts to help the Jessups flee to Canada after the rise of Windrip's dictatorship, but this plan is foiled. Buck is ultimately arrested for sedition along with Doremus Jessup and imprisoned at the concentration camp at Trianon.



Symbols and Symbolism

Fort Beulah

Fort Beulah symbolizes the average American town, and its narrative function is to demonstrate how a fascist dictatorship would affect an average town on a local level. On one hand, the traditional liberals like Dormeus Jessup oppose the dictatorship and work secretly to undermine it. On the other hand, local residents like Emil Staubmeyer and Francis Staubmeyer support the dictatorship, at least insofar as they can use it to increase their own power. The struggle between these two sides represents the local struggles that the dictatorship causes throughout America.

Corpoism

Corpoism symbolizes the intersection of fascism and American culture. After Windrip comes to power, his followers call themselves Corporatists and call their doctrine Corpoism. Corpoism is presented as a dictatorial rule over America in which the dictator controls the country's entire population through corporate control and military force. In other words, Windrip uses gives free-reign to corporations in exchange for their absolute support with the government, and he uses his own personal military force, known as the Minute Men, to maintain order.

Zero Hour

Buzz Windrip's memoir "Zero Hour" symbolizes the sinister charisma and persuasive prowess of fascist dictators. As a politician, Buzz Windrip presents a very friendly persona to the world, which he uses to advocate for very sinister political doctrines. This dynamic is exemplified by the folksy writing style of Zero Hour, which seeks to present Buzz Windrip as a down-to-earth guy, but which also seeks to promote ideals of absolute and centralized power. Zero Hour also reflects Windrip's ruling style in that it is rumored to have actually been written by Lee Sarason, whom many believe to be the true brains of Windrip's political career.

The Daily Informer

The Daily Informer is a fictional Vermont newspaper, and it symbolizes free speech and its fate under fascism. Doremus Jessup uses his position as editor of The Informer to criticize Buzz Windrip and his dictatorship. However, once Windrip has strengthened his grip on the country, the local agents of the dictatorship arrest Doremus and threaten to kill him unless he only writes pro-Windrip editorials. Thus, Doremus' ability to freely and openly express his opinion is quashed by the dictatorship.



Minute Men

The Minute Men symbolize the brute force that is integral to maintaining any type of dictatorial rule. During his presidential campaign, Buzz Windrip helps organize marching and parading groups in support of his campaign, and these groups became known as the Minute Men. After Windrip is elected, he does not disband the Minute Men, but rather expands their organization, arms them, and keeps them as his personal military force, using them to enforce dictatorial orders and maintain control over all branches of government.

The Vermont Vigilance

The Vermont Vigilance is an underground newspaper that symbolizes loyalty to traditional liberal values amongst the fascist forces that attempt to destroy freedom and liberalism. After control of The Informer is seized from Doremus, he seeks to undermine Windrip's fascist dictatorship in secret. With the help of other rebels, Doremus Jessup writes, prints, and distributes an anti-Windrip newspaper called The Vermont Vigilance. Doremus does this in spite of the risk of arrest, for he believes fighting against the dictatorship to be more important than his own personal safety.

Racism/Anti-Semitism

Racism and anti-Semitism symbolize the hatred and intolerance that are necessary for the rise of a dictatorship. Buzz Windrip's platform when running for President includes specific provisions for the oppression of Jewish and black Americans. Under Windrip's regime, black and Jewish Americans are forbidden from holding any substantial professional positions or owning any significant amount of property. This also relates to Windrip's attempts to disallow any women from holding any position other than homemaker. These attitudes of hatred and oppression are shared by all of Windrip's followers and help to unite said followers under Windrip.

The New Underground

The New Underground symbolizes resistance against fascism. However, the New Underground movement represents multiple factions working together to oppose Windrip for different reasons. The New Underground contains both communists and traditional liberals. Doremus Jessup, a traditional liberal, works with the communists due to their shared goal of ending fascism in America. However, Doremus comes to view communism as simply another road to fascism, simply with different people in charge.



The League of Forgotten Men

The League of Forgotten Men symbolizes the powerful industrial and political interests that aid in the creation of a fascist regime. Buzz Windrip does not simply win the election and create a dictatorship on his own. Instead, powerful business executives and politicians calling themselves the League of Forgotten Men help to influence the American population in Windrip's favor. Unfortunately for the League, most or all of them are either imprisoned or executed by the dictatorship as Windrip and Sarason consolidate their power.

Isaiah College

Isaiah College symbolizes the fate of academia under fascism. As Buzz Windrip and fascist ideas gain popularity in America, Isaiah College begins to reform itself to align more with fascist principles. Superintendent Emil Staubmeyer places less emphasis on academia and more emphasis on industry and militarism. The faculty of fields such as art and literature are let go, and Isaiah College—along with other institutions of higher learning—focuses more on fields like mining, engineering, and military training.



Settings

Fort Beulah

Fort Beulah is a fictional American city in the state of Vermont. It is the home of protagonist Doremus Jessup and most of the novel's other characters. It is also the home of the fictional Isaiah College, as well the large rock quarry owned by Francis Tasbrough. Fort Beulah functions as microcosm of the United States at large in the novel. The drama, power shifts, and resistance efforts that take place in Fort Beulah function as demonstrations of similar events likely occurring all over America during the course of the narrative.

Hanover

Hanover is a town in New Hampshire and is the location of the campus of Dartmouth College. In the novel, Hanover becomes the capital of one of the administrative districts of Buzz Windrip's dictatorship, and the buildings of Dartmouth College are repurposed as administrative offices. Hanover thus functions as the center of power as exercised over Doremus Jessup and his friends and family. As Doremus becomes a more prominent seditionist against the dictatorship, the attention of the Hanover officials becomes more intense and hostile.

Washington, D.C.

Washington, D.C. is the capital of the United States of America and serves as the seat of power for Buzz Windrip's dictatorship. In order to attain more complete control over the country, Windrip uses the force of his personal military force, the Minute Men, to imprison members of Congress and the Supreme Court. This helps to demonstrate how Buzz Windrip transitions from president of a democracy to the leader of a fascist dictatorship. Washington, D.C. serves as the principle site for all major power struggles in the novel, including Lee Sarason's hostile takeover of the dictatorship.

Canada

Canada, the country to the north of the United States, serves a land of refuge after the rise of Buzz Windrip's dictatorship. Walt Trowbridge, Windrip's opponent during the general election, flees to Canada as Windrip increases his power over the country. The Jessups attempt to flee to Canada with the help of their friend Buck Titus, but Windrip tightens border security so much that they are unable to make it past the border. Doremus does ultimately make it to Canada after being freed from a concentration camp, but he returns to America to aid the rebellion.

Trianon

Trianon is a fictional Vermont town located nine miles north of Fort Beulah. It is the location of a concentration camp set up by the fascist dictatorship. After Doremus Jessup is arrested for sedition, he is sent to the concentration camp at Trianon along with his other conspirators. There, he is tortured and interrogated for information, but Doremus refuses to give up any information. Eventually, with the help of his friends, family, and other rebels, Doremus is freed from the concentration camp and brought to Canada.



Themes and Motifs

Morality

Throughout the novel, the narrative appears to promote a clear distinction between right and wrong, with democratic ideas of freedom and tolerance held up as ideals, and fascist ideas of violence, intolerance, and absolute power held up as the destruction of those ideals. These morals are explored and demonstrated through the use of characters. For example, the pro-democracy Doremus Jessup, along with his pro-democracy friends and family, seem to be designated by the narrative as a clearly defined group of moral and ethical people. Meanwhile, Buzz Windrip and anyone who supports his regime are designated as the clear antagonists of the novel. While Doremus' camp is shown to value peace, kindness, freedom, and altruism, Windrip and his supporters are illustrated as greedy, power-hungry, and cruel in every aspect of their behavior. Characters like Shad Ledue who unwaveringly support Windrip are shown as unpleasant and morally bankrupt people who only support Windrip because they wish to gain more power for themselves.

Meanwhile, Doremus and his pro-democracy friends are shown not only to support the righteous morals of kindness, tolerance, and freedom, they are also all shown to be thoroughly altruistic and good-hearted people. Once Doremus and his friends and family realize just how malevolent Windrip is, they do not hesitate to risk their own lives for the good of the country. For example, Doremus repeatedly uses his journalistic and editorial skills as a weapon against the new regime, despite the repeated risks this incurs against his very life. Meanwhile, other characters like Sissy Jessup, Julian Falck, Lorinda Pike, and Buck Titus also risk their own safety and wellbeing for the defense of democracy. These examples of bravery and altruism help to illustrate the goodness and righteousness of what these characters fight for. Moreover, these characters are illustrated as simply kind and decent people in general, contrasting with the repulsive personalities of pro-Windrip characters like Shad Ledue.

The novel also makes use of direct address to the reader in order to promote its ideals of morality. Through the use of narration, the novel appeals directly to the reader, urging them to take the ideals of the narrative to heart in order to use them in the real world. The thoughts and attitudes of Doremus and his friends and family are used as direct illustrations to the reader of important moral points to the reader. These points include the importance of tolerance, the necessity of free speech, and the inexcusability of violence. The novel even ends with a statement about how these ideals are eternal as long as good, altruistic people like Doremus Jessup agree to protect them. This idea functions as a direct address to the reader, asking them to be among those who would protect these ideals in the real world.

Community

The narrative deals with very large socio-political issues that can become quite unwieldy and abstract if not grounded in something more relatable and immediate. Thus, the narrative uses the example of Fort Beulah to stand in as a microcosm for the country at large. The use of Fort Beulah as an exemplar for the entire country is quite important and significant, as it allows the narrative to show how these large socio-political changes would play out on a local level. This, in turn, allows the narrative to make the narrative more immediate and affecting for the reader, thus increasing the effectiveness of the moral appeals that the narrative makes to the reader. To elaborate, the novel functions in some ways as a guidebook for the average American regarding how to spot and guard against risk factors that may lead to the degradation of American ideals. Thus, this purpose is aided if the reader is able to view the problem through the localized perspective of one character, namely Doremus Jessup. Doremus must face the problems of the country through the prism of his local community, just as any reader of the novel would have to do, as an individual's perspective is limited to their surroundings and their accessible modes of communication.

As a microcosm of the country at large, the narrative categorizes the citizens of Fort Beulah into pro-Windrip and anti-Windrip camps, just as the citizens of the country as a whole can generally be separated into these two groups. The interactions among the pro-Windrip and anti-Windrip characters in the novel help to represent the interactions between these two groups across the country. They clearly have a very antagonistic relationship towards one another, but the narrative places moral righteousness with the anti-Windrip characters. Thus, since Doremus falls into the anti-Windrip category, much of the narrative becomes the story of Doremus attempting to navigate his community while also figuring out how to resist Windrip and his supporters, especially those supporters in Fort Beulah. Doremus must not only stay safe from the Windrip supporters in Fort Beulah, he must also protect his morality by resisting the arguments and entreaties of those pro-Windrip neighbors.

It is also important to note that the narrative promotes a more widespread definition of community, as Doremus and his anti-Windrip friends and family attempt to resist Windrip's regime in both a local and a national capacity. Doremus and his anti-Windrip associates work on an anonymous anti-Windrip newsletter called the Vermont Vigilance. This is in many ways an effort towards locally focused resistance, but the creation of this newsletter is not possible without information from the New Underground, a national network of covert anti-Windrip Americans. Another example of nationally focused resistance comes at the end of the novel, when Doremus starts working as a spy for the rebellion and traveling all over the country in order to fulfill his duties. These examples of national cooperation against the dictatorship help to expand the idea of community, encompassing both an obligation to those around you and those who are more distant but share the same ideals.



Democracy vs. Dictatorship

As an exploration of politics and society, the novel takes a sharp stance that democracy represents the ideals that provide the most benefit to society as a whole, while dictatorship represents the ideals that do the most harm to society. The novel defines democracy and liberalism as political ideals that value freedom and inclusiveness, while dictatorships represent violence, greed, and general destructiveness. The American system of government is shown in the novel to be highly effective in preserving personal freedoms, as long as its citizens remain dedicated to ideals of freedom and tolerance. Meanwhile, dictatorships represent only the worst possible aspects of humanity, such as greed, hunger for power, intolerance, and aggression. Dictatorships are not even shown as being beneficial to its leaders, as Windrip and Sarason and even supporters like Shad Ledue all suffer terrible betrayals at the hands of the government they supported and even helped to create.

The novel is able to make this examination of democracy and dictatorship quite relevant and powerful by examining the real-world dictatorships that existed at that time. During the time in which this novel was written, Germany, Italy, and Russia were all being governed under dictatorships. These dictatorships were very similar to Windrip's in that they possessed a great affinity for violence and aggression, they controlled all forms of media and communication in their respective countries, and they maintained power by stoking the flames of hatred and intolerance. This helps to strengthen the novel's argument that such a dictatorship could be a real problem and possibility in America if people became too complacent. Moreover, these dictatorships help provide useful case studies with which to inform the attributes and harmful effects of dictatorships as portrayed in the novel.

The novel further develops its thesis on the nature of dictatorships by positing that they may be able to originate from both the perceived left and right ends of the political spectrum. Throughout the novel, Windrip's regime is described as one of fascism, and the narrative occasionally suggests communism as a possible alternative to fascism. However, this suggestion is always made with extreme reservations. Later on in the narrative, the narrative begins to reveal its underlying idea that communism and fascism are both types of dictatorships, just with different dictators. In this way, the narrative promotes traditional liberal ideals as the only way to protect against the destruction of harmful political ideas at either end of the supposed political spectrum. The novel presents a very anti-extremist political philosophy, instead promoting common sense ideals of freedom and liberty as the best methods of ensuring the health and wellbeing of a country's society as well as its politics.

Hatred vs. Tolerance

One major principle that the novel repeatedly promotes of the idea of tolerance, demonstrating that hatred and intolerance are major factors in degrading a country's society and increasing the risk that a dictatorship may arise. From the very beginning of



his campaign, Buzz Windrip includes certain points in his campaign platform that provide for the oppression of women, black Americans, and Jewish Americans. These points provide for the exclusion of these groups from both politics and the workforce, and these points represent one of the few campaign promises that Windrip actually attempts to keep after he is inaugurated. During the campaign, Windrip actually seems to gain support due to these ideas of oppression and exclusivity, and they help him to maintain control once he has established his dictatorship. Hatred and fear of groups like black Americans and Jewish Americans help to unite many Americans under Windrip with the morally repulsive goal of oppressing these groups.

Moreover, the oppression of these groups serve not only as a symptom of the country's corruption, but also a method by which the country fuels its own destruction. First, because the hatred of others helps to solidify support for Windrip and perpetuate Windrip's regime, then this hatred is responsible for all the death and other terrible effects brought on by Windrip's dictatorship. Secondly, institutionalized exclusion, hatred, and oppression stand as a barrier to the common interest of the country and its citizens. In other words, the deep social divides caused by these practices of intolerance prevent citizens from sharing goals and working together for the benefit of the country as a whole. The novel presents this as a tactic by which Windrip weakens the resistance to his harmful dictatorship. The rebellion is only able to finally rise up against Windrip through covert national cooperation that transcends boundaries of gender, race, and religion.

The narrative warns that intolerance and hatred must be guarded against from many different sources, not just the machinations of fascist dictatorships. For example, late in the novel, Doremus often notes that these negative attributes may also be found in the doctrine and practice of communism, which is purported by its supporters to be the opposite of fascism. However, the intelligent Doremus ultimately recognizes that intolerance and hatred are not only a major key to the rise of a dictatorship, but they can originate in many different political philosophies. In this way, the narrative seeks to urge the reader to stay vigilant against intolerance and oppression in all its forms and iterations. Even if the reader is not a member of the oppressed group, the novel illustrates how all forms of intolerance can divide the country and lead to harmful effects for all citizens.

Family

Doremus Jessup, the novel's protagonist, is part of a fairly large family, and the novel uses his family relationships as a means of demonstrating the most personal and intimate aspects of social and political turmoil. One of the most prominent aspects of Doremus' family relationships is the support he receives during the turbulent events of the narrative. His daughter Sissy shares the same political beliefs as Doremus, and she is very willing to help the resistance effort against Windrip and his regime. Like Doremus, Sissy is a staunch believer in democracy, and she is even willing to attempt to seduce the horrible Shad Ledue in order to try to secure information for the rebellion. Meanwhile, Doremus' daughter Mary and son-in-law Fowler also rise to the occasion in



order to fight the regime, each tragically dying while attempting to stand up to the dictatorship. Even Doremus' wife Emma, who does not consider herself a very political person, is willing to come to join the resistance after Doremus is sent to a concentration camp. For example, she is instrumental in helping to free Doremus from imprisonment. Doremus' family members are thusly demonstrated to be an integral source of emotional and practical support in the face of Windrip's regime.

However, the narrative also demonstrates how family can be a source of strife during difficult political times. The main example of this is demonstrated by Doremus' son Philip, a 32-year-old lawyer who supports Windrip's regime. In Chapter 24, Philip visits Doremus to try to convince him to support the regime as well. Philip declares that he believes Windrip truly is making the country a better place, and that the mass imprisonments and executions are simply necessary measures to achieving important goals. Doremus also wishes for his father to support Windrip so that Philip will have a better chance of being selected for a political office under Windrip's regime. Doremus, speaking on behalf of reason and morality, argues that Windrip's practices are inhumane and that nothing justifies so much violence and so many civil rights violations. Philip's position is further weakened by his desire for political office, which illustrates a certain self-serving hunger for power on Philip's part. In this way, the narrative dramatizes how family relationships can sometimes serve as a test of one's ethics rather than a support structure for one's morals and principles.

However, the narrative ultimately stresses the importance of nurturing and maintaining family relationships, as they are valuable support networks for one's emotions as well as one's politics. Mary, Emma, and Sissy serve to reinforce Doremus' righteous convictions as well as help him fight against the fascist regime. Moreover, even though Doremus and Philip have certain fundamental disagreements when it comes to politics and morality, Doremus still cares enough about his son to argue with him and try to bring him to the side of democracy, rather than simply avoid him like Francis Tasbrough or other pro-Windrip acquaintances. In turn, these arguments also help Doremus more thoroughly articulate his own ideas and principles. Even though Doremus is unable to convince Philip, the narrative still presents the relationship as important enough to attempt to save. Thus, the narrative reinforces the special, significant nature of family relationships, especially during turbulent events such as the events depicted in the narrative.

Styles

Point of View

The perspective of the narrative generally switches between Doremus' point of view and an omniscient perspective addressing changes in the nation at large. When dealing with the local events of Fort Beulah, the novel generally adheres to Doremus' point of view in order to focus the narrative. Doremus also serves as the moral compass for the narrative, synthesizing the lessons and morals of the novel's events through Doremus' thoughts and experiences. The novel very rarely takes on the point of view of other Fort Beulah residents, but it occasionally does so in order to develop themes or further the plot. Examples of this include the very first scene of the novel and the scene in Chapter 33 where Mary assassinates Effingham Swan. The parallel narrative describes the larger political movements affecting the country, specifically the rise of Windrip's fascist dictatorship. This narrative is related almost entirely in third-person exposition, as the political and social changes of the story affect the entire country and cannot be captured by an individual's perspective.

The narrative is told in third-person and alternates between a third-person mode limited to Doremus' perspective and a third-person omniscient mode. This creates an interesting contrast, because when the third-person mode is limited to Doremus' own thoughts and conjectures, then the events of the narrative become slightly murkier in terms of what is true. Generally, Doremus' suspicions of Windrip are correct, but there is no way to confirm Doremus' suspicions until Windrip explicitly does something that confirms them, such as making an obvious power grab in the government and installing himself as a dictator. However, when the narrative uses an omniscient third-person perspective, it is able to directly confirm various nefarious aspects of Windrip and his cronies. The narrative will often state a supposed rumor about Windrip and then either directly state or heavily imply that it is true. This helps the narrative to emphasize the clear sense of right and wrong that it promotes.

Language and Meaning

The novel utilizes both humorous and very dark tones to illustrate its narrative, exploring a spectrum of satire from lightly humorous to darkly accusatory. The narrative often ridicules and criticizes characters with the use of humor and satire, portraying Windrip and pro-Windrip characters as rather ridiculous in either their intelligence or their lack of morals. However, as the events of the novel become increasingly grave, the satire becomes darker. The novel often abandons satire altogether and simply presents the horrific event of the narrative in a direct and shocking fashion. Often, satire will be employed when describing the actions and rationalizations of Windrip and his government, allowing the reader to see for themselves just how ridiculous the government's justifications for its atrocities are. However, as Doremus and his friends and family suffer the effects of those atrocities, the tone is much more serious.



Furthermore, when describing the righteous efforts of Doremus and the other rebels as they fight against the dictatorship, the novel does not use humor or satire, thus presenting these efforts as entirely moral, noble, and legitimate. The narrative thusly uses satire as a means of distinguishing moral from immoral. The actions of the government are immoral, while the actions of the pro-democracy characters are moral and justified.

Thus, due to the way in which the novel uses satire, the narrative experiences a steady progression from humor to earnestness. As the novel becomes less about the rise of Windrip and more about the response of pro-democracy characters, the novel becomes less of a satire and more of an earnest call for vigilance among the citizens of America, or really any nation. The use of humor and satire helps not only to establish Windrip as the enemy, but also to entertain the reader while informing them about possible signs and methods of a rising dictatorship. These signs include demagoguery, policies of intolerance, excessive nationalism, and excessive militarism. Then, once this information has been conveyed, and the idea of dictatorship has been firmly ridiculed, the narrative focuses on driving home the seriousness of the harm that a dictatorship would inflict. The narrative also wishes to promote an earnest call to all democracy-loving individuals to use what the narrative has taught them and stay vigilant against possible rising dictatorships. Thus, the use of humor and satire are eventually abandoned in favor of directness and earnestness.

Structure

It Can't Happen Here is told in a linear fashion and is written in the past tense. It spans from 1936 to 1938, and it presents its narrative with the use of scenes as well as extended sections of exposition. The story follows two parallel narratives: the personal narrative of Doremus Jessup, and the political narrative concerning the rise of fascism in America. The novel utilizes both scenes and exposition in each narrative, but due to the personal nature of Doremus' narrative and the larger scope of the political narrative, Doremus' narrative is more prone to the use of scenes, and the political narrative is more prone to the use of exposition. In other words, Doremus' character arc and personal relationships are often demonstrated through the use of dialogue and interactions with other characters, although the narration with still sometimes provide exposition concerning Doremus' story arc. Meanwhile, the large, nationwide political changes are described more through narration than dialogue, although scenes with government officials and other politically involved characters also serve this narrative at times.

The fictional structure of the novel is based on real world events and circumstances, meaning that everything that has occurred prior to the narrative is exactly congruent with world history. Thus, the world and the themes of the novel are based on real-world events and circumstances. The events of the novel are influenced by the difficult economic conditions of the Great Depression, as well as the rise of dictatorships in countries like Germany, Italy, and Russia. Therefore, the speculative narrative is both based on past events within America and influenced by various international political

trends of the time. However, the semi-satirical nature of the novel heightens these speculative elements in order to emphasize the novel's social and political ideas. This also allows the narrative to simultaneously criticize and ridicule the horrific effects of dictatorship that the novel presents.



Quotes

It was just long enough after the Great War of 1914-18 for the young people who had been born in 1917 to be ready to go to college...or to another war, almost any old war that might be handy.”

-- Narration (chapter 1 paragraph 2)

Importance: One of the major factors that leads to the rise of Windrip's dictatorship is the rise of militaristic fervor in the United States. Windrip is able to form a large personal army to keep order in the country and to instill a sense of purpose and discipline. This quotation at once describes and criticizes the warlike tendency in humans, and it is also quite prescient in that it was written between World War One and World War Two.

People will think they're electing him to create more economic security. Then watch the Terror! God knows there's been enough indication that we can have tyranny in America—the fix of the Southern share-croppers, the working conditions of the miners and garment-makers.”

-- Doremus Jessup (chapter 2 paragraph 22)

Importance: The function of this quotation is twofold. First, Doremus accurately predicts Americans' attraction to Jessup for the outlandish prosperity he promises, thus pointing out how desperate financial situations such as the Great Depression can pave the way for a dictatorship. It also points out multiple phenomena in American history in which large groups of people were subjugated by economic and political systems, similar to subjugation under a dictatorship.

Once only had [Doremus] been dangerously active. He had supported the strike for union recognition against the quarry company of Francis Tasbrough.

-- Narration (chapter 6 paragraph 17)

Importance: This quotation helps to develop the tension between Doremus and many of his fellow residents of Fort Beulah. Doremus is a traditional liberal and believes in certain rights for common workers in a capitalistic system. Many of his wealthy acquaintance, however, are fervently anti-labor and pro-corporatism. This tension becomes more extreme as the corporatists become more empowered under Windrip.

All finance in the country, including banking, insurance, stocks and bonds and mortgages, shall be under the absolute control of a Federal Central Bank, owned by the government and conducted by a Board appointed by the President.

-- Buzz Windrip (chapter 8 paragraph 5)

Importance: This quotation comes from the very first point of Buzz Windrip's 15-point campaign platform. While all points of the plan help to outline the tenets of Windrip's eventual tyranny, this first point is important in how it foretells the specific authoritarian-corporate structure of Windrip's dictatorship. Other than using brute force to maintain order, Windrip structures Presidential power so that it maintains a tight grip on all of the



country's economic concerns, thus taking control of American life through widespread corporatism.

Matter of fact, it'll be a good thing to have Buzz. He'll put a damn quick stop to all this radicalism—all this free speech and libel of our most fundamental institutions.

-- Malcolm Tasbrough (chapter 12 paragraph 31)

Importance: The sentiment that Malcolm Tasbrough presents here is parroted directly from a newspaper, as Sissy Jessup points out in the next line. However, the sentiment still represents the shocking sentiments that become widespread in the world of the novel. Like Malcolm, many Americans no longer value fundamental tenets of American democracy such as free speech, instead favoring absolute rule by a consolidated power as a perceived way of instantly curing all societal woes.

The President had proclaimed that a state of martial law existed during the 'present crisis,' and more than a hundred Congressmen had been arrested by Minute Men, on direct orders from the President.

-- Narration (chapter 15 paragraph 27)

Importance: This quotation represents one of the most major turning points in Windrip's transition from President to dictator. Through the use of his personal military force, the Minute Men, Windrip is able to forcibly seize control of both the legislative and judicial branches of the federal government, thus granting himself absolute power in the name of a supposed state of crisis in the nation.

The tyranny of this dictatorship isn't primarily the fault of Big Business, nor of the demagogues who do their dirty work. It's the fault of Doremus Jessup! Of all the conscientious, respectable, lazy-minded Doremus Jessups who have let the demagogues wriggle in, without fierce enough protest."

-- Doremus Jessup (chapter 19 paragraph 34)

Importance: After witnessing the spread of Windrip's tyranny, Doremus Jessup begins to blame himself and other educated middle-class Americans for not having the wherewithal to prevent it. This quotations appears to function as a call to all readers of the book to remain vigilant against the signs of fascism and tyranny that the narrative presents.

By God, sir, men's souls and blood are not eggshells for tyrants to break!

-- Doremus Jessup (chapter 24 paragraph 33)

Importance: In this scene, Doremus speaks to his oldest son, Philip, who is pro-Windrip. Doremus responds with the above quote when Philip states that the victims of execution under Windrip's regime are simply necessary casualties for building a better world, as in, breaking a few eggs to make an omelet. Doremus' impassioned retort seems to function as an earnest argument by the narrative that widespread violence is never the sign of a good government, but rather an evil one.



[Doremus] did not believe in a dictatorship of the proletariat any more than he believed in a dictatorship of the bankers and utility-owners.

-- Narration (chapter 31 paragraph 10)

Importance: After Doremus is placed in a concentration camp for conspiring with communists, he begins to contemplate communism and fascism as similar types of evil, despite their supposed diametrical opposition to one another. Doremus begins to realize that they are actually just two different types of dictatorship with different types of dictators. This helps to clarify the book's stance against tyranny in illustrating the myriad sources from which tyranny can arise.

[Perley Beecroft] is still technically Vice-President of the United States, and if the lousy traitor managed some skullduggery so as to get you killed or deposed, he might be regarded by some narrow-minded literalists as President!

-- Lee Sarason (chapter 35 paragraph 37)

Importance: This quotation helps point out the irony between Windrip's dictatorship and the preservation of various outward appearances of America's former government. Part of how Windrip's dictatorship retains its supposed legitimacy is by maintaining various cosmetic structures of American democracy. For example, there is still a Congress and a Vice-President, but all real power rests with Windrip. This quotation, at once dark and humorous, points out how Windrip's dictatorship is nothing like American democracy, although it uses various superficial traits of democracy.

[Doremus] was afraid that the world struggle today was not of Communism against Fascism, but of tolerance against the bigotry that was preached equally by Communism and Fascism.

-- Narration (chapter 36 paragraph 11)

Importance: This quotation helps to further develop the narrative's idea of true political ideals. Windrip aids his rise to power by stoking fires of bigotry and hatred within the American people. This quotation helps to emphasize that not only are bigotry and intolerance morally wrong in and of themselves, but they also can contribute to a political state that is harmful to all.

And still Doremus goes on in the red sunrise, for a Doremus Jessup can never die.

-- Narration (chapter 38 paragraph 42)

Importance: Despite the very dark and satirical tone that the narrative maintains throughout most of the novel, this final line is surprisingly hopeful and idealistic. Although Doremus Jessup is likely to lose his life in his struggle against the fascist government in America, this quotation articulates that the ideals for which Doremus stands can never be truly defeated. The narrative thus encourages the reader to remain loyal to ideas of freedom and equality in the face of hatred and dictatorship.