Franklin D. Roosevelt — "The Great Communicator"

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Series 2: " You have nothing to fear but fear itself:" FDR and the New Deal

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1940 January 3

Message to Congress - State of the Union Address

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 3, 1940

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker,
Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:

As the Congress reassembles, the impact of wars abroad makes it natural to approach "the state of the union" through a discussion of foreign affairs.

But it is important that those who hear and read this message should in no way confuse that approach with any thought that our government is abandoning, or even overlooking, the great significance of its domestic policies.

The social and economic forces which have been mismanaged abroad until they have resulted in revolution, dictatorship and war are the same as those which we here are struggling to adjust peacefully at home.

You are well aware that dictatorships -- and the philosophy of force which justifies and accompanies dictatorships -- have originated in almost every case in the necessity for drastic action to improve internal conditions, where democratic action

for one reason or another has failed to respond to modern needs and modern demands.

It was with far-sighted wisdom that the framers of ~~the~~ our Constitution brought together in one magnificent phrase three great concepts -- "common defense", "general welfare" and "domestic tranquility"..

More than a century and a half later we still believe with them that our best defense is the promotion of our general welfare and domestic tranquility..

In previous messages to the Congress I have repeatedly warned that, whether we like it or not, the daily lives of American citizens will, of necessity, feel the shock of events on other continents. This is no longer mere theory, for it has been definitely proved by the facts of yesterday and today.

To say that the domestic well-being of one hundred and thirty million Americans is deeply affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is only to recognize in world affairs the truth we all accept in home affairs.

If in any local unit -- a city, county, state or region -- low standards of living are permitted to continue, the level of the civilization of the entire nation will be pulled downward.

The identical principle extends to the rest of a civilized world. But there are those who wishfully insist, in innocence or ignorance or both, that the United States of America as a self-contained unit can live happily and prosperously, its future secure, inside a high wall of isolation while, outside, the rest of civilization and the commerce and culture of mankind are shattered.

I can understand the feelings of those who warn the nation that they will never again consent to the sending of American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But, as I remember, nobody has asked them to consent -- for nobody expects such an undertaking.

The overwhelming majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war.

I can also understand the wishfulness of those who oversimplify the whole situation by repeating that all we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the nation out of war. But there is a vast difference between keeping out of war and pretending that this war is none of our business.

We do not have to go to war with other nations, but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will lighten the troubles of the world, and by so doing help our own nation as well.

I ask that all of us everywhere think things through with the single aim of how best to serve the future of our own nation. I do not mean merely its future relationship with the outside world. I mean its domestic future as well -- the work, the security, the prosperity, the happiness, the life of all the boys and girls of the United States, as they are inevitably affected by such world relationships. For it becomes clearer and clearer that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in -- even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force in the hands of a few.

Already the crash of swiftly moving events over the earth has made us all think with a longer view. Fortunately, that thinking cannot be controlled by partisanship. The time is long past when any political party or any particular group can curry or capture public favor by labeling itself the "peace party" or the "peace bloc". That label belongs to the whole United States and to every right thinking man, woman and child within it.

For out of all the military and diplomatic turmoil, out of all the propaganda and counter-propaganda of the present conflicts, there are two facts which stand out and which the whole world acknowledges.

The first is that never before has the Government of the United States done so much as in our recent past to establish and maintain the policy of the Good Neighbor with its sister nations.

The second is that in almost every nation in the world today there is a true public belief that the United States has been,and will continue to be,a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace.

In these recent years we have had a clean record of peace and good-will. It is an open book that cannot be twisted or defamed. It is a record that must be continued and enlarged.

So I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the several alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

We must look ahead and see the possibilities for our children if the rest of the world comes to be dominated by concentrated force alone -- even though today we are a very great and a very powerful nation.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our own future if all the small nations throughout the world have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to relatively vast and powerful military systems.

We must look ahead and see the kind of lives our children would have to lead if a large part of the rest of the world were compelled to worship ~~the~~ a god imposed by a military ruler, or were forbidden to worship God at all; if the rest of the world were forbidden to read and hear the facts -- the daily news of their own and other nations -- if they were deprived of the truth which makes men free.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military force.

It is, of course, true that the record of past centuries includes destruction of small nations, enslavement of peoples, and building of empires on the foundation of force. But wholly apart from the greater international morality which we seek today, we recognize the practical fact that with modern weapons and modern conditions, modern man can no longer live a civilized life if we are to go back to the practice of wars and conquests of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Summing up this need of looking ahead, and in words of common sense and good American citizenship, I hope that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. It is not good for the ultimate health of ostriches to bury their heads in the sand.

Only an ostrich would look upon these wars through the eyes of cynicism or ridicule.

Of course, the peoples of other nations have the right to choose their own form of government. But we in this nation still believe that such choice should be predicated on certain freedoms which we think are essential everywhere. We know that we ourselves will never be wholly safe at home unless other governments recognize such freedoms.

Twenty-one American Republics, expressing the will of two hundred and fifty million people to preserve peace and freedom in this Hemisphere are displaying a unanimity of ideals and practical relationships which gives hope that what is being done here can be done on other continents.

We in all the Americas are coming to the realization that we can retain our respective nationalities without, at the same time, threatening the national existence of our neighbors.

Such truly friendly relationships, for example, permit us to follow our own domestic policies with reference to our agricultural products,while at the same time we have the privilege of trying to work out mutual assistance arrangements for a world distribution of world agricultural surpluses.

And we have been able to apply the same simple principle to many manufactured products -- surpluses of which must be sold in the world export markets if we would continue a high level of production and employment.

For many years after the World War blind economic selfishness in most countries, including our own, resulted in a destructive mine-field of trade restrictions which blocked the channels of commerce among nations. This policy was one of the contributing causes of existing wars. It dammed up vast unsaleable surpluses, helping to bring about unemployment and suffering in the United States and everywhere else.

To point the way to break up the log-jam, our Trade Agreements Act was passed -- based upon a policy of equality of treatment among nations and of mutually profitable arrangements of trade.

It is not correct to infer that legislative powers have been transferred from the Congress to the Executive Branch of the government. Everybody recognizes that general tariff legislation is a Congressional function, but we know that, because of the stupendous task involved in the fashioning and passing of a general law, it is advisable to provide at times of emergency some flexibility to make the general law adjustable to quickly changing conditions.

We are in such a time today. Our present trade agreement method provides a temporary flexibility and is, therefore, practical in the best sense. It should be kept alive to serve our trade interests -- agricultural and industrial -- in many valuable ways during the existing wars.

But what is more important, the Trade Agreements Act should be extended as an indispensable part of the foundation of any stable and durable peace.

The old conditions of world trade made for no enduring peace; and when the time comes, the United States must use its influence to open up the trade channels of the world in order that no nation need feel compelled in later days to seek by force of arms what it can well gain by peaceful conference. For this purpose we need the Trade Agreements Act even more than when it was passed.

I emphasize the leadership which this nation can take when the time comes for a renewal of world peace. Such an influence will be greatly weakened if this government becomes a dog in the manger of trade selfishness.

The first President of the United States warned us against entangling foreign alliances. The present President of the United States subscribes to, and follows, that precept.

But trade cooperation with the rest of the world does not violate that precept in any way.

Even as through these trade agreements we prepare to cooperate in a world that wants peace, we must likewise be prepared to take care of ourselves if the world cannot attain peace.

For several years past we have been compelled to strengthen our own national defense. That has created a very large portion of our Treasury deficits. This year in the light of continuing world uncertainty, I am asking the Congress for Army and Navy increases which are based not on panic but on common sense. They are not as great as enthusiastic alarmists seek. They are not as small as unrealistic persons claiming superior private information would demand.

As will appear in the annual budget tomorrow, the only important increase in any part of the budget is the estimate for national defense. Practically all other important items show a reduction. Therefore, in the hope that we can continue

in these days of increasing economic prosperity, to reduce the Federal deficit, I am asking the Congress to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national defense.

Behind the Army and Navy, of course, lies our ultimate line of defense -- "the general welfare" of our people. We cannot report, despite all the progress we have made in our domestic problems -- despite the fact that production is back to 1929 levels -- that all our problems are solved. The fact of unemployment of millions of men and women remains a symptom of a number of difficulties in our economic system not yet adjusted.

While the number of the unemployed has decreased, while their immediate needs for food and clothing -- as far as the Federal Government is concerned -- have been largely met, while their morale has been kept alive by giving them useful public work, we have not yet found a way to employ the surplus of our labor which the efficiency of our industrial processes has created.

We refuse the European solution of using the unemployed to build up excessive armaments which eventually result in dictatorships. We encourage an American way -- through an increase of national income which is the only way we can be sure will take up the slack. Much progress has been made; much remains to be done.

We recognize that we must find an answer in terms of work and opportunity.

The unemployment problem today has become very definitely a problem of youth as well as of age. As each year has gone by hundreds of thousands of boys and girls have come of working age. They now form an army of unused youth. They must be an especial concern of democratic government.

We must continue, above all things, to look for a solution of their special problem. For they, looking ahead to life, are entitled to action on our part and not merely to admonitions of optimism or lectures on economic laws.

Some in our midst have sought to instill a feeling of fear and defeatism in the minds of the American people about this problem.

To face the task of finding jobs faster than invention can take them away -- that is not defeatism. To warble easy platitudes that if we will only go back to ways that have failed, everything will be all right -- that is not courage.

We met a problem of real fear and real defeatism in 1933. We faced the facts -- with action, not with words.

The American people will reject the doctrine of fear, confident that in the '30's we have been building soundly a new order of things different from the order of the '20's. In this dawn of the decade of the '40's, with our program of social improvement started, we must continue to carry on the processes of recovery so as to preserve our gains and provide jobs at living wages.

There are, of course, many other items of great public interest which could be enumerated in this message -- the continued conservation of our natural resources, the improvement of health and of education, the extension of social security to larger groups, the freeing of large areas from restrictive transportation discriminations, the extension of the merit system and many others.

Our continued progress in the social and economic field is important not only for the significance of each part of it but for the total effect which our program of domestic betterment has upon that most valuable asset of a nation in dangerous times -- its national unity.

The permanent security of America in the present crisis does not lie in armed force alone. What we face is a set of world-wide forces of disintegration -- vicious, ruthless, destructive of all the moral, religious and political standards which mankind, after centuries of struggle, has come to cherish most.

In these moral values, in these forces which have made our nation great, we must actively and practically reassert our faith.

These words -- "national unity" -- must not be allowed to become merely a high sounding phrase, a vague generality, a pious hope, to which everyone can give lip-service. They must be made to have real meaning in terms of the daily thoughts and acts of every man, woman and child in our land during the coming year and the years that lie ahead.

For national unity is, in a very real and deep sense, the fundamental safeguard of all democracy.

Doctrines which set group against group, faith against faith, race against race, class against class, fanning the fires of hatred in men too despondent, too desperate to think for themselves, were used as rabble-rousing slogans on which dictators could ride to power. And once in power they could saddle their tyrannies on whole nations, and on their weaker neighbors.

This is the danger to which we in America must begin to be more alert. For the apologists for foreign aggressors, and equally those selfish and partisan groups at home who wrap themselves in a false mantle of Americanism to promote their own economic, financial or political advantage, are now trying European tricks upon us, seeking to muddy the stream of our national thinking, weakening us in the face of danger, by trying to set our own people to fighting among themselves. Such tactics are what have helped to plunge Europe into war. We must combat them, as we would the plague, if American integrity and security are to be preserved. We cannot afford to face the future as a disunited people.

We must as a united people keep ablaze on this continent the flames of human liberty, of reason, of democracy and of fair play as living things to be preserved for the better world that is to come.

Overstatement, bitterness, vituperation, and the beating of drums, have contributed mightily to ill-feeling and wars between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful in the international field, they are also hurtful in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have some of the advantage of peace between us and other nations. And in the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world -- including the United States of America -- passes through perilous times, I am very hopeful that the closing session of the Seventy-Sixth Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with calmness, tolerance and cooperative wisdom.

May the year 1940 be pointed to by our children as another period when democracy justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

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Original reading copy before the Congress
Jan 3 1939

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
To the Congress of the United States
The Capitol, Washington, D. C.
January 3, 1940

(TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:)

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

I wish each and every one of you a very happy New Year. (Applause)

As the Congress reassembles, the impact of the wars abroad makes it natural, I think, to approach "the state of the union" through a discussion of foreign affairs.

But it is important that those who hear and read this message should in no way confuse that approach with any thought that our Government is abandoning, or even overlooking, the great significance of its domestic policies.

The social and the economic forces which have been mismanaged abroad until they have resulted in revolution, and dictatorship and war are the same as those which we here are struggling to adjust peacefully and at home.

You are well aware that dictatorships -- and the philosophy of force (which) that justifies and accompanies dictatorships -- have originated in almost every case in the necessity for drastic action to improve internal conditions in places where democratic action for one reason or another has failed to respond to modern needs and modern

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

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It was with far-sighted wisdom that the framers of (the) our Constitution brought together in one magnificent phrase three great concepts -- "common defense", "general welfare" and "domestic tranquility".

More than a century and a half later on we who are here today still believe with them that our best defense is the promotion of our general welfare and domestic tranquility.

In previous messages to the Congress I have repeatedly warned that, whether we like it or not, the daily lives of American citizens will, of necessity, feel the shock of events on other continents. And this is no longer mere theory (for) because it has been definitely proved to us by the facts of yesterday and today.

To say that the domestic well-being of (one) a hundred and thirty million Americans is deeply affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is only to recognize in world affairs the truth that we all accept in home affairs.

If in any local unit -- a city, county, state or region -- low standards of living are permitted to continue, the level of the civilization of the entire nation will be pulled downward.

The identical principle extends to the rest of (a) the civilized world. But there are those who wish-

fully insist, in innocence or ignorance or both, that the United States of America as a self-contained unit can live happily and prosperously, its future secure, inside of a high wall of isolation while, outside, the rest of civilization and the commerce and the culture of mankind are shattered throughout.

I can understand the feelings of those who warn the nation that they will never again consent to the sending of American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But, as I remember, nobody has asked them to consent -- for nobody expects such an undertaking. (Applause)

The overwhelming majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and their expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in these wars.

I can also understand the wishfulness of those who over-simplify the whole situation by repeating that all that we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the nation out of war. But there is a vast difference between keeping out of war and pretending that this war is none of our business.

We do not have to go to war with other nations, but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will lighten the troubles of the world, and by so doing help our own nation as well. (Applause)

I ask that all of us everywhere think things

through with the single aim of how best to serve the future of our own nation. I do not mean merely its future relationship with the outside world. I mean its domestic future as well -- the work, the security, the prosperity, the happiness, the life of all the boys and girls (of) in the United States, as they are inevitably affected by such world relationships. For it becomes clearer and clearer that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in -- yes, even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force, force in the hands of a few.

Already the crash of swiftly moving events all over the earth has made us all think (with) in a longer view. Fortunately, that thinking cannot be controlled by partisanship. The time is long past when any political party or any particular group can curry (and) or capture public favor by labeling itself the "peace party" or the "peace bloc". That label belongs to the whole United States and to every right thinking man, and woman and child within it. (Applause)

For out of all the military and the diplomatic turmoil, out of all the propaganda, (and) counter-propaganda of the present conflicts, there are two facts which stand out and which the whole world acknowledges.

The first is that never before has the Government of the United States of America done so much as in our recent past to establish and maintain the policy of the

Good Neighbor with its sister nations. (Applause)

And the second, the second is that in almost every nation in the world today there is a true public belief that the United States has been, and will continue to be, a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of world peace. (Applause)

Yes, in these recent years we have had a clean record of peace and good-will. It is an open book, a book that cannot be twisted or defamed. It is a record that must be continued and enlarged.

So I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the several alternatives, alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

We must look ahead and see the possibilities for our children if the rest of the world comes to be dominated by concentrated force alone -- even though today we are a very great and a very powerful nation.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our own future if all (the) small nations (throughout) of the world have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to relatively vast and powerful military systems.

We must look ahead and see the kind of lives our children would have to lead if a large part of the rest of the world were compelled to worship (the) a god

imposed by a military ruler, or were forbidden to worship God at all; if the rest of the world were forbidden to read and hear the facts -- the daily news of their own and other nations -- if they were deprived of the truth (which) that makes men free..

We must look ahead and see the effect on our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military force.

It is true, of course, (true) that the record of past centuries includes destruction of many small nations includes the enslavement of peoples, and the building of empires on the foundation of force. But wholly apart from the greater international morality which we seek today, we recognize the practical fact that with modern weapons and modern conditions, modern man can no longer (live) lead a civilized life if we are to go back to the practice of wars and conquests of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Summing up this need of looking ahead, and in words of common sense and good American citizenship, I hope that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. (Applause) It is not good for the ultimate health of ostriches to bury their heads in the sand.

Only an ostrich would look upon these wars through the eyes of cynicism or ridicule.

Of course, the peoples of other nations have the right to choose their own form of government. But we in this nation still believe that such choice should be predicated on certain freedoms, freedoms which we think are essential everywhere. We know that we ourselves will never be wholly safe at home unless other governments recognize such freedoms.

Twenty-one American Republics, expressing the will of two hundred and fifty million people, the will to preserve peace and freedom in this Hemisphere are displaying a unanimity of ideals and practical relationships which gives hope that what is being done here can be done on other continents. We in all the Americas are coming to the realization that we can retain our respective nationalities without, at the same time, threatening the national existence of our neighbors.

Such truly friendly relationships, for example, permit us to follow our own domestic policies with reference to our agricultural products, while at the same time we have the privilege of trying to work out mutual assistance arrangements for a world distribution of world agricultural surpluses.

And we have been able to apply the same (simple) principle, the same simple principle to many manufactured products -- surpluses of which must be sold in the world export markets if we (would) intend to continue a high

level of production and employment.

For many years after the World War, as we know today, blind economic selfishness in most countries, including our own, resulted in a destructive mine-field of trade restrictions which blocked the channels of commerce among nations. Indeed this policy was one of the contributing causes of existing wars. It dammed up vast unsaleable surpluses, helping to bring about unemployment and suffering in the United States and everywhere else.

To point the way to break up (the) that log-jam our Trade Agreements Act was passed -- based upon a policy of equality of treatment among nations and of mutually profitable arrangements of trade.

It is not correct to infer that legislative powers have been transferred from the Congress to the Executive Branch of the Government. (Everybody) Everyone recognizes that general tariff legislation is a Congressional function, but we know that, because of the stupendous task involved in the fashioning and the passing of a general tariff law, it is advisable to provide at times of emergency some flexibility to make the general law adjustable to quickly changing conditions.

And we are in such a time today. Our present trade agreement method provides a temporary flexibility and is, therefore, practical in the best sense. It should be kept alive to serve our trade interests --

agricultural and industrial -- in many valuable ways during the existing wars. (Applause)

But what is more important, the Trade Agreements Act should be extended as an indispensable part of the foundation of any stable and (durable) enduring peace.

The old conditions of world trade made for no enduring peace; and when the time comes, the United States must use its influence to open up the trade channels of the world, in all nations, in order that no one nation need feel compelled in later days to seek by force of arms what it can well gain by peaceful conference. (Applause) And so for (this) that purpose, too, we need the Trade Agreements Act even more today than when it was passed.

I emphasize the leadership which this nation can take when the time comes for a renewal of world peace. Such an influence will be greatly weakened if this Government becomes a dog in the manger of trade selfishness. (Applause)

The first President of the United States warned us against entangling foreign alliances. The present President of the United States subscribes to and follows that precept. (Applause)

(But) And I hope that most of you will agree that trade cooperation with the rest of the world does

not violate that precept in any way. (Applause)

Even as through these trade agreements we prepare to cooperate in a world that wants peace we hope, we must likewise be prepared to take care of ourselves if the world cannot attain peace.

For several years past we have been compelled to strengthen our own national defense. That has created a very large portion of our Treasury deficits. This year in the light of continuing world uncertainty, I am asking the Congress for Army and Navy increases which are based not on panic but on common sense. They are not as great as enthusiastic alarmists seek. They are not as small as unrealistic persons claiming superior private information would demand. (Applause - laughter)

As will appear in the annual budget tomorrow, the only important increase in any part of the budget is the estimate for national defense. Practically all other important items show a reduction. (Applause - cheers) But you know, you can't eat your cake and have it too. (Applause) Therefore, in the hope that we can continue in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit, I am asking the Congress to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national defense. (Applause)

Behind the Army and Navy, of course, lies our ultimate line of defense -- "the general welfare" of our people. We cannot report, despite all the progress that

we have made in our domestic problems -- despite the fact that production is back to 1929 levels -- that all our problems are solved. The fact of unemployment of millions of men and women remains a symptom of a number of difficulties in our economic system not yet adjusted.

While the number of the unemployed has decreased very greatly, while their immediate needs for food and clothing -- as far as the Federal Government is concerned -- have been largely met, while their morale has been kept alive by giving them useful public work, we have not yet found a way to employ the surplus of our labor which the efficiency of our industrial processes has created.

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In 1933 we met a problem of real fear and real defeatism. (in 1933) We faced the facts -- with action and not with words alone.

The American people will reject (the) that doctrine of fear, confident that in the '30's we have been building soundly a new order of things, a new order of things different from the order of the '20's. And in this dawn of the decade of the '40's, with our program of social improvement started, we (must) will continue to carry on the processes of recovery so as to preserve our gains and provide jobs at living wages. (Applause)

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Our continued progress in the social and economic field is important not only for the significance of each part of it but for the total effect which our program of domestic betterment has upon that most valuable asset of a nation in dangerous times -- its national unity.

The permanent security of America in the present crisis does not lie in armed force alone. What we face is a set of world-wide forces of disintegration -- vicious, ruthless, destructive of all the moral, all the religious and all the political standards which mankind, after centuries of struggle, has come to cherish most.

In these moral values, in these forces which have made our nation great, we must actively and practically reassert our faith.

These words -- "national unity" -- must not be allowed to become merely a high sounding phrase, a vague generality, a pious hope, to which everyone can give lip-service. They must be made to have real meaning in terms of the daily thoughts and acts of every man, woman and child in our land during the coming year and during the

years that lie ahead.

For national unity is, in a very real and a very deep sense, the fundamental safeguard of all democracy.

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Yes, this is the danger to which we in America must begin to be more alert. For the apologists for foreign aggressors, and equally those selfish and partisan groups at home who wrap themselves in a false mantle of Americanism to promote their own economic, financial or political advantage, are now trying European tricks upon us, seeking to muddy the stream of our national thinking, weakening us in the face of danger, by trying to set our own people to fighting amongst themselves. Such tactics are what have helped to plunge Europe into war. We must combat them, as we would the plague, if American integrity and American security are to be preserved. We cannot afford to face the future as a disunited people. (Applause)

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cracy and of fair play as living things to be preserved for the better world that is to come.

Overstatement, bitterness, vituperation, and the beating of drums, they have contributed mightily to ill-feeling and wars between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful in the international field, if they have hurt in other parts of the world, they are also (hurtful) harmful in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have some (of the) advantage, some advantage for us and in the long run for mankind as a whole. (of peace between us and other nations.) (And) In the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore, of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world -- including the United States of America -- passes through perilous times, I am very hopeful that the closing session of the Seventy-Sixth Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with calmness, with tolerance and with cooperative wisdom.

May the year 1940 be pointed to by our children as another period when democracy justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind. (Applause - cheers)

HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE

January 3, 1940

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1918

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CAUTION: Extreme care must be exercised to avoid premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

As the Congress reassembles, the impact of wars abroad makes it natural to approach "the state of the union" through a discussion of foreign affairs.

But it is important that those who hear and read this message should in no way confuse that approach with any thought that our government is abandoning, or even overlooking, the great significance of its domestic policies.

The social and economic forces which have been mismanaged abroad until they have resulted in revolution, dictatorship and war are the same as those which we here are struggling to adjust peacefully at home.

You are well aware that dictatorships -- and the philosophy of force which justifies and accompanies dictatorships -- have originated in almost every case in the necessity for drastic action to improve internal conditions where democratic action for one reason or another has failed to respond to modern needs and modern demands.

It was with far-sighted wisdom that the framers of the Constitution brought together in one magnificent phrase three great concepts -- "common defense", "general welfare" and "domestic tranquillity".

More than a century and a half later we still believe with them that our best defense is the promotion of our general welfare and domestic tranquillity.

In previous messages to the Congress I have repeatedly warned that, whether we like it or not, the daily lives of American citizens will, of necessity, feel the shock of events on other continents. This is no longer mere theory for it has been definitely proved by the facts of yesterday and today.

To say that the domestic well-being of one hundred and thirty million Americans is deeply affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is only to recognize in world affairs the truth we all accept in home affairs.

If in any local unit -- a city, county, state or region -- low standards of living are permitted to continue, the level of the civilization of the entire nation will be pulled downward.

The identical principle extends to the rest of a civilized world. But there are those who wishfully insist, in innocence or ignorance or both, that the United States of America as a self-contained unit can live happily and prosperously, its future secure, inside a high wall of isolation while, outside, the rest of civilization and the commerce and culture of mankind are shattered.

I can understand the feelings of those who warn the nation that they will never again consent to the sending of American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But, as I remember, nobody has asked them to consent -- for nobody expects such an undertaking.

The overwhelming majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war.

I can also understand the wishfulness of those who over-simplify the whole situation by repeating that all we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the nation out of war. But there is a vast difference between keeping out of war and pretending that this war is none of our business.

We do not have to go to war with other nations, but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will lighten the troubles of the world, and by so doing help our own nation as well.

I ask that all of us everywhere think things through with the single aim of how best to serve the future of our own nation. I do not mean merely its future relationship with the outside world. I mean its domestic future as well -- the work, the security, the prosperity, the happiness, the life of all the boys and girls of the United States, as they are inevitably affected by such world relationships. For it becomes clearer and clearer that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in -- even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force in the hands of a few.

Already the crash of swiftly moving events over the earth has made us all think with a longer view. Fortunately, that thinking cannot be controlled by partisanship. The time is long past when any political party or any particular group can curry and capture public favor by labeling itself the "peace party" or the "peace bloc". That label belongs to the whole United States and to every right thinking man, woman and child within it.

For out of all the military and diplomatic turmoil, out of all the propaganda and counter-propaganda of the present conflicts, there are two facts which stand out and which the whole world acknowledges.

The first is that never before has the Government of the United States done so much as in our recent past to establish and maintain the policy of the Good Neighbor with its sister nations.

The second is that in almost every nation in the world today there is a true public belief that the United States has been, and will continue to be, a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace.

In these recent years we have had a clean record of peace and good-will. It is an open book that cannot be twisted or defamed. It is a record that must be continued and enlarged.

So I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the several alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

We must look ahead and see the possibilities for our children if the rest of the world comes to be dominated by concentrated force alone -- even though today we are a very great and a very powerful nation.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our own future if all the small nations throughout the world have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to relatively vast and powerful military systems.

We must look ahead and see the kind of lives our children would have to lead if a large part of the rest of the world were compelled to worship the god imposed by a military ruler, or were forbidden to worship God at all; if the rest of the world were forbidden to read and hear the facts -- the daily news of their own and other nations -- if they were deprived of the truth which makes men free.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military force.

It is, of course, true that the record of past centuries includes destruction of small nations, enslavement of peoples, and building of empires on the foundation of force. But wholly apart from the greater international morality which we seek today, we recognize the practical fact that with modern weapons and modern conditions, modern man can no longer live a civilized life if we are to go back to the practice of wars and conquests of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Summing up this need of looking ahead, and in words of common sense and good American citizenship, I hope that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. It is not good for the ultimate health of ostriches to bury their heads in the sand.

Only an ostrich would look upon these wars through the eyes of cynicism or ridicule.

Of course, the peoples of other nations have the right to choose their own form of government. But we in this nation still believe that such choice should be predicated on certain freedoms which we think are essential everywhere. We know that we ourselves will never be wholly safe at home unless other governments recognize such freedoms.

Twenty-one American Republics, expressing the will of two hundred and fifty million people to preserve peace and freedom in this Hemisphere are displaying a unanimity of ideals and practical relationships which gives hope that what is being done here can be done on other continents. We in all the Americas are coming to the realization that we can retain our respective nationalities without, at the same time, threatening the national existence of our neighbors.

Such truly friendly relationships, for example, permit us to follow our own domestic policies with reference to our agricultural products, while at the same time we have the privilege of trying to work out mutual assistance arrangements for a world distribution of world agricultural surpluses.

And we have been able to apply the same simple principle to many manufactured products — surpluses of which must be sold in the world export markets if we would continue a high level of production and employment.

For many years after the World War blind economic selfishness in most countries, including our own, resulted in a destructive mine-field of trade restrictions which blocked the channels of commerce among nations. This policy was one of the contributing causes of existing wars. It dammed up vast unsaleable surpluses, helping to bring about unemployment and suffering in the United States and everywhere else.

To point the way to break up the log-jam, our Trade Agreements Act was passed — based upon a policy of equality of treatment among nations and of mutually profitable arrangements of trade.

It is not correct to infer that legislative powers have been transferred from the Congress to the Executive Branch of the government. Everybody recognizes that general tariff legislation is a Congressional function, but we know that, because of the stupendous task involved in the fashioning and passing of a general law, it is advisable to provide at times of emergency some flexibility to make the general law adjustable to quickly changing conditions.

We are in such a time today. Our present trade agreement method provides a temporary flexibility and is, therefore, practical in the best sense.. It should be kept alive to serve our trade interests — agricultural and industrial — in many valuable ways during the existing wars.

But what is more important, the Trade Agreements Act should be extended as an indispensable part of the foundation of any stable and durable peace.

The old conditions of world trade made for no enduring peace; and when the time comes, the United States must use its influence to open up the trade channels of the world in order that no nation need feel compelled in later days to seek by force of arms what it can well gain by peaceful conference. For this purpose we need the Trade Agreements Act even more than when it was passed.

I emphasize the leadership which this nation can take when the time comes for a renewal of world peace. Such an influence will be greatly weakened if this government becomes a dog in the manger of trade selfishness.

The first President of the United States warned us against entangling foreign alliances. The present President of the United States subscribes to and follows that precept.

But trade cooperation with the rest of the world does not violate that precept in any way.

Even as through these trade agreements we prepare to cooperate in a world that wants peace, we must likewise be prepared to take care of ourselves if the world cannot attain peace.

For several years past we have been compelled to strengthen our own national defense. That has created a very large portion of our Treasury deficits. This year in the light of continuing world uncertainty, I am asking the Congress for Army and Navy increases which are based not on panic but on common sense. They are not as great as enthusiastic alarmists seek. They are not as small as unrealistic persons claiming superior private information would demand.

As will appear in the annual budget tomorrow, the only important increase in any part of the budget is the estimate for national defense. Practically all other important items show a reduction. Therefore, in the hope that we can continue in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit, I am asking the Congress to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national defense.

Behind the Army and Navy, of course, lies our ultimate line of defense -- "the general welfare" of our people. We cannot report, despite all the progress we have made in our domestic problems -- despite the fact that production is back to 1929 levels -- that all our problems are solved. The fact of unemployment of millions of men and women remains a symptom of a number of difficulties in our economic system not yet adjusted.

While the number of the unemployed has decreased, while their immediate needs for food and clothing -- as far as the Federal Government is concerned -- have been largely met, while their morale has been kept alive by giving them useful public work, we have not yet found a way to employ the surplus of our labor which the efficiency of our industrial processes has created.

We refuse the European solution of using the unemployed to build up excessive armaments which eventually result in dictatorships. We encourage an American way -- through an increase of national income which is the only way we can be sure will take up the slack. Much progress has been made; much remains to be done.

We recognize that we must find an answer in terms of work and opportunity.

The unemployment problem today has become very definitely a problem of youth as well as of age. As each year has gone by hundreds of thousands of boys and girls have come of working age. They now form an army of unused youth. They must be an especial concern of democratic government.

We must continue, above all things, to look for a solution of their special problem. For they, looking ahead to life, are entitled to action on our part and not merely to admonitions of optimism or lectures on economic laws.

Some in our midst have sought to instill a feeling of fear and defeatism in the minds of the American people about this problem.

To face the task of finding jobs faster than invention can take them away -- is not defeatism. To warble easy platitudes that if we will only go back to ways that have failed, everything will be all right -- is not courage.

We met a problem of real fear and real defeatism in 1933. We faced the facts -- with action, not with words.

The American people will reject the doctrine of fear, confident that in the '30's we have been building soundly a new order of things different from the order of the '20's. In this dawn of the decade of the '40's, with our program of social improvement started, we must continue to carry on the processes of recovery so as to preserve our gains and provide jobs at living wages.

There are, of course, many other items of great public interest which could be enumerated in this message -- the continued conservation of our natural resources, the improvement of health and of education, the extension of social security to larger groups, the freeing of large areas from restricted transportation discriminations, the extension of the merit system and many others.

Our continued progress in the social and economic field is important not only for the significance of each part of it but for the total effect which our program of domestic betterment has upon that most valuable asset of a nation in dangerous times -- its national unity.

The permanent security of America in the present crisis does not lie in armed force alone. What we face is a set of world-wide forces of disintegration -- vicious, ruthless, destructive of all the moral, religious and political standards which mankind, after centuries of struggle, has come to cherish most.

In these moral values, in those forces which have made our nation great, we must actively and practically reassert our faith.

These words -- "national unity" -- must not be allowed to become merely a high sounding phrase, a vague generality, a pious hope, to which everyone can give lip-service. They must be made to have real meaning in terms of the daily thoughts and acts of every man, woman and child in our land during the coming year and the years that lie ahead.

For national unity is, in a very real and deep sense, the fundamental safeguard of all democracy.

Doctrines which set group against group, faith against faith, race against race, class against class, fanning the fires of hatred in men too despondent, too desperate to think for themselves, were used as rabble-rousing slogans on which dictators could ride to power. And once in power they could saddle their tyrannies on whole nations, and on their weaker neighbors.

This is the danger to which we in America must begin to be more alert. For the apologists for foreign aggressors, and equally those selfish and partisan groups at home who wrap themselves in a false mantle of Americanism to promote their own economic, financial or political advantage, are now trying European tricks upon us, seeking to muddy the stream of our national thinking, weakening us in the face of danger, by trying to set our own people to fighting among themselves. Such tactics are what have helped to plunge Europe into war. We must combat them, as we would the plague, if American integrity and security are to be preserved. We cannot afford to face the future as a disunited people.

We must as a united people keep ablaze on this continent the flames of human liberty, of reason, of democracy and of fair play as living things to be preserved for the better world that is to come.

Overstatement, bitterness, vituperation, and the beating of drums, have contributed mightily to ill-feeling and wars between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful in the international field, they are also hurtful in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have some of the advantage of peace between us and other nations. And in the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore, of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world — including the United States of America — passes through perilous times, I am very hopeful that the closing session of the Seventy-Sixth Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with calmness, tolerance and cooperative wisdom.

May the year 1940 be pointed to by our children as another period when democracy justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

January 3, 1940.

DRAFT #1

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 3, 1940

In previous Messages to the Congress -- notably in my Annual Message a year ago -- I have repeatedly urged that whether we like it or not the daily lives of American citizens are of necessity influenced by events occuring in other nations and on other continents. This is not a mere philosophy for it is increasingly proved by the facts and happenings of yesterday and today.

To say that the internal well-being of one hundred and thirty million Americans is largely affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is but the extension of a well known rule recognized by all of us in its application to smaller units within the world itself.

If in a city ~~xx~~ in our own land poverty, ~~and disease, unspeakable living conditions~~ lack of opportunity, and strong racial distrust, crime, ~~and~~ lawlessness exist in even a small geographical section of that city, other portions of the community, including the avenues of costly homes and the respectable suburbs, are adversely affected in their prosperity and in their safety.

If within a state some of its cities or counties continue a bare existence in what we euphemistically gloss over by calling them "backward communities", such areas depreciate the higher standards of the rest of the state.

If ~~in the nation any state or~~ any ~~area~~ region of the nation is filled with unrest, continues a low standard of living, or fails to maintain its health or its education, the civilization of the whole nation is thereby diminished.

It would seem, therefore, to be logically dificult for any person admitting these premises to insist nevertheless that the principle applies to a community, to a state or to a nation but that the identical principle does not extend to the rest of the civilized world. Such illogic, born of innocence or ignorance or both, presupposes that the United States of America can live happily, prosperously and self-containedly and with safety to its future ~~within~~ inside a ~~great~~ high wall of non-intercourse, while the rest of civilization and the rest of mankind disintegrates into the barbarism and chaos of the Dark Ages.

When the realism of the interdependence of communities and states is preached there are still some in our midst who oppose the argument by the martialing of local interests or special group interests. Every legislative body in the

nation is constantly faced with this fact.

In the larger aspect groups with similar selfishness change the subject by interjecting false issues and by oratorical appeals to keep the nation out of war, to mind our own business, to conjure up the Founding Fathers with false quotations of the true history of past generations.

Recognition of the very definite interest of this and of future generations of Americans in human civilization outside our borders does not, of course, involve American armed participation in other people's wars. I feel a mixture of pity and contempt for those who gravely warn the nation that they will never again consent to sending American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. Nobody asked them to consent -- nobody expects such an undertaking.

I feel equal pity, though not perhaps contempt, for those who through ignorance spend their time giving thanks for the existence of the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. When I talk with them I discern ~~in every case~~ too much of the attitude of him who said "I thank God I am not as other men are".

So we come back not to a philosophy but to a fact -- that the future of our nation is of necessity greatly influenced by the things that have happened, the things that are happening and the things that will happen in other lands and on other continents. When I speak of the future of our nation I mean not its relationship with the outside world alone but our internal future as well, the life, the happiness, the prosperity and the security of our boys and girls within our own boundaries.

Do not misconstrue this into a note of alarm, a grave warning of dangers to come. I ask you, however, to think of what I am saying as the expression of a hope that Americans everywhere will more greatly think things through. I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the many alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

I hope that though we are a very great and a very powerful nation we will consider the possibilities to our children if force comes to dominate the rest of the world.

I hope we will work out for ourselves the effect on our own future if small nations throughout the world lose their independence or become mere appendages to

DRAFT #1

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Already, our thinking processes have made great strides. No political party, for example, can hope to gain many votes by advertising on the billboards that it and it alone is the Peace Party, inferring that all others seek to involve the United States in war. The trouble with that outworn deception is that almost every man and woman in the United States knows two things -- that never before has the Government of the United States accomplished so much in establishing and maintaining the policy of the good neighbor with its sister nations than in our recent past, and that today in almost every nation in the world there is a true public belief that the United States has been and will continue to be a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace. Those unfortunate persons who seek to defame or twist a clean and clear record of peace and good-will can expect little advantage thereby.

powerful military systems.

I hope they will work out for themselves what will happen to our children if a large part of the rest of the world abrogates freedom of religion and freedom to obtain world information.

I hope they will work out for themselves the effect on our children if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military or naval force.

I hope, in other words, that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. Ostriches tend to become extinct if the many of them bury their heads in the sand.

You are familiar with the facts of the past few months. Hostilities on a vast scale continue in the Far East, and major wars in Europe, involving the largest nations of that continent, threaten to spread further to smaller countries and larger areas. Those immature persons who speak of these wars or the conduct of them with cynicism or ridicule would not do so if they were citizens of Finland or if they were in the frontline trenches with the firm conviction that an intolerable threat to their nation's future must be removed for all time.

In any vast country like ours there will always be those who, for reasons of political or selfish advantage, will seek to create fear in the hearts of their fellow countrymen. They have no doubt a right to do so. But it is significant to me that there is a growing appreciation throughout our nation of the realism of the existing world situation -- an understanding of the very grave effects on civilization which may result from these wars.

The great majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war, ~~while at the same time they are~~ This rightly does not prevent them from ~~with growing~~ comprehending the possible effects on this nation as the wars proceed, and when the final day of ending the wars comes.

This same majority is in general accord with the thought that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in -- even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force, and if the control of it is vested by force in the hands of a few.

In the light of experience we cannot assert that these wars are wars to end war, but at the same time we can use our great influence toward the maintenance of the right of groups of individuals, large and small, to govern themselves according to their choice and without fear of destruction or enslavement by their neighbors.

This nation concedes the right of the peoples of other nations to choose their own form of government, but this nation believes that such choice on their part should be predicated on certain freedoms which we think are essential everywhere.

First, freedom to the individual and the family to worship God in their own way.

Second, freedom to receive information of the events which take place within their own borders and in other parts of the world, because intelligent opinion must be founded on adequate knowledge.

Third, freedom from fear -- or to put it another way -- the removal of fear of attack by force on the part of other nations, great and small. This is but another way of saying that mankind must decide as quickly as possible to reduce its armaments to the point where they no longer are the controlling factor in international relations.

Fourth, freedom of commercial and cultural relations between all nations. It may well be argued that this is a corollary to the reduction of armaments, because for obvious economic reasons the world must find [redacted] outlets in trade and industry and agriculture for the employment of the millions who today produce non-wealth creating implements of war.

In the Western Hemisphere it is reassuring to note that the principles I have spoken of have been developing along lines which are affording increased advantages for all. Twenty-one American Republics, expressing the will of two hundred and fifty million people to preserve peace in this Hemisphere, are exercising a unanimity of ideals and of practical relationships which give hope that what is being done here is not in the realm of an impossibility on other continents. We in all the Americas are coming to the realization that we can retain our individual nationalities without at the same time injuring the national existence of our neighbors.

Such national existence, for example, permits us to adopt our own domestic policies in relation to our agricultural products while at the same time, because of our truly friendly relations with other nations, we have the privilege of working out with them mutual assistance arrangements for a world distribution of world agricultural surpluses.

The same simple principle applies to many manufactured products - and we have many - which in order to continue on a high level of production and employment must sell surpluses in the world export market.

(Hull's Trade Agreement memorandum)

Cooperation with the rest of the world on our part does not violate in any way the warning of the first President of the United States against entangling foreign alliances.

In the matter of the world race for armaments, even before last September, our own nation had been compelled, for many years, to follow the mad activities of certain other nations in order to make our own national defense more secure. It is interesting, for instance, to note that a very large portion of Treasury deficits have been caused by extraordinary increases in Army and Navy appropriations for several years.

DRAFT #1

(INSERT PAGE #9 - HULL'S TRADE AGREEMENT MEMORANDUM)

For many years after the World War the pursuit of blind economic selfishness in most nations, including our own, resulted in a destructive network of trade restrictions which hopelessly blocked the channels of commerce among nations. This policy was one of the contributing causes to existing wars. It brought about the damming up of vast unsaleable surpluses causing unemployment and suffering in the United States and everywhere else.

To meet this grave situation the Trade Agreements Act was passed -- based upon a policy of equality of treatment and of mutual profitable trade arrangements.

Most of us are familiar with the processes under which general tariff bills have been enacted in the past. Few people, regardless of party, are proud of those processes -- the lobbying, the log-rolling, the exorbitant schedules which so often are, in effect, not tariffs but embargoes which so often are grants by the Congress to legalized monopolies to small groups which give employment to so few people that they fail utterly to improve the general economic picture. Such general tariff legislation is enacted only at rare intervals and once enacted the schedules remain inflexible and impossible of adjustment to meet changing

DRAFT #1

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world conditions.

The trade agreement method is adjustable -- especially in these days of emergency conditions. It is, therefore, practical in the best sense. It should be kept alive to serve our trade interests in many valuable ways during the existing wars.

But what is all important, it should be kept alive to provide an indispensable part of the foundation of any stable and durable peace.

Under the old conditions of world trade there can be no enduring peace; and when the time comes the United States must use its influence not for the restriction of trade but for the opening up of trade channels in order that no nation shall feel compelled in later days to seek by force of arms what it can well gain by peaceful conference.

All but the unthinking understand that the unblocking of the avenues of commerce between other nations is bound to increase our own world trade if we do not go back in this country to strangulation methods which have been so costly to us in the past.

(INSERT PAGE #9 - continued)

Especially at this critical time should we extend the trade agreements program for another limited period. I so recommend. Not until the emergency situation has been met will it be practicable or safe to attempt to formulate the long-range tariff and commercial policy of this country.

It will be difficult for opponents of a continuation of this legislation to combat the fact that the Trade Agreements already made have stimulated our exports; that our imports, which have increased to a less degree, have injured no important industry and that on the whole many thousands of American workers have been given employment which otherwise they would not have had.

I emphasize especially the leadership which this nation can take when the time comes for a renewal of world peace. Such an influence will be greatly weakened if this Government is a dog in the manger of selfishness.

DRAFT #1

It seems to be thoroughly worthwhile to maintain the highest possible peaceful influence in world affairs if by exerting it we can help all world governments, including our own, to return to a sounder economic system.

(CONTINUATION OF PAGE #10)

We must, of course, continue to increase our armaments in the light of the world uncertainty of today. I am asking the Congress for Army and Navy increases of comparatively moderate size. They are based not on panic but on common sense. They are not as great as enthusiastic alarmists seek -- nor are they as small as unrealistic persons claiming superior private information would demand.

As will appear in the presentation of the Annual Budget tomorrow, the only important increase in any part of the Budget is the estimate for national defense; practically all other important items show a reduction. Therefore, in the hope that we can continue in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit, I am asking the Congress to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national defense.

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(SEPARATE PAGE)

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As will appear in the Annual Budget Message, definite steps have been taken to improve the mechanics of the administration of governmental affairs. Many millions of dollars have been saved and more savings will follow if the excellent spirit of service among the officers and employees of the many branches of the Federal Goverment can be maintained and strengthened. It seems a pity that so many interpreters of and commentators on government affairs stoop to view the scene through the glasses of politics. A long experience proves to me that it is incorrect for such persons to seek a political motive in every decision made in the administration of the vast machinery of government.

In these later days almost all people who are charged with administrative responsibilities believe that it is a duty of patriotism to do the best they can for the men and women they serve regardless of what party such men and women chance to belong to. Incidentally, this growing philosophy of service happens also to be the best philosophy of politics.

In this connection I trust that the Congress will give authority to extend the Civil Service to practically all

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(SEPARATE PAGE)

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positions in the Federal service. We have greatly extended that service but there are many agencies of government today which have been exempted from the Civil Service by previous Acts of the Congress. To all of them, except in the higher policy-making positions, the Civil Service regulations should be extended.

(Non-partisanship)

(PAGE #12 - CONTINUED)

There are, of course, many other items of great public interest which could be enumerated in this Message -- the continued conservation of our natural resources, the improvement of health and of education, the extension of social security to larger groups, the freeing of large areas from restrictive transportation discriminations, and many others.

I do not believe, however, that major changes in or additions to the already historic social and economic improvements of the past few years should occupy too greatly the attention of the Congress at this session. We are consolidating the gains and studying how best to extend them in future years.

That is why, even though this be an election year, I feel that I can repeat what I said to the Congress on September 1, 1939:

> "Let no man or group in any walk of life assume exclusive protectorate over the future well-being of America -- because I conceive that regardless of party or section, the mantle of peace and of patriotism is wide enough to cover us all .....These perilous days demand cooperation between us without trace of partisanship".

(PAGE #12 - CONTINUED)

Bitterness, vituperation, overstatement, and the beating of drums have, as we all know, contributed mightily to ill-feeling and to the outbreak of wars in the intercourse between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful in the international field, they are also harmful in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have some of the advantage of peace between us and other nations. And in the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore, of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world - including the United States of America - passes through parlous times, I am very certain that the closing session of the Seventy-sixth Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with tolerance and with collective wisdom.

May the year 1940 be pointed to by our children as another period when democracy justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind.

DRAFT #2

unemployment
not result of false
expansion

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 3, 1940

A

In previous Messages to the Congress -- ~~notably in my Annual Message a year ago~~ -- I have repeatedly urged that whether we like it or not the daily lives of American citizens ~~are of necessity influenced by~~ must of necessity feel the shock of events ~~occurring in other nations and~~ on other continents. This is ~~not a mere philosophy, for it is increasingly~~ no longer mere theory but it has been definitely proved by the facts ~~and happenings~~ of yesterday and today.

To say that the internal well-being of one hundred and thirty million Americans is largely affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is ~~not~~ only the extension of ~~a well known~~ the rule recognized by all of us in its application to smaller units within the world itself.

B. If ~~in a city in our own land poverty~~, lack of opportunity, poverty, lawlessness, ~~and~~ strong-arm methods and crime exist in even a small ~~geographical~~ section of ~~the~~ any city, in our own land or other portions of ~~the community~~ that city, ~~including~~ even the avenues of costly homes and the contiguous respectable suburbs, ~~are adversely affected in their prosperity and in their safety.~~ will sooner or later feel the blight in a hundred ways.

~~B~~ C

~~And, [illegible], if [illegible] cities or counties do~~

If in some of the cities or counties of any state, indecent living and working conditions are permitted to continue, the ~~[illegible]~~ standards of the rest of the state will eventually be dragged down. We cannot stop the process by euphemistically glossing over their ~~degrading conditions by as~~ distortion, by merely calling them ~~[illegible]~~ "backward" or "lawless communities"

~~If within a state some of its cities or counties continue a bare existence in what we euphemistically gloss over by calling them "backward communities or lawless communities", such areas depreciate the higher standards of the rest of the state.~~

If any region of the nation as a whole is filled with unrest, permits ~~sustains~~ a low standard of living, or fails to maintain the standards of its health or its education, the level of the civilization of the ~~whole~~ entire nation ~~is lowered or diminished~~ will be pulled downward.

~~It would seem, therefore, to be logically difficult for any person admitting these premises to insist upon the loss that the~~ This principle applies to a community, to a state and ~~or~~ to a nation; ~~but~~ the identical principle ~~does not~~ extends to the rest of the civilized world. ~~Such illogic~~, ~~based~~ those who still deny it in innocence or ignorance or both, presupposes that the United States of America as a self-contained unit can live happily and prosperously, its entire secure ~~and self-contentedly and with safety to its secure~~ inside a high well of isolation ~~non-intercourse~~, while within the rest of civilization and the commerce and culture ~~work~~ of mankind ~~disintegrates into the barbarism and chaos of the Dark Ages~~ disintegrates into contracting atoms.

D

When the realism of the interdependence of communities and states is preached there are still some in our midst who oppose the argument by the martialing of local interests or special group interests. Every legislative body in the nation is constantly faced with this fact.

In the larger aspect, groups with similar selfishness change the subject by interjecting false issues and by oratorical appeals to keep the nation out of war, to mind our own business, to conjure up the Founding Fathers with false application of the true history of past generations.

Recognition of the very definite interest of this and of future generations of Americans in human civilization outside our borders does not, of course, involve American armed participation in other people's wars. Likewise, I can understand the feelings of those who warn the nation that they will never again consent to sending American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But I remember that nobody asked them to consent -- for nobody expects such an undertaking.

I feel equal pity, though not perhaps contempt, for those who through ignorance spend their time giving thanks for the existence of the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. When I talk with them I discern too much of the

E

What I ask is that all of us everywhere think things through with the single thought of how best to serve the future of our own nation. I do not mean merely its future relationship with the outside world; I mean its domestic future as well — the work, the security, the prosperity, the happiness, the life of all the boys and girls of the United States.

Already the crash of swiftly moving events all over the earth has made us all think more clearly. The time is long past when any political party or any particular group can curry public favor by ~~[illegible]~~ labelling itself the "peace party" or the "peace bloc." That label belongs to the whole United States and to every right thinking man woman and child within it.

For out of all the military and diplomatic turmoil, out of the propaganda and counter-propaganda of the present conflict there are two facts which stand out and which the whole world acknowledges.

¶ The first is that p. 5

Let there be no misunderstanding about this.

The ultimate interest of this generation of Americans — and future generations — in human civilization outside our borders, I am not even

~~attitude of him who said "I thank God I am not as other men are".~~

E

So we come back not to a philosophy but to a fact -- that the future of our nation is of necessity greatly influenced by the things that have happened, the things that are happening and the things that will happen in other lands and on other continents. When I speak of the future of our nation I mean not its relationship ~~with~~ to the outside world alone but our internal future as well, the life, the happiness, the prosperity and the security of our boys and girls within our own boundaries.

Do not misconstrue this into a note of alarm, a grave warning of dangers to come. I ask you, however, to think of what I am saying as the expression of a hope that Americans everywhere will more greatly think things through.

Already, our thinking processes have made great strides. No political party, for example, can hope to gain many votes by advertising on the billboards that it and it alone is the "Peace Party", inferring that all others seek to involve the United States in war. The trouble with that outworn deception is that almost every man and woman in

~~The United States knows two things that~~ never before has the Government of the United States accomplished so much in establishing and maintaining the policy of the good neighbor with its sister nations than in our recent past. The second is that in almost every nation in the world today there is a true public belief that the United States has been and will continue to be a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace. Those unfortunate persons who seek to defame or twist a clear and clear record of peace and good-will can expect little advantage thereby.

I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the ~~the effect of our policy of isolation on the~~ Dual alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

I hope that though we are a very great and a very powerful nation we will consider the possibilities to our children if ~~some comes to dominate~~ the rest of the world dominated by force alone.

I hope we will work out for ourselves the effect on our own future if small nations throughout the world have ~~lost~~ their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to powerful military systems.

~~B~~ G

~~Men and women cannot worship God as they please~~

(men and women) are compelled to worship the god imposed by a military ruler or are forbidden to worship God at all; if

I hope we will work out for ourselves how indispensable to our national defense is our national unity. For there are abroad in the world the malignant results which have come from the preachments of hate and the struggles between races and classes and groups in other lands — struggles which have destroyed the ~~whole~~ moral fibre of whole nations and have made them enemies of mankind.

they are forbidden to learn the facts from their newspapers and their radio, and if they are daily deprived of the truth which makes men free.

I hope ~~they~~ we will work out for ~~themselves~~ our what will happen to our children if a large part of the rest of the world ~~abrogates freedom of religion and freedom to obtain world information.~~

G

I hope ~~they~~ we will work out for ~~themselves~~ our the effect on ~~our children~~ our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military or naval force.

H

~~I hope, in other words, that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. Ostriches tend to become extinct if too many of them bury their heads in the sand.~~

~~You are familiar with the facts of the past few months. Hostilities on a vast scale continue in the Far East, and major wars in Europe, involving the largest nations of that continent, threaten to spread further to smaller countries and larger areas. Those immature persons who speak of these wars or the conduct of them with cynicism or ridicule would not do so if they were citizens of Finland or if they were in the frontline trenches with the firm conviction that an intolerable threat to their nation's future must be removed for all time.~~

~~In any vast country like ours there will always be those who, for reasons of political or selfish advantage, will seek to create fear in the hearts of their fellow countrymen. They have no doubt a right to do so. But it is significant to me that there is a growing appreciation throughout our nation of the realism of the existing world situation -- an understanding of the very grave effects on civilization which may result from these wars.~~

The [redacted] vacillating majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will [redacted] not become involved in military participation in the war. This [redacted] ignorance does not prevent them from comprehending the possible effects on this nation as the wars proceed, and when the final day [redacted] for ending the wars comes.

~~This same majority is in general accord with the [redacted]~~ for they know that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in -- even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force ~~and if the control of it is vested by [redacted]~~ [redacted] in the hands of a few.

In the light of experience we cannot assert that these wars are wars to end war, but at the same time we can use our great influence toward the maintenance of the right of groups of individuals, large and small, to govern themselves according to their choice and without fear of destruction or enslavement by their neighbors.

1 This nation concedes the right of the peoples of other nations to choose their own form of government, but this nation believes that such choice on their part should be predicated on certain freedoms which we think are essential everywhere.

First, freedom to the individual and the family to worship God in their own way.

Second, freedom to receive information of the events which take place within their own borders and in other parts of the world, because intelligent opinion must be founded on adequate knowledge.

Third, freedom from fear -- or to put it another way -- the removal of fear of attack by force on the part of other nations, great and small. This is but another way of saying that mankind must decide as quickly as possible to reduce its armaments to the point where they no longer are the controlling factor in international relations.

Fourth, freedom of commercial and cultural relations between all nations. It may well be argued that this is a corollary to the reduction of armaments, because for obvious economic reasons the world must find new outlets in trade and industry and agriculture for the employment of the millions who today produce non-wealth creating implements of war.

In the Western Hemisphere it is reassuring to note that the principles I have spoken of have been developing along lines which are affording increased advantages for all. Twenty-one American Republics, expressing the will of two hundred and fifty million people to preserve peace and freedom in this Hemisphere, are displaying a unanimity of ideals and of practical relationships which give hope that what is being done here can be done on other continents. We in all the Americas are coming to the realization that we can retain our individual nationalities without at the same time threatening the national existence of our neighbors.

Such relationships, for example, permit us to follow our own domestic policies with reference to our agricultural products while at the same time, because of our truly friendly relations with other nations, we have

the privilege of working out with them mutual assistance arrangements for a world distribution of world agricultural surpluses.

And we have been able to supply the same simple principle ~~applies~~ to many manufactured products ~~--and we have~~ surpluses of which must be sold in the world export markets if we would ~~which in order to~~ continue a high level of production and employment~~, must sell surpluses in the world export markets~~.

For many years after the World War ~~the pursuit of~~ blind economic selfishness in most ~~nations~~ countries, including our own, resulted in a destructive ~~network~~ mine-field of trade restrictions which hopelessly blocked the channels of commerce among nations. This policy was one of the contributing causes to existing wars. It ~~brought about the piling~~ piled up vast unsaleable surpluses, ~~causing~~ helping to bring about unemployment and suffering in the United States and everywhere else.

To ~~meet this grave problem~~ break up the log-jam the Trade Agreements Act was passed, ~~to~~ It was based upon a policy of equality of treatment among nations and of mutually profitable ~~trade~~ arrangements of Trade.

Most of us are familiar with the processes under which general tariff bills have been enacted in the past. Few people, regardless of party, are proud of those processes -- the lobbying, the log-rolling, the exorbitant

schedules which so often are, in effect, not tariffs but embargoes which so often are grants by the Congress to legalized monopolies and small groups which give employment to so few people that they fail utterly to improve the general economic picture. Such general tariff legislation is enacted only at rare intervals and once enacted the schedules remain inflexible and impossible of adjustment to meet changing world conditions.

The trade agreement method is adjustable -- especially in these days of emergency conditions. It is, therefore, practical in the best sense. It should be kept alive to serve our trade interests in many valuable ways during the existing wars.

(K) But what is more important, the Trade Agreements Act should be kept alive as an indispensable part of the foundation of any stable and durable peace.

The old conditions of world trade made for no enduring peace; and when the time comes the United States must use its influence to aid in the opening up of the world trade channels in order that no nation need feel compelled in later days to seek by force of arms what it can well gain by peaceful conference.

(L)

DRAFT #2 (INSERT A - PAGE 12)

K

~~Especially~~ At this critical time we should ~~we~~ extend the trade agreements program for another limited period. I so recommend. ~~Not until the emergency situation has been met will it be practicable safe~~ This is no time to attempt to formulate the long-range tariff and commercial policy of this country.

~~It will be difficult for opponents of a continuation of this legislation to combat the fact that~~ The Trade Agreements already made have stimulated our exports; ~~that~~ our imports, which have increased to a less degree, have injured no important industry and ~~that~~ on the whole many thousands of American workers have been given employment which otherwise they would not have had.

L

I emphasize especially the leadership which this nation can take when the time comes for a renewal of world peace. Such an influence will be greatly weakened if this Government ~~is~~ Economic a dog in the manger of Trade selfishness.

All but the unthinking understand that the unblocking of the avenues of commerce between other nations is bound to increase our own world trade if we do not go back in this country to strangulation methods which have been so costly to us in the past. (Insert A)

Trade cooperation with the rest of the world on our part does not violate in any way the warning of the first President of the United States against entangling foreign alliances. The 32 President subscribes to and upholds the precept.

(M)

In the matter of the world race for armaments, even before last September, our own nation had been compelled, for many years, to follow the mad activities of certain other nations, in order to make our own national defense more secure. It is interesting, for instance, to note that a very large portion of Treasury deficits have been caused by extraordinary increases in Army and Navy appropriations for several years. It seems to be thoroughly worthwhile to maintain the highest possible peaceful influence in world affairs if by exerting it we can help all world governments, including our own, to return to a sounder economic system.

We must, of course, continue to increase our armaments in the light of the world uncertainty of today. I am asking the Congress for Army and Navy increases of comparatively moderate size. They are based not on panic but on common sense. They are not as great as enthusiastic alarmists seek -- nor are they as small as unrealistic persons claiming superior private information would demand.

As will appear in the presentation of the Annual Budget tomorrow, the only important increase in any part of the Budget is the estimate for national defense. Practically all other important items show a reduction. Therefore, in the hope that we can continue in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit, I am asking the Congress to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national defense.

As will appear in the Annual Budget Message, definite steps have been taken to improve the mechanics of the administration of governmental affairs. Many millions of dollars have been saved and more savings will follow if the excellent spirit of service among the officers and employees of the many branches of the Federal Government

can be maintained and strengthened. ~~It seems a pity that so many interpreters of and commentators on government affairs stoop to view the scene through the glasses of politics. A long experience proves to me that it is incorrect for such persons to seek a political motive in every decision made in the administration of the vast machinery of government.~~

In these later days almost all people who are charged with administrative responsibilities believe that it is a duty of patriotism to do the best they can for the men and women they serve, regardless of what party such men and women chance to belong to. Incidentally, this growing philosophy of service happens also to be the best philosophy of politics.

In this connection I trust that the Congress will give authority to extend the merit system to practically all positions in the Federal service. ~~We have greatly extended that service, but~~ There are many agencies of government today which have been exempted from the Civil Service by previous Acts of the Congress. To all of them, except in the higher policy-making positions, the merit system regulations should be extended.

There are, of course, many other items of great public interest which could be enumerated in this Message -- the continued conservation of our natural resources, the improvement of health and of education, the extension of social security to larger groups, the freeing of large areas from restrictive transportation discriminations, the extension of the merit system and many others.

I do not believe, however, that major changes in or additions to the already historic social and economic improvements of the past few years should occupy too greatly the attention of the Congress at this session. We are consolidating the gains of recent years and we are studying how best to extend them in future years.

That is why, even though this be an election year, I feel that I can repeat what I said to the Congress on September 21, 1939:

> "Let no man or group in any walk of life assume exclusive protectorate over the future well-being of America -- because I conceive that regardless of party or section, the mantle of peace and of patriotism is wide enough to cover us all ..... These perilous days demand cooperation between us without trace of partisanship".

Bitterness, vituperation, overstatement, and the beating of drums have, as we all know, contributed mightily to ill-feeling and to the outbreak of wars in intercourse between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful in the international field, they are also harmful in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have some of the advantage of peace between us and other nations. And in the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore, of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world - including the United States of America - passes through parlous times, I am very certain that the closing session of the Seventy-sixth Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with tolerance and with collective wisdom.

May the year 1940 be pointed to by our children as another period when democracy justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind.

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DRAFT #2

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 3, 1940

In previous Messages to the Congress -- notably in my Annual Message a year ago -- I have repeatedly urged that whether we like it or not the daily lives of American citizens are of necessity influenced by events occuring in other nations and on other continents. This is not a mere philosophy, for it is increasingly proved by the facts and happenings of yesterday and today.

To say that the internal well-being of one hundred and thirty million Americans is largely affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is but the extension of a well known rule recognized by all of us in its application to smaller units within the world itself.

If in a city in our own land poverty, lack of opportunity, crime, lawlessness and strong-arm methods exist in even a small geographical section of that city, other portions of the community, including the avenues of costly homes and the respectable suburbs, are adversely affected in their prosperity and in their safety.

If within a state some of its cities or counties continue a bare existence in what we euphemistically gloss over by calling them "backward communities or lawless communities", such areas depreciate the higher standards of the rest of the state.

If any region of the nation is filled with unrest, continues a low standard of living, or fails to maintain its health or its education, the civilization of the whole nation is thereby diminished.

It would seem, therefore, to be logically difficult for any person admitting these premises to insist nevertheless that the principle applies to a community, to a state or to a nation but that the identical principle does not extend to the rest of the civilized world. Such illogic, born of innocence or ignorance or both, presupposes that the United States of American can live happily, prosperously and self-containedly and with safety to its future inside a high wall of non-intercourse, while the rest of civilization and the rest of mankind disintegrates into the barbarism and chaos of the Dark Ages.

When the realism of the interdependence of communities and states is preached there are still some in our midst who oppose the argument by the martialing of local interests or special group interests. Every legislative body in the nation is constantly faced with this fact.

In the larger aspect, groups with similar selfishness change the subject by interjecting false issues and by oratorical appeals to keep the nation out of war, to mind our own business, to conjure up the Founding Fathers with false quotations of the true history of past generations.

Recognition of the very definite interest of this and of future generations of Americans in human civilization outside our borders does not, of course, involve American armed participation in other people's wars. I feel a mixture of pity and contempt for those who gravely warn the nation that they will never again consent to sending American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. Nobody asked them to consent -- nobody expects such an undertaking.

I feel equal pity, though not perhaps contempt, for those who through ignorance spend their time giving thanks for the existence of the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. When I talk with them I discuss too much of the

attitude of him who said "I thank God I am not as other men are".

So we come back not to a philosophy but to a fact -- that the future of our nation is of necessity greatly influenced by the things that have happened, the things that are happening and the things that will happen in other lands and on other continents. When I speak of the future of our nation I mean not its relationship with the outside world alone but our internal future as well, the life, the happiness, the prosperity and the security of our boys and girls within our own boundaries.

Do not misconstrue this into a note of alarm, a grave warning of dangers to come. I ask you, however, to think of what I am saying as the expression of a hope that Americans everywhere will more greatly think things through.

Already, our thinking processes have made great strides. No political party, for example, can hope to gain many votes by advertising on the billboards that it and it alone is the "Peace Party", inferring that all others seek to involve the United States in war. The trouble with that outworn deception is that almost every mandand woman in

the United States knows two things -- that never before has the Government of the United States accomplished so much in establishing and maintaining the policy of the good neighbor with its sister nations than in our recent past, and that today in almost every nation in the world there is a true public belief that the United States has been and will continue to be a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace. Those unfortunate persons who seek to defame or twist a clean and clear record of peace and good-will can expect little advantage thereby.

I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the many alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

I hope that though we are a very great and a very powerful nation we will consider the possibilities to our children if force comes to dominate the rest of the world.

I hope we will work out for ourselves the effect on our own future if small nations throughout the world lost their independence or become mere appendages to powerful military systems.

I hope they will work out for themselves what will happen to our children if a large part of the rest of the world abrogates freedom of religion and freedom to obtain world information.

I hope they will work out for themselves the effect on our children if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military or naval force.

I hope, in other words, that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. Ostriches tend to become extinct if too many of them bury their heads in the sand.

You are familiar with the facts of the past few months. Hostilities on a vast scale continue in the Far East, and major wars in Europe, involving the largest nations of that continent, threaten to spread further to smaller countries and larger areas. Those immature persons who speak of these wars or the conduct of them with cynicism or ridicule would not do so if they were citizens of Finland or if they were in the frontline trenches with the firm conviction that an intolerable threat to their nation's future must be removed for all time.

In any vast country like ours there will always be those who, for reasons of political or selfish advantage, will seek to create fear in the hearts of their fellow countrymen. They have no doubt a right to do so. But it is significant to me that there is a growing appreciation throughout our nation of the realism of the existing world situation -- an understanding of the very grave effects on civilization which may result from these wars.

The great majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war. This rightly does not prevent them from comprehending the possible effects on this nation as the wars proceed, and when the final day of ending the wars comes.

This same majority is in general accord with the thought that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in -- even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force, and if the control of it is vested by force in the hands of a few.

In the light of experience we cannot assert that these wars are wars to end war, but at the same time we can use our great influence toward the maintenance of the right of groups of individuals, large and small, to govern themselves according to their choice and without fear of destruction or enslavement by their neighbors.

This nation concedes the right of the peoples of other nations to choose their own form of government, but this nation believes that such choice on their part should be predicated on certain freedoms which we think are essential everywhere.

First, freedom to the individual and the family to worship God in their own way.

Second, freedom to receive information of the events which take place within their own borders and in other parts of the world, because intelligent opinion must be founded on adequate knowledge.

Third, freedom from fear -- or to put it another way -- the removal of fear of attack by force on the part of other nations, great and small. This is but another way of saying that mankind must decide as quickly as possible to reduce its armaments to the point where they no longer are the controlling factor in international relations.

Fourth, freedom of commercial and cultural relations between all nations. It may well be argued that this is a corollary to the reduction of armaments, because for obvious economic reasons the world must find new outlets in trade and industry and agriculture for the employment of the millions who today produce non-wealth creating implements of war.

In the Western Hemisphere it is reassuring to note that the principles I have spoken of have been developing along lines which are affording increased advantages for all. Twenty-one American Republics, expressing the will of two hundred and fifty million people to preserve peace in this Hemisphere, are exercising a unanimity of ideals and of practical relationships which give hope that what is being done here is not in the realm of an impossibility on other continents. We in all the Americas are coming to the realization that we can retain our individual nationalities without at the same time injuring the national existence of our neighbors.

Such national existence, for example, permits us to adopt our own domestic policies in relation to our agricultural products while at the same time, because of our truly friendly relations with other nations, we have

the privilege of working out with them mutual assistance arrangements for a world distribution of world agricultural surpluses.

The same simple principle applies to many manufactured products -- and we have many -- which in order to continue on a high level of production and employment must sell surpluses in the world export market.

For many years after the World War the pursuit of blind economic selfishness in most nations, including our own, resulted in a destructive network of trade restrictions which hopelessly blocked the channels of commerce among nations. This policy was one of the contributing causes to existing wars. It brought about the damming up of vast unsaleable surpluses, causing unemployment and suffering in the United States and everywhere else.

To meet this grave situation the Trade Agreements Act was passed -- based upon a policy of equality of treatment and of mutual profitable trade arrangements.

Most of us are familiar with the processes under which general tariff bills have been enacted in the past. Few people, regardless of party, are proud of those processes -- the lobbying, the log-rolling, the exorbitant

schedules which so often are, in effect, not tariffs but embargoes which so often are grants by the Congress to legalized monopolies and small groups which give employment to so few people that they fail utterly to improve the general economic picture. Such general tariff legislation is enacted only at rare intervals and once enacted the schedules remain inflexible and impossible of adjustment to meet changing world conditions.

The trade agreement method is adjustable -- especially in these days of emergency conditions. It is, therefore, practical in the best sense. It should be kept alive to serve our trade interests in many valuable ways during the existing wars.

But what is all important, it should be kept alive to provide an indispensable part of the foundation of any stable and durable peace.

Under the old conditions of world trade there can be no enduring peace; and when the time comes the United States must use its influence not for the restriction of trade but for the opening up of trade channels in order that no nation shall feel compelled in later days to seek by force of arms what it can well gain by peaceful conference.

All but the unthinking understand that the unblocking of the avenues of commerce between other nations is bound to increase our own world trade if we do not go back in this country to strangulation methods which have been so costly to us in the past. (Insert A)

Cooperation with the rest of the world on our part does not violate in any way the warning of the first President of the United States against entangling foreign alliances.

In the matter of the world race for armaments, even before last September, our own nation had been compelled, for many years, to follow the mad activities of certain other nations, in order to make our own national defense more secure. It is interesting, for instance, to note that a very large portion of Treasury deficits have been caused by extraordinary increases in Army and Navy appropriations for several years. It seems to be thoroughly worthwhile to maintain the highest possible peaceful influence in world affairs if by exerting it we can help all world governments, including our own, to return to a sounder economic system.

DRAFT #2 (INSERT A - PAGE 12)

Especially at this critical time should we extend the trade agreements program for another limited period. I so recommend. Not until the emergency situation has been met will it be practicable or safe to attempt to formulate the long-range tariff and commercial policy of this country.

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We must, of course, continue to increase our armaments in the light of the world uncertainty of today. I am asking the Congress for Army and Navy increases of comparatively moderate size. They are based not on panic but on common sense. They are not as great as enthusiastic alarmists seek -- nor are they as small as unrealistic persons claiming superior private information would demand.

As will appear in the presentation of the Annual Budget tomorrow, the only important increase in any part of the Budget is the estimate for national defense; practically all other important items show a reduction. Therefore, in the hope that we can continue in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit, I am asking the Congress to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national defense.

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can be maintained and strengthened. It seems a pity that so many interpreters of and commentators on government affairs stoop to view the scene through the glasses of politics. A long experience proves to me that it is incorrect for such persons to seek a political motive in every decision made in the administration of the vast machinery of government.

In these later days almost all people who are charged with administrative responsibilities believe that it is a duty of patriotism to do the best they can for the men and women they serve, regardless of what party such men and women chance to belong to. Incidentally, this growing philosophy of service happens also to be the best philosophy of politics.

In this connection I trust that the Congress will give authority to extend the Civil Service to practically all positions in the Federal service. We have greatly extended that service but there are many agencies of government today which have been exempted from the Civil Service by previous Acts of the Congress. To all of them, except in the higher policy-making positions, the Civil Service regulations should be extended.

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That is why, even though this be an election years, I feel that I can repeat what I said to the Congress on September 21, 1939:

> "Let no man or group in any walk of life assume exclusive protectorate over the future well-being of America -- because I conceive that regardless of party or section, the mantle of peace and of patriotism is wide enough to cover us all ..... These perilous days demand cooperation between us without trace of partisanship".

Bitterness, vituperation, overstatement, and the beating of drums have, as we all know, contributed mightily to ill-feeling and to the outbreak of wars in the intercourse between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful in the international field, they are also harmful in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have some of the advantage of peace between us and other nations. And in the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore, of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world - including the United States of America - passes through parlous times, I am very certain that the closing session of the Seventy-sixth Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with tolerance and with collective wisdom.

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DRAFT #4

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 3, 1940

In previous Messages to the Congress -- notably in my Annual Message a year ago -- I have repeatedly urged that, whether we like it or not, the daily lives of American citizens are of necessity influenced by events occuring in other nations and on other continents. This is not a mere philosophy, for it is increasingly proved by the facts and happenings of yesterday and today.

To say that the internal well-being of one hundred and thirty million Americans is largely affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is but the extension of a well known rule recognized by all of us in its application to smaller units within the world itself.

If in a city in our own land poverty, lack of opportunity, ~~crime~~ poverty, lawlessness, and strong-arm methods and crime exist in even a small geographical section of ~~that~~ any city, other portions of ~~the community, including~~ that city, even the avenues of costly homes and the respectable suburbs, are adversely affected in their prosperity and in their safety. will soon or later feel the blight in a hundred ways.

If within a state some of its cities or counties continue a bare existence in what we euphemistically gloss over by calling them "backward communities or lawless communities", such areas depreciate the higher standards of the rest of the state.

If any region of the nation, outside is filled with unrest, continues a low or standard of living, or fails to maintain its standards health or its education, the civilization of the ~~whole~~ entire nation [is thereby diminished] will be pushed lower.

[It would seem, therefore, to be logically difficult for any person admitting these premises to insist nevertheless that this principle applies to a community, to a state and or to a nation, ~~but that~~ the identical principle ~~does not~~ extends to the rest of the civilized world. ~~Such illogic, born of~~ Those who still cling it, in innocence or ignorance or both, presupposes that the United States of America, an isolated and self-contained nation, can live happily and prosperously, its future security [and self-containedly and with safety to its future] inside a high wall of [non-intercourse] isolation, while outside, the rest of civilization and the [rest] remainder of mankind [disintegrates into the barbarism and chaos of the Dark Ages] crumble to pieces.

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When the realism of the interdependence of communities and states is preached there are still some in our midst who oppose the argument by the marshaling of local interests or special group interests. Every legislative body in the nation is constantly faced with this fact.

In the larger aspect, groups with similar selfishness change the subject by interjecting false issues and by oratorical appeals to keep the nation out of war, to mind our own business, to conjure up the Founding Fathers with false quotations of the true history of past generations.

Let there be no misunderstanding about this!

Recognition of the very definite interest of this ~~and of future~~ generations of Americans and future generations — in human civilization outside our borders does not ~~of course,~~ involve American armed participation in other people's wars. I feel a mixture of pity and contempt for those who gravely warn the nation that they will never again consent to sending American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. Nobody asked them to consent -- nobody expects such an undertaking.

I feel equal pity, though not perhaps contempt, for those who through ignorance spend their time giving thanks for the existence of the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. When I talk with them I discern too much of the

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attitude of him who said "I thank God I am not as other men are".]

So we come back not to a philosophy but to a fact -- that the future of our nation is of necessity greatly influenced by the things that have happened, the things that are happening and the things that will happen in other lands and on other continents. When I speak of the future of our nation I mean not its relationship with the outside world alone but our internal future as well, the life, the happiness, the prosperity and the security of our boys and girls within our own boundaries.

Do not misconstrue this into a note of alarm, a grave warning of dangers to come. I ask you, however, to think of what I am saying as the expression of a hope that Americans everywhere will more greatly think things through.

Already, our thinking processes have made great strides. No political party, for example, can hope to gain many votes by advertising on the billboards that it and it alone is the "Peace Party", inferring that all others seek to involve the United States in war. The trouble with that outworn deception is that almost every mandand woman in

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the United States knows two things -- that never before has the Government of the United States accomplished so much in establishing and maintaining the policy of the good neighbor with its sister nations in this hemisphere in our recent past, (E) the world and that today in almost every nation in the world there is a true public belief that the United States has been and will continue to be a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace. Those unfortunate persons who seek to defame or twist a clean and clear record of peace and good-will, ~~can~~ For the last seven years we have had ~~effect little advantage thereby.~~ It is a record which cannot be twisted or distorted. It is a record which must be continued and enlarged.

I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the effect upon our own civilization of the many alternatives which lie before world the civilization of the world ~~which necessarily includes our own.~~

I hope that though we are a very great and a very powerful nation we will consider the possibilities to our children if force comes to dominate the rest of the world dominate to be dominated by force alone.

I hope we will work out for ourselves the effect on our own future if small nations throughout the world have lost their independence and protection from them and become mere appendages to powerful military systems.

I hope they will work out for themselves what will happen to our children if a large part of the rest of the world abrogates freedom of religion and freedom to obtain world information.

I hope they will work out for themselves the effect on our children if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military or naval force.

I hope, in other words, that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. Ostriches tend to become extinct if too many of them bury their heads in the sand.

You are familiar with the facts of the past few months. Hostilities on a vast scale continue in the Far East, and major wars in Europe, involving the largest nations of that continent, threaten to spread further to smaller countries and larger areas. Those immature persons who speak of these wars or the conduct of them with cynicism or ridicule would not do so if they were citizens of Finland or if they were in the frontline trenches with the fire conviction that an intolerable threat to their nation's future must be removed for all time.

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In any vast country like ours there will always be those who, for reasons of political or selfish advantage, will seek to create fear in the hearts of their fellow countrymen. They have no doubt a right to do so. But it is significant to me that there is a growing realistic appreciation throughout our nation of the realism of the existing world situation -- an understanding of the very grave devastating effects on civilization which may result from these wars.

The great overwhelming majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation and determination that the United States will never become involved in military participation in the war. This, of course, ~~slightly~~ does not prevent them from comprehending the possible consequences to ~~effects on~~ this nation as the wars proceed, and when the final day, let ~~of~~ ending the wars comes. It they know

This same majority is in general accord with the thought that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in -- even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force, and if the control of it is vested by force in the hands of a few.

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In the light of experience we cannot assert that these wars are wars to end war, but at the same time we can use our great influence toward the maintenance of the right of groups of individuals, large and small, to govern themselves according to their choice and without fear of destruction or enslavement by their neighbors.

This nation concedes the right of the peoples of other nations to choose their own form of government, but this nation believes that such choice on their part should be predicated on certain freedoms which we think are essential everywhere.

First, freedom to the individual and the family to worship God in their own way.

Second, freedom to receive information of the events which take place within their own borders and in other parts of the world, because intelligent opinion must be founded on adequate knowledge.

Third, freedom from fear -- or to put it another way -- the removal of fear of attack by force on the part of other nations, great and small. This is but another way of saying that mankind must decide as quickly as possible to reduce its armaments to the point where they no longer are the controlling factor in international relations.

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Fourth, freedom of commercial and cultural relations between all nations. It may well be argued that this is a corollary to the reduction of armaments, because for obvious economic reasons the world must find new outlets in trade and industry and agriculture for the employment of the millions who today produce non-wealth creating implements of war.

In the Western Hemisphere it is reassuring to note that the principles I have spoken of have been developing along lines which are affording increased advantages for all. Twenty-one American Republics, expressing the will of the hundred and fifty million people to preserve peace in this Hemisphere, are exercising a mentality of ideals and of practical relationships which give hope that what is being done here is not in the realm of an impossibility on other continents. We in all the Americas are coming to the realization that we can retain our individual nationalities without at the same time injuring the national existence of our neighbors.

Such national existence, for example, permits us to adopt our own domestic policies in relation to our agricultural products while at the same time, because of our truly friendly relations with other nations, we have

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the privilege of working out with them mutual assistance arrangements for a world distribution of world agricultural surpluses.

The same simple principle applies to many manufactured products, — and we have many — which in order to continue at a high level of production and employment must sell surpluses in the world export market.

For many years after the World War the pursuit of blind economic selfishness in most nations, including our own, resulted in a destructive network of trade restrictions which hopelessly blocked the channels of commerce among nations. This policy was one of the contributing causes to the existing wars. It brought about the damming up of vast unsaleable surpluses, causing unemployment and suffering in the United States and everywhere else.

To meet this grave situation the Trade Agreements Act was passed, based upon a policy of equality of treatment and of mutual profitable trade arrangements. Its benefits are quite different from those by which our general tariff bills have been enacted in the past.

Few people, regardless of party, are proud of those processes — the lobbying, the log-rolling, the exorbitant

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schedules which so often ~~are~~ lead in effect, not tariffs ~~but~~ shall embargoes ~~which so often are grants by the Congress to~~ legalized monopolies ~~and small groups~~ which give employment to so few people that they ~~fail utterly to improve the~~ could not be in total in any degree as the sides of the general economic picture. ~~Such~~ general tariff legislation was magnified and multiplied because tariff laws were ~~is~~ enacted only at rare intervals and once enacted the schedules remain inflexible and could not be readily adjusted ~~impossible of adjustment~~ to meet changing world conditions.

The trade agreement method is ~~adjustable~~ flexible -- especially ~~in~~ adjustable to these days of emergency conditions. It is, therefore, practical in the best sense. It should be kept alive to serve our trade interests in many valuable ways during the existing wars. (This is the proper place for Welles' and Hull's text paragraphs)

But what is more important, the Treasury Department ~~it~~ should be kept alive ~~to provide~~ as an indispensable ~~part of the~~ foundation stone of any stable and durable peace.

~~Under~~ The old conditions of world trade made ~~there can be no~~ enduring peace impossible and when the time comes the United States must use its influence ~~not~~ for the restriction of trade but for the opening ~~up of~~ trade channels throughout the world in order that no nation need ~~shall~~ feel compelled ~~in later days~~ to seek by force of arms what it can well gain by peaceful conference and trade. (A)

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All but the unthinking understand that the unblocking of the avenues of commerce between other nations is bound to increase our own world trade if we do not go back in this country to strangulation methods which have been so costly to us in the past. (Insert A)

Cooperation with the rest of the world on our part does not violate in any way the warning of the first President of the United States against entangling foreign alliances.

In the matter of the world race for armaments, even before last September, our own nation had been compelled, for many years, to follow the mad activities of certain other nations, in order to make our own national defense more secure. It is interesting, for instance, to note that a very large portion of our Treasury deficits has been caused by these extraordinary increases in Army and Navy appropriations over for several years. It seems to be thoroughly worthwhile to maintain the highest possible peaceful influence in world affairs if by exerting it we can help all world governments, including our own, to return to a sounder economic system.

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DRAFT #2 (INSERT A - PAGE 18)

Especially at this critical time should we extend the trade agreements program for another limited period. I so recommend. Not until the emergency situation has been met will it be practicable or safe. This is not time to attempt to formulate the long-range tariff and commercial policy of this country.

It will be difficult for opponents of a continuation of this legislation to combat the fact that the trade agreements already made have stimulated our exports; that our imports, which have increased to a less degree, have injured no important industry; and that on the whole many thousands of American workers have been given employment which otherwise they would not have had.

A

I emphasize especially the leadership which this nation can take when the time comes for a renewal of world peace. That leadership will be without moral strength if we have ~~Such an influence will be greatly weakened if this Government is~~ a dog in the manger of trade selfishness. As "righteousness exalteth a nation"

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We must, of course, continue to increase our armaments in the light of the world ~~uncertainty of today~~ we live in. I am asking the Congress for Army and Navy increases of comparatively moderate size. They are based, not on panic, but on common sense. They are not as great as enthusiastic alarmists seek. ~~Nor are~~ Nor are they as small as unrealistic persons, claiming superior private information, would demand.

As will appear in the presentation of the Annual Budget tomorrow, the only important increase in any part of the Budget is the estimate for national defense; practically all other important items show a reduction. Therefore, in the hope that we can continue in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit, I am asking the Congress to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national defense.

As will appear in the Annual Budget Message, definite steps have been taken to improve the mechanics of the administration of governmental affairs. Many millions of dollars have been saved and more savings will follow if the excellent spirit of service among the officers and employees of the many branches of the Federal Government

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can be maintained and strengthened. It seems a pity that so many interpreters of and commentators on government affairs stoop to view the scene through the glasses of politics. A long experience proves to me that it is incorrect for such persons to seek a political motive in every decision made in the administration of the vast machinery of government.

In these later days almost all people who are charged with administrative responsibilities believe that it is a duty of patriotism to do the best they can for the men and women they serve, regardless of what party such men and women chance to belong to. Incidentally, this growing philosophy of service happens also to be the best philosophy of politics.

In this connection I trust that the Congress will give authority to extend the Civil Service to practically all positions in the Federal service. We have greatly extended that service but there are many agencies of government today which have been exempted from the Civil Service by previous Acts of the Congress. To all of them, except in the higher policy-making positions, the Civil Service regulations should be extended.

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There are, of course, many other items of great public interest which could be enumerated in this Message — the continued conservation of our natural resources, the improvement of health and of education, the extension of social security to larger groups, the freeing of large areas from restrictive transportation discriminations, and many others.

I do not believe, however, that major changes in or additions to the already historic social and economic improvements of the past few years should occupy too greatly the attention of the Congress at this session. We are consolidating the gains and studying how best to extend them in future years.

That is why, even though this be an election years, I feel that I can repeat what I said to the Congress on September 21, 1939:

> "Let no man or group in any walk of life assume exclusive protectorate over the future well-being of America — because I conceive that regardless of party or section, the mantle of peace and of patriotism is wide enough to cover us all ..... These perilous days demand cooperation between us without trace of partisanship".

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Bitterness, vituperation, overstatement, and the beating of drums have, as we all know, contributed mightily to ill-feeling and to the outbreak of wars in the intercourse between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful in the international field, they are also harmful in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have some of the advantage of peace between us and other nations. And in the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore, of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world - including the United States of America - passes through parlous times, I am very certain that the closing session of the Seventy-sixth Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with tolerance and with collective wisdom.

May the year 1940 be pointed to by our children as another period when democracy justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind.

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INSERT X

The permanent security of America in the present crisis does not lie in armed force alone. The most ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ deep-seated threat to our peace and well-being is not military. What we face is a set of world-wide forces of disintegration, vicious, ruthless destructige of all the moral, religious and political standards which mankind, after centuries of struggle, has come to cherish most.

In these moral values in these forces which have made our nation great, we must reassert our faith. What we must preserve above all else is a national spiritual unity, based on continued devotion to the eternal truths of civilization and of democracy.

These words "national unity" - they must not be allowed to become merely a high sounding phrase, a vague generality, a pious hope, to which everyone can give lip-service. They must be made to have real meaning in terms of the daily thoughts and acts of every man, woman and child in our land during the coming year and the years that lie ahead.

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For our national unity is, in a very real and deep sense, the first line of our national defense. It is the fundamental safeguard of all democracy. Where it broke down in Europe, disaster followed.

Doctrines which set group against group, religion against religion, race against race, class against class, fanning the fires of hatred in men too despondent, too desperate to think for themselves, were used as rabble-rousing slogans on which dictators could ride to power. And once in power they could saddle their tyrannies on whole nations, and on their weaker neighbors.

This is the danger to which we in America must begin to be more alert. For the advocates of foreign isms, through devious propaganda as well as selfish and partisan groups at home, unworthily wrapping themselves in a false mantle of Americanism to promote their own economic, financial or political advantage, are now trying European tricks on us, trying to muddy the stream of our national thinking, weakening us in the face of danger by trying to set our own people to fighting among themselves. Such tactics are what have helped to plunge Europe into war. We must combat

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them, as we would the plague, if American integrity and security are to be preserved.

National Unity in this sense is not just a truism to be accepted thoughtlessly. It is a truism in which we must see the truth. And to see the truth of such a truism is the essence of wisdom.

Divisive forces must not prevail among us. We must as a united people keep ablaze on this continent the flames of human liberty, of reason, of fair play, of democracy as living things to be preserved for the better world that is to come.

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DRAFT 3 MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 3, 1940.

It is important that if in this annual message to the Congress ~~its messages and readers should in no way confuse its stressing of~~ I stress the importance of world affairs to our nation ~~within~~ no citizen should assume ~~any thought~~ that our Government is forgetting it ~~[illegible]~~ abandoning the progress of its domestic policies. Just as relations between Nations outside of the Americas need revamping if an orderly civilization is to return, just so is the successful future of the United States dependent on the continuation of the liberal approach to social needs if our own population and government is to be prevented from the disaster and destruction that would attend a return to conservative or reactionary times. Even if in the coming year we move forward slowly, moving forward is necessary.

This thought is well illustrated by recent history in other countries. It is unnecessary for me to name them but you are well aware that dictatorships have originated in almost every case by the necessity of taking drastic action to improve internal conditions where democratic action had failed because of internal dissension to live up to modern

2a

~~needs and modern demands~~

In previous messages to the Congress I have repeatedly urged that whether we liked it or not the daily lives of American citizens must, of necessity, feel the shock of events on other continents. This is no longer mere theory for it has been definitely proved by the facts of yesterday and today.

To say that the internal well-being of one hundred and thirty million Americans is largely affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is only ~~the~~ TO extend ~~ion of~~ the rule recognized by all of us in its application to local or national affairs. ~~smaller units within the world itself.~~

With the framers of the Constitution of the United States we, more than a century and a half later, still believe that our first duty is the promotion of the ~~are dedicated to that magnificent phrase~~ general welfare and domestic tranquility.

If lack of opportunity, poverty, lawlessness, strong-armed methods and crime exist in even a small section of any city in our own land, other portions of that city, even

the avenues of costly homes and the boulevards of respectable suburbs will sooner or later feel the blight in a hundred ways.

If in some of the cities or counties or any state, indecent living and working conditions are permitted to continue, the standards of the rest of the state will eventually be dragged down. We cannot stop the process by euphemistically glossing over their misfortune by merely calling them "backward" or "lawless communities".

B

If any region of the Nation as a whole is filled with unrest, permits the standards of a low standard of living, or fails to maintain its health or its education, the level of the civilization of the entire nation will be pulled downward.

~~This principle applies to a community, to a state and to a nation.~~ The identical principle extends to the rest of a civilized world. Those who still deny it, in innocence or ignorance or both, presuppose that the United States of America as a self-contained unit can live happily and prosperously, its future secure inside a high wall of isolation while, outside, the rest of civilization and the commerce and

culture of mankind disintegrate into shattering atoms.

I myself can also understand in full measure the natural expression of those who oversimplify the whole situation by repeating that all we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the Nation out of war. Go back to the analogy of cities and states within our own borders. If local conditions in some places are so bad that they drag the Nation down, most certainly we do not have to take up arms -- to correct them; we are in the process of correcting them peacefully, and we intend to continue that process in coming years. That is the greatest national service we can give.

So it is in the wider field. We do not have to go to war with other nations but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will lighten the troubles of the world and by so doing help our own Nation as well.

I can understand the feelings of those who warn the Nation that they will never again consent to the sending of American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But, as

The overwhelming majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war.

culture of mankind disintegrate into shattering atoms.

I myself can also understand in full measure the natural expression of those who oversimplify the whole situation by repeating that all we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the Nation out of war. insert D Go back to the analogy of cities and states within our own borders. If local conditions in some places are so bad that they drag the Nation down, most certainly we do not have to Take up arms -- to correct them; we are in the process of correcting them peacefully, and we intend to continue that process in coming years. That in the broadest national sense will be the underlying aim in coming elections.

So it is in the wider field. We do not have to go to war with other nations but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will lighten the troubles of the world and by so doing help our own Nation as well.

I can understand the feelings of those who warn the Nation that they will never again consent to the sending of American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But, as I remember, nobody has asked them to consent -- for nobody expects such an undertaking.

Then insert C

INSERT D

But there is a vast difference between keeping out of war and pretending that this war is none of our business.

DRAFT 3 - ~~xxx~~

What I do ask is that all of us everywhere think things through with the single thought of how best to serve the future of our own Nation. I do not mean merely its future relationship with the outside world. I mean its domestic future as well -- the work, the security, the prosperity, the happiness, the life of all the boys and girls of the United States, as they are inevitably affected by such world relationships. (E)

Already the crash of swiftly moving events over the earth has made us all think ~~more clearly~~ with a longer view. (F) The time is long past when any political party or any particular group can curry public favor by labeling itself the "peace party" or the "peace bloc". That label belongs to the whole United States and to every right thinking man, woman and child within it.

For out of all the military and diplomatic turmoil, out of all the propaganda and counter-propaganda of the present conflicts there are two facts which stand out and which the whole world acknowledges. The first is that never before has the Government of the United States done so much

~~For they know~~ that the future world will be a

~~Closer and closer it seems~~

shabby and dangerous place to live in — even for Americans

to live in -- if it is ruled by force in the hands of a few.

For it seems closer and closer.

E

INSERT ~~(B)~~ F

Fortunately, that thinking cannot be controlled by partisanship.

to establish and maintain the policy of the Good Neighbor with its sister nations as in our recent past. ¶ The second is that in almost every nation in the world today there is a true public belief that the United States has been and will continue to be a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace.

In these recent years we have had a clean record of peace and good will. It is an open book that cannot be twisted or defamed. It is a record that must be continued and enlarged.

So I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the several alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

We must look ahead and see ~~I hope that through~~ a very great and a very powerful nation, ~~we will consider~~ the possibilities for our children if the rest of the world comes to be dominated by concentrated force alone — We through today are ¶ We must look ahead and see ~~I hope we will work out for ourselves~~ the effect on our own future if all this small nations throughout the world have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to relatively vast and powerful military systems.

We must look ahead and see the kind of lives ~~I hope we will work out for ourselves what will happen to~~ our children would have to lead if a large part of the rest of the world were compelled to worship the god imposed by a military ruler, or were forbidden to worship God at all; if they were forbidden to read and hear the facts —the daily news of their own and other nations ~~from their newspapers and radio and~~ if they were deprived of the truth which makes men free.

We must look ahead and ~~I hope we will work out for ourselves~~ how indispensable to our national defense, in these perilous days, is our national unity. For there are abroad in the world the malignant results which have come from the preachments of hate and from the struggles between races and classes and groups in other lands -- struggles which have destroyed the moral fibre of whole nations and have made them enemies of mankind.

We must look ahead and see ~~I hope we will work out for ourselves~~ the effect on our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military or naval force.

It is, of course, true that the record of past centuries includes ~~the record shows the~~ destruction of small nations, ~~the~~ enslavement of peoples and ~~the~~ building of empires on the

foundation of force. ~~But the tendency of later generations has been away from this and we hope that the results of these never wars will strengthen the trend toward the ideal of live and let live.~~ But wholly apart from the greater international morality which we ~~all~~ seek, lasting, ~~we recognize the practical necessity of avoiding going back to the wars and conquests of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.~~

Summing up this need and need of looking ahead, in words of common sense and good American citizenship, I hope that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. It is not good for the ultimate health of ostriches to bury their heads in the sand.

The overwhleming majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war. This of course does not prevent them from comprehending the possible effects on this nation as the wars proceed, and when the final day for ending the wars comes.

For they know that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in -- even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force in the hands of a few.

~~INSERT G~~ H

we recognize the practical fact that with modern weapons and modern conditions, modern man can no longer live a civilized life if we are to go back to the practice of wars and conquests of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

Only an ostrich would

~~We affirmatively~~ ~~[illegible] cannot~~ look upon these wars ~~[illegible]~~, through the eyes of ~~those persons who speak of the conflicts with~~ cynicism or ridicule. Of course, the peoples of other nations have the right to choose their own form of government. But we in this nation still believe that such choice should be predicated on certain freedoms which we think are essential everywhere. We know that we ourselves will never be wholly safe at home unless other governments ~~[illegible]~~ recognize such freedoms.

Twentyone American Republics, expressing the will of 250 million people to preserve peace and freedom in this Hempsphere are displaying a unanimity of ideals and practical relationships which gives hope that what is being done here can be done on other continents. We in all the Americas are coming to the realization that we can retain our respective nationalities without, at the same time, threatening the national existence of our neighbors.

Such relationships, for example, permit us to follow our own domestic policies with reference to our agricultural products while at the same time, because of our truly friendly relations with other nations, we have the privilege of working out with them mutual assistance arrangements for a world dis-

tribution of world agricultural surpluses.

And we have been able to apply the same simple principle to many manufactured products -- surpluses of which must be sold in the world export markets if we would continue a high level of production and employment.

For many years after the World War blind economic selfishness in most countries, including our own, resulted in a destructive mine-field of trade restrictions which ~~hopelessly~~ blocked the channels of commerce among nations. This policy was one of the contributing causes to existing wars. It dammed up vast unsaleable surpluses, helping to bring about unemployment and suffering in the United States and everywhere else.

To point the way to break up the log-jam ~~the~~ our trade agreements act was passed ~~--~~ based upon a policy of equality of treatment among nations and of mutually profitable arrangements of trade.

It is not correct to infer that legislative powers have been transferred from the Congress to the executive branch of the government. Few people are proud of former tariff-making processes -- the lobbying, the log-rolling, the political processes, resulting in exhorbitatn schedules which so often were, in effect,

not tariffs at all but actual embargos -- legalized monopolies which give employment to so few people that they could not be justified in any degree as improving the general economic picture. Everybody recognizes that general tariff legislation is a congressional function, but we know that because of the stupendous task involved in the fashioning and passing of ~~such a~~ a general law, ~~that~~ it is advisable to provide at times of emergency some flexibility to make the general law adjustable to ~~emergency~~ quickly changing conditions.

¶ We are in such a time today. Our present trade agreement method provides a temporary flexibility and is therefore practical in the best sense. It should be kept alive to serve our trade interests -- agricultural and industrial -- in many valuable ways during the existing wars.

At this critical time we should extend the trade agreements program for another limited period. I so recommend. This is no time to attempt to formulate the long-range tariff and commercial policy of this country.

The trade agreements already made have stimulated our exports; our imports, which have increased to a less degree, have injured no important industry and on the whole many thousands of American workers have been given employment which

~~otherwise they would not have had.~~

But what is more important, the trade agreements act should be ~~[illegible]~~ extended as an indispensable part of the foundation of any stable and durable peace.

The old conditions of world trade made for no enduring peace; and when the time comes the United States must use its influence to open up the trade channels of the world in order that no nation need feel compelled in later days to seek by force of arms what it can well gain by peaceful conference.

I emphasize ~~especially~~ the leadership which this nation can take when the time comes for a renewal of world peace. Such an influence will be greatly weakened if this government becomes a dog in the manger of trade selfishness.

The first President of the United States warned us against entangling foreign alliances. The ~~[illegible]~~ present President of the United States ~~prescribes~~ subscribes to and follows that precept.

But trade cooperation with the rest of the world ~~on our part~~ does not violate ~~so~~ that precept in any way.

Even as through these trade agreements we prepare to cooperate in a world that wants peace, we must likewise be prepared to take care of ourselves if the world cannot attain peace.

For several years past we have been compelled to strengthen our own national defense. That has created a very large portion of our Treasury deficits. This year in the light of continuing world uncertainty I am asking the Congress for Army and Navy increases which are based not on panic but on common sense. They are not as great as enthusiastic alarmists seek. They are not as small as unrealistic persons claiming superior private information would demand.

As will appear in the annual budget tomorrow, the only important increase in any part of the budget is the estimate for national defense. Practically all other important items show a reduction. Therefore, in the hope that we can continue in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit, I am asking the Congress to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national defense.

Behind the Army and Navy, of course, ~~as I pointed out in my last message,~~ lies the most important line of our defense - "the general welfare" of our people. We ~~do not need to~~ cannot report, ~~that~~ despite all the progress we have made in our domestic problems -- despite the fact that production ~~is~~ back to 1929 levels -- that all our problems are solved. The fact of unemployment of millions of men and women remains ~~the~~ a symptom ~~of some fundamental maladjustment~~ in our economic system which ~~we~~ as yet ~~we~~ have not solved.

While the number of the unemployed ~~now~~ has decreased, while their immediate needs for food and clothing ~~have~~ -- as far as the Federal Government is concerned -- have been ~~met~~ largely met, while their morale has been kept alive by giving them useful public work, we have not yet found a way to employ the surplus of our labor which the efficiency of our industrial processes has ~~produced~~ created. We have not yet found a way to bring private capital and unused man-power completely together; ~~and~~ We have not yet found a substitute to our liking for the European solution of using the unemployed ~~in building~~ to build up armies and navies and military supplies which eventually result in dictatorships. We still continue to try to find an American way -- through an increase of national income and continued encouragement to private enterprise

to take up the slack. Much progress has been made; much remains to be done. ~~But we are continually making progress in our analysis that unemployment is a symptom of other maladjustments and not a separate disease in itself.~~

~~And We have made strides in increasing recognition~~ We recognize that we must find an answer in terms of work and opportunity, ~~rather than in terms of resigned acceptance of the idle unemployed indefinitely.~~ ~~For~~ The unemployment problem today has become very definitely a problem of youth ~~rather than~~ as well as of age.

~~As our private industry picks up momentum it is re-hiring its former employees who had earlier lost their jobs. But proportionately it is doing much less to give employment to new inexperienced youth that has never had a job or a chance to begin a career.~~ As each year ~~of depression~~ has gone by hundreds of thousands of boys and girls have come of working age. They now form an army of unused youth. They must be an especial concern of democratic government, ~~for history teaches that in every other country their continued frustration has been the dynamic force on which un-American kinds of government have been founded.~~

Out

As will appear in the annual budget message, definite steps have been taken to improve the mechanics of the Administration of governmental affairs. Many millions of dollars have been saved and more savings will follow if the excellent spirit of service among the officers and employees of the many branches of the Federal Government can be maintained and strengthened.

In these later days almost all people who are charged with administrative responsibility believe that it is a duty of patriotism to do the best they can for the men and women they serve, regardless of what Party such men and women chance to belong to. Incidentally, this growing philosophy of service happens also to be the best philosophy of politics.

In this connection I trust that the Congress will give authority to extend the merit system to practically all positions in the Federal Service. There are many agencies of government today which have been exempted from the civil service by previous acts of the Congress. To all of them, except in the higher policy-making positions, the merit system regulations should be extended.

INSERT X

15

We must continue, above all things, to look for a solution of their special problem. For they ~~of old elements in the population are least to be soothed by lectures on incurable economic ills; and the last to need the~~ are entitled to action on our part looking ahead to life, and not merely admonitions of patience or lectures on technical laws.

Some ~~persons~~ in our midst, ~~including candidates for high public office~~, have ~~recently~~ sought to instill a feeling of fear and defeatism in the minds of the American people about this problem.

To face the ~~facts of the long~~ task of completing new ways to find jobs faster than invention can take them ~~today the~~ away -- is not defeatism. To warble easy platitudes that if we will only go back to ways that have failed everything will be all right -- is not courage.

We met a problem of real fear and real defeatism in 1933. ~~We beat it when~~ We faced the facts -- with action, not with words. Our American people pull best when they see how long the hill really is.

We have not yet found the way to adjust ourselves to a machine that has been growing more efficient by the labor of approximately a million men a year. And what we have done has helped the older workers of the community to get back their old jobs rather than create new jobs for the new young people who are coming up.

17

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~~That has been tried several~~ times before in the last seven years. ~~It failed then. It will fail again.~~ The American people will reject the doctrine of fear, confident that in the '30's we have been building soundly a new order of things different from the order of the '20's. In this dawn of the decade of the '40's, with our program of social reform ~~completed~~ started, we must continue to carry on the processes of recovery so as to preserve our reforms and provide jobs at living wages.

There are still frontiers in American life for the ~~youth~~ workers of the land. New industries lie ahead. Old industries need expansion, new methods, new capital.

Insert here

The American people, intent on preserving the American system of private capital and enterprise, expect private capital to reject the preachments of fear, as they themselves have done, in spite of privation and distress.

We must continue to search for new ways to encourage capital to come forward for these purposes, without in any way sacrificing the social safeguards set up in the last seven years.

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There are, of course, many other items of great public interest which could be enumerated in this message -- the continued conservation of our natural resources, the improvement of health and of education, the extension of social security to larger groups, the freeing of large areas from restricted transportation discriminations, the extension of the merit system and many others. Insert X +

We are consolidating the gains of recent years and we are studying how best to extend them in future years.

That is why, even though this be an election year, I feel that I can repeat what I said to the Congress on September 21, 1939:

> "Let no man or group in any walk of life assume exclusive protectorate over the future well-being of America -- because I conceive that regardless of Party or section, the mantle of peace and of patriotism is wide enough to cover us all..... These perilous days demand cooperation between us without trace of partisanship."

Overstatement, Bitterness, vituperation, ~~overstatement~~, and the beating of drums, have, ~~as we all know~~, contributed mightily to ill feeling and ~~to the outbreak of~~ wars ~~in Europe~~ between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful

INSERT X

~~-14-~~

As occasion requires I may send special messages to the Congress, ~~on these subjects~~. Our continued progress in the social and economic field ~~these~~ is important not only for ~~their inherent~~ the significance of each part taken but for the ~~incalculable~~ total effect which ~~the aggregate impact~~ ~~of~~ our program of ~~social~~ Homestic betterment has upon that most valuable asset of a nation in dangerous times -- ~~our~~ its national unity.

INSERT X

The permanent security of America in the present crisis does not lie in armed force alone. ~~The most dangerous deep-seated threat to our peace and well-being is not military.~~ What we face is a set of world-wide forces of disintegration, — vicious, ruthless, destructive of all the moral, religious and political standards which mankind, after centuries of struggle, has come to cherish most.

In these moral values, in these forces which have made our nation great, we must reassert our faith. What we must preserve above all else is a national spiritual unity, based on continued devotion to the eternal truths of civilization and of democracy.

These words — "national unity" — must not be allowed to become merely a high sounding phrase, a vague generality, a pious hope, to which everyone can give lip-service. They must be made to have real meaning in terms of the daily thoughts and acts of every man, woman and child in our land, during the coming year and the years that lie ahead.

For our national unity ~~is, in a very real and deep sense, the first [illegible] of political [illegible] [illegible]~~ the fundamental safeguard of all democracy. Where it broke down in Europe, disaster followed.

Doctrines which set group against group, religion against religion, race against race, class against class, fanning the fires of hatred in men too despondent, too desperate to think for themselves, were used as rabble-rousing slogans on which dictators could ride to power. And once in power they could saddle their tyrannies on whole nations, and on their weaker neighbors.

This is the danger to which we in America must begin to be more alert. For the advocates of foreign "isms," ~~through devious propaganda~~ as well as selfish and partisan groups at home, unworthily wrapping themselves in a false mantle of Americanism to promote their own economic, financial or political advantage, are now trying European tricks upon us, seeking to muddy the stream of our national thinking, weakening us in the face of danger by trying to set our own people to fighting among themselves. Such tactics are what have helped to plunge Europe into war. We must combat

them, as we would the plague, if American integrity and security are to be preserved. We cannot afford to face the future as a disunited people.

~~National Unity in this sense is not just a truism to be accepted thoughtlessly. It is a truism in which we must see the truth. And to see the truth of such a truism is the essence of wisdom.~~

~~Divisive forces must not prevail among us.~~ We must as a united people keep ablaze on this continent the flames of human liberty, of reason, of democracy and of fair play, as living things to be preserved for the better world that is to come.

****

It was no mistake that the framers of the Constitution brought together in one magnificent phrase three great concepts -- "common defense", "general welfare" and "domestic tranquillity".

in the international field, they are also harmful in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have some of the advantage of peace between us and other nations. And in the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore, of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world -- including the United States of America -- passes through perilous times, I am very certain that the closing session of the 76th Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with calmness tolerance and cooperation wisdom.

May the year 1940 be pointed to by our children as another period when democracy justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind.

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DRAFT 3

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 3, 1940.

It is important that in this annual message to the Congress its hearers and readers should in no way confuse its stressing of the importance of world affairs to us with any thought that our Government is forgetting all its abandoning domestic policies. Just as relations between Nations outside of the Americas need revamping if an orderly civilization is to return, just so is the successful future of the United States dependent on the continuation of the liberal approach to social needs if our own population and government is to be prevented from the disaster and destruction that would attend a return to conservative or reactionary times. Even if in the coming year we move forward slowly, moving forward is necessary.

This thought is well illustrated by recent history in other countries. It is unnecessary for me to name them but you are well aware that dictatorships have originated in almost every case by the necessity of taking drastic action to improve internal conditions where democratic action had failed because of internal dissension to live up to modern

needs and modern demands.

In previous messages to the Congress I have repeatedly urged that whether we liked it or not the daily lives of American citizens must, of necessity, feel the shock of events on other continents. This is no longer mere theory for it has been definitely proved by the facts of yesterday and today.

To say that the internal well-being of one hundred and thirty million Americans is largely affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is only the extension of the rule recognized by all of us in its application to smaller units within the world itself.

With the framers of the Constitution of the United States we, more than a century and a half later, are dedicated to that magnificent phrase "general welfare and domestic tranquility.

If lack of opportunity, poverty, lawlessness, strong-armed methods and crime exist in even a small section of any city in our own land, other portions of that city, even

the avenues of costly homes and the boulevards of respectable suburbs will sooner or later feel the blight in a hundred ways.

If in some of the cities or counties or any state, indecent living and working conditions are permitted to continue, the standards of the rest of the state will eventually be dragged down. We cannot stop the process by euphemistically glossing over their misfortune by merely calling them "backward" or "lawless communities".

If any region of the Nation as a whole is filled with unrest, permits the standards of a low standard of living, or fails to maintain its health or its education, the level of the civilization of the entire nation will be pulled downward.

This principle applies to a community, to a state and to a nation; the identical principle extends to the rest of a civilized world. Those who still deny it, in innocence or ignorance or both presuppose that the United States of America as a self-contained unit can live happily and prosperously, its future secure inside a high wall of isolation while outside the rest of civilization and the commerce and

culture of mankind disintegrates into contesting atoms.

I myself can understand in full measure the natural expression of those who oversimplify the whole situation by repeating that all we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the Nation out of war. Go back to the analogy of cities and states within our own borders. If local conditions in some places are so bad that they drag the Nation down, most certainly we do not have to go to war -- to wage a civil war -- to correct them; but the least we can do is to get together nationally to try to correct them. So it is in the wider field. We do not have to go to war with other nations but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will better assuage the troubles of the world and by so doing help our own Nation as well.

Likewise I can understand the feelings of those who warn the Nation that they will never again consent to sending American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But I remember that nobody has asked them to consent -- for nobody expects such an undertaking.

DRAFT 3 ****

What I do ask is that all of us everywhere think things through with the single thought of how best to serve the future of our own Nation. I do not mean merely its future relationship with the outside world. I mean its domestic future as well — the work, the security, the prosperity, the happiness, the life of all the boys and girls of the United States.

Already the crash of swiftly moving events all over the earth has made us all think more clearly. The time is long past when any political party or any particular group can curry public favor by labeling itself the "peace party" or the "peace bloc". That label belongs to the whole United States and to every right thinking man, woman and child within it.

For out of all the military and diplomatic turmoil, out of all the propaganda and counter-propaganda of the present conflict there are two facts which stand out and which the whole world acknowledges. The first is that never before has the Government of the United States accomplished so much

in establishing and maintaining the policy of the Good Neighbor with its sister nations than in our recent past. The second is that in almost every nation in the world today there is a true public belief that the United States has been and will continue to be a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace.

In these recent years we have had a clean and clear record of peace and good will. It is an open book that cannot be twisted or defamed. It is a record that must be continued and enlarged.

I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the several alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

I hope that though we are a very great and a very powerful nation we will consider the possibilities to our children if the rest of the world comes to be dominated by force alone.

I hope we will work out for ourselves the effect on our own future if small nations throughout the world have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to powerful military systems.

I hope we will work out for ourselves what will happen to our children if a large part of the rest of the world is compelled to worship the God imposed by a military ruler or is forbidden to worship God at all; if they are forbidden to learn the facts from their newspapers and radio and if they are daily deprived of the truth which makes men free.

I hope we will work out for ourselves how indispensable to our national defense, in these perilous days, is our national unity. For there are abroad in the world the malignant results which have come from the preachments of hate and from the struggles between races and classes and groups in other lands — struggles which have destroyed the moral fibre of whole nations and have made them enemies of mankind.

I hope we will work out for ourselves the effect on our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military or naval force.

It is, of course, true that in past centuries the record shows the destruction of small nations, the enslavement of peoples and the building of empires on the

foundation of force. But the tendency of later generations has been away from this and we hope that the results of these newer wars will strengthen the trend toward the ideal of live and let live. Wholly apart from the greater international morality which we all seek, we recognize the practical necessity of avoiding going back to the wars and conquests of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Summing up, in words of common sense and good American citizenship, I hope that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. It is not good for the ultimate health of ostriches to bury their heads in the sand.

The overwhleming majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expenctation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war. This of course does not prevent them from comprehending the possible effects on this nation as the wars proceed, and when the final day for ending the wars comes.

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Bitterness, vituperation, overstatement, and the beating of drums, have, as we all know, contributed mightily to ill feeling and to the out break of wars in intercourse between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful

in the international field, they are also harmful in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have some of the advantage of peace between us and other nations. And ih the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore, of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world -- including the United States of America -- passers through parlous times, I am very certain that the closing session of the 76th Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with tolerance and with collective wisdom.

May the year 1940 be pointed to by our children as another period when democracy justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind.

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Draft # 3 -

SUBSTITUTE A -1-

As the Congress assembles again the excitement of wars abroad makes it natural to approach the state of the union through a discussion of foreign affairs. But it is important that those who hear and read this message should in no way confuse that approach with any thought that our government is abandoning, or even overlooking, the great significance of its domestic policies. ~~For, as we strain through the dark, the outlines of a bigger picture than the mere fact of war abroad become every day more and more clear.~~

A

The ~~fundamental~~ social and economic causes which have been mismanaged abroad until they have resulted ~~in war~~ in revolution in dictatorships and in war are the same fundamental ~~changes~~ factors with which we are here struggling to ~~solve~~ solve peaceful, ~~solutions of what fortunately remain for us only domestic problems~~ at home.

You are well aware that dictatorships -- and the consequences of the philosophy of force which justify and accompany dictatorships -- have originated in almost every case ~~by~~ in the necessity ~~of taking~~ for drastic action to improve internal conditions where democratic action has for one reason or another failed to live up to modern needs and modern demands.

DRAFT 3 MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 3, 1940.

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This thought is well illustrated by recent history in other countries. It is unnecessary for me to name them. but you are well aware from the recent history of other countries we have learned that dictatorships have originated in almost every case by the necessity of taking drastic action to improve internal conditions where democratic action had failed because of internal dissension to live up to modern

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Substitute p. 2 as follows.

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In previous messages to the Congress I have repeatedly urged that, whether we liked it or not, the daily lives of American citizens must, of necessity, feel the shock of events taking place on other continents. This is no longer mere theory, ~~for~~ it has been definitely proved by the facts of yesterday and today.

suggest cut to p. 3 "Mutual Ills"

To say that the internal well-being of one hundred and thirty million Americans is largely affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is only the extension of the rule recognized by all of us in its application to our own domestic smaller units within the world itself. profoundly affect each other.

With the framers of the Constitution of the United States we, more than a century and a half later, still believe that our ~~are dedicated~~ best defense rests on the foundation of our ~~to that magnificent phrase~~ "general welfare and domestic tranquility.

If lack of opportunity, poverty, lawlessness, strong-armed methods and crime exist in even a small section of any city in our own land, other portions of that city, even

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the avenues of costly homes and the boulevards of respectable suburbs will sooner or later feel the blight in a hundred ways.

If in some of the cities or counties or any state, indecent living and working conditions are permitted to continue, the standards of the rest of the state will eventually be dragged down. We cannot stop the process by euphemistically glossing over their misfortune by merely calling them "backward" or "lawless communities".

If any region of a state or the Nation as a whole is filled with unrest, or permits ~~the standards of~~ a low standard of living, or fails to maintain its health or its education, the level of the civilization of the entire state or nation will be pulled downward.

This principle applies to a community, to a state and to a nation; the identical principle extends to the rest of a civilized world. Those who still deny it, in innocence or ignorance or both, presuppose that the United States of America, as a self-contained unit, can live happily and prosperously, its future secure, inside a high wall of isolation, while outside the rest of civilization and the commerce and

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culture of mankind disintegrates into contesting atoms.

I myself can understand in full measure the natural expression of those who oversimplify the whole situation by repeating that all we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the Nation out of war. Insert B Go back to the analogy of cities and states within our own borders. If local conditions in some places are so bad that they drag the Nation down, most certainly we do not have to go to war — to wage a civil war — to correct them; but at least we can think about them realistically and seize every opportunity to ~~do it to~~ get together nationally to try to correct them. So it is in the wider field. We do not have to go to war with other nations; Insert C but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will better assuage the troubles of the world and by so doing help our own Nation as well.

~~Likewise~~ I can understand the feelings of those who warn the Nation that they will never again consent to sending American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But, as I remember that nobody has asked them to consent — for nobody expects such an undertaking.

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What I do ask is that all of us everywhere think things through with the single thought of how best to serve the future of our own Nation. I do not mean merely its future relationship with the outside world. I mean its domestic future as well — the work, the security, the prosperity, the happiness, the life of all the boys and girls of the United States.— as all these things will be affected by such relationships.

Already the crash of swiftly moving events all over the earth has made us all think more clearly. Insert D The time is long past when any political party or any particular group can curry public favor by labeling itself the "peace party" or the "peace bloc". That label belongs to the whole United States and to every right thinking man, woman and child within it.

For out of all the military and diplomatic turmoil, out of all the propaganda and counter-propaganda of the present conflict, there are two facts which stand out, and which the whole world acknowledges. The first is that never before has the Government of the United States done so much to

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in establishing and maintaining the policy of the Good Neighbor with its sister nations than in our recent past. The second is that in almost every nation in the world today there is a true public belief that the United States has been and will continue to be a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace.

In these recent years we have had a clean and clear record of peace and good will. It is an open book that cannot be twisted or defamed. It is a record that must be continued and enlarged. Transpose from p. 7. (A) & as we think through what our interest is in the cause of world peace, I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the several alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

I hope that though we are now a very great and a very powerful nation we will consider the possibilities to our children if the rest of the world comes to be dominated by force alone.

I hope we will work out for ourselves the effect on our own future if all the small nations throughout the world (E) have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to powerful military systems.

Take from p. 7 (B)

DRAFT 3 - 6 - Insert

I hope we will work out for ourselves what will happen to our children if a large part of the rest of the world is compelled to worship the God imposed by a military ruler, or is forbidden to worship God at all; if they are forbidden to learn the facts from their newspapers and radio, and if they are daily deprived of the truth which makes men free; the kind of life our children will have to lead

Insert from p.8

I hope we will work out for ourselves how indispensable to our national defense, in these perilous days, is our national unity. For there are abroad in the world the malignant results which have come from the preachments of hate and from the struggles between races and classes and groups in other lands -- struggles which have destroyed the moral fibre of whole nations and have made them enemies of mankind.

I hope we will work out for ourselves the effect on our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military or naval force.

It is, of course, true that in past centuries ~~the record~~ history shows the destruction of small nations, the enslavement of peoples, and the building of empires on the

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foundation of force. But the tendency of later generations has been away from this, and we hope that the results of these newer wars will strengthen the trend toward the ideal of live-and-let-live. Wholly apart from the greater international morality which we all seek, we recognize the practical necessity of avoiding going back to the wars and conquests of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Summing up, in words of common sense and good American citizenship, I hope that we will have fewer Americans ostriches in our midst. It is not good for the ultimate health of ostriches to bury their heads in the sand.

The overwhelming majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war. This of course does not prevent them from comprehending the possible effects on this nation as the wars proceed, and when the final day for ending the wars comes.

For they know that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in -- even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force in the hands of a few.

They cannot look upon these wars, therefore, through the eyes of those persons who speak of the conflicts with cynicism or ridicule. Of course, the peoples of other nations have the right to choose their own form of government. But we in this nation still believe that such choice should be predicated on certain freedoms which we think are essential everywhere. We know that we ourselves will never be wholly safe unless other governments are run that way.

Twentyone American Republics, expressing the will of 250 million people to preserve peace and freedom in this Hemisphere are displaying a unanimity of ideals and practical relationships which gives hope that what is being done here can be done on other continents. We in all the Americas are coming to the realization that we can retain our respective nationalities without, at the same time, threatening the national existence of our neighbors.

Such relationships, for example, permit us to follow our own domestic policies with reference to our agricultural products while at the same time, because of our truly friendly relations with other nations, we have the privilege of working out with them mutual assistance arrangements for a world dis-

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tribution of world agricultural surpluses.

And we have been able to apply the same simple principle to many manufactured products — surpluses of which must be sold in the world export markets if we would continue a high level of production and employment.

For many years after the World War blind economic selfishness in most countries, including our own, resulted in a destructive mine-field of trade restrictions which hopelessly blocked the channels of commerce among nations. This policy was one of the contributing causes to existing wars. It dammed up vast unsaleable surpluses, helping to bring about unemployment and suffering in the United States and everywhere else.

To break up the log-jam the trade agreements act was passed. It was based upon a policy of equality of treatment among nations and of mutually profitable arrangements of trade.

It is not correct to infer that legislative powers have been transferred from the Congress to the executive branch of the government. Few people are proud of former tariff-making processes — the lobbying, the log-rolling, the political processes, resulting in exhorbitatn schedules which so often were, in effect,

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not tariffs at all but actual embargos — legalized monopolies which give employment to so few people that they could not be justified in any degree as improving the general economic picture. Everybody recognizes that general tariff legislation is a congressional function, but we know that because of the stupendous task involved in the fashioning and passing of such a law that it is advisable to provide at times of emergency some flexibility to make the general law adjustable to emergency conditions. We are in such a time today. Our present trade agreement method provides a temporary flexibility and is therefore practical in the best sense. It should be kept alive to serve our trade interests — agricultural and industrial — in many valuable ways during the existing wars.

At this critical time we should extend the trade agreements program for another limited period. I so recommend. This is no time to attempt to formulate the long-range tariff and commercial policy of this country.

The trade agreements already made have stimulated our exports; our imports, which have increased to a less degree, have injured no important industry and on the whole, many thousands of American workers have been given employment which

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otherwise they would not have had.

But what is more important, the trade agreements act should be kept alive as an indispensable part of the foundation of any stable and durable peace.

The old conditions of world trade made for no enduring peace; and when the time comes the United States must use its influence to open up the trade channels of the world in order that no nation need feel compelled in later days to seek by force of arms what it can well gain by peaceful conference.

I emphasize especially the leadership which this nation can take when the time comes for a renewal of world peace. Such an influence will be greatly weakened if this government becomes a dog in the manger of trade selfishness.

The first President of the United States warned us against entangling foreign alliances. The thirtyfirst President of the United States ~~prescribes~~ subscribed to and follows that precept.

~~But~~ Trade cooperation with the rest of the world on our part does not violate ~~it~~ that precept in any way.

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But just as through these trade agreements we prepare to cooperate in a world that wants peace, we must likewise be prepared to take care of ourselves if the world does not want peace.

For several years past we were compelled to begin the strengthening of our own national defense. Thereby a very large portion of Treasury deficits have been created. This year in the light of continuing world uncertainty, I am asking the Congress for Army and Navy increases, which are based not on panic but on common sense. They are not as great as enthusiastic alarmists seek. They are not as small as unrealistic persons, claiming superior private information, would demand.

As will appear in the presentation of the annual budget tomorrow, the only important increase in any part of the budget is the estimate of national defense. Practically all other important items show a reduction. Therefore, in the hope that we can continue in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit, I am asking the Congress to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national defense.

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As will appear in the annual budget message, definite steps have been taken to improve the mechanics of the Administration of governmental affairs. Many millions of dollars have been saved and more savings will follow if the excellent spirit of service among the officers and employees of the many branches of the Federal Government can be maintained and strengthened.

In these later days almost all people who are charged with administrative responsibility believe that it is a duty of patriotism to do the best they can for the men and women they serve, regardless of what Party such men and women chance to belong to. Incidentally, this growing philosophy of service happens also to be the best philosophy of politics.

In this connection I trust that the Congress will give authority to extend the merit system to practically all positions in the Federal Service. There are many agencies of government today which have been exempted from the civil service by previous acts of the Congress. To all of them, except in the higher policy-making positions, the merit system regulations should be extended.

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There are, of course, many other items of great public interest which could be enumerated in this message — the continued conservation of our natural resources, the improvement of health and of education, the extension of social security to larger groups, the freeing of large areas from restricted transportation discriminations, the extension of the merit system and mahy others. Insert I and X

We are consolidating the gains of recent years and we are studying how best to extend them in future years.

That is why, even though this be an election year, I feel that I can repeat what I said to the Congress on September 21, 1939:

> "Let no man or group in any walk of life assume exclusive protectorate over the future well-being of America -- because I conceive that regardless of Party or section, the mantle of peace and of patriotism is wide enough to cover us all..... These perilous days demand cooperation between us without trace of partisanship."

Bitterness, vituperation, overstatement, and the beating of drums, have, as we all know, contributed mightily to ill feeling and to the outbreak of wars in intercourse between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful

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in the international field, they are also harmful in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have some of the advantage of peace between us and other nations. And in the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore, of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world -- including the United States of America -- passes through parlous times, I am very certain that the closing session of the 76th Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with tolerance and ~~with~~ collective wisdom.

May the year 1940 be pointed to by our children as another period when democracy justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind.

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DRAFT #4

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 3, 1940

As the Congress re-assembles [redacted], the [redacted] impact of wars abroad makes it natural to approach "the state of the union" through a discussion of foreign affairs. But it is important that those who hear and read this message should in no way confuse that approach with any thought that our government is abandoning, or even overlooking, the great significance of its domestic policies. For certain human fundamentals affecting the future of the young and old in the United States constitute our present problem and will continue to do so after wars abroad have ceased.

The social and economic [redacted] forces which have been mismanaged abroad until they have resulted in revolution, [redacted] dictatorship and [redacted] war are the same [redacted] as those [redacted] which we [redacted] are here struggling to [redacted] avoid peacefully at home.

You are well aware that dictatorships -- and the [redacted] philosophy of force which justifies [redacted] and accompanies [redacted] dictatorships -- have originated in almost every

case in the necessity for drastic action to improve internal conditions where democratic action for one reason or another has failed to respond to modern needs and modern demands.

It was with far sighted wisdom that the framers of the Constitution brought together in one magnificent phrase three great concepts -- "common defense", "general welfare" and "domestic tranquillity". More than a century and a half later we still believe with them that our best defense is the promotion of our general welfare and domestic tranquillity.

In previous messages to the Congress I have repeatedly warned that whether we like it or not the daily lives of American citizens will, of necessity, feel the shock of events on other continents. This is no longer mere theory for it has been definitely proved by the facts of yesterday and today.

To say that the domestic well-being of one hundred and thirty million Americans is deeply affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is only to recognize in world affairs the truth we all accept in home affairs.

If lack of opportunity, poverty, lawlessness, strong-arm methods and crime exist in even a small section of any city in our own land, other portions of that city, even the avenues of costly homes and the boulevards of ~~[illegible]~~ prosperous suburbs will sooner or later feel the blight in a hundred ways.

If in any ~~larger~~ local unit -- a county, city, ~~[illegible]~~ state or ~~[illegible]~~ region -- ~~indecent living and working conditions or~~ low standards of ~~health and education~~ living are permitted to continue, the level of the civilization of the entire nation will be pulled downward.

The identical principle extends to the rest of a civilized world. But there are those who ~~still deny it~~, wishfully insist, in innocence or ignorance or both, ~~presuppose~~ that the United States of America as a self-contained unit can live happily and prosperously, its future secure inside a high wall of isolation while, outside, the rest of civilization and the commerce and culture of mankind ~~disintegrate into shattering atoms~~ are shattered.

I can understand the feelings of those who warn the nation that they will never again consent to the sending of American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But, as I remember, nobody has asked them to consent -- for nobody expects such an undertaking.

The overwhelming majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war.

I [redacted] can also understand [redacted] the wishfulness [redacted] of those who oversimplify the whole situation by repeating that all we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the nation out of war. But there is a vast difference between keeping out of war and pretending that this war is none of our business. [redacted] of cities and [redacted] within our own borders. [redacted] local conditions in some places [redacted] drag the nation down, [redacted] we are in the process of correcting them peacefully, and we intend to continue that process in coming years. That in the broadest national sense will be the underlying issue in coming elections.

[redacted]. We do not have to go to war with other nations but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will lighten the troubles of the world and by so doing help our own nation as well.

[redacted] ask [redacted] that all of us everywhere think things through with the single [redacted] of how best to serve the future of our own nation. I do not mean merely its future relationship with the outside world. I mean its domestic future as well -- the work, the security, the prosperity, the happiness, the life of all the boys and girls of the United States, as they are inevitably affected by such world relationships. For it becomes clearer and clearer that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in -- even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force in the hands of a few.

Already the crash of swiftly moving events over the earth has made us all think with a longer view. Fortunately, that thinking cannot be controlled by partisanship. The time is long past when any political party or any particular group can curry and capture public favor by labeling itself the "peace party" or the "peace bloc". That label belongs to the whole United States and to every right thinking man, woman and child within it.

For out of all the military and diplomatic turmoil, out of all the propaganda and counter-propaganda of the present conflicts, there are two facts which stand out and

which the whole world acknowledges. The first is that never before has the Government of the United States done so much to establish and maintain the policy of the Good Neighbor with its sister nations as in our recent past.

The second is that in almost every nation in the world today there is a true public belief that the United States has been and will continue to be a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace.

In these recent years we have had a clean record of peace and good-will. It is an open book that cannot be twisted or defamed. It is a record that must be continued and enlarged.

So I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the several alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

We must look ahead and see the possibilities for our children if the rest of the world comes to be dominated by concentrated force alone -- even though today we are a very great and a very powerful nation.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our own future if all the small nations throughout the world have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to relatively vast and powerful military systems.

We must look ahead and see the kind of lives our children would have to lead if a large part of the rest of the world were compelled to worship the god imposed by a military ruler, or were forbidden to worship God at all; if the rest of the world were forbidden to read and hear the facts -- the daily news of their own and other nations -- if they were deprived of the truth which makes men free.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military force.

It is, of course, true that the record of past centuries includes destruction of small nations, enslavement of peoples, and building of empires on the foundation of force. But wholly apart from the greater international morality which we seek today, we recognize the practical fact that with modern weapons and modern conditions, modern man can no longer live a civilized life if we are to go back to the practice of wars and conquests of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

Summing up this need of looking ahead, and in words of common sense and good American citizenship, I hope that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. It is not good

for the ultimate health of ostriches to bury their heads in the sand.

Only an ostrich would look upon these wars through the eyes of cynicism or ridicule.

Of course, the peoples of other nations have the right to choose their own form of government. But we in this nation still believe that such choice should be predicated on certain freedoms which we think are essential everywhere. We know that we ourselves will never be wholly safe at home unless other governments recognize such freedoms.

Twenty-one American Republics, expressing the will of two hundred and fifty million people to preserve peace and freedom in this Hemisphere are displaying a unanimity of ideals and practical relationships which gives hope that what is being done here can be done on other continents. We in all the Americas are coming to the realization that we can retain our respective nationalities without, at the same time, threatening the national existence of our neighbors.

Such truly friendly relationships, for example, permit us to follow our own domestic policies with reference to our agricultural products while at the same time, ~~because of our truly friendly~~

~~relations with other nations~~, we have the privilege of trying to work out ~~with them~~ mutual assistance arrangements for a world distribution of world agricultural surpluses.

And we have been able to apply the same simple principle to many manufactured products -- surpluses of which must be sold in the world export markets if we would continue a high level of production and employment.

For many years after the World War blind economic selfishness in most countries, including our own, resulted in a destructive mine-field of trade restrictions which blocked the channels of commerce among nations. This policy was one of the contributing causes of existing wars. It dammed up vast unsaleable surpluses, helping to bring about unemployment and suffering in the United States and everywhere else.

To point the way to break up the log-jam our trade agreements act was passed -- based upon a policy of equality of treatment among nations and of mutually profitable arrangements of trade.

It is not correct to infer that legislative powers have been transferred from the Congress to the Executive Branch of the government. Everybody recognizes that general

tariff legislation is a Congressional function, but we know that, because of the stupendous task involved in the fashioning and passing of a general law, it is advisable to provide at times of emergency some flexibility to make the general law adjustable to quickly changing conditions.

We are in such a time today. Our present trade agreement method provides a temporary flexibility and is, therefore, practical in the best sense. It should be kept alive to serve our trade interests -- agricultural and industrial -- in many valuable ways during the existing wars.

But what is more important, the trade agreements act should be extended as an indispensable part of the foundation of any stable and durable peace.

The old conditions of world trade made for no enduring peace; and when the time comes the United States must use its influence to open up the trade channels of the world in order that no nation need feel compelled in later days to seek by force of arms what it can well gain by peaceful conference.

I emphasize the leadership which this nation can take when the time comes for a renewal of world peace. Such an influence will be greatly weakened if this government becomes a dog in the manger of trade selfishness.

The purpose we need the trade agreements act today is to make these wars, if possible, peaceful.

The first President of the United States warned us against entangling foreign alliances. The present President of the United States subscribes to and follows that precept.

But trade cooperation with the rest of the world does not violate that precept in any way.

Even as through these trade agreements we prepare to cooperate in a world that wants peace, we must likewise be prepared to take care of ourselves if the world cannot attain peace.

For several years past we have been compelled to strengthen our own national defense. That has created a very large portion of our Treasury deficits. This year in the light of continuing world uncertainty I am asking the Congress for Army and Navy increases which are based not on panic but on common sense. They are not as great as enthusiastic alarmists seek. They are not as small as unrealistic persons claiming superior private information would demand.

As will appear in the annual budget tomorrow, the only important increase in any part of the budget is the estimate for national defense. Practically all other important items show a reduction. Therefore, in the hope that we can

continue in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit, I am asking the Congress to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national defense.

Behind the Army and Navy, of course, lies ~~the most important~~ our ultimate line of ~~our~~ defense -- "the general welfare" of our people. We cannot report, despite all the progress we have made in our domestic problems -- despite the fact that production is back to 1929 levels -- that all our problems are solved. The fact of unemployment of millions of men and women remains a symptom of a number of difficulties in our economic system ~~which as yet~~ not yet adjusted. ~~we have not solved~~.

While the number of the unemployed has decreased, while their immediate needs for food and clothing -- as far as the Federal Government is concerned -- have been largely met, while their morale has been kept alive by giving them useful public work, we have not yet found a way to employ the surplus of our labor which the efficiency of our industrial processes has created. ~~We have not yet found a way to bring private capital and unused man-power completely together~~.

W We refuse ~~have not yet found a substitute to our liking for~~ the European solution of using the unemployed to build up ~~armies~~ expansion ~~and navies and military~~ armaments ~~supplies~~ which eventually result in dictatorships. We ~~still continue to try to find~~ increasingly an American way -- through an increase of national income ~~and continued~~ which is the only way we can be sure will ~~encouragement to private enterprise to~~ take up the slack. Much progress has been made; much remains to be done.

We recognize that we must find an answer in terms of work and opportunity.

The unemployment problem today has become very definitely a problem of youth as well as of age. As each year has gone by hundreds of thousands of boys and girls have come of working age. They now form an army of unused youth. They must be an especial concern of democratic government.

We must continue, above all things, to look for a solution of their special problem. For they, looking ahead to life, are entitled to action on our part and not merely to admonitions of ~~patience~~ optimism or lectures on economic laws.

Some in our midst have sought to instill a feeling of fear and defeatism in the minds of the American people about this problem.

To face the task of ~~completing new ways to find~~ finding jobs faster than invention can take them away -- is not defeatism. To warble easy platitudes that if we will only go back to ways that have failed, everything will be all right -- is not courage.

We met a problem of real fear and real defeatism in 1933. We faced the facts -- with action, not with words. ~~Our American people pull best when they see how long the hill really is.~~

The American people will reject the doctrine of fear, confident that in the '30's we have been building soundly a new order of things different from the order of the '20's. In this dawn of the decade of the '40's, with our program of social ~~reform~~ improvement started, we must continue to carry on the processes of recovery so as to preserve our ~~reforms~~ gains and provide jobs at living wages.

There are, of course, many other items of great public interest which could be enumerated in this message -- the continued conservation of our natural resources, the improvement of health and of education, the extension of social security to larger groups, the freeing of large areas from restricted transportation discriminations, the extension of the merit system and many others.

~~As occasion requires I may send special messages to the Congress~~. Our continued progress in the social and economic field is important not only for the significance of each part of it but for the total effect which our program of domestic betterment has upon that most valuable asset of a nation in dangerous times -- its national unity.

The permanent security of America in the present crisis does not lie in armed force alone. What we face is a set of world-wide forces of disintegration -- vicious, ruthless, destructive of all the moral, religious and political standards which mankind, after centuries of struggle, has come to cherish most.

In these moral values, in these forces which have made our nation great, we must actively and gratefully reassert our faith. ~~What we must preserve above all else is a national spiritual unity, based on continued devotion to the eternal truths of civilization and of democracy~~.

These words -- "national unity" -- must not be allowed to become merely a high sounding phrase, a vague generality, a pious hope, to which everyone can give lip-service. They must be made to have real meaning in terms of the daily thoughts and acts of every man, woman and child in our land

during the coming year and the years that lie ahead.

For ~~any~~ national unity is, in a very real and deep sense, the fundamental safeguard of all democracy. ~~Where it broke down in Europe, disaster followed.~~

Doctrines which set group against group, ~~religion~~ faith against ~~religion~~ faith, race against race, class against class, fanning the fires of hatred in men too despondent, too desperate to think for themselves, were used as rabble-rousing slogans on which dictators could ride to power. And once in power they could saddle their tyrannies on whole nations, and on their weaker neighbors.

This is the danger to which we in America must begin to be more alert. For the ~~advocates of foreign "firms"~~ apologists for foreign aggressors, ~~and~~ ~~well-~~ Typically those selfish and partisan groups at home, who unworthily wrap~~ped~~ themselves in a false mantle of Americanism to promote their own economic, financial or political advantage, are now trying European tricks upon us, seeking to muddy the stream of our national thinking, weakening us in the face of danger, by trying to set our own people to fighting among themselves. Such tactics are what have helped to plunge Europe into war. We must combat them, as we would

the plague, if American integrity and security are to be preserved. We cannot afford to face the future as a disunited people.

We must as a united people keep ablaze on this continent the flames of human liberty, of reason, of democracy and of fair play as living things to be preserved for the better world that is to come.

Overstatement, bitterness, vituperation, and the beating of drums, have contributed mightily to ill-feeling and wars between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful in the international field, they are also hurtful in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have some of the advantage of peace between us and other nations. And in the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore, of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world -- including the United States of America -- passes through perilous times, I am very hopeful that the closing session of the Seventh-Sixth Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with calmness, tolerance and cooperative wisdom.

May the year 1940 be pointed to by our children as another period when democracy justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind.

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DRAFT #4

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 6, 1940

As the Congress assembles ~~again~~, the ~~excitement~~ unrest of wars abroad makes it natural to approach "the state of the union" through a discussion of foreign affairs. But it is important that those who hear and read this message should in no way confuse that approach with any thought that our government is abandoning, or even overlooking, the great significance of its domestic policies. [For certain human fundamentals affecting the future of the young and old in the United States constitute our present problem and will continue to do so after wars abroad have ceased.]

The social and economic causes which have been mismanaged abroad until they have resulted in revolution, in dictatorship and in war are the same fundamental factors with which we are here struggling to solve peacefully at home.

You are well aware that dictatorships -- and the consequences of the philosophy of force which justify and accompany dictatorships -- have originated in almost every

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case in the necessity for drastic action to improve internal conditions where democratic action has for one reason or another failed to live up to modern needs and modern demands.

It was no mistake that the framers of the Constitution brought together in one magnificent phrase three great concepts -- "common defense", "general welfare" and "domestic tranquillity".

With the framers of the Constitution of the United States we, more than a century and h half later, still believe that our best defense is the promotion of our general welfare and domestic tranquillity.

In previous messages to the Congress I have repeatedly urged that whether we liked it or not the daily lives of American citizens must, of necessity, feel the shock of events on other continents. This is no longer mere theory for it has been definitely proved by the facts of yesterday and today.

To say that the internal well-being of one hundred and thirty million Americans is largely affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is only to extend the rule recognized by all of us in its application to local or national affairs.

to recognize in ~~international~~ affairs, the truth we all accept in ~~local or national~~ home affairs.

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If lack of opportunity, poverty, lawlessness, strong-arm methods and crime exist in even a small section of any city in our own land, other portions of that city, even the avenues of costly homes and the boulevards of respectable suburbs will sooner or later feel the blight in a hundred ways.

If in any larger unit -- county, ~~or a~~ state, or region -- ~~indecent living and working conditions or~~ low standards of ~~health and eduction~~ are permitted to continue, the level of the civilization of the entire nation will be pulled downward.

The identical principle extends to the rest of a civilized world. Those who still deny it, in innocence or ignorance or both, presuppose that the United States of America as a self-contained unit can live happily and prosperously, its future secure inside a high wall of isolation while, outside, the rest of civilization and the commerce and culture of mankind disintegrate into shattering ~~atoms~~.

I can understand the feelings of those who warn the nation that they will never again consent to the sending of American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But, as I remember, nobody has asked them to consent -- for nobody expects such an undertaking.

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The overwhelming majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war.

I myself can also understand in full measure the natural expression of those who oversimplify the whole situation by repeating that all we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the nation out of war. But there is a vast difference between keeping out of war and pretending that this war is none of our business. Go back to the analogy of cities and states within our own borders. If local conditions in some places are so bad that they drag the nation down, most certainly we do not have to take up arms to correct them; we are in the process of correcting them peacefully, and we intend to continue that process in coming years. That in the broadest national sense will be the underlying issue in coming elections.

So it is in the wider field. We do not have to go to war with other nations but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will lighten the troubles of the world and by so doing help our own nation as well.

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What I do ask is that all of us everywhere think things through with the single ~~thought~~ aim of how best to serve the future of our own nation. I do not mean merely its future relationship with the outside world. I mean its domestic future as well — the work, the security, the prosperity, the happiness, the life of all the boys and girls of the United States, as they are inevitably affected by such world relationships. For it becomes clearer and clearer that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in -- even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force in the hands of a few.

Already the crash of swiftly moving events over the earth has made us all think with a longer view. Fortunately, that thinking cannot be controlled by partisanship. The time is long past when any political party or any particular group can curry public favor by labeling itself the "peace party" or the "peace bloc". That label belongs to the whole United States and to every right thinking man, woman and child within it.

For out of all the military and diplomatic turmoil, out of all the propaganda and counter-propaganda of the present conflicts, there are two facts which stand out and

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which the whole world acknowledges. The first is that never before has the Government of the United States done so much to establish and maintain the policy of the Good Neighbor with its sister nations as in our recent past.

The second is that in almost every nation in the world today there is a true public belief that the United States has been and will continue to be a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace.

In these recent years we have had a clean record of peace and good-will. It is an open book that cannot be twisted or defamed. It is a record that must be continued and enlarged.

So I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the several alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

We must look ahead and see the possibilities for our children if the rest of the world comes to be dominated by concentrated force along -- even though today we are a very great and a very powerful nation.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our own future if all the small nations throughout the world have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to relatively vast and powerful military systems.

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We must look ahead and see the kind of lives our children would have to lead if a large part of the rest of the world were compelled to worship the god imposed by a military ruler, or were forbidden to worship God at all; if they were forbidden to read and hear the facts -- the daily news of their own and other nations -- if they were deprived of the truth which makes men free.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or ggroup of nations which sets up that control through military or naval force.

It is, of course, true that the record of past centuries includes destruction of small nations, enslavement of peoples, and building of empires on the foundation of force. But wholly apart from the greater international morality which we seek today, we recognize the practical fact that with modern weapons and modern conditions, modern man can no longer live a civilized life if we are to go back to the practice of wars and conquests of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

Summing up this need of looking ahead, and in words of common sense and good American citizenship, I hope that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. It is not good

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for the ultimate health of ostriches to bury their heads in the sand.

Only an ostrich would look upon these wars through the eyes of cynicism or ridicule.

Of course, the peoples of other nations have the right to choose their own form of government. But we in this nation still believe that such choice should be predicated on certain freedoms which we think are essential everywhere. We know that we ourselves will never be wholly safe at home unless other governments recognize such freedoms.

Twenty-one American Republics, expressing the will of two hundred and fifty million people to preserve peace and freedom in this Hemisphere are displaying a unanimity of ideals and practical relationships which gives hope that what is being done here can be done on other continents. We in all the Americas are coming to the realization that we can retain our respective nationalities without, at the same time, threatening the national existence of our neighbors.

Such relationships, for example, permit us to follow our own domestic policies with reference to our agricultural products while at the same time, ~~because of our~~ truly friendly

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relations with other nations, we have the privilege of working out with them mutual assistance arrangements for a world distribution of world agricultural surpluses.

And we have been able to apply the same simple principle to many manufactured products -- surpluses of which must be sold in the world export markets if we would continue a high level of production and employment.

For many years after the World War blind economic selfishness in most countries, including our own, resulted in a destructive mine-field of trade restrictions which blocked the channels of commerce among nations. This policy was one of the contributing causes to existing wars. It dammed up vast unsaleable surpluses, helping to bring about unemployment and suffering in the United States and everywhere else.

To point the way to break up the log-jam our trade agreements act was passed -- based upon a policy of equality of treatment among nations and of mutually profitable arrangements of trade.

It is not correct to infer that legislative powers have been transferred from the Congress to the Executive Branch of the government. Everybody recognizes that general

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tariff legislation is a Congressional function, but we know that, because of the stupendous task involved in the fashioning and passing of a general law, it is advisable to provide at times of emergency some flexibility to make the general law adjustable to quickly changing conditions.

We are in such a time today. Our present trade agreement method provides a temporary flexibility and is, therefore, practical in the best sense. It should be kept alive to serve our trade interests -- agricultural and industrial -- in many valuable ways during the existing wars.

But what is more important, the trade agreements act should be extended as an indispensable part of the foundation of any stable and durable peace.

The old conditions of world trade made for no enduring peace; and when the time comes the United States must use its influence to open up the trade channels of the world in order that no nation need feel compelled in later days to seek by force of arms what it can well gain by peaceful conference.

I emphasize the leadership which this nation can take when the time comes for a renewal of world peace. Such an influence will be greatly weakened if this government becomes a dog in the manger of trade selfishness.

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The first President of the United States warned us against entangling foreign alliances. The present President of the United States subscribes to and follows that precept.

But trade cooperation with the rest of the world does not violate that precept in any way.

Even as through these trade agreements we prepare to cooperate in a world that wants peace, we must likewise be prepared to take care of ourselves if the world cannot attain peace.

For several years past we have been compelled to strengthen our own national defense. That has created a very large portion of our Treasury deficits. This year in the light of continuing world uncertainty I am asking the Congress for Army and Navy increases which are based not on panic but on common sense. They are not as great as enthusiastic alarmists seek. They are not as small as unrealistic persons claiming superior private information would demand.

As will appear in the annual budget tomorrow, the only important increase in any part of the budget is the estimate for national defense. Practically all other important items show a reduction. Therefore, in the hope that we can

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continue in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit, I am asking the Congress to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national defense.

Behind the Army and Navy, of course, lies our ultimate the most important line of our defense — "the general welfare" of our people. We cannot report, despite all the progress we have made in our domestic problems — despite the fact that production is back to 1929 levels — that all our problems are solved. The fact of unemployment of millions of men and women remains a symptom in our economic system of a number of ~~unsolved~~ difficulties which as yet we have not solved, as yet adjusted.

While the number of the unemployed has decreased, while their immediate needs for food and clothing — as far as the Federal Government is concerned — have been largely met, while their morale has been kept alive by giving them useful public work, we have not yet found a way to employ the surplus of our labor which the efficiency of our industrial processes has created. We have not yet found a way to bring private capital and unused man-power completely together.

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We have not yet found a substitute to our liking for the European solution of using the unemployed to build up armies and navies and military supplies which eventually result in dictatorships. We still continue to try to find an American way through an increase of national income and ~~continued~~ encouragement to private enterprise to take up the slack. Much progress has been made; much remains to be done.

We recognize that we must find an answer in terms of work and opportunity.

The unemployment problem today has become very definitely a problem of youth as well as of age. As each year has gone by hundreds of thousands of boys and girls have come of working age. They now form an army of unused youth. They must be an especial concern of democratic government.

We must continue, above all things, to look for a solution of their special problem. For they, looking ahead to life, are entitled to action on our part and not merely to admonitions of patience or lectures on economic laws.

Some in our midst have sought to instill a feeling of fear and defeatism in the minds of the American people about this problem.

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To face the task of completing new ways to find jobs faster than invention can take them away -- is not defeatism. To warble easy platitudes that if we will only go back to ways that have failed everything will be all right -- is not courage.

We met a problem of real fear and real defeatism in 1933. We faced the facts -- with action, not with words. Our American people pull best when they see how long the hill really is.

The American people will reject the doctrine of fear, confident that in the '30's we have been building soundly a new order of things different from the order of the '20's. In this dawn of the decade of the '40's, with our program of social reform started, we must continue to carry on the processes of recovery so as to ~~preverse our reforms~~ and provide jobs at living wages.

There are, of course, many other items of great public interest which could be enumerated in this message -- the continued conservation of our natural resources, the improvement of health and of education, the extension of social security to larger groups, the freeing of large areas from restricted transportation discriminations, the extension of the merit system and many others.

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As occasion requires I may send special messages to the Congress. Our continued progress in the social and economic field is important not only for the significance of each part of it but for the total effect which our program of domestic betterment has upon that most valuable asset of a nation in dangerous times -- its national unity.

The permanent security of America in the present crisis does not lie in armed force alone. What we face is a set of world-wide forces of disintegration -- vicious, ruthless, destructive of all the moral, religious and political standards which mankind, after centuries of struggle, has come to cherish most.

In these moral values, in these forces which have made our nation great, we must reassert our faith. What we must preserve above all else is a national spiritual unity, based on continued devotion to the eternal truths of civilization and of democracy.

These words -- "national unity" -- must not be allowed to become merely a high sounding phrase, a vague generality, a pious hope, to which everyone can give lip-service. They must be made to have real meaning in terms of the daily thoughts and acts of every man, woman and child in our land

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during the coming year and the years that lie ahead.

For ~~our~~ national unity is, in a very real and deep sense, the fundamental safeguard of all democracy. Where it broke down in Europe, disaster followed.

Doctrines which set group against group, ~~religion against religion~~, race against race, class against class, fanning the fires of hatred in men too despondent, too desperate to think for themselves, were used as rabble-rousing slogans on which dictators could ride to power. And once in power they could saddle their tyrannies on whole nations, and on their weaker neighbors.

This is the danger to which we in America must begin to be more alert. For the advocates of foreign "isms", as well as selfish and partisan groups at home, unworthily wrapping themselves in a false mantle of Americanism to promote their own economic, financial or political advantage, are now trying European tricks upon us, seeking to muddy the stream of our national thinking, weakening us in the face of danger, by trying to set our own people to fighting among themselves. Such tactics are what have helped to plunge Europe into war. We must combat them, as we would

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In the spirit, therefore, of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world -- including the United States of America -- passes through perilous times, I am very ~~certain~~ hopeful that the closing session of the Seventh-Sixth Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with calmness, tolerance and cooperative wisdom.

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MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 3, 1940

To the Congress of the United States

As the Congress reassembles, the impact of ~~very strong~~ makes it natural to approach "the state of the union" through a discussion of foreign affairs.

But it is important that those who hear and read this message should in no way confuse that approach with any thought that our government is abandoning, or even overlooking, the great significance of its domestic policies.

The social and economic forces which have been mismanaged abroad until they have resulted in revolution, dictatorship and war are the same as those which we here are struggling to adjust peacefully at home.

You are well aware that dictatorships -- and the philosophy of force which justifies and accompanies dictatorships -- have originated in almost every case in the necessity for drastic action to improve internal conditions where democratic action

for one reason or another has failed to respond to modern needs and modern demands.

It was with far-sighted wisdom that the framers of the Constitution brought together in one magnificent phrase three great concepts -- "common defense", "general welfare" and "domestic tranquillity".

More than a century and a half later we still believe with them that our best defense is the promotion of our general welfare and domestic tranquillity.

In previous messages to the Congress I have repeatedly warned that, whether we like it or not, the daily lives of American citizens will, of necessity, feel the shock of events on other continents. This is no longer mere theory for it has been definitely proved by the facts of yesterday and today.

To say that the domestic well-being of one hundred and thirty million Americans is deeply affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is only to recognize in world affairs the truth we all accept in home affairs.

If in any local unit -- a city, county, state or region -- low standards of living are permitted to continue, the level of the civilization of the entire nation will be pulled downward.

The identical principle extends to the rest of a civilized world. But there are those who wishfully insist, in innocence or ignorance or both, that the United States of America as a self-contained unit can live happily and prosperously, its future secure, inside a high wall of isolation while, outside, the rest of civilization and the commerce and culture of mankind are shattered.

I can understand the feelings of those who warn the nation that they will never again consent to the sending of American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But, as I remember, nobody has asked them to consent -- for nobody expects such an undertaking.

The overwhelming majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war.

I can also understand the wishfulness of those who oversimplify the whole situation by repeating that all we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the nation out of war. But there is a vast difference between keeping out of war and pretending that this war is none of our business.

We do not have to go to war with other nations, but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will lighten the troubles of the world, and by so doing help our own nation as well.

I ask that all of us everywhere think things through with the single aim of how best to serve the future of our own nation. I do not mean merely its future relationship with the outside world. I mean its domestic future as well — the work, the security, the prosperity, the happiness, the life of all the boys and girls of the United States, as they are inevitably affected by such world relationships. For it becomes clearer and clearer that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in -- even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force in the hands of a few.

Already the crash of swiftly moving events over the earth has made us all think with a longer view. Fortunately, that thinking cannot be controlled by partisanship. The time is long past when any political party or any particular group can curry and capture public favor by labelling itself the "peace party" or the "peace bloc". That label belongs to the whole United States and to every right thinking man, woman and child within it.

For out of all the military and diplomatic turmoil, out of all the propaganda and counter-propaganda of the present conflicts, there are two facts which stand out and which the whole world acknowledges.

The first is that never before has the Government of the United States done so much as in our recent past to establish and maintain the policy of the Good Neighbor with its sister nations.

The second is that in almost every nation in the world today there is a true public belief that the United States has been, and will continue to be, a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace.

In these recent years we have had a clean record of peace and good-will. It is an open book that cannot be twisted or defamed. It is a record that must be continued and enlarged.

So I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the several alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

We must look ahead and see the possibilities for our children if the rest of the world comes to be dominated by concentrated force alone -- even though today we are a very great and a very powerful nation.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our own future if all the small nations throughout the world have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to relatively vast and powerful military systems.

We must look ahead and see the kind of lives our children would have to lead if a large part of the rest of the world were compelled to worship the god imposed by a military ruler, or were forbidden to worship God at all; if the rest of the world were forbidden to read and hear the facts -- the daily news of their own and other nations -- if they were deprived of the truth which makes men free.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military force.

It is, of course, true that the record of past centuries includes destruction of small nations, enslavement of peoples, and building of empires on the foundation of force. But wholly apart from the greater international morality which we seek today, we recognize the practical fact that with modern weapons and modern conditions, modern man can no longer live a civilized life if we are to go back to the practice of wars and conquests of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries.

Summing up this need of looking ahead, and in words of common sense and good American citizenship, I hope that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. It is not good for the ultimate health of ostriches to bury their heads in the sand.

Only an ostrich would look upon these wars through the eyes of cynicism or ridicule.

Of course, the peoples of other nations have the right to choose their own form of government. But we in this nation still believe that such choice should be predicated on certain freedoms which we think are essential everywhere. We know that we ourselves will never be wholly safe at home unless other governments recognize such freedoms.

Twenty-one American Republics, expressing the will of two hundred and fifty million people to preserve peace and freedom in this Hemisphere are displaying a unanimity of ideals and practical relationships which gives hope that what is being done here can be done on other continents.

We in all the Americas are coming to the realization that we can retain our respective nationalities without, at the same time, threatening the national existence of our neighbors.

Such truly friendly relationships, for example, permit us to follow our own domestic policies with reference to our agricultural products,while at the same time we have the privilege of trying to work out mutual assistance arrangements for a world distribution of world agricultural surpluses.

And we have been able to apply the same simple principle to many manufactured products -- surpluses of which must be sold in the world export markets if we would continue a high level of production and employment.

For many years after the World War blind economic selfishness in most countries, including our own, resulted in a destructive mine-field of trade restrictions which blocked the channels of commerce among nations. This policy was one of the contributing causes of existing wars. It dammed up vast unsaleable surpluses, helping to bring about unemployment and suffering in the United States and everywhere else.

To point the way to break up the log-jam, our Trade Agreements Act was passed -- based upon a policy of equality of treatment among nations and of mutually profitable arrangements of trade.

It is not correct to infer that legislative powers have been transferred from the Congress to the Executive Branch of the government. Everybody recognizes that general tariff legislation is a Congressional function, but we know that, because of the stupendous task involved in the fashioning and passing of a general law, it is advisable to provide at times of emergency some flexibility to make the general law adjustable to quickly changing conditions.

We are in such a time today. Our present trade agreement method provides a temporary flexibility and is, therefore, practical in the best sense. It should be kept alive to serve our trade interests -- agricultural and industrial -- in many valuable ways during the existing wars.

But what is more important, the Trade Agreements Act should be extended as an indispensable part of the foundation of any stable and durable peace.

The old conditions of world trade made for no enduring peace; and when the time comes, the United States must use its influence to open up the trade channels of the world in order that no nation need feel compelled in later days to seek by force of arms what it can well gain by peaceful conference. For this purpose we need the Trade Agreements Act even more than when it was passed.

I emphasize the leadership which this nation can take when the time comes for a renewal of world peace. Such an influence will be greatly weakened if this government becomes a dog in the manger of trade selfishness.

The first President of the United States warned us against entangling foreign alliances. The present President of the United States subscribes to and follows that precept.

But trade cooperation with the rest of the world does not violate that precept in any way.

Even as through these trade agreements we prepare to cooperate in a world that wants peace, we must likewise be prepared to take care of ourselves if the world cannot attain peace.

For several years past we have been compelled to strengthen our own national defense. That has created a very large portion of our Treasury deficits. This year in the light of continuing world uncertainty, I am asking the Congress for Army and Navy increases which are based not on panic but on common sense. They are not as great as enthusiastic alarmists seek. They are not as small as unrealistic persons claiming superior private information would demand.

As will appear in the annual budget tomorrow, the only important increase in any part of the budget is the estimate for national defense. Practically all other important items show a reduction. Therefore, in the hope that we can continue

in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit, I am asking the Congress to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national defense.

Behind the Army and Navy, of course, lies our ultimate line of defense -- "the general welfare" of our people. We cannot report, despite all the progress we have made in our domestic problems -- despite the fact that production is back to 1929 levels -- that all our problems are solved. The fact of unemployment of millions of men and women remains a symptom of a number of difficulties in our economic system not yet adjusted.

While the number of the unemployed has decreased, while their immediate needs for food and clothing -- as far as the Federal Government is concerned -- have been largely met, while their morale has been kept alive by giving them useful public work, we have not yet found a way to employ the surplus of our labor which the efficiency of our industrial processes has created.

We refuse the European solution of using the unemployed to build up excessive armaments which eventually result in dictatorships. We encourage an American way -- through an increase of national income which is the only way we can be sure will take up the slack. Much progress has been made; much remains to be done.

We recognize that we must find an answer in terms of work and opportunity.

The unemployment problem today has become very definitely a problem of youth as well as of age. As each year has gone by hundreds of thousands of boys and girls have come of working age. They now form an army of unused youth. They must be an especial concern of democratic government.

We must continue, above all things, to look for a solution of their special problem. For they, looking ahead to life, are entitled to action on our part and not merely to admonitions of optimism or lectures on economic laws.

Some in our midst have sought to instill a feeling of fear and defeatism in the minds of the American people about this problem.

To face the task of finding jobs faster than invention can take them away -- is not defeatism. To warble easy platitudes that if we will only go back to ways that have failed, everything will be all right -- is not courage.

We met a problem of real fear and real defeatism in 1933. We faced the facts -- with action, not with words.

The American people will reject the doctrine of fear, confident that in the '30's we have been building soundly a new order of things different from the order of the '20's. In this dawn of the decade of the '40's, with our program of social improvement started, we must continue to carry on the processes of recovery so as to preserve our gains and provide jobs at living wages.

There are, of course, many other items of great public interest which could be enumerated in this message -- the continued conservation of our natural resources, the improvement of health and of education, the extension of social security to larger groups, the freeing of large areas from restricted transportation discriminations, the extension of the merit system and many others.

Our continued progress in the social and economic field is important not only for the significance of each part of it but for the total effect which our program of domestic betterment has upon that most valuable asset of a nation in dangerous times -- its national unity.

The permanent security of America in the present crisis does not lie in armed force alone. What we face is a set of world-wide forces of disintegration -- vicious, ruthless, destructive of all the moral, religious and political standards which mankind, after centuries of struggle, has come to cherish most.

In these moral values, in these forces which have made our nation great, we must actively and practically reassert our faith.

These words -- "national unity" -- must not be allowed to become merely a high sounding phrase, a vague generality, a pious hope, to which everyone can give lip-service. They must be made to have real meaning in terms of the daily thoughts and acts of every man, woman and child in our land during the coming year and the years that lie ahead.

For national unity is, in a very real and deep sense, the fundamental safeguard of all democracy.

Doctrines which set group against group, faith against faith, race against race, class against class, fanning the fires of hatred in men too despondent, too desperate to think for themselves, were used as rabble-rousing slogans on which dictators could ride to power. And once in power they could saddle their tyrannies on whole nations, and on their weaker neighbors.

This is the danger to which we in America must begin to be more alert. For the apologists for foreign aggressors, and equally those selfish and partisan groups at home who wrap themselves in a false mantle of Americanism to promote their own economic, financial or political advantage, are now trying European tricks upon us, seeking to muddy the stream of our national thinking, weakening us in the face of danger, by trying to set our own people to fighting among themselves. Such tactics are what have helped to plunge Europe into war. We must combat them, as we would the plague, if American integrity and security are to be preserved. We cannot afford to face the future as a disunited people.

We must as a united people keep ablaze on this continent the flames of human liberty, of reason, of democracy and of fair play as living things to be preserved for the better world that is to come.

Overstatement, bitterness, vituperation, and the beating of drums, have contributed mightily to ill-feeling and wars between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful in the international field, they are also hurtful in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have some of the advantage of peace between us and other nations. And in the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore, of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world -- including the United States of America -- passes through perilous times, I am very hopeful that the closing session of the Seventy-Sixth Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with calmness, tolerance and cooperative wisdom.

May the year 1940 be pointed to by our children as another period when democracy justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind.

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Carbon copy

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 3, 1940

As the Congress reassembles, the impact of wars abroad makes it natural to approach "the state of the union" through a discussion of foreign affairs.

But it is important that those who hear and read this message should in no way confuse that approach with any thought that our government is abandoning, or even overlooking, the great significance of its domestic policies.

The social and economic forces which have been mismanaged abroad until they have resulted in revolution, dictatorship and war are the same as those which we here are struggling to adjust peacefully at home.

You are well aware that dictatorships -- and the philosophy of force which justifies and accompanies dictatorships -- have originated in almost every case in the necessity for drastic action to improve internal conditions where democratic action

for one reason or another has failed to respond to modern needs and modern demands.

It was with far-sighted wisdom that the framers of the Constitution brought together in one magnificent phrase three great concepts -- "common defense", "general welfare" and "domestic tranquillity".

More than a century and a half later we still believe with them that our best defense is the promotion of our general welfare and domestic tranquillity.

In previous messages to the Congress I have repeatedly warned that, whether we like it or not, the daily lives of American citizens will, of necessity, feel the shock of events on other continents. This is no longer mere theory for it has been definitely proved by the facts of yesterday and today.

To say that the domestic well-being of one hundred and thirty million Americans is deeply affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is only to recognize in world affairs the truth we all accept in home affairs.

If in any local unit -- a city, county, state or region -- low standards of living are permitted to continue, the level of the civilization of the entire nation will be pulled downward.

The identical principle extends to the rest of a civilized world. But there are those who wishfully insist, in innocence or ignorance or both, that the United States of America as a self-contained unit can live happily and prosperously, its future secure, inside a high wall of isolation while, outside, the rest of civilization and the commerce and culture of mankind are shattered.

I can understand the feelings of those who warn the nation that they will never again consent to the sending of American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But, as I remember, nobody has asked them to consent -- for nobody expects such an undertaking.

The overwhelming majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war.

I can also understand the wishfullness of those who oversimplify the whole situation by repeating that all we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the nation out of war. But there is a vast difference between keeping out of war and pretending that this war is none of our business.

We do not have to go to war with other nations, but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will lighten the troubles of the world, and by so doing help our own nation as well.

I ask that all of us everywhere think things through with the single aim of how best to serve the future of our own nation. I do not mean merely its future relationship with the outside world. I mean its domestic future as well -- the work, the security, the prosperity, the happiness, the life of all the boys and girls of the United States, as they are inevitably affected by such world relationships. For it becomes clearer and clearer that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in -- even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force in the hands of a few.

Already the crash of swiftly moving events over the earth has made us all think with a longer view. Fortunately, that thinking cannot be controlled by partisanship. The time is long past when any political party or any particular group can curry and capture public favor by labeling itself the "peace party" or the "peace bloc". That label belongs to the whole United States and to every right thinking man, woman and child within it.

For out of all the military and diplomatic turmoil, out of all the propaganda and counter-propaganda of the present conflicts, there are two facts which stand out and which the whole world acknowledges.

The first is that never before has the Government of the United States done so much as in our recent past to establish and maintain the policy of the Good Neighbor with its sister nations.

The second is that in almost every nation in the world today there is a true public belief that the United States has been, and will continue to be, a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace.

In these recent years we have had a clean record of peace and good-will. It is an open book that cannot be twisted or defamed. It is a record that must be continued and enlarged.

So I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the several alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

We must look ahead and see the possibilities for our children if the rest of the world comes to be dominated by concentrated force alone -- even though today we are a very great and a very powerful nation.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our own future if all the small nations throughout the world have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to relatively vast and powerful military systems.

We must look ahead and see the kind of lives our children would have to lead if a large part of the rest of the world were compelled to worship the god imposed by a military ruler, or were forbidden to worship God at all; if the rest of the world were forbidden to read and hear the facts -- the daily news of their own and other nations -- if they were deprived of the truth which makes men free.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military force.

It is, of course, true that the record of past centuries includes destruction of small nations, enslavement of peoples, and building of empires on the foundation of force. But wholly apart from the greater international morality which we seek today, we recognize the practical fact that with modern weapons and modern conditions, modern man can no longer live a civilized life if we are to go back to the practice of wars and conquests of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

Summing up this need of looking ahead, and in words of common sense and good American citizenship, I hope that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. It is not good for the ultimate health of ostriches to bury their heads in the sand.

Only an ostrich would look upon these wars through the eyes of cynicism or ridicule.

Of course, the peoples of other nations have the right to choose their own form of government. But we in this nation still believe that such choice should be predicated on certain freedoms which we think are essential everywhere. We know that we ourselves will never be wholly safe at home unless other governments recognize such freedoms.

Twenty-one American Republics, expressing the will of two hundred and fifty million people to preserve peace and freedom in this Hemisphere are displaying a unanimity of ideals and practical relationships which gives hope that what is being done here can be done on other continents.

We in all the Americas are coming to the realization that we can retain our respective nationalities without, at the same time, threatening the national existence of our neighbors.

Such truly friendly relationships, for example, permit us to follow our own domestic policies with reference to our agricultural products, while at the same time we have the privilege of trying to work out mutual assistance arrangements for a world distribution of world agricultural surpluses.

And we have been able to apply the same simple principle to many manufactured products -- surpluses of which must be sold in the world export markets if we would continue a high level of production and employment.

For many years after the World War blind economic selfishness in most countries, including our own, resulted in a destructive mine-field of trade restrictions which blocked the channels of commerce among nations. This policy was one of the contributing causes of existing wars. It dammed up vast unsaleable surpluses, helping to bring about unemployment and suffering in the United States and everywhere else.

To point the way to break up the log-jam, our Trade Agreements Act was passed -- based upon a policy of equality of treatment among nations and of mutually profitable arrangements of trade.

It is not correct to infer that legislative powers have been transferred from the Congress to the Executive Branch of the government. Everybody recognizes that general tariff legislation is a Congressional function, but we know that, because of the stupendous task involved in the fashioning and passing of a general law, it is advisable to provide at times of emergency some flexibility to make the general law adjustable to quickly changing conditions.

We are in such a time today. Our present trade agreement method provides a temporary flexibility and is, therefore, practical in the best sense. It should be kept alive to serve our trade interests -- agricultural and industrial -- in many valuable ways during the existing wars.

But what is more important, the Trade Agreements Act should be extended as an indispensable part of the foundation of any stable and durable peace.

The old conditions of world trade made for no enduring peace; and when the time comes, the United States must use its influence to open up the trade channels of the world in order that no nation need feel compelled in later days to seek by force of arms what it can well gain by peaceful conference. For this purpose we need the Trade Agreements Act even more than when it was passed.

I emphasize the leadership which this nation can take when the time comes for a renewal of world peace. Such an influence will be greatly weakened if this government becomes a dog in the manger of trade selfishness.

The first President of the United States warned us against entangling foreign alliances. The present President of the United States subscribes to and follows that precept.

But trade cooperation with the rest of the world does not violate that precept in any way.

Even as through these trade agreements we prepare to cooperate in a world that wants peace, we must likewise be prepared to take care of ourselves if the world cannot attain peace.

For several years past we have been compelled to strengthen our own national defense. That has created a very large portion of our Treasury deficits. This year in the light of continuing world uncertainty I am asking the Congress for Army and Navy increases which are based not on panic but on common sense. They are not as great as enthusiastic alarmists seek. They are not as small as unrealistic persons claiming superior private information would demand.

As will appear in the annual budget tomorrow, the only important increase in any part of the budget is the estimate for national defense. Practically all other important items show a reduction. Therefore, in the hope that we can continue

in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit, I am asking the Congress to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national defense.

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While the number of the unemployed has decreased, while their immediate needs for food and clothing -- as far as the Federal Government is concerned -- have been largely met, while their morale has been kept alive by giving them useful public work, we have not yet found a way to employ the surplus of our labor which the efficiency of our industrial processes has created.

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There are, of course, many other items of great public interest which could be enumerated in this message -- the continued conservation of our natural resources, the improvement of health and of education, the extension of social security to larger groups, the freeing of large areas from restricted transportation discriminations, the extension of the merit system and many others.

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This is the danger to which we in America must begin to be more alert. For the apologists for foreign aggressors, and equally those selfish and partisan groups at home who wrap themselves in a false mantle of Americanism to promote their own economic, financial or political advantage, are now trying European tricks upon us, seeking to muddy the stream of our national thinking, weakening us in the face of danger, by trying to set our own people to fighting among themselves. Such tactics are what have helped to plunge Europe into war. We must combat them, as we would the plague, if American integrity and security are to be preserved. We cannot afford to face the future as a disunited people.

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Overstatement, bitterness, vituperation, and the beating of drums, have contributed mightily to ill-feeling and wars between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful in the international field, they are also hurtful in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have some of the advantage of peace between us and other nations. And in the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world -- including the United States of America -- passes through perilous times, I am very hopeful that the closing session of the Seventy-Sixth Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with calmness, tolerance and cooperative wisdom.

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STATEMENTS FILE

Shorthand By Kannee

HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE

January 3, 1940

CONFIDENTIAL: To be held in STRICT CONFIDENCE and no portion, synopsis or intimation to be published or given out until delivery of the President's message to the Congress HAS BEGUN.

Release expected about 2:00 P. M., E. S. T., January 3, 1940.

CAUTION: Extreme care must be exercised to avoid premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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~~TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:~~

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But it is important that those who hear and read this message should in no way confuse that approach with any thought that our government is abandoning, or even overlooking, the great significance of its domestic policies.

The social and economic forces which have been mismanaged abroad until they have resulted in revolution, dictatorship and war are the same as those which we here are struggling to adjust peacefully at home.

You are well aware that dictatorships -- and the philosophy of force ~~which~~ justifies and accompanies dictatorships -- have originated in almost every case in the necessity for drastic action to improve internal conditions, where democratic action for one reason or another has failed to respond to modern needs and modern demands.

It was with far-sighted wisdom that the framers of ~~the~~ Constitution brought together in one magnificent phrase three great concepts -- "common defense", "general welfare" and "domestic tranquility".

More than a century and a half later we still believe with them that our best defense is the promotion of our general welfare and domestic tranquility.

In previous messages to the Congress I have repeatedly warned that, whether we like it or not, the daily lives of American citizens will, of necessity, feel the shock of events on other continents. This is no longer mere theory ~~for~~ it has been definitely proved by the facts of yesterday and today.

To say that the domestic well-being of ~~one~~ hundred and thirty million Americans is deeply affected by the well-being or the ill-being of the populations of other nations is only to recognize in world affairs the truth we all accept in home affairs.

If in any local unit -- a city, county, state or region -- low standards of living are permitted to continue, the level of the civilization of the entire nation will be pulled downward.

The identical principle extends to the rest of civilized world. But there are those who wishfully insist, in innocence or ignorance or both, that the United States of America as a self-contained unit can live happily and prosperously, its future secure, inside a high wall of isolation while, outside, the rest of civilization and the commerce and culture of mankind are shattered.

I can understand the feelings of those who warn the nation that they will never again consent to the sending of American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But, as I remember, nobody has asked them to consent -- for nobody expects such an undertaking.

The overwhelming majority of our fellow citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in these wars.

I can also understand the wishfulness of those who over-simplify the whole situation by repeating that all we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the nation out of war. But there is a vast difference between keeping out of war and pretending that this war is none of our business.

We do not have to go to war with other nations, but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will lighten the troubles of the world, and by so doing help our own nation as well.

I ask that all of us everywhere think things through with the single aim of how best to serve the future of our own nation. I do not mean merely its future relationship with the outside world. I mean its domestic future as well -- the work, the security, the prosperity, the happiness, the life of all the boys and girls of the United States, as they are inevitably affected by such world relationships. For it becomes clearer and clearer that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in --even for Americans to live in -- if it is ruled by force in the hands of a few.

Already the crash of swiftly moving events over the earth has made us all think a longer view. Fortunately, that thinking cannot be controlled by partisanship. The time is long past when any political party or any particular group can curry and capture public favor by labeling itself the "peace party" or the "peace bloc". That label belongs to the whole United States and to every right thinking man, woman and child within it.

For out of all the military and diplomatic turmoil, out of all the propaganda and counter-propaganda of the present conflicts, there are two facts which stand out and which the whole world acknowledges.

The first is that never before has the Government of the United States done so much as in our recent past to establish and maintain the policy of the Good Neighbor with its sister nations.

The second is that in almost every nation in the world today there is a true public belief that the United States has been, and will continue to be, a potent and active factor in seeking the reestablishment of peace.

In these recent years we have had a clean record of peace and good-will. It is an open book that cannot be twisted or defamed. It is a record that must be continued and enlarged.

So I hope that Americans everywhere will work out for themselves the several alternatives which lie before world civilization, which necessarily includes our own.

We must look ahead and see the possibilities for our children if the rest of the world comes to be dominated by concentrated force alone -- even though today we are a very great and a very powerful nation.

We must look ahead and see the effect on our own future if all the small nations ~~throughout~~ the world have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to relatively vast and powerful military systems.

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We must look ahead and see the effect on our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military force.

It is, of course, true that the record of past centuries includes destruction of small nations, enslavement of peoples, and building of empires on the foundation of force. But wholly apart from the greater international morality which we seek today, we recognize the practical fact that with modern weapons and modern conditions, modern man can no longer ~~live~~ a civilized life if we are to go back to the practice of wars and conquests of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Summing up this need of looking ahead, and in words of common sense and good American citizenship, I hope that we will have fewer American ostriches in our midst. It is not good for the ultimate health of ostriches to bury their heads in the sand.

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Such truly friendly relationships, for example, permit us to follow our own domestic policies with reference to our agricultural products, while at the same time we have the privilege of trying to work out mutual assistance arrangements for a world distribution of world agricultural surpluses.

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To face the task of finding jobs faster than invention can take them away -- is not defeatism. To warble easy platitudes that if we will only go back to ways that have failed, everything will be all right -- is not courage.

We met a problem of real fear and real defeatism. ~~In 1932.~~ We faced the facts -- with action, not with words.

The American people will reject ~~the~~ doctrine of fear, confident that in the '30's we have been building soundly a new order of things different from the order of the '20's. In this dawn of the decade of the '40's, with our program of social improvement started, we ~~must~~ continue to carry on the processes of recovery so as to preserve our gains and provide jobs at living wages.

There are, of course, many other items of great public interest which could be enumerated in this message -- the continued conservation of our natural resources, the improvement of health ~~and of~~ education, the extension of social security to larger groups, the freeing of large areas from restricted transportation discriminations, the extension of the merit system and many others.

Our continued progress in the social and economic field is important not only for the significance of each part of it but for the total effect which our program of domestic betterment has upon that most valuable asset of a nation in dangerous times -- its national unity.

The permanent security of America in the present crisis does not lie in armed force alone. What we face is a set of world-wide forces of disintegration -- vicious, ruthless, destructive of all the moral, religious and political standards which mankind, after centuries of struggle, has come to cherish most.

In these moral values, in these forces which have made our nation great, we must actively and practically reassert our faith.

These words -- "national unity" -- must not be allowed to become merely a high sounding phrase, a vague generality, a pious hope, to which everyone can give lip-service. They must be made to have real meaning in terms of the daily thoughts and acts of every man, woman and child in our land during the coming year and the years that lie ahead.

For national unity is, in a very real and deep sense, the fundamental safeguard of all democracy.

Doctrines ~~which~~ set group against group, faith against faith, race against race, class against class, fanning the fires of hatred in men too despondent, too desperate to think for themselves, were used as rabble-rousing slogans on which dictators could ride to power. And once in power they could saddle their tyrannies on whole nations, ~~and~~ on their weaker neighbors.

This is the danger to which we in America must begin to be more alert. For the apologists for foreign aggressors, and equally those selfish and partisan groups at home who wrap themselves in a false mantle of Americanism to promote their own economic, financial or political advantage, are now trying European tricks upon us, seeking to muddy the stream of our national thinking, weakening us in the face of danger, by trying to set our own people to fighting among themselves. Such tactics are what have helped to plunge Europe into war. We must combat them, as we would the plague, if American integrity and security are to be preserved. We cannot afford to face the future as a disunited people.

We must as a united people keep ablaze on this continent the flames of human liberty, of reason, of democracy and of fair play as living things to be preserved for the better world that is to come.

Overstatement, bitterness, vituperation, and the beating of drums, have contributed mightily to ill-feeling and wars between nations. If these unnecessary and unpleasant actions are harmful in the international field, they are also ~~hurtful~~ in the domestic scene. Peace among ourselves would seem to have ~~some of the advantage of peace between us and other nations. And~~ in the long run history amply demonstrates that angry controversy surely wins less than calm discussion.

In the spirit, therefore, of a greater unselfishness, recognizing that the world — including the United States of America — passes through perilous times, I am very hopeful that the closing session of the Seventy-Sixth Congress will consider the needs of the nation and of humanity with calmness, tolerance and cooperative wisdom.

May the year 1940 be pointed to by our children as another period when democracy justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

January 3, 1940.