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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.

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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
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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
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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
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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
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It is right that each new generation should ask questions.
But in recent months the principal question has been greatly
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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.

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.

[Signature]

Original reading copy - for Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. on his graduation as Bachelor of Law at Harvard, June 17th, 1940.

June 10, 1940
This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.
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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 12:15 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 ascendency of this philosophy of force in country after country where free institutions and individual liberties were once maintained.

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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 locked in prison, handcuffed, hungry, and fed through the bars from day to day by the contemptuous, un pitying 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 plain 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, 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 give 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 not 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 peaceful negotiations 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.

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

Insert B into Italian entrance into WWII
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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 obligations 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 its unwillingness to find the means through pacific negotiation for the satisfaction of what it believes are its legitimate aspirations.

(End 1934 A)
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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 Civil War. 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 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 natural and 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 their ad

oligned is the new and vigorous religion of which will over-run the earth.

They have seen the success 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 face 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 practice of freedom - the practice 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 aid 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 conquists 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.
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 young men and women, 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
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 in-
stitutions of a free people.

It is understandable that they should ask this question.
They have read the words of those who tell them 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 ascendency of this
philosophy of force in country after country where free in-
stitutions and individual liberty were once maintained.

It is natural and understandable, therefore, that they
should first ask themselves what the extension of the philosophy
of force to all the world will lead to ultimately. We see today the
struggle today, some of the consequences of the machine age,
that one of the results is the perfecting of the machine in which
where control of machines has been retained in
the hands of man as a whole, instead of being returned
reserved. Mankind was then the master, the 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 that whereas the perfecting of the machine has obtained 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 whom ever the democratic sanctions. The machine in their hands is the master. Humanity is merely the servant, not the victim. These masters, these drivers, abandon with complete deliberation all of the moral values to which 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 either 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 overwhelmingly and that we perceive the peril in a world-wide area — an area 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 symbol of a nation (hopeless nightmare) of a people without freedom, a people lodged in prison and rationed through the bare 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 **extent** 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.
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.

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 will be important participants in that endeavor.

This effort is but part of the program for utilization of all our resources, of all our man 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 the opportunities and responsibilities of each citizen will be.
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
young men and the young women of America ask themselves with
earnestness and with deep concern this same question: "What is to
doom of the country be done?"
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
under democratic forms of government, - under the free in-
stitutions of a free people.

It is understandable that they should ask this question.
They read the words of those who tell them that the
ideal of individual liberty, the ideal of personal freedom, is
a decadent ideal. They read the words and hear the boasts
of those who say that a belief in force - force directed by
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over-run the earth. They have seen the ascendancy of this
philosophy of force in country after country where free in-
stitutions and individual liberty were once maintained.

It is natural and understandable, therefore, that they
should first ask themselves what the extension of the philosophy
of force to all the world will lead to ultimately. We see today in
the world some of the consequences of the machine age.
That one of the results of the perfection of the machine is
that control of machine has been retained in the hands of mankind as a whole, mid-tribal benefits
have accrued to mankind. For mankind was
DRAFT 1

It is often 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 whom we call the democratic sanctions. This machine in hands of irresponsible engineers becomes the master; mankind is not only the servant, but the victim. Such mastery abandons with contempt all of the moral values to which even this young continent for more than 300 years has been dedicated and 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. What we should give thanks for is that this perception of danger has come to us clearly and overwhelmingly 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 continental limits stand out like an island in the sea. Such a part indeed still holds to the now obvious delusion that out of the United States can safely permit the United Nations. 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 nightmare of a people without freedom, a people lodged in prison and rationed through the bars from day to day by the unpitying 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...
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 maxim of our sympathies lie with those nations which are giving their life blood in combat against those forces.

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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.
On this day of June 1940, in this university
founded by the first
great American Teacher
of Democracy, we send
forth our prayers and
our hope to those beyond
the seen who are maintaining
with magnificent valor their
struggle for freedom.
We 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, 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.

That is a component part of national defence itself. The program unfolds not in a night, but at the speed that can be met with patience and into it falls the responsibility and the opportunity of every man and woman to preserve our heritage in days of peril.
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.

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.
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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.
Charlottesville, Va.,
June 10th, 1940.

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

P.P.E.
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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, 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 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.
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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 fastened
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 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.

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.

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 Medi-
terranean 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.

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And the love of freedom is still fierce and steady in the nation today.
Fileroom
6/12/40
PRESIDENT NICHOLSON, 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 ascendency 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 if we perceive the peril in a world-wide arena, an arena that may become so narrowed that only the Americans 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, upholding 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 that are giving their life blood in combat against these 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 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.
Again on a subsequent occasion, in 1919, 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 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 war, 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 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, — 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 however it may run counter to that which until yesterday we took for granted but today can no longer do.
Declaración de guerra ha sido entregada a los Ambasadores.

Mussolini empezó diciendo que Italia está viviendo momentos irrevocables de decisión.

Declaración de guerra ha sido entregada a los Ambasadores de Gran Bretaña y Francia.

Nosotros luchamos contra las demócratas plutocráticos cuyos dueños obstaculizan el progreso del pueblo italiano.

Mussolini está refiriéndose ahora a las sanciones que fueron impuestas a Italia por los demócratas en el momento de la campaña etíope.

Nuestra conciencia no está lastimándonos en absoluto. Esto lo veimos.

...... es testigo de que el movimiento nazi ha hecho todo lo posible para evitar la guerra, pero todo ha sido en vano.

Lo habría sido suficiente para revocar todos los tratados. Sería suficiente para poner fin a los acuerdos de garantías que han resultado dañinos para las naciones que los han aceptado. Habría sido suficiente para acoger la paz que se ofreció en octubre del año pasado, a la conclusión de la campaña polaca.

Todo esto pertenece al pasado. Nosotros estamos dispuestos a entrar en esta guerra porque creemos que un gran pueblo debe honorar los compromisos que ha contraído.

Queremos liberar a los prisioneros de guerra de la mar de Marrocos porque una población de 45 millones de personas no puede ser libre si no tiene acceso al océano.

Esta batalla gigantesca no es más que una etapa de nuestro desarrollo.

Es una revolución contra aquellos que quieren alimentarnos, los que controlan la riqueza, todo el mundo del mundo.

Es una lucha entre jóvenes y el pueblo decadente. Es una lucha entre dos siglos, entre dos concepciones del mundo.

Italia no quiere que otros pueblos se incorporen a esta lucha, a las naciones vecinas, que están próximos a Italia por tierra o por mar.

Durante un congreso en Berlín, dije que según el codex nazi, cuando una persona tiene un amigo que viaja por él, él debe hacerlo todo. Así nos encontramos y así lo hará con Alemania y con sus otros soldados que luchen.

Mussolini ha pedido que el pueblo rendir homenaje a su rey, el rey italiano.
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.

• • • •
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
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 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 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
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.
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, un pitying 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
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 exten 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 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 increasingly stark reality.

It is time to 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.

[Handwritten additions and edits]