
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

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- The Duty of the Individual in War -

We Americans are a nation of contradictions. Other nations - one can think of a dozen - ~~would~~ after a hard fought campaign ending in three days of suspense while ballots are being counted and recounted, would resort to rioting and recriminations and even to revolution. And yet we accept the result with outward calm and the deep down feeling that whichever way it ends the country is going to be all right. We even jest about T.R. having to get out a second edition of his famous work on the "Winning of the West", and are that are amused that because "as Maine went so the Union didn't go". And it all goes to prove that we are as concerns our own ^{internal} affairs a pretty well headed, not easily stampeded, self-reliant lot of people.

But it is curious to see that our

history when it ^{concerns} ~~relates to~~ our relations with other nations, shows a very opposite tendency. How often an insult fancied or real, to our national honor, has stirred our fighting blood! How often a catch word like "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute", or "Remember the Maine" has made us want to "lick the earth" with bare fists!

Of course the real reason for the difference is that we do think and ~~have~~ about internal questions all the time and have enough knowledge of them to form calm judgments as we go about our daily life; whereas on matters of foreign relations we have as a people very little knowledge we have given little real thought to the problems and we are as a result inclined to lose our equilibrium at short notice.

It is this same lack of thought in regard to ^{domestic} ~~those~~ problems ^{which} arising out of the fact that there are other nations in the world besides ourselves that makes for such judgments and ^{dangerous} ~~evil~~ results. It is ~~low~~ thinking - lazy thinking - It is responsible for the phrases "No Englishman has a sense of humor" "Germans are fat beer drinkers" "America can lick the world", "There will ^{never} be another great war".

Just that is the only thing I am going to assume tonight - I refuse to discuss whether there is going ever to be another great war. Mr. Bryan may be able to persuade you next week that the millennium has come - But I am going to assume that there is a possibility that we may have to fight some other nation or nations and I am

going to assume that the United States believes as a national principle in defensive preparations. I cannot talk with those who are in favor of passive resistance nor with those even more dangerous individuals who believe we shall never have another war but who are willing to have a few ships in the Navy and a little Army with a handful of ammunition.

And on the other hand it is just as unfair and deliberately untruthful to say that we are in danger of being invaded tomorrow as it is to say that the country is going to the dogs unless Wall Street gets possession of the government again.

What we need is a calm acceptance of certain facts and certain needs of national importance and a demand for a definite policy.

for the nation and for the individual which will answer the needs.

We must assume, I repeat, that war is for the American nation a possibility, and that the national policy is one of preparedness for armed defense. All right. Where do you ^{as individuals} come in? Or don't you come in? I suppose that up to two years ago not twenty people in this audience had given a thought to what they as individuals would do in case of war. And yet hardly one man or one woman but had ~~some~~ a hazy sort of idea that they would of course help the nation in some sort of way.

That is just the point. We have had as a nation a vague un-organized kind of patriotism which assumes without any real knowledge whatsoever that we would each do

our share and that the nation would
 to use a borrowed phrase "muddle
 through" in case of a crisis.

And yet in the past two
 years we have been brought face
 to face with facts if we only dare
 to open our eyes. We have been
 shown what modern warfare is.

Let me put it to you in
 simple figures - figures that can be
 applied to Germany or Austria or
 France or England with about equal
 truth. About 40% of each nation
~~are effectives~~ can be classed as
 effectives, that includes women as
 well as men - and the other sixty%
 are old people and children who are
 in a ~~some~~ military sense a burden
 in time of war.

Of the 40% $\frac{1}{4}$ roughly are
 men of fighting age - men who could
 form the fighting part of the army

Another $\frac{1}{4}$ or 10% of the whole population are men who for one reason or other are not available for the fighting part, but who are of some use in other just as important work; the work of manufacturing, of running trains, of keeping the life blood of the nation coursing through its veins.

And till the remaining $\frac{1}{2}$ half of the effectives no one had paid much attention up to the time of this great world war. For they consent of women, and nobody up to recently has given much thought to woman's part in war.

But they have come now into their own. In England 3,000,000 women are working on munitions and supplies; probably twice that number ^{small} are doing their bit, - running taxis, acting as conductors, filling

the fields, tending the wounded, and in a thousand ways taking care of the 60% of ineffectives in the nation.

The picture I want to leave in your minds is a nation not under arms, but a nation forced to conduct a modern war — a nation in which every effective individual male and female is doing his or her definite organized share in the work of winning the war, of saving the very existence of its national identity.

The conditions of modern war demand this organization, this co-operation by the individual for an ideal that is more important than the individual himself. That organization existed in Germany before the war began; it existed to a less extent in France; it did not exist in England. But

Today it exists in every nation at war. It has come about in England firstly because first the fortune of arms gave England time to prepare after war had begun, and secondly because the English people have with much groaning come to realize that they would never "muddle through" in the old way, but must adapt themselves to the hard facts of the present day.

We have talked much about "defense" in this country; about a "defensive" war. But we have used the word wrongly. For no war once it is under way can be called "defensive". You cannot imagine any American army or American fleet once war is on actually waiting to be attacked, always on the defensive, never striking back.

No war could ever be won of course in that way.

I believe with most Americans that we shall never enter into a war for aggressive reasons; that if war comes it will be because American ideals or American rights have been seriously threatened by other powers. In that case it will be a war entered into for the purpose of defending the nation, not a war conducted on defensive tactics.

That war against this country on a great scale may never come; but it may come suddenly and in ways we could not foretell. It may come by the aggressive act of one great power. It may come by a combination of great powers. It may come from the East or from the West - It may come from both the East and the West at the same time.

And let us say very frankly that the nation is not prepared - The organization or the skeleton of the organization is not in existence, and it follows that the place of the individual is also in theory only and not in being.

You have seen what happened when the National Guard were needed on the Mexican border. You cannot blame them in particular, or the War Department in particular or even Congress in particular for the slowness of mobilization, for the lack of equipment, for the half filled ranks in some cases. You must blame the American people you must blame yourselves as part of that people. Because you knew the conditions. You knew that we could not count on more than 50,000 or 60,000 of the militia and

you know that the available regular army was smaller still.

And you know the conditions today.

There is one remedy and one remedy only. It is an awakening by the American people. It is a determination by them that they will define their duty as individuals in time of war in clear terms; that they will know beforehand just where they are going to fit in.

Most of you in the audience belong to the 35 or 40,000,000 of possible American effectives. You are possibilities only. There might not be time in the crisis to make you into actual effectives. It might be too late.

The trouble is that nobody knows the definite use to which you could best be put.

There may be two machinists in the audience - one of you might be most valuable ^{to the nation} by teaching behind in the factory at your lathe - the other might be of more value on the end of a machine gun in the trenches.

There may be two drug clerks here, one might be enough to leave to run the store, the other might be more useful as a hospital orderly.

There may be two sisters here one might make an excellent trolley car conductor, the other might do better running a sewing machine.

But frankly I don't know which is which, and the Government doesn't know which is which, and you yourselves ~~must~~ don't know which is which.

That is the steps which must be taken soon. I look for the day in this nation where there will be an enumeration of the people ^{which} will determine first what men and what women are available for national service in war, will then decide in what proportion they will be needed, how many for the army, how many for the navy, how many for the railroads, for the munition factories for the upkeeps of the necessary commercial business, for the raising of crops, for the making of garments for the nursing of sick and wounded — S S R.

And finally they will go to you Bill Smith and to Susie Jane. And to Franklin Roosevelt and say "your job is so and so".

Duty is always harder to perform if it is loosely defined - The day may come way way off when the ideal State will have no laws on the Statute books except one - The Golden Rule - But you and I know what would happen if we abolished every law today. Our civilization is after all one of law and order, of definite rules of conduct intended for the good of the community, and the community maintains them by punishment of ~~offen~~ individual offenders.

So the duty of the individual to help in the common defense of the State is a hard duty, to perform unless it is defined, unless he can prepare himself for that duty in advance.

Naval Training Station

Physical - Educational .

Civilian Training Cruise Learned how useless .

Next year a course on shore -

People not willing to join the Reserve

Want to decide when "Emergency" exists.

Only answer is a country-wide training
a national defense education .

Not compulsory any more than Taxes
or education .

Part of American life . - Privilege
because a service to community .

Australia .

(a)

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Nation of contradictions.

Election - what other nations
"Winning of West" Maine
Internally - cross loaded - not stampede

But external affairs -

History shows ready to fly off handle
"Millions for defence" "Remember Maine"

Reason for difference

We don't know or think ab. other nation.

"No Englishman sense of humor.

"America can lick world"

"Never be another great war"

I want enter into question - Assume.

Mr. Bryan - millennium.

Assume U.S. policy is to resist aggression.

Now am I an alarmist.

Acceptance of certain facts.

Where do you come in?

2 years ago not 20 in audience
had thought what ab.

That is point.

Nation vague unorganized patriotism.

Muddle through.

Brought face to face with facts -

Simple

Figures - 40% effectives -

10% fighting men

10% munitions - other work at home

20% women -

1st time -

Picture of a nation not under arms
but mobilized.

All to save nat. existence.

Conditions of war demand it
Germany had it etc.

Our own case
No war for aggression.

1 Nation or more

East West or Both

Nation not prepared

Nat. Guard.

1 Kennedy

Determination to define duty in
time of war & prepare to
carry out that duty, time of peace

Yours in audience are possible
effective.

2 Mohammads

2 Drug Clerk

2 Sister

I look for day of commemoration

Duty harder to perform if
loosely defined.

No laws