

June 10, 1940

[University of Virginia]

1285

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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Every generation of young men and women in America has questions to ask the world. Most of the time they are the simple but nevertheless difficult questions of work to do, opportunities to find, ambitions to satisfy.

But every now and again in the history of the republic a different kind of question presents itself -- a question which asks, not about the future of an individual, or even of a generation, but about the future of the country, the future of the American people.

There was such a time at the beginning of our history as a nation. Young people asked themselves in those days what lay ahead, not for themselves, but for the new United States.

There was such a time again in the seemingly endless years of the War Between the States. Young men and young women on both sides of the line asked themselves, not what trades or professions they would enter, what lives they would make, but what was to become of the country they had known.

There is such a time again today. Again today the young men and the young women of America ask themselves with earnestness and with deep concern this same question: "What is to become of the country we know".

Now they ask it with even greater anxiety than before. They ask, not only what the future holds for this republic, but what the future holds for all peoples and all nations that have been living under democratic forms of government, - under the free institutions of a free people.

It is understandable that they should ask this question. They read the words of those who are telling them that the ideal of individual liberty, the ideal ^{of} ~~a~~ free franchise, the ideal of peace through justice is a decadent ideal. They read the word and hear the boast of those who say that a belief in force - force directed by self-chosen leaders - is the new and vigorous system which will over-run the earth. They have seen the ascendancy of this philosophy of force in ^{nation} ~~country~~ after ^{nation} ~~country~~ where free institutions and individual liberties were once maintained.

It is natural and understandable, ~~therefore~~, that the younger generation should first ask itself what the extension of the philosophy of force to all the world would lead to ultimately. We see today in stark reality some of the consequences of the machine age.

Where control of machines has been retained in the hands of mankind as a whole, untold benefits have accrued to mankind. For mankind was then the master; the machine was the servant.

But, in this new system of force the mastery of the machine is not in the hands of mankind. It is in the control of infinitely small groups of individuals who rule without a single one of the democratic sanctions. The machine in hands of irresponsible conquerors becomes the master; mankind is not only the servant —
it is just the victim. Such mastery abandons with deliberate contempt all of the moral values to which even this young continent, for more than three hundred years, has been accustomed and dedicated.

Surely the new philosophy proves from month to month
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that it could have no concept^{of} of the way of life or the way of
A

thought of a nation whose origins go back to Jamestown and Plymouth Rock.

Conversely, neither those who spring from that stock nor those who have come hither in later years can be indifferent to the destruction of freedom in their ancestral lands across the sea.

Perception of danger to our institutions may come slowly or it may come with a rush and a shock as it has to the people of the United States in the past few months. This perception of danger has come to us clearly and overwhelmingly; and we perceive the peril in a world-wide arena -- an arena which may become so narrowed that only the Americas would retain the ancient faiths.

Some indeed still hold to the now obvious delusion that we of the United States can safely permit the United States to become a lone island in a world dominated by the philosophy of force.

Such an island may be the dream of those who still talk and vote as isolationists. Such an island represents to me and to the overwhelming majority of Americans today a helpless nightmare of a people without freedom, a people lodged in prison, ^{handcuffed, hungry,} and ~~national~~.

The people and Government of the United States have seen with the utmost regret and with grave disquiet the decision of the Italian Government to engage in the hostilities now raging in Europe.

More than three months ago the Chief of the Italian Government sent me word that because of the determination of Italy to limit, so far as might be possible, the spread of the European conflict, more than two hundred millions of people in the region of the Mediterranean had been enabled to escape the suffering and the devastation of war.

I informed the Chief of the Italian Government that this desire on the part of Italy to prevent the war from spreading met with sympathy and response on the part of the Government and people of the United States, and I expressed the earnest hope of this Government that this policy on the part of Italy might be continued. I made it clear that in the opinion of the Government of the United States any extension of ~~the~~ hostilities in the region of the

Mediterranean might result in a still greater enlargement of the scene of the conflict in the Near East and in Africa and that if this came to pass no one could foretell how much greater the ~~hostile~~ ^{might} ~~the war~~ eventually become.

Again upon a subsequent occasion, recognizing that certain aspirations of Italy might form the basis of discussions between the powers most specifically concerned, I offered, in a message addressed to the Chief of the Italian Government, to send to the Governments of France and of Great Britain such specific indications of the desires of Italy to obtain readjustments with regard to her position, as the Chief of the Italian Government might desire to transmit through me. While making it clear that the Government of the United States in such event could not and would not assume responsibility for the nature of the proposals submitted nor for agreements which might thereafter be reached, I proposed that, if Italy would refrain from entering the war, I would be willing to ask assurances from the other powers concerned that they would faithfully execute any agreement so reached and that Italy's voice

in any future peace conference would have the same authority as if Italy had actually taken part in the war as a belligerent.

Unfortunately, the Chief of the Italian Government was unwilling to accept the procedure suggested. *He made no counter proposal.* *The efforts of this Government have been directed to doing*

what it could to work for the preservation of peace in the Mediterranean area, and it likewise expressed its willingness to endeavor to cooperate with the Government of Italy when the appropriate occasion arose for the creation of a more stable world order, through the reduction of armaments, and through the construction of a more liberal international economic system which would assure to all powers equality of opportunity in the world's markets and in the securing of raw materials on equal terms.

I have likewise, of course, felt it necessary in my communications to Signor Mussolini to express the concern of the Government of the United States because of the fact that any extension of the war in the region of the Mediterranean would

inevitably result in great prejudice to the ways of life and government and to the trade and commerce of all of the American Republics.

The Government of Italy has now chosen to preserve what it terms its "freedom of action" and to fulfill what it states are its promises to Germany. In so doing it has manifested disregard for the rights and security of other nations; for the lives of the peoples of those nations which are directly threatened by this spread of the war; and has evidenced its unwillingness to find the means through pacific negotiation for the satisfaction

*On this 10th day of June 1940, the Board
of Directors of the University of Michigan,
that had the privilege to witness the birth of this nation.*

On this tenth day of June 1940, in this University founded

by the first great American teacher of democracy, we send forth our prayers and our hopes to those beyond the seas who are maintaining with magnificent valor their battle for freedom.

In our American unity, we will pursue two obvious and simultaneous courses: we will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation and, at the same time, we will

harness and speed up the use of those resources in order that we ourselves in the Americas may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense.

All roads leading to the accomplishment of these objectives must be kept clear of obstructions. We will not slow down or detour. Signs and signals call for speed -- full speed ahead.

It is right that each new generation should ask questions. But in recent months the principal question has been greatly simplified. Once more the future of the nation and of the American people is at stake.

We need not and we will not, in any way, abandon our continuing effort to make democracy work within our own borders. We still insist on the need for vast improvements in our own social and economic life.

But that is a component part of national defense itself.

The program unfolds swiftly and into it will fit the responsibility and the opportunity of every man and woman to preserve our heritage in days of peril.

I call for effort, courage, sacrifice, devotion.

Granting the love of freedom, all of these are possible.

And the love of freedom is still fierce and steady
in the nation today.

Franklin D Roosevelt

Original reading copy - for
Franklin D Roosevelt Jr.
on his graduation as Bachelor
of Law at Univ. of Va.

June 10th 1940

FDR.

An actually delivered by the President.

Address Delivered by the President

At the Graduation Exercises of the University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia, June 10, 1940

PRESIDENT NEWCOMB, MY FRIENDS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA,

I notice by the program that I am asked to address the classes of 1940. I avail myself of that privilege but I also take this very apt occasion to speak to many other classes, classes that have graduated through all the years, classes that are still in the period of study, classes not alone at the schools of learning of the Nation but classes that have come up through the great schools of experience; in other words a cross section, a cross section just as you who graduate today are a cross section of the Nation as a whole.

Every generation of young men and women in America has questions to ask the world. Most of the time they are the simple but nevertheless difficult questions, questions of work to do, opportunities to find, ambitions to satisfy.

But every now and again in the history of the Republic a different kind of question presents itself -- a question that asks, "not what the future of an individual or even of a generation, but about the future of the country, the future of the American people."

There was such a time at the beginning of our history -- at the beginning of our history as a nation. Young people asked themselves in those days what lay ahead, not for themselves, but for the new United States.

There was such a time again today. Again today the young men and the young women of America ask themselves with consciousness and with deep concern this same question: "What is to become of the country we know?"

Now they talk it with even greater anxiety than before. They talk, not only what the future holds for this Republic, but what the future holds for all peoples and all nations that have been living under democratic forms of government, -- under the free institutions of a free people.

It is understandable to all of us, I think, that they should ask this question. They read the words of those who are telling them that the ideal of individual liberty, the ideal of free franchises, the ideal of peace through Jurisian is a decadent ideal. They read the word and hear the voice of those who say that a belief in force -- force directed by multi-headed leaders -- is the new and vicious system which will overrun the earth. They have seen the consistency of this philosophy of force in action after nation where free institutions and individual liberties were once maintained.

It is natural and understandable that the younger generation should first ask itself what the extension of the machine is to tell the world would lead to ultimately. You see today, for example, in stark reality some of the consequences of what we call the machine age.

There control of machines has been exercised in the hands of mankind as a whole, until benefits have accrued to mankind more than the master; and the machine was the servant.

But, in this new system of force the mastery of the machine is not in the hands of mankind. It is in the control of infinitely small groups of individuals who rule without a single one of the democratic nations that we know. The machine in hands of irresponsible conquerors becomes the master; mankind is not only the servant; it is the victim too. Such mastery obviously with deliberate contempt all of the

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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.

world values to which even this young country for more than three hundred years has been accustomed and dedicated.

Surely the new philosophy grows from month to month that it could have no possible conception of the way of life or thought of a nation whose origins go back to Jamestown and Plymouth Rock.

And conversely, neither those who spring from that ancient stock nor those who have come hither in later years can be indifferent to the destruction of freedom in their unoccupied lands across the sea.

Perception of danger, danger to our institutions may come slowly or it may come with a rush such as it has had to the people of the United States in the past few months. This perception of danger, danger in a world-wide area - it has come to us slowly and overwhelmingly - we perceive the peril in a world-wide arena, an arena that may become so narrowed that only the Americans will retain the innocent faults.

Some indeed still hold to the now somewhat obvious doctrine that no of the United States can safely permit the United States to become a lone island, a lone island in a world dominated by the philosophy of force.

Such an island may be the dream of those who still talk and vote as isolationists. Such an island represents to me and to the overwhelming majority of Americans today a hopeless nightmare, the helpless nightmare of a people without friends; you, the nightmare of a people led and in prison, handicapped, hungry, and fed through the bars from day to day by the octopus-like, unyielding masters of other continents.

It is natural also that we should ask ourselves how now we can prevent the building of that prison and the plowing of ourselves in the midst of it.

Let us not hesitate -- all of us -- to proclaim certain truths. Undeniably we, as a nation -- and this applies to all the other American nations -- are convinced that military and naval victory for the gods of force and hate would endanger the institutions of democracy in the western world, and that equally, therefore, the whole of our sympathies lies with those nations that are giving their life blood in combat against those forces.

The people and the Government of the United States have soon within the utmost respect and with grave disquiet the decision of the Italian Government to engage in the hostilities now raging in Europe.

More than three months ago the chief of the Italian Government sent me word that because of the determination of Italy to limit, as far as might be possible, the spread of the European conflict, more than two hundred millions of people in the region of the Mediterranean had been enabled to escape the suffering and the devastation of war.

I informed the Chief of the Italian Government that this desire on the part of Italy to prevent the war from spreading not with full sympathy and response on the part of the Government and the people of the United States, and I expressed the earnest hope of this Government and of this people that this policy on the part of Italy might be continued. I made it clear that in the opinion of the Government of the United States any extension of hostilities in the region of the Mediterranean might result in a still greater enlargement of the scope of the conflict, the conflict in the Near East and in Africa and that if this came to pass no one could foretell how much greater the theater of the war eventually might become.

Again, on a subsequent occasion, not so long ago, recognizing that powers most specifically concerned, I offered, in a message addressed to the Chief of the Italian Government, to send to the Governments of France and of

Great Britain such specific indications of the desires of Italy to obtain
reced justments with regard to her position on the Chief of the Italian
Government might desire to transmit through me. While making it clear that
the Government of the United States in such an event could not and would
not assume responsibility for the nature of the proposals submitted nor for
agreements which might therefore be reached. I propose that if Italy would
refrain from entering the war I would be willing to ask assurances from
the other powers concerned that they would faithfully execute any agreement
so reached and that Italy's voice in any future peace conference would have
the same authority as if Italy had actually taken part in the war, as a
belligerent.

Unfortunately, unfortunately to the regret of all of us and to
the regret of humanity, the Chief of the Italian Government was unwilling
to accept the procedure suggested and has made no counter proposal.

This Government directed its efforts to doing what it could to
work for the preservation of peace in the Mediterranean area, and it likewise
expressed its willingness to endeavor to cooperate with the Govern-
ment of Italy when the appropriate occasion arose for the creation of a
more stable world order, through the reduction of armaments, and through
the construction of a more liberal international economic system which
would ensure to all powers equality of opportunity in the world's markets
and in the sharing of raw materials on equal terms.

I have likewise, of course, felt it necessary in my discussions
with Signor Mussolini to impress the members of the Government of the
United States because of the fact that any extension of the war in the
region of the Mediterranean would inevitably result in great prejudice to
the war of life and government and to the trade and commerce of all of
the American Republics.

The Government of Italy has now chosen to pursue what it terms
its "Freedom of action" and to fulfill what it states are its promises to
Germany. In so doing, it has manifested disregard for the rights and security
of other nations, disregard for the lives of the peoples of those nations
which are directly threatened by this spread of the war, and has evidenced
its unwillingness to find the means through peaceful negotiations for the
abolition of what it believes are its legitimate aspirations.

On this tenth day of June, 1940, the hand that held the dagger
has struck it into the back of its neighbor.

On this tenth day of June, 1940, in this University founded by
the first great American teacher of democracy, we sound forth our purposes and
our hopes to those beyond the seas who are uniting with magnificient
valor their battle for freedom.

In our, in our unity, in our American unity, we will pursue two
obvious and simultaneous courses; we will extend to the opponents of force
the material resources of this nation and, at the same time, we will harness
and expand up the use of these resources in order that we ourselves in these
America may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency
and every defense.

All roads leading to the accomplishment of these objectives must
be kept clear of obstructions. We will not slow down or detour. Signs and
signals call for speed -- full speed ahead.

Yes, it is right that each new generation should ask questions.
But in recent months the principal question has been somewhat simplified.
Once more the future of the nation, the future of the American people is at
stake.

We need not and we will not, in any way, abandon our continuing
effort to make democracy work within our borders. Yes, we still insist on
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- 4 -

But that, that is a component part of national defense itself.

The program unfolds swiftly and into that program will fit the responsibility and the opportunity of every man and woman in the land to preserve his and her heritage in days of peril.

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And, -- and the love of freedom is still fierce, still steady in the nation today.

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As delivered to the press.

Charlottesville, Va.,
June 10th, 1940.

CONFIDENTIAL

HOLD FOR RELEASE

CONFIDENTIAL

The following address by the President, delivered at the graduation exercises of the University of Virginia, is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 6:15 P.M., E.S.T., today. The terms of this release apply also to radio commentators.

PLEASE SAFEGUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

STEPHEN EARLY,
Secretary to the President.

* * * * *

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It is understandable that they should ask this question. They read the words of those who are telling them that the ideal of individual liberty, the ideal of free franchise, the ideal of peace through justice is a decadent ideal. They read the word and hear the boast of those who say that a belief in force — force directed by self-chosen leaders — is the new and vigorous system which will overrun the earth. They have seen the ascendancy of this philosophy of force in country after country where free institutions and individual liberties were once maintained.

It is natural and understandable, therefore, that the younger generation should first ask itself what the extension of the philosophy of force to all the world would lead to ultimately. We see today in stark reality some of the consequences of the machine age.

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Surely the new philosophy proves from month to month that it could have no concept of the way of life or the way of thought of a nation whose origins go back to Jamestown and Plymouth Rock.

Conversely, neither those who spring from that stock nor those who have come hither in later years can be indifferent to the destruction of freedom in their ancestral lands across the sea.

Perception of danger to our institutions may come slowly or it may come with a rush and a shock as it has to the people of the United States in the past few months. This perception of danger has come to us clearly and overwhelmingly; and we perceive the peril in a world-wide arena -- an arena which may become so narrowed that only the Americas would retain the ancient faiths.

Some indeed still hold to the now obvious delusion that we of the United States can safely permit the United States to become a lone island in a world dominated by the philosophy of force.

Such an island may be the dream of those who still talk and vote as isolationists. Such an island represents to me and to the overwhelming majority of Americans today a helpless nightmare of a people without freedom, a people lodged in prison, handcuffed, hungry, and fed through the bars from day to day by the contemptuous, unpitying masters of other continents.

It is natural also that we should ask ourselves how now we can prevent the building of that prison and the placing of ourselves in the midst of it.

Let us not hesitate -- all of us -- to proclaim certain truths. Overwhelmingly we, as a nation, and this applies to all the other American nations, are convinced that military and naval victory for the gods of force and hate would endanger the institutions of democracy in the western world -- and that equally, therefore, the whole of our sympathies lie with those nations which are giving their life blood in combat against those forces.

The people and Government of the United States have seen with the utmost regret and with grave disquiet the decision of the Italian Government to engage in the hostilities now raging in Europe.

More than three months ago the Chief of the Italian Government sent me word that because of the determination of Italy to limit, so far as might be possible, the spread of the European conflict, more than two hundred millions of people in the region of the Mediterranean had been enabled to escape the suffering and the devastation of war.

I informed the Chief of the Italian Government that this desire on the part of Italy to prevent the war from spreading met with sympathy and response on the part of the Government and the people of the United States, and I expressed the earnest hope of this Government that this policy on the part of Italy might be continued. I made it clear that in the opinion of the Government of the United States any extension of the hostilities in the region of the Mediterranean might result in a still greater enlargement of the scene of the conflict in the Near East and in Africa and that if this came to pass no one could foretell how much greater the extension of the war might eventually become.

Again upon a subsequent occasion, recognizing that certain aspirations of Italy might form the basis of discussions between the powers most specifically concerned, I offered, in a message addressed to the Chief of the Italian Government, to send to the Governments of France and of Great Britain such specific indications of the desires of Italy to obtain readjustments with regard to her position as the Chief of the Italian Government might desire to transmit through me. While making it clear that the Government of the United States in such event could not and would not assume responsibility for the nature of the proposals submitted nor for agreements which might thereafter be reached, I proposed that if Italy would refrain from entering the war I would be willing to ask assurances from the other powers concerned that they would faithfully execute any agreement so reached and that Italy's voice in any future peace conference would have the same authority as if Italy had actually taken part in the war as a belligerent.

Unfortunately, the Chief of the Italian Government was unwilling to accept the procedure suggested.

The efforts of this Government have been directed to doing what it could to work for the preservation of peace in the Mediterranean area, and it likewise expressed its willingness to endeavor to cooperate with the Government of Italy when the appropriate occasion arose for the creation of a more stable world order, through the reduction of armaments, and through the construction of a more liberal international economic system which would assure to all powers equality of opportunity in the world's markets and in the securing of raw materials on equal terms.

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The Government of Italy has now chosen to preserve what it terms its "freedom of action" and to fulfill what it states are its promises to Germany. In so doing it has manifested disregard for the rights and security of other nations, for the lives of the peoples of those nations which are directly threatened by this spread of the war; and has evidenced its unwillingness to find the means through pacific negotiations for the satisfaction of what it believes are its legitimate aspirations.

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In our American unity, we will pursue two obvious and simultaneous courses: we will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation and, at the same time, we will harness and speed up the use of those resources in order that we ourselves in the Americas may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense.

All roads leading to the accomplishment of these objectives must be kept clear of obstructions. We will not slow down or detour. Signs and signals call for speed -- full speed ahead.

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We need not and we will not, in any way, abandon our continuing effort to make democracy work within our own borders. We still insist on the need for vast improvements in our own social and economic life.

But that is a component part of national defense itself.

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Ernest A worked into
reworked 1st Draft.
Speech delivered in
this form.
Reading copy is missing.

Ernest A "in" s
Italian entrance into
WW II

Just A

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~~and to the freedom of navigation of their ships.~~

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(End Document A)

~~American will~~

In our unity, we ~~were~~ pursued two obvious and simultaneous courses: we ~~will~~ extend ~~to~~ the opponents of force the material resources of this nation and, at the same time, we ~~were~~ harness ~~ourselves in the Americas~~ and speed ~~up~~ the use of those resources in order that we ~~were~~ may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense.

(Draft B)

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But that is a component part of national defense itself.

~~with it;~~
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I call for ~~patience~~, effort, courage, sacrifice,
devotion. Granting the love of freedom, all of these are
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INSERT **B**

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*Great A
copy*

DRAFT

The people and Government of the United States have seen with the utmost regret and with grave disquiet the decision of the Italian Government to engage in the hostilities now raging in Europe.

More than three months ago the Chief of the Italian Government sent me word that because of the determination of Italy to limit, so far as might be possible, the spread of the European conflict, more than two hundred millions of people in the region of the Mediterranean had been enabled to escape the suffering and the devastation of war.

I informed the Chief of the Italian Government that this desire on the part of Italy to prevent the war from spreading met with sympathy and response on the part of the Government and people of the United States, and I expressed the earnest hope of this Government that this policy on the part of Italy might be continued. I made it clear that in the opinion of the Government of the United States any extension of the hostilities in the region of the Mediterranean might result in a still

greater enlargement of the scene of the conflict in the Near East and in Africa and that if this came to pass no one could foretell how much greater the extension of the war might eventually become.

Again upon subsequent occasion, recognizing that certain aspirations of Italy might form the basis of discussions between the powers most specifically concerned, I offered, in a message addressed to the Chief of the Italian Government, to transmit to the Governments of France and of Great Britain such specific indications of the desires of Italy to obtain readjustments with regard to her position as the Chief of the Italian Government might desire to transmit through me. While making it clear that the Government of the United States in such event could not and would not assume ~~any~~ responsibility for the nature of the proposals submitted nor for any agreements which might thereafter be reached, I proposed that if Italy would refrain from entering the war I would be willing to ask assurances from the other powers concerned that they would faithfully execute any agreement so reached and that Italy's voice in any future peace

conference would have the same authority as if Italy had actually taken part in the war as a belligerent.

Unfortunately, the Chief of the Italian Government was unwilling to ~~suggest~~ ^{accept} the procedure suggested.

The efforts of this Government have been directed to doing what it could to work for the preservation of peace in the Mediterranean area, and it has likewise expressed its willingness to endeavor to cooperate with the Government of Italy when the appropriate occasion arose for the creation of a more stable world order, through the reduction of armaments, and through the construction of a more liberal international economic system which would assure to all powers equality of opportunity in the world's markets and in the securing of raw materials on equal terms.

I have likewise, of course, felt it necessary in my communications to Signor Mussolini to express the concern of the Government of the United States because of the fact that any extension of the war in the region of the Mediterranean would inevitably result in great prejudice to the trade and commerce of all of the American Republics, and to the freedom of navigation of their ships.

The Government of Italy has now chosen to preserve what it terms its "freedom of action" and to fulfill what it states are its ~~promises~~ to Germany. In so doing it has manifested disregard for the rights and security of other nations; for the lives of the peoples of those nations which are directly threatened by this spread of the war; and ^{has evidenced} ~~and~~ its unwillingness to find the means through pacific negotiation for the satisfaction of what it believes are its legitimate aspirations.

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A. Mach.

Every generation of young men and young women in America has questions to ask the world. Most of the time they are the simple but nevertheless difficult questions of work to do, opportunities to find, ambitions to satisfy. But every now and again in the history of the republic a different kind of question presents itself --- a question which asks, not about the future of an individual boy or girl, or even of a generation of boys and girls, but about the future of the country, the future of the American people.

There was such a time at the beginning of our history as a nation. Young people asked themselves in those days what lay ahead, not for themselves, but for the new United States. There was such a time again in the seemingly endless years of the ~~Civil~~ War Between the States. Young men and young women on both sides of the line asked themselves, not what they would do, what trades or professions they would enter, what lives they would make, but what was to become of the country they had known.

There is such a time again today. Again today the young men and the young women of America ask themselves with earnestness and with deep

Dear
concern this question.
A

~~Now~~ Now they ask it with even greater anxiety than before.

They ask, not only what the future holds for this republic, but what the future holds for all peoples and nations living under democratic forms of government, - under the free institutions of a free people.

It is ~~natural~~ understandable that they should ask this question. They have read the words of those who tell them now that the ideal of individual liberty, the ideal of personal freedom, is a decadent ideal. They have read the words and heard the boasts of those who say that a belief in force, ~~a belief in obedience, a belief in the~~ ~~force directed by self-chosen leaders~~ ~~obedience~~ is the new and vigorous ~~which~~ which will over-run the earth.

~~America~~ They have seen the ~~successes~~ of this philosophy of force ~~and obedience~~ in country after country where free institutions and individual liberty were once maintained. It is natural and understandable, therefore, that they should ask themselves what the future holds for us also - for the institutions of self government we have established and defended - for the belief in individual freedom on which our lives are built. It is

natural and it is fortunate. For unless a free people ask itself from time to time what assurances of freedom it possesses it cannot long be free.

But even in this time - even in the face of the successes of these believers in force and obedience - even in the fac~~t~~ of the boasts and the threats of the subjugators of free peoples elsewhere - it should not take us long to find an answer.

Freedom and the love of freedom have curious powers in men's lives. They thrive upon the effort to destroy them. In time of peace, in time of security, when no one threatens freedom, the love of freedom is slack and passive and inert. But once the freedom of the free is threatened, once free men are made to understand that there are those who would destroy their freedom, the love of freedom becomes a force more powerful than any men can feel.

It is so with us and with the world you see before you. Those who speak with contempt of the institutions of self-government, those who boast that force and obedience will overthrow them all, those who

tell us that freedom and democracy are fallen flags which cannot be defended - all those who so speak and so act are themselves, against their wills, the restorers and the recreators of democracy and freedom. For it is their contempt and their threats and their boasts of power which show us what the love of freedom is.

Against the darkness of the world they picture to us, freedom of men, freedom of the mind, freedom to speak and say and ask and answer, freedom to govern and be governed by our free consent - freedom becomes again a strong and living cause as new as when the first men dreamed of freedom.

Freedom - the practise of freedom - the practise of democracy - are not easy for any generation. Least of all will they be easy for the generation to which you belong. They will require effort, patience, self-restraint, devotion. But granted the love of freedom, they are possible. And the love of freedom is as fierce and steady in this country now as ever in its history.

By every word, by every gesture of this people, we say to all who

ask that we are partisans of freedom. We say that we defend our freedom here. We say that we are friends of freedom elsewhere. We say, proudly and with slow and earnest words, that we will bid all those who like ourselves defend the freedom of the mind against its enemies. In that faith, and in that earnestness, the future of the country you inherit is secure.

The overwhelming evidence as to the feelings of our people leaves no doubt that this country has not callous indifference to the outcome of the awful struggle which may well determine the destiny of mankind for the unimaginable future. How could a people with our origins and our history be left cold by the systematic and ruthless destruction of unoffending small nations and, above all, by nations who for centuries have represented all that is best in peace-loving, God-fearing democratic societies? This is equally true of those whose ancestors landed on Plymouth Rock or on the shores of Virginia, as of those of the later migrations. Neither those of early or more recent European stock can be indifferent to the destruction of freedom in their ancestral lands and its threat everywhere. To us it is not a matter of no moment that the land which gave us the King James version of the Bible and that France, the great country dominated by a Catholic culture, should be menaced with destruction of their freedom and stare servitude in the face. The precious achievements of the long struggle for religious toleration and the wonderful conquests of man through free scientific inquiry are dear to us. In saying this, I am the last person to minimize all that Germany has done for science and art and culture when her men of genius and saintliness were free to give the fruits of their spirit and mind to the world. We take great pride in the conquest of the machine. But the machine is the servant of man. It would indeed deny Christian civilization to subordinate the spirit and mind of man to the machine and to be incapable of grasping the great ultimate issue between morality and brute force.

DRAFT 1

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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There was such a time at the beginning of our history as a nation. Young people asked themselves in those days what lay ahead, not for themselves, but for the new United States.

There was such a time again in the seemingly endless years of the War Between the States. Young men and young women on both sides of the line asked themselves, not what they would do, what trades or professions they would enter, what lives they would make, but what was to become of the country they had known.

There is such a time again today. Again today the

what is
to become
of the country
we have

young men and the young women of America ask themselves with earnestness and with deep concern this same question;

Now they ask it with even greater anxiety than before.

They ask, not only what the future holds for this republic, ^{old that you know} but what the future holds for all peoples and nations living under democratic forms of government, - under the free institutions of a free people.

It is understandable that they should ask this question. They have read the words of those who tell them ^{are} that the ideal of individual liberty, the ideal of personal freedom, is a decadent ideal. They ~~have~~ read the words and heard the boasts of those who say that a belief in force - force directed by self-chosen leaders - is the new and vigorous system which will over-run the earth. They have seen the ascendancy of this philosophy of force in country after country where free institutions and individual liberty were once maintained. ^{now}

It is natural and understandable, therefore, that they
young generation
should first ask themselves what the extension of the philosophy

of force to all the world will lead to ultimately. We see today in
stark reality some of the consequences of the machine age,
(that one of the results is) the perfecting of the machine - which
where control of machines has been retained in
the hands of man as a whole, untold benefits have
resulted. Mankind was then the master. No machine
was the servant.

is after all merely a speeding up of a process which has been going on for a century or more.

But we see also that whereas the perfecting of the machine ~~was~~ has retained the control of machines in the hands of man as a whole, in this new system of force the mastery of the machine is not in the hands of mankind, ^{But} ~~but~~ instead in the control of infinitely small groups of individuals who rule without a single one of ~~that~~ ^{get} the democratic sanctions. ^{The} machine in their hands is the master. Humanity is nothing. ^{it is} ~~the servant, it is the victim.~~ These masters, these drivers, abandon with complete

deliberation all of the moral values to which ~~ever~~ this young continent for more than 300 years has been dedicated and accustomed.

Surely the new philosophy proves from month to month that it could have no concept of the way of life or the way of thought of a nation whose origins go back to Jamestown and Plymouth Rock.

Conversely, neither those who spring from that stock nor those who have come hither in later years can be indifferent to the destruction of freedom in their ancestral lands across the sea.

Perception of danger to our institutions may come slowly or it may come with a rush and a shock as it has to the people of the United States in the past few months. What we should give thanks for is that this perception of danger has come to us clearly and overwhelming^{ly} and that we perceive the peril in a world-wide ^{area} ^{area} -- an area which may first leave out the American Hemisphere, then absorb^y a part of it until it is so narrowed that only our own continental limits stand out like an island in the sea. Such an island we realize at last can never stand alone.

Such an island may be the dream of those who still talk and vote as isolationists. Such an island represents^{world} to me and to the overwhelming majority of Americans today ~~symbol~~ ^{a nation} ~~(hopeless nightmare)~~ of a people without freedom, a people lodged in prison and rationed through the bars from day to day by the supercilious, unpitying masters of the philosophy of force ~~and hate~~.

It is natural also that we should ask ourselves how best we can prevent the building of that prison and the placing

of ourselves in the midst of it.

Let us not hesitate -- all of us to proclaim certain truths. Overwhelmingly we, as a nation, and this applies to all the other American nations, are convinced that military and naval victory for the philosophy of force would endanger the institutions of democracy in the western world -- and that equally, therefore, the whole ~~maximum~~ of our sympathies lie with those nations which are giving their life blood in combat against those forces.

In this overwhelming~~if~~ unity, we are pursuing two obvious and simultaneous courses: we are extending to the opponents of the philosophy of force the material resources of this nation and, at the same time, we are harnessing and speeding up those resources in order that, if physical resistance on our part should become necessary, we will have the equipment and the training that is equal to the task.

It is right that each new generation should ask questions. But in the very recent past the principal question has been greatly simplified. Once more the future of the nation and of the American people is at stake.

We need not and we will not, in any way, abandon our continuing effort to make democracy work within our own borders.

We can still insist on the need for vast improvements in our own social and economic life.

But in this day of peril the very existence of the future of the nation stands before our eyes with increasing stark reality.

I call for effort, patience, self-restraint, devotion. Granting the love of freedom, all of these are possible. And the love of freedom is still fierce and steady in the nation today.

All Americans must be
important participants
in that endeavor

This effort is but part of the program for ~~full~~ utilization of all our resources, of all our war power, of all our energies for the preservation in these perilous days of our democratic system. Portions of that program already have unfolded. As the other parts unfold, it will be increasingly clear what responsibilities and opportunities of each citizen will be.

DRAFT 1

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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But every now and again in the history of the republic a different kind of question presents itself -- a question which asks, not about the future of an individual or even of a generation ~~of boys and girls~~, but about the future of the country, the future of the American people.

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There was such a time again in the seemingly endless years of the War Between the States. Young men and young women on both sides of the line asked themselves, not ~~what they would~~ ~~do~~, what trades or professions they would enter, what lives they would make, but what was to become of the country they had known.

There is such a time again today. Again today the

young men and the young women of America ask themselves with earnestness and with deep concern this same question: "What is to become of the country we know?"

Now they ask it with even greater anxiety than before.

They ask, not only what the future holds for this republic,

but what the future holds for all peoples and nations ^{all} ~~having~~ ^{that have been} ~~free~~ under democratic forms of government, - under the free in-

stitutions of a free people.

It is understandable that they should ask this question.

They ~~were~~ ^{are telling} read the words of those who ~~were~~ them ~~were~~ that the ideal of individual liberty, the ideal ^{of} ~~of personal freedom~~, ^{freedom} ~~through justice is~~ a decadent ideal. They ~~were~~ read the words ^{and hear} the boastful

of those who say that a belief in force - force directed by self-chosen leaders - is the new and vigorous system which will over-run the earth. They have seen the ascendancy of this philosophy of force in country after country where free institutions and individual liberty ^{is} were once maintained.

It is natural and understandable, therefore, that they ^{young} ~~generation~~ ^{should} first ask ~~themselves~~ what the extension of the philosophy of force to all the world ~~will~~ lead to ultimately. We see today in ~~stand~~ ^{that} ~~readily~~ some of the consequences of the machine age. ^{that one of the results is the power of the machine which} A wider variety of machines has been retained in the hands of mankind as a whole, until benefits have accrued to mankind. To mankind was

than the master; the machine was the servant.

DRAFT 1

- 3 -

is after all merely a speeding up of a process which has been
going on for a century or more

But we see also that whereas the perfecting of the
machine age has retained the control of machines in the hands
of man as a whole, ^{Po. T.} in this new system of force the mastery of
the machine is not in the hands of mankind, ~~but instead~~ ^{It is} in the
control of infinitely small groups of individuals who rule

without a single one of what we call the democratic sanctions. Th
machines in hands of irresponsible engineers becomes the
master; mankind ~~loses~~, that is, ~~not only their~~ loses ~~the~~ the victory.
Such mastery abandons with ~~contempt~~
deliberately all of the moral values to which even this young
country
continent for more than 300 years has been dedicated and
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Surely the new philosophy proves from month to month
that it could have no concept of the way of life or the way
of thought of a nation whose origins go back to Jamestown and
Plymouth Rock.

Conversely, neither those who spring from that stock
nor those who have come hither in later years can be indifferent
to the destruction of freedom in their ancestral lands across
the sea.

Perception of danger to our institutions may come slowly or it may come with a rush and a shock as it has to the people of the United States in the past few months.

What we should give thanks for is that this perception of danger has come to us clearly and overwhelming ^{by} and that we perceive the peril in a world-wide arena -- an arena which

we may first leave out the American Hemisphere, then absorb ^{the Americas} a part of it until it is narrowed that only ~~one~~ world remains the evident truth.

Contingent limits stand out like an island in the sea. Such limits indeed still hold to the now obvious delusion ^{such} that instead we must or last can never stand alone.

Such an island may be the dream of those who still ^{to become} that we of the United States can safely permit the United States to become

talk and vote as isolationists. Such an island represents to me and to the overwhelming majority of Americans today a ~~hopeless~~ nightmare of a people without freedom, a people

lodged in prison and rationed through the bars from day to day by the ~~superstitious~~, unpitying masters of ^{other} ~~the philosophy~~ ^{of force} ~~contingencies~~.

It is natural also that we should ask ourselves how best we can prevent the building of that prison and the placing

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of ourselves in the midst of it.

Let us not hesitate -- all of us to proclaim certain truths. Overwhelmingly we, as a nation, and this applies to all the other American nations, are convinced that military and naval victory for the ~~philosophy~~ ^{gods of and hats} of force would endanger the institutions of democracy in the western world -- and that equally, therefore, the whole ~~marxism~~ of our sympathies lie with those nations which are giving their life blood in combat against those forces.

In this ~~overwhelmingly~~ unity, we are pursuing two obvious and simultaneous courses: we are extending to the opponents of the ~~philosophy~~ of force the material resources of this nation and, at the same time, we are harnessing and speeding up those resources in order that ~~if physical resistance on our part should become necessary~~, we will have ~~the~~ equipment and ~~the~~ training ~~equal~~ equal to the task ^{of any emergency} ~~and every difficult~~. It is right that each new generation should ask questions.

But in the very recent past the principal question has been greatly simplified. Once more the future of the nation and of the American people is at stake.

We need not and we will not, in any way, abandon our continuing effort to make democracy work within our own borders.

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On this <sup>10th day of June
1940, in this University
founded by the first
great American Teacher
of Democracy, we stand
forth our prayers and
our hope to those beyond
the seas who are maintaining
with magnificent valor this
battle for freedom. ~~██████████~~</sup>

We ~~are~~ still insist on the need for vast improvements in our own social and economic life.

But in this day of peril the very existence of the future of the nation stands before our eyes with increasingly stark reality.

I call for effort, ^{patience,} courage, sacrifice, ~~and~~
^A ~~and~~ restraint, devotion.

Granting the love of freedom, all of these are possible.

¶ And the love of freedom is still fierce and steady in the nation today.

¶ That is a component part of national defence itself. The programme unfolds: not in a night, but all the ~~good~~ ^{good} ~~that can be done~~ ^{can be done} with ~~for~~ and into it ^{will fit the} responsibility and the opportunity of every man and woman to forever are stronger in days of peril.

Reworked 1st draft

June 10-1940

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Every generation of young men and women in America has questions to ask the world. Most of the time they are the simple but nevertheless difficult questions of work to do, opportunities to find, ambitions to satisfy.

But every now and again in the history of the republic a different kind of question presents itself -- a question which asks, not about the future of an individual or even of a generation, but about the future of the country, the future of the American people.

There was such a time at the beginning of our history as a nation. Young people asked themselves in those days what lay ahead, not for themselves, but for the new United States.

There was such a time again in the seemingly endless years of the War Between the States. Young men and young women on both sides of the line asked themselves, not what trades or professions they would enter, what lives they would make, but what was to become of the country they had known.

There is such a time again today. Again today the young men and the young women of America ask themselves with earnestness and with deep concern this same question: "What is to become of the country we know".

Now they ask it with even greater anxiety than before. They ask, not only what the future holds for this republic, but what the future holds for all peoples and all nations that have been living under democratic forms of government, - under the free institutions of a free people.

It is understandable that they should ask this question. They read the words of those who are telling them that the ideal of individual liberty, the ideal free franchise, the ideal of peace through justice is a decadent ideal. They read the word and hear the boast of those who say that a belief in force - force directed by self-chosen leaders - is the new and vigorous system which will over-run the earth. They have seen the ascendancy of this philosophy of force in country after country where free institutions and individual liberties were once maintained.

It is natural and understandable, therefore, that the younger generation should first ask itself what the extension of the philosophy of force to all the world would lead to ultimately. We see today in stark reality some of the consequences of the machine age.

Where control of machines has been retained in the hands of mankind as a whole, untold benefits have accrued to mankind. For mankind was then the master; the machine was the servant.

But, in this new system of force the mastery of the machine is not in the hands of mankind. It is in the control of infinitely small groups of individuals who rule without a single one of the democratic sanctions. The machine in hands of irresponsible conquerors becomes the master; mankind is not only the servant but the victim. Such mastery abandons with deliberate contempt all of the moral values to which even this young continent for more than three hundred years has been accustomed and dedicated.

Surely the new philosophy proves from month to month that it could have no concept of the way of life or the way of

thought of a nation whose origins go back to Jamestown and Plymouth Rock.

Conversely, neither those who spring from that stock nor those who have come hither in later years can be indifferent to the destruction of freedom in their ancestral lands across the sea.

Perception of danger to our institutions may come slowly or it may come with a rush and a shock as it has to the people of the United States in the past few months. This perception of danger has come to us clearly and overwhelmingly; and we perceive the peril in a world-wide arena -- an arena which may become so narrowed that only the Americas would retain the ancient faiths.

Some indeed still hold to the now obvious delusion that we of the United States can safely permit the United States to become a lone island in a world dominated by the philosophy of force.

Such an island may be the dream of those who still talk and vote as isolationists. Such an island represents to me and to the overwhelming majority of Americans today a helpless nightmare of a people without freedom, a people lodged in prison and rationed

through the bars from day to day by the contemptuous, unpitying masters of other continents.

It is natural also that we should ask ourselves how best we can prevent the building of that prison and the placing of ourselves in the midst of it.

Let us not hesitate -- all of us -- to proclaim certain truths. Overwhelmingly we, as a nation, and this applies to all the other American nations, are convinced that military and naval victory for the gods of force and hate would endanger the institutions of democracy in the western world -- and that equally, therefore, the whole of our sympathies lie with those nations which are giving their life blood in combat against those forces.

[45] On this tenth day of June 1940, in this University founded by the first great American teacher of democracy, we send forth our prayers and our hopes to those beyond the seas who are maintaining with magnificent valor their battle for freedom.

In our unity, we are pursuing two obvious and simultaneous courses: we are extending to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation and, at the same time, we are harnessing and speeding up the use of those resources in order that we will have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense.

It is right that each new generation should ask questions. But in the very recent past the principal question has been greatly simplified. Once more the future of the nation and of the American people is at stake.

We need not and we will not, in any way, abandon our continuing effort to make democracy work within our own borders. We still insist on the need for vast improvements in our own social and economic life.

But That is a component part of national defense itself.

The program unfolds and into it will fit the responsibility and the opportunity of every man and woman to preserve our heritage in days of peril.

I call for patience, effort, courage, sacrifice,
devotion. Granting the love of freedom, all of these are
possible.

And the love of freedom is still fierce and steady
in the nation today.

File

Charlottesville, Va.,
June 10th, 1940.

CONFIDENTIAL

HOLD FOR RELEASE

CONFIDENTIAL

The following address by the President, delivered at the graduation exercises of the University of Virginia, is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 6:15 P.M., E.S.T., today. The terms of this release apply also to radio commentators.

PLEASE SAFEGUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the Presideng

P.P.E.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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There was such a time again in the seemingly endless years of the War Between the States. Young men and young women on both sides of the line asked themselves, not what trades or professions they would enter, what lives they would make, but what was to become of the country they had known.

There is such a time again today. Again today the young men and the young women of America ask themselves with earnestness and with deep concern this same question: "What is to become of the country we know".

Now they ask it with even greater anxiety than before. They ask, not only what the future holds for this republic, but what the future holds for all peoples and all nations that have been living under democratic forms of government, - under the free institutions of a free people.

It is understandable that they should ask this question. They read the words of those who are telling them that the ideal of individual liberty, the ideal ^{of} ~~free~~ franchise, the ideal of peace through justice is a decadent ideal. They read the word and hear the boast of those who say that a belief in force - force directed by self-chosen leaders - is the new and vigorous system which will over-run the earth. They have seen the ascendancy of this philosophy of force in country after country where free institutions and individual liberties were once maintained.

It is natural and understandable, therefore, that the younger generation should first ask itself what the extension of the philosophy of force to all the world would lead to ultimately. We see today in stark reality some of the consequences of the machine age.

Where control of machines has been retained in the hands of mankind as a whole, untold benefits have accrued to mankind. For mankind was then the master; the machine was the servant.

But, in this new system of force the mastery of the machine is not in the hands of mankind. It is in the control of infinitely small groups of individuals who rule without a single one of the democratic sanctions. The machine in hands of irresponsible conquerors becomes the master; mankind is not only the servant but the victim. Such mastery abandons with deliberate contempt all of the moral values to which even this young continent for more than three hundred years has been accustomed and dedicated.

Surely the new philosophy proves from month to month that it could have no concept of the way of life or the way of

thought of a nation whose origins go back to Jamestown and Plymouth Rock.

Conversely, neither those who spring from that stock nor those who have come hither in later years can be indifferent to the destruction of freedom in their ancestral lands across the sea.

Perception of danger to our institutions may come slowly or it may come with a rush and a shock as it has to the people of the United States in the past few months. This perception of danger has come to us clearly and overwhelmingly; and we perceive the peril in a world-wide arena -- an arena which may become so narrowed that only the Americas would retain the ancient faiths.

Some indeed still hold to the now obvious delusion that we of the United States can safely permit the United States to become a lone island in a world dominated by the philosophy of force.

Such an island may be the dream of those who still talk and vote as isolationists. Such an island represents to me and to the overwhelming majority of Americans today a helpless nightmare, *, handcuffed, hungry,* of a people without freedom, a people lodged in prison and ~~retained~~

fed through

- 5 -

~~crossed~~ the bars from day to day by the contemptuous, unpitying masters of other continents.

It is natural also that we should ask ourselves how ~~best~~ ^{now} we can prevent the building of that prison and the placing of ourselves in the midst of it.

Let us not hesitate -- all of us -- to proclaim certain truths. Overwhelmingly we, as a nation, and this applies to all the other American nations, are convinced that military and naval victory for the gods of force and hate would endanger the institutions of democracy in the western world -- and that equally, therefore, the whole of our sympathies lie with those nations which are giving their life blood in combat against those forces.

~~lined up~~
On this tenth day of June 1940, in this University founded by the first great American teacher of democracy, we send forth our prayers and our hopes to those beyond the seas who are maintaining with magnificent valor their battle for freedom.

The people and Government of the United States have seen with the utmost regret and with grave disquiet the decision of the Italian Government to engage in the hostilities now raging in Europe.

More than three months ago the Chief of the Italian Government sent me word that because of the determination of Italy to limit, so far as might be possible, the spread of the European conflict, more than two hundred millions of people in the region of the Mediterranean had been enabled to escape the suffering and the devastation of war.

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I informed the Chief of the Italian Government that this desire on the part of Italy to prevent the war from spreading met with sympathy and response on the part of the Government and people of the United States, and I expressed the earnest hope of this Government that this policy on the part of Italy might be continued. I made it clear that in the opinion of the Government of the United States any extension of the hostilities in the region of the

Mediterranean might result in a still greater enlargement of the scene of the conflict in the Near East and in Africa and that if this came to pass no one could foretell how much greater the extension of the war might eventually become.

Again upon a subsequent occasion, recognizing that certain aspirations of Italy might form the basis of discussions between the powers most specifically concerned, I offered, in a message addressed to the Chief of the Italian Government, to send to the Governments of France and of Great Britain such specific indications of the desires of Italy to obtain readjustments with regard to her position as the Chief of the Italian Government might desire to transmit through me. While making it clear that the Government of the United States in such event could not and would not assume responsibility for the nature of the proposals submitted nor for agreements which might thereafter be reached, I proposed that if Italy would refrain from entering the war I would be willing to ask assurances from the other powers concerned that they would faithfully execute any agreement so reached and that Italy's voice

in any future peace conference would have the same authority as if Italy had actually taken part in the war as a belligerent.

Unfortunately, the Chief of the Italian Government was unwilling to accept the procedure suggested.

The efforts of this Government have been directed to doing what it could to work for the preservation of peace in the Mediterranean area, and it likewise expressed its willingness to endeavor to cooperate with the Government of Italy when the appropriate occasion arose for the creation of a more stable world order, through the reduction of armaments, and through the construction of a more liberal international economic system which would assure to all powers equality of opportunity in the world's markets and in the securing of raw materials on equal terms.

I have likewise, of course, felt it necessary in my communications to Signor Mussolini to express the concern of the Government of the United States because of the fact that any extension of the war in the region of the Mediterranean would

inevitably result in great prejudice to the ways of life and government and to the trade and commerce of all of the American Republics.

The Government of Italy has now chosen to preserve what it terms its "freedom of action" and to fulfill what it states are its promises to Germany. In so doing it has manifested disregard for the rights and security of other nations; for the lives of the peoples of those nations which are directly threatened by this spread of the war; and has evidenced its unwillingness to find the means through pacific negotiation for the satisfaction of what it believes are its legitimate aspirations.

On this tenth day of June 1940, in this University founded by the first great American teacher of democracy, we send forth our prayers and our hopes to those beyond the seas who are maintaining with magnificent valor their battle for freedom.

In our American unity, we will pursue two obvious and simultaneous courses: we will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation and, at the same time, we will

harness and speed up the use of those resources in order that we ourselves in the Americas may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense.

All roads leading to the accomplishment of these objectives must be kept clear of obstructions. We will not slow down or detour. Signs and signals call for speed -- full speed ahead.

It is right that each new generation should ask questions. But in recent months the principal question has been greatly simplified. Once more the future of the nation and of the American people is at stake.

We need not and we will not, in any way, abandon our continuing effort to make democracy work within our own borders. We still insist on the need for vast improvements in our own social and economic life.

But that is a component part of national defense itself.

The program unfolds swiftly and into it will fit the responsibility and the opportunity of every man and woman to preserve our heritage in days of peril.

I call for effort, courage, sacrifice, devotion.

Granting the love of freedom, all of these are possible.

And the love of freedom is still fierce and steady
in the nation today.

Zilversom

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Text-of Address Delivered by the President
At the Graduation Exercises of the University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia, June 10, 1940.

PRESIDENT NEWCOMB, MY FRIENDS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA:

I notice by the program that I am asked to address the classes of 1940. I avail myself of that privilege but I also take this very apt occasion to speak to many other classes, classes that have graduated through all the years, classes that are still in the period of study, classes not alone of the schools of learning of the Nation but classes that have come up through the great schools of experience; in other words a cross section, a cross section just as you who graduate today are a cross section of the Nation as a whole.

Every generation of young men and women in America has questions to ask the world. Most of the time they are the simple but nevertheless difficult questions, questions of work to do, opportunities to find, ambitions to satisfy.

But every now and again in the history of the Republic a different kind of question presents itself -- a question that asks, not about the future of an individual or even of a generation, but about the future of the country, the future of the American people.

There was such a time at the beginning of our history -- at the beginning of our history as a nation. Young people asked themselves in those days what lay ahead, not for themselves, but for the new United States.

There was such a time again in the seemingly endless years of the War Between the States. Young men and young women on both sides of the line asked themselves, not what trades or professions they would enter, what lives they would make, but what was to become of the country they had known.

There is such a time again today. Again today the young men and the young women of America ask themselves with earnestness and with deep concern this same question: "What is to become of the country we know."

Now they ask it with even greater anxiety than before. They ask, not only what the future holds for this Republic, but what the future holds for all peoples and all nations that have been living under democratic forms of government, - under the free institutions of a free people.

It is understandable to all of us, I think, that they should ask

this question. They read the words of those who are telling them that the ideal of individual liberty, the ideal of free franchise, the ideal of peace through justice is a decadent ideal. They read the word and hear the boast of those who say that a belief in force - force directed by self-chosen leaders - is the new and vigorous system which will overrun the earth. They have seen the ascendancy of this philosophy of force in nation after nation where free institutions and individual liberties were once maintained.

It is natural and understandable that the younger generation should first ask itself what the extension of the philosophy of force to all the world would lead to ultimately. We see today, for example, in stark reality some of the consequences of what we call the machine age.

Where control of machines has been retained in the hands of mankind as a whole, untold benefits have accrued to mankind. For mankind was then the master; and the machine was the servant.

But, in this new system of force the mastery of the machine is not in the hands of mankind. It is in the control of infinitely small groups of individuals who rule without a single one of the democratic sanctions that we have known. The machine in hands of irresponsible conquerors becomes the master; mankind is not only the servant; it is the victim too. Such mastery abandons with deliberate contempt all of the moral values to which even this young country for more than three hundred years has been accustomed and dedicated.

Surely the new philosophy proves from month to month that it could have no possible conception of the way of life or the way of thought of a nation whose origins go back to Jamestown and Plymouth Rock.

And conversely, neither those who spring from that ancient stock nor those who have come hither in later years can be indifferent to the destruction of freedom in their ancestral lands across the sea.

Perception of danger, danger to our institutions may come slowly or it may come with a rush and a shock as it has to the people of the United States in the past few months. This perception of danger, danger in a world-wide area, it has come to us clearly and overwhelmingly. We perceive the peril in a world-wide arena, an arena that may become so narrowed that only the Americas will retain the ancient faiths.

Some indeed still hold to the now somewhat obvious delusion that

we of the United States can safely permit the United States to become a lone island, a lone island in a world dominated by the philosophy of force.

Such an island may be the dream of those who still talk and vote as isolationists. Such an island represents to me and to the overwhelming majority of Americans today a helpless nightmare, the helpless nightmare of a people without freedom; yes, the nightmare of a people lodged in prison, handcuffed, hungry, and fed through the bars from day to day by the contemptuous, unpitying masters of other continents.

It is natural also that we should ask ourselves how now we can prevent the building of that prison and the placing of ourselves in the midst of it.

Let us not hesitate -- all of us -- to proclaim certain truths. Overwhelmingly we, as a nation, and this applies to all the other American nations, ~~were~~ are convinced that military and naval victory for the gods of force and hate would endanger the institutions of democracy in the western world, ~~if~~ and that equally, therefore, the whole of our sympathies lie with those nations that are giving their life blood in combat against those forces.

The people and Government of the United States have seen with the utmost regret and with grave disquiet the decision of the Italian Government to engage in the hostilities now raging in Europe.

More than three months ago the Chief of the Italian Government sent no word that because of the determination of Italy to limit, so far as might be possible, the spread of the European conflict, more than two hundred millions of people in the region of the Mediterranean had been enabled to escape the suffering and the devastation of war.

I informed the Chief of the Italian Government that this desire on the part of Italy to prevent the war from spreading met with full sympathy and response on the part of the Government and the people of the United States, and I expressed the earnest hope of this Government and of this people that this policy on the part of Italy might be continued. I made it clear that in the opinion of the Government of the United States any extension of hostilities in the region of the Mediterranean might result in a still greater enlargement of the scene of the conflict, the conflict in the Near East and in Africa and that if this came to pass no one could foretell how much greater the theater of the war eventually might become.

Long

Again on a subsequent occasion, ~~but~~ not so ~~long~~ ago, recognizing that certain aspirations of Italy might form the basis of discussions between the powers most specifically concerned, I offered, in a message addressed to the Chief of the Italian Government, to send to the Governments of France and of Great Britain such specific indications of the desires of Italy to obtain readjustments with regard to her position as the Chief of the Italian Government might desire to transmit through me. While making it clear that the Government of the United States in such an event could not and would not assume responsibility for the nature of the proposals submitted nor for agreements which might thereafter be reached, I proposed that if Italy would refrain from entering the war I would be willing to ask assurances from the other powers concerned that they would faithfully execute any agreement so reached and that Italy's voice in any future peace conference would have the same authority as if Italy had actually taken part in the war, as a belligerent.

Unfortunately, unfortunately to the regret of all of us and to the regret of humanity, the Chief of the Italian Government was unwilling to accept the procedure suggested and he has made no counter proposal.

This Government ~~had~~ directed its efforts to doing what it could to work for the preservation of peace in the Mediterranean area, and it likewise expressed its willingness to endeavor to cooperate with the Government of Italy when the appropriate occasion arose for the creation of a more stable world order, through the reduction of armaments, and through the construction of a more liberal international economic system which would assure to all powers equality of opportunity in the world's markets and in the securing of raw materials on equal terms.

I have likewise, of course, felt it necessary in my communications to Signor Mussolini to express the concern of the Government of the United States because of the fact that any extension of the war in the region of the Mediterranean would inevitably result in great prejudice to the ways of life and government and to the trade and commerce of all of the American Republics.

The Government of Italy has now chosen to preserve what it terms its "freedom of action" and to fulfill what it states are its promises to Germany. In so doing it has manifested disregard for the rights and security of other nations, disregard for the lives of the peoples of those nations which

are directly threatened by this spread of the war; and has evidenced its unwillingness to find the means through pacific negotiations for the satisfaction of what it believes are its legitimate aspirations.

On this tenth day of June, 1940, the hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor.

On this tenth day of June, 1940, in this University founded by the first great American teacher of democracy, we send forth our prayers and our hopes to those beyond the seas who are maintaining with magnificent valor their battle for freedom.

In our, in our unity, in our American unity, we will pursue two obvious and simultaneous courses; we will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation and, at the same time, we will harness and speed up the use of those resources in order that we ourselves in the Americas may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense.

All roads leading to the accomplishment of these objectives must be kept clear of obstructions. We will not slow down or detour. Signs and signals call for speed -- full speed ahead.

Yes, it is right that each new generation should ask questions. But in recent months the principal question has been somewhat simplified. Once more the future of the nation, the future of the American people is at stake.

We need not and we will not, in any way, abandon our continuing effort to make democracy work within our borders. Yes, we still insist on the need for vast improvements in our own social and economic life.

But that, that is a component part of national defense itself.

The program unfolds swiftly and into that program will fit the responsibility and the opportunity of every man and woman in the land to his and her preserve ~~the~~ heritage in days of peril.

I call for effort, courage, sacrifice, devotion. Granting the love of freedom, all of these are possible.

And,-- and the love of freedom is still fierce, still steady in the nation today.

#

The prompt unanimity of the Senate in approving the proposals toward our national security which I recently submitted to the Congress is of course very heartening. But I owe it to the country to say even more plainly than when I spoke to the Congress that my proposals constitute no more than the beginning of what our safety immediately needed. Two weeks ago I did not go beyond the indispensable minimum because I felt that I ought not to go beyond the then state of public opinion. But the events of these last few days have been a more persuasive educator than I myself have been able to be during the last few years. When from time to time, in the discharge of a President's duties, I tried to indicate, in public addresses and more fully in private conferences, the aggressive forces that are loose in the world and their menace to our national interests, the peace-loving traditions of our people were exploited by free use of the word "war-monger". As though I have not at least as much reason as any man to hate war, and perhaps a more anxious responsibility than any man not to bring war to our own shores. But to deny the existence of a danger is not to avoid it. And the greater the danger the less justifiable is an ostrich-like policy. I am sure that our people, no less than other peoples, will not flinch from whatever burdens and sacrifices are demanded to safeguard our precious liberties against forces that do not respect the independence and freedom of others. I am sure that our people can "take it" - if they are told the truth, however, unpalatable it may be or howsoever it may run counter to that which until yesterday we took for granted but today can no longer do ~~so~~.

[6/10/40]

Declaration of war has been delivered to the Ambassadors.

Mussolini started by saying that Italy is living through hours of irrevocable decision.

Declaration of war has been delivered to the Ambassadors of Great Britain and France.

We are fighting against the pluto-Democracies whose owners hamper the progress of the Italian people.

Mussolini is referring now to the sanctions that were applied to Italy by the democracies at the time of the Ethiopian campaign.

Our conscience is not bothering us in the least. It is clear.

..... is witness to the fact that Fascist Italy has done everything that was humanly possible to avoid war, but everything has been in vain.

It would have been enough to revise all treaties. It would have been enough not to begin the policies of guarantees which have proved disastrous for those nations which have accepted them. It would have been enough to have accepted the peace that was offered last October, at the end of the Polish campaign.

All this belongs to the past. We are now ready to go into this war because we believe that a great people must honor the engagements which it has contracted.

We want to break the chains that keep us prisoners in the Mediterranean Sea because a population, a nation of 45 million people cannot really be free unless it has free access to the ocean.

This gigantic fight is not anything but one phase, one development of our evolution.

It is a revolution against those who try to starve us, those who control all the wealth, all the gold in the world.

It is a fight between the young people against the old decadent people. It is a fight between two centuries, between two different conceptions of life.

Italy does not want to draw any other people into this fight, neighboring nations, whether they are next to Italy by land or by sea.

During a memorable meeting in Berlin I said that according to the Fascist code of laws, when a person has a friend he travels with him the whole length.

This we have done and we shall do with Germany and with her victorious armies we shall fight.

Mussolini has just asked the people to pay homage to his Majesty, the Italian King.

Italy, the totalitarian and Fascist Italy, is standing up
for the third time, proud and strong.

Our slogan is one -- consists in only one word -- to win.
And we shall win.

And we shall win, to give, finally, to Italy, to Europe
and to the world a long period of peace, with
justice.

Italian people -- use your arms your courage, your
constance and your valor.

* * * *

DRAFT 1

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

6/1/40

Every generation of young men and women in America has questions to ask the world. Most of the time they are the simple but nevertheless difficult questions of work to do, opportunities to find, ambitions to satisfy.

But every now and again in the history of the republic a different kind of question presents itself -- a question which asks, not about the future of an individual or even of a generation of boys and girls, but about the future of the country, the future of the American people.

There was such a time at the beginning of our history as a nation. Young people asked themselves in those days what lay ahead, not for themselves, but for the new United States.

There was such a time again in the seemingly endless years of the War Between the States. Young men and young women on both sides of the line asked themselves, not what they would do, what trades or professions they would enter, what lives they would make, but what was to become of the country they had known.

There is such a time again today. Again today the



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West Park, N.Y.

From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

young men and the young women of America ask themselves with earnestness and with deep concern this same question.

Now they ask it with even greater anxiety than before.

They ask, not only what the future holds for this republic, but what the future holds for all peoples and nations living under democratic forms of government, - under the free institutions of a free people.

It is understandable that they should ask this question. They have read the words of those who tell them *yew* that the ideal of individual liberty, the ideal of personal freedom, is a decadent ideal. They have read the words and heard the boasts of those who say that a belief in force - force directed by self-chosen leaders - is the new and vigorous system which will over-run the earth. They have seen the ascendancy of this philosophy of force in country after country where free institutions and individual liberty were once maintained.

It is natural and understandable, therefore, that *they* *feel* should first ask themselves what the extension of the philosophy of force to all the world will lead to ultimately. We see today that one of the results is the perfecting of the machine -- which



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Henry L. Hopkins

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AND MUSEUM

is after all merely a speeding up of a process which has been going on for a century or more.

But we see also that whereas the perfecting of the machine age has retained the control of machines in the hands of man as a whole, in this new system of force the mastery of the machine is not in the hands of mankind but instead in the control of infinitely small groups of individuals who rule without a single one of what we call the democratic sanctions.

These masters, these drivers, abandon with complete deliberation all of the moral values to which even this young continent for more than 300 years has been dedicated and accustomed.

Surely the new philosophy proves from month to month that it could have no concept of the way of life or the way of thought of a nation whose origins go back to Jamestown and Plymouth Rock.

Conversely, neither those who spring from that stock nor those who have come hither in later years can be indifferent to the destruction of freedom in their ancestral lands across the sea.



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*Ministerial Archives and Record Service
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Wellesley, Mass., U. S. A.*

*From the Papers of
Henry L. Hopkins*

Perception of danger to our institutions may come slowly or it may come with a rush and a shock as it has to the people of the United States in the past few months. What we should give thanks for is that this perception of danger has come to us clearly and overwhelming, and that we perceive the peril in a world-wide arena -- an arena which may first leave out the American Hemisphere, then absorb a part of it until it is so narrowed that only our own continental limits stand out like an island in the sea. Such an island we realize at last can never stand alone.

Such an island may be the dream of those who still talk and vote as isolationists. Such an island represents to me and to the overwhelming majority of Americans today a hopeless nightmare of a people without freedom, a people lodged in prison and rationed through the bars from day to day by the supercilious, unpitiful masters of the philosophy of force.

It is natural also that we should ask ourselves how best we can prevent the building of that prison and the placing



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Print On: Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

of ourselves in the midst of it.

Let us not hesitate -- all of us^{to} to proclaim certain truths. Overwhelmingly we, as a nation, and this applies to all the other American nations, are convinced that military and naval victory for the philosophy of force would endanger the institutions of democracy in the western world -- and that equally, therefore, the whole ~~masses~~ of our sympathies lie with those nations which are giving their life blood in combat against those forces.

In this overwhelming unity, we are pursuing two obvious and simultaneous courses: we are extending to the opponents of the philosophy of force the material resources of this nation and, at the same time, we are harnessing and speeding up those resources in order that if physical resistance on our part should become necessary, we will have the equipment and the training that is equal to the task.

It is right that each new generation should ask questions. But in the very recent past the principal question has been greatly simplified. Once more the future of the nation and of the American people is at stake.

We need not and we will not, in any way, abandon our continuing effort to make democracy work within our own borders.



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From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

We can still insist on the need for vast improvements in our own social and economic life.

But in this day of peril the very existence of the future of the nation stands before our eyes with increasingly stark reality.

My country *join* *a call for effort, patience, self-restraint, devotion. ?*

Granting the love of freedom, all of these are possible.

And the love of freedom is still fierce and steady in the nation today.



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will be - there
They must be ~~greater~~ *greater*
~~for each~~ *for each* sacrifice
as we move forward ~~forward~~ *forward*
in our determined to arm this mighty
nation. Those sacrifices will in
themselves be a symbol of our
unity and give strength to our resolve.

for the preservation of our ideals