
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

**Series 2: “ You have nothing to fear but fear itself:” FDR
and the New Deal**

File No. 1351-A

1940 December 29

**Fireside Chat #16 –
National Security**

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

DECEMBER 29, 1940

My friends:

This is not a fireside chat on war. It is a talk on national security; because the nub of the whole purpose of your President is to keep you now, and your children later, and your grandchildren much later, out of a last-ditch war for the preservation of American independence and all of the things that American independence means to you and to me and to ours.

Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back eight years ago to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function.

I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States, I had before my eyes the picture of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories; the girl behind the counter; the small shopkeeper; the farmer doing his Spring plowing; the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings.

I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis meant to them in their daily lives.

Tonight, I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America.

We met the issue of 1933 with courage and realism.

We face this new crisis -- this new threat to the security of our nation -- with the same courage and realism.

Never before since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock has our American civilization been in such danger as now.

For, on September 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin, three powerful nations, two in Europe and one in Asia, joined themselves together in the threat that if the United States interfered with or blocked the expansion program of these three nations -- a program aimed at world control -- they would unite in ultimate action against the United States.

The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

Three weeks ago their leader stated "There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other". Then in defiant reply to his opponents, he said this: "Others are correct when they say: With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves I can beat any other power in the world". So said the leader of the Nazis.

In other words, the Axis not merely admits but proclaims that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government.

In view of the nature of this undeniable threat, it can be asserted, properly and categorically, that the United States has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace, until the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world.

At this moment, the forces of the states that are leagued against all peoples who live in freedom, are being held away from our shores. The Germans and Italians are being blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British, and by the Greeks, and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from subjugated countries. The Japanese are being engaged in Asia by the Chinese in another great defense.

(9.35)

In the Pacific is our fleet.

Some of our people like to believe that wars in Europe and in Asia are of no concern to us. But it is a matter of most vital concern to us that European and Asiatic war-makers should not gain control of the oceans which lead to this hemisphere.

One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine was conceived by our government as a measure of defense in the face of a threat against this hemisphere by an alliance in Continental Europe. Thereafter, we stood on guard in the Atlantic, with the British as neighbors. There was no treaty. There was no "unwritten agreement".

Yet, there was the feeling, proven correct by history, that we as neighbors could settle any disputes in peaceful fashion. The fact is that during the whole of this time the Western Hemisphere has remained free from aggression from Europe or from Asia.

Does anyone seriously believe that we need to fear attack while a free Britain remains our most powerful naval neighbor in the Atlantic? Does anyone seriously believe, on the other hand, that we could rest easy if the Axis powers were our neighbor there?

If Great Britain goes down, the Axis powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the high seas -- and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all of us in the Americas would be living at the point of a gun -- a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic as well as military.

We should enter upon a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our hemisphere included, would be run by threats of brute force. To survive in such a world, we would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power on the basis of war economy.

Some of us like to believe that even if Great Britain falls, we are still safe, because of the broad expanse of the Atlantic and of the Pacific.

But the width of these oceans is not what it was in the days of clipper ships. At one point between Africa and Brazil the distance is less than from Washington to Denver -- five hours for the latest type of bomber. And at the North of the Pacific Ocean, America and Asia almost touch each other.

Even today we have planes which could fly from the British Isles to New England and back without refueling. And the range of the modern bomber is ever being increased.

During the past week many people in all parts of the nation have told me what they wanted me to say tonight. Almost all of them expressed a courageous desire to hear the plain truth about the gravity of the situation. One telegram, however, expressed the attitude of the small minority who want to see no evil and hear no evil, even though they know

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in their hearts that evil exists. That telegram begged me not to tell again of the ease with which our American cities could be bombed by any hostile power which had gained bases in this Western Hemisphere. The gist of that telegram was: "Please, Mr. President, don't frighten us by telling us the facts".

Frankly and definitely there is danger ahead -- danger against which we must prepare. But we well know that we cannot escape danger, or the fear of it, by crawling into bed and pulling the covers over our heads.

Some nations of Europe were bound by solemn non-intervention pacts with Germany. Other nations were assured by Germany that they need never fear invasion. Non-intervention pact or not, the fact remains that they were attacked, over-run and thrown into ~~the~~ modern ~~the~~ ~~the~~ slavery at an hour's notice or even without any notice at all. As an exiled leader of one of these nations said to me the other day -- "The notice was a minus quantity.

It was given to my government two hours after German troops had poured into my country in a hundred places*.

The fate of these nations tells us what it means to live at the point of a Nazi gun.

The Nazis have justified such actions by various pious frauds. One of these frauds is the claim that they are occupying a nation for the purpose of "restoring order". Another is that they are occupying or controlling a nation on the excuse that they are "protecting it" against the aggression of somebody else.

For example, Germany has said that she was occupying Belgium to save the Belgians from the British. Would she, ~~then~~, hesitate to say to any South American country, "We are occupying you to protect you from aggression by the United States"?

Belgium today is being used as an invasion base against Britain, now fighting for its life. Any South American country, in Nazi hands, would always constitute a jumping off place for German attack on any one of the

other Republics of this Hemisphere.

Analyze for yourselves the future of two other places even nearer to Germany if the Nazis won. Could Ireland hold out? Would Irish freedom be permitted as an amazing ^{but} exception in an unfree world? Or the Islands of the Azores which still fly the flag of Portugal after five centuries? We think of Hawaii as an outpost of defense in the Pacific. Yet, the Azores are closer to our shores in the Atlantic than Hawaii is on the other side.

There are those who say that the Axis powers would never have any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. This is the same dangerous form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance of so many conquered peoples. The plain facts are that the Nazis have proclaimed, time and again, that all other races are their inferiors and therefore subject to their orders. And most important of all, the vast resources and wealth of this Hemisphere constitute the most tempting loot in all the world.

(945)

Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many others are already within our own gates. Your government knows much about them and every day is ferreting them out.

Their secret emissaries are active in our own and neighboring countries. They seek to stir up suspicion and dissension to cause internal strife. They try to turn capital against labor, and vice-versa. They try to reawaken long slumbering racial and religious enmities which should have no place in this country. They are active in every group that promotes intolerance. They exploit for their own ends our natural abhorrence of war. These trouble-breeders have but one purpose. It is to divide our people into hostile groups and to destroy our unity and shatter our will to defend ourselves.

There are also American citizens, many of them in high places, who, unwittingly in most cases, are aiding and abetting the work of these agents. I do not charge these American citizens with being foreign agents. But I do charge them with doing exactly the kind of work that the dictators want done in the United States.

These people not only believe that we can save our own skins by shutting our eyes to the fate of other nations. Some of them go much further than that. They say that we can and should become the friends and even the partners of the Axis powers. Some of them even suggest that we should imitate the methods of the dictatorships. Americans never can and never will do that.

The experience of the past two years has proven beyond doubt that no nation can appease the Nazis. No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. There can be no appeasement with ruthlessness. There can be no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. We know now that a nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of total surrender.

Even the people of Italy have been forced to become accomplices of the Nazis; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be embraced to death by their allies.

The American appeasers ignore the warning to be found in the fate of Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and France. They tell you that the Axis powers are going to win anyway; that all this bloodshed in the world could be saved, and that the United States might just as well throw its influence into the scale of a dictated peace, and get the best out of it that we can.

They call it a "negotiated peace". Nonsense! Is it a negotiated peace if a gang of outlaws surrounds your community and on threat of extermination makes you pay tribute to save your own skins?

~~L~~ Such a dictated peace would be no peace at all. It would be only another armistice, leading to the most gigantic armament race and the most devastating trade wars in history. And in these contests the Americas would offer the only real resistance to the Axis powers.

(950)
With all their vaunted efficiency and parade of pious purpose in this war, there are still in their background the concentration camp and the servants of God in chains.

The history of recent years proves that shootings and chains and concentration camps are not simply the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships. They may talk of a "new order" in the world, but what they have in mind is ~~only~~ ^{only} a revival of the oldest and the worst tyranny.

In that there is no liberty, no religion, no hope.

The proposed "new order" is the very opposite of a United States of Europe or a United States of Asia.

It is not a government based upon the consent of the governed.

It is not a union of ordinary, self-respecting men and women to protect themselves and their freedom and their dignity from oppression. It is an unholy alliance of power and self to dominate and enslave the human race.

The British people are conducting an active war against this unholy alliance. Our own future security is greatly dependent on the outcome of that fight. Our ability to "keep out of war" is going to be affected by that outcome.

Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct statement to the American people that there is far less chance of the United States getting into war, if we do all we can now to support the nations defending themselves against attack by the Axis than if we acquiesce in their defeat, submit tamely to an Axis victory, and wait our turn to be the object of attack in another war later on.

If we are to be completely honest with ourselves, we must admit there is risk in any course we may take. But I deeply believe that the great majority of our people agree that the course that I advocate involves the least risk now and the greatest hope for world peace in the future.

The people of Europe who are defending themselves do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war, the planes, the tanks, the guns, the freighters which will enable them to fight for their liberty and our security. Emphatically we must get these weapons to them in sufficient volume and quickly enough, so that we and our children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure.

Let not defeatists tell us that it is too late. It will never be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.

Certain facts are self-evident.

In a military sense Great Britain and the British Empire are today the spearhead of resistance to world conquest. They are putting up a fight which will live forever in the story of human gallantry.

There is no demand for sending an American Expeditionary Force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your government to send such a force. You can, therefore, nail any talk about sending armies to Europe as deliberate untruth.

Our national policy is not directed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people.

, Democracy's fight against world conquest is being greatly aided, and must be more greatly aided, by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines.

(955)

It is no more unneutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, Russia and other nations near Germany to send steel and ore and oil and other war materials into Germany every day.

We are planning our own defense with the utmost urgency; and in its vast scale we must integrate the war needs of Britain and the other free nations resisting aggression.

This is not a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion. It is a matter of realistic military policy, based on the advice of our military experts who are in close touch with existing warfare. These military and naval experts and the members of the Congress and the Administration have a single-minded purpose -- the defense of the United States.

This nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency -- and with all possible speed. This great effort requires great sacrifice.

I would ask no one to defend a democracy which in turn would not defend everyone in the nation against want and privation. The strength of this nation shall not be diluted by the failure of the Government to protect the economic well-being of all citizens.

If our capacity to produce is limited by machines, it must ever be remembered that these machines are operated by the skill and the stamina of the workers. As the Government is determined to protect the rights of workers, so the nation has a right to expect that the men who man the machines will discharge their full responsibilities to the urgent needs of defense.

The worker possesses the same human dignity and is entitled to the same security of position as the engineer or manager or owner. For the workers provide the human power that turns out the destroyers, the airplanes and the tanks.

The nation expects our defense industries to continue operation without interruption by strikes or lock-outs. It expects and insists that management and workers will reconcile their differences by voluntary or legal means, to continue to produce the supplies that are so sorely needed.

And on the economic side of our great defense program, we are, as you know, bending every effort to maintain stability of prices and with that the stability of the cost of living.

Nine days ago I announced the setting up of a more effective organization to direct our gigantic efforts to increase the production of munitions. The appropriation of vast sums of money and a well coordinated executive direction of our defense efforts are not in themselves enough. Guns, planes and ships have to be built in the factories and arsenals of America. They have to be produced by workers and managers and engineers with the aid of machines which in turn have to be built by hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the land.

10 A.M.

In this great work there has been splendid cooperation between the government and industry and labor.

American industrial genius, unmatched throughout the world in the solution of production problems, has been called upon to bring its resources and talents into action.

Manufacturers of watches, of farm implements, linotypes, cash registers, automobiles, sewing machines, lawn mowers and locomotives are now making fuses, bomb packing crates, telescope mounts, shells, pistols and tanks.

But all our present efforts are not enough. We must have more ships, more guns, more planes -- more of everything. This can only be accomplished if we discard the notion of "business as usual". This job cannot be done merely by superimposing on the existing productive facilities the added requirements for defense.

Our defense efforts must not be blocked by those who fear the future consequences of surplus plant capacity. The possible consequences of failure of our defense efforts now are much more to be feared.

After the present needs of our defense are past, a proper handling of the country's peace-time needs will require all of the new productive capacity -- if not more.

No pessimistic policy about the future of America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries essential to defense.

I want to make it clear that it is the purpose of the nation to build now with all possible speed every machine and arsenal and factory that we need to manufacture our defense material. We have the men -- the skill -- the wealth -- and above all, the will.

I am confident that if and when production of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries requires the use of machines and raw materials essential for defense purposes, then such production must yield to our primary and compelling purpose.

I appeal to the owners of plants -- to the managers -- to the workers -- to our own government employees -- to put every ounce of effort into producing these munitions swiftly and without stint. And with this appeal I give you the pledge that all of us who are officers of your government will devote ourselves to the same whole-hearted extent to the great task which lies ahead.

As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend this hemisphere. The decision as to how much shall be sent abroad and how much shall remain at home must be made on the basis of our over-all military necessities.

We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war.

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We have furnished the British great material support
and we will furnish far more in the future.

There will be no "bottlenecks" in our determination to
aid Great Britain. No dictator, no combination of dictators,
will weaken that determination by threats of how they will
construe that determination.

The British have received invaluable military support
from the heroic Greek army, and from the forces of all the
governments in exile. Their strength is growing. It is the
strength of men and women who value their freedom more highly
than they value their lives.

I believe that the Axis powers are not going to win
this war. I base that belief on the latest and best
information.

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good
reason for hope -- hope for peace, hope for the defense
of our civilization and for the building of a better
civilization in the future.

I have the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat to our democratic faith.

As President of the United States I call for that national effort. I call for it in the name of this nation which we love and honor, and which we are privileged and proud to serve. I call upon our people with absolute confidence that our common cause will greatly succeed.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

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The original reading copy

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General Discussion of Economy

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
DELIVERED FROM THE WHITE HOUSE
December 29, 1940, 9:30 P.M.

MY FRIENDS:

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Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back eight years (ago) to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function.

I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States, I had before my eyes the picture of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories; the girl behind the counter; the small shopkeeper; the farmer doing his spring plowing; the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings.

I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis meant to them in their daily lives.

Tonight, I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America.

We met the issue of 1933 with courage and realism.

We face this new crisis -- this new threat to the security of our nation -- with the same courage and realism.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand and to some extent notes taken at the time the speech was first delivered. Underlining indicates material prepared or revised 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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Never before since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock has our American civilization been in such danger as now.

For, on September 27th, 1940, this year, by an agreement signed in Berlin, three powerful nations, two in Europe and one in Asia, joined themselves together in the threat that if the United States of America interfered with or blocked the expansion program of these three nations -- a program aimed at world control -- they would unite in ultimate action against the United States.

The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

It was only three weeks ago their leader stated this: "There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other". And then in defiant reply to his opponents, he said this: "Others are correct when they say: With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves I can beat any other power in the world". So said the leader of the Nazis.

In other words, the Axis not merely admits but the Axis proclaims that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy, their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government.

In view of the nature of this undeniable threat, it can be asserted, properly and categorically, that the United States has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace, until the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world.

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Germans and the Italians are being blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British, and by the Greeks, and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from subjugated countries. In Asia the Japanese are being engaged (in Asia) by the Chinese nation in another great defense.

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Such a dictated peace would be no peace at all. It would be only another armistice, leading to the most gigantic armament race and the most devastating trade wars in all history. And in these contests the Americas would offer the only real resistance to the Axis powers.

With all their vaunted efficiency, with all their (and) parade of pious purpose in this war, there are still in their background the concentration camp and the servants of God in chains.

The history of recent years proves that the shootings and the chains and the concentration camps are not simply the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships. They may talk of a "new order" in the world, but what they have in mind is only (but) a revival of the oldest and the worst tyranny. In that there is no liberty, no religion, no hope.

The proposed "new order" is the very opposite of a United States of Europe or a United States of Asia. It is not a government based upon the consent of the governed. It is not a union of ordinary, self-respecting men and women to protect themselves and their freedom and their dignity from oppression. It is an unholy alliance of power and pelf to dominate and to enslave the human race.

The British people and their allies today are conducting an active war against this unholy alliance. Our own future security is greatly dependent on the outcome of that fight. Our ability to "keep out of war" is going to be affected by that outcome.

Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct statement to the American people that there is far less chance of the United States getting into war, if we do all we can now to support the nations defending themselves against attack by the Axis than if we acquiesce in their

and must be more greatly aided, by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines. And it is no more unneutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, Russia and other nations near Germany, to send steel and ore and oil and other war materials into Germany every day in the week.

We are planning our own defense with the utmost urgency; and in its vast scale we must integrate the war needs of Britain and the other free nations which are resisting aggression.

This is not a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion. It is a matter of realistic, practical military policy, based on the advice of our military experts who are in close touch with existing warfare. These military and naval experts and the members of the Congress and the Administration have a single-minded purpose -- the defense of the United States.

This nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency -- and with all possible speed. And this great effort requires great sacrifice.

I would ask no one to defend a democracy which in turn would not defend everyone in the nation against want and privation. The strength of this nation shall not be diluted by the failure of the Government to protect the economic well-being of its (all) citizens.

If our capacity to produce is limited by machines, it must ever be remembered that these machines are operated by the skill and the stamina of the workers. As the Government is determined to protect the rights of the workers, so the nation has a right to expect that the men who man the machines will discharge their full responsibilities to the urgent needs of

defense.

The worker possesses the same human dignity and is entitled to the same security of position as the engineer or the manager or the owner. for the workers provide the human power that turns out the destroyers, and the (air)planes and the tanks.

The nation expects our defense industries to continue operation without interruption by strikes or lock-outs. It expects and insists that management and workers will reconcile their differences by voluntary or legal means, to continue to produce the supplies that are so sorely needed.

And on the economic side of our great defense program, we are, as you know, bending every effort to maintain stability of prices and with that the stability of the cost of living.

Nine days ago I announced the setting up of a more effective organization to direct our gigantic efforts to increase the production of munitions. The appropriation of vast sums of money and a well coordinated executive direction of our defense efforts are not in themselves enough. Guns, planes, (and; ships, and many other things have to be built in the factories and the arsenals of America. They have to be produced by workers and managers and engineers with the aid of machines which in turn have to be built by hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the land.

In this great work there has been splendid cooperation between the Government and industry and labor, and I am very thankful.

American industrial genius, unmatched throughout all the world in the solution of production problems, has been called upon to bring its resources and its talents into action. Manufacturers of watches, of farm implements, of linotypes, and cash registers, and automobiles, and sewing machines, and lawn mowers and locomotives are now making fuses, bomb packing

crates, telescope mounts, shells, and pistols and tanks.

But all of our present efforts are not enough. We must have more ships, more guns, more planes -- more of everything. And this can only be accomplished only if we discard the notion of "business as usual". This job cannot be done merely by superimposing on the existing productive facilities the added requirements of the nation for defense.

Our defense efforts must not be blocked by those who fear the future consequences of surplus plant capacity. The possible consequences of failure of our defense efforts now are much more to be feared.

And after the present needs of our defense are past, a proper handling of the country's peace-time needs will require all of the new productive capacity -- if not still more.

No pessimistic policy about the future of America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries essential to defense. We need them.

I want to make it clear that it is the purpose of the nation to build now with all possible speed every machine, every (and) arsenal, every (and) factory that we need to manufacture our defense material. We have the men -- the skill -- the wealth -- and above all, the will.

I am confident that if and when production of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries requires the use of machines and raw materials that are essential for defense purposes, then such production must yield, and will gladly yield, to our primary and compelling purpose.

So I appeal to the owners of plants -- to the managers -- to the workers -- to our own Government employees -- to put every ounce of effort into producing these munitions swiftly and without stint. (And) With this appeal I give you the pledge that all of us who are officers of your Government will devote ourselves to the same whole-hearted extent to the great

task that (which) lies ahead.

As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your Government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend this hemisphere. The decision as to how much shall be sent abroad and how much shall remain at home must be made on the basis of our over-all military necessities.

We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war.

We have furnished the British great material support and we will furnish far more in the future.

There will be no "bottlenecks" in our determination to aid Great Britain. No dictator, no combination of dictators, will weaken that determination by threats of how they will construe that determination.

The British have received invaluable military support from the heroic Greek army, and from the forces of all the governments in exile. Their strength is growing. It is the strength of men and women who value their freedom more highly than they value their lives.

I believe that the Axis powers are not going to win this war. I base that belief on the latest and best of information.

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good reason for hope -- hope for peace, yes, and hope for the defense of our civilization and for the building of a better civilization in the future.

I have the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat

to our democratic faith.

As President of the United States I call for that national effort. I call for it in the name of this nation which we love and honor and which we are privileged and proud to serve. I call upon our people with absolute confidence that our common cause will greatly succeed.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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HOLD FOR RELEASE

December 29, 1940

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast from the White House, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 4:30 P.M., E.S.T., December 29, 1940. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

This is not a fireside chat on war. It is a talk on national security; because the hub of the whole purpose of your President is to keep you now, and your children later, and your grandchildren much later, out of a last-ditch war for the preservation of American independence and all of the things that American independence means to you and to me and to ours.

Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back eight years ago to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function.

I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States, I had before my eyes the picture of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories; the girl behind the counter, the small shopkeeper; the farmer doing his Spring plowing; the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings.

I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis meant to them in their daily lives.

Tonight, I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America.

We met the issue of 1933 with courage and realism.

We face this new crisis — this new threat to the security of our nation — with the same courage and realism.

Never before since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock has our American civilization been in such danger as now.

For, on September 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin, three powerful nations, two in Europe and one in Asia, joined themselves together in the threat that if the United States interfered with or blocked the expansion program of these three nations — a program aimed at world control — they would unite in ultimate action against the United States.

The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

Three weeks ago their leader stated "There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other". Then in defiant reply to his opponents, he said this: "Others are correct when they say: With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves I can beat any other power in the world". So said the leader of the Nazis.

In other words, the Axis not merely admits but proclaims that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government.

In view of the nature of this undeniable threat, it can be asserted, properly and categorically, that the United States has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace, until the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world.

At this moment, the forces of the states that are leashed against all peoples who live in freedom, are being held away from our shores. The Germans and Italians are being blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British, and by the Greeks, and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from subjugated countries. The Japanese are being engaged in Asia by the Chinese in another great defense.

In the Pacific is our fleet.

Some of our people like to believe that wars in Europe and in Asia are of no concern to us. But it is a matter of most vital concern to us that European and Asiatic war-makers should not gain control of the oceans which lead to this hemisphere.

One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine was conceived by our government as a measure of defense in the face of a threat against this hemisphere by an alliance in Continental Europe. Thereafter, we stood on guard in the Atlantic, with the British as neighbors. There was no treaty. There was no "unwritten agreement".

Yet, there was the feeling, proven correct by history, that we as neighbors could settle any disputes in peaceful fashion. The fact is that during the whole of this time the Western Hemisphere has remained free from aggression from Europe or from Asia.

Does anyone seriously believe that we need to fear attack while a free Britain remains our most powerful naval neighbor in the Atlantic? Does anyone seriously believe, on the other hand, that we could rest easy if the Axis powers were our neighbor there?

If Great Britain goes down, the Axis Powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the high seas -- and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all of us in the Americas would be living at the point of a gun -- a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic as well as military.

We should enter upon a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our hemisphere included, would be run by threats of brute force. To survive in such a world, we would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power on the basis of war economy.

Some of us like to believe that even if Great Britain falls, we are still safe, because of the broad expanse of the Atlantic and of the Pacific.

But the width of these oceans is not what it was in the days of clipper ships. At one point between Africa and Brazil the distance is less than from Washington to Denver — five hours for the latest type of bomber. And at the North of the Pacific Ocean America and Asia almost touch each other.

Even today we have planes which could fly from the British Isles to New England and back without refueling. And the range of the modern bomber is ever being increased.

During the past week many people in all parts of the nation have told me what they wanted me to say tonight. Almost all of them expressed a courageous desire to hear the plain truth about the gravity of the situation. One telegram, however, expressed the attitude of the small minority who want to see no evil and hear no evil, even though they know in their hearts that evil exists. That telegram begged me not to tell again of the ease with which our American cities could be bombed by any hostile power which had gained bases in this Western Hemisphere. The gist of that telegram was: "Please, Mr. President, don't frighten us by telling us the facts".

Frankly and definitely there is danger ahead — danger against which we must prepare. But we well know that we cannot escape danger, or the fear of it, by crawling into bed and pulling the covers over our heads.

Some nations of Europe were bound by solemn non-intervention pacts with Germany. Other nations were assured by Germany that they need never fear invasion. Non-intervention pact or not, the fact remains that they were attacked, over-run and thrown into the modern form of slavery at an hour's notice or even without any notice at all. As an exiled leader of one of these nations said to me the other day — "The notice was a minus quantity. It was given to my government two hours after German troops had poured into my country in a hundred places!"

The fate of these nations tells us what it means to live at the point of a Nazi gun.

The Nazis have justified such actions by various pious frauds. One of these frauds is the claim that they are occupying a nation for the purpose of "restoring order". Another is that they are occupying or controlling a nation on the excuse that they are "protecting it" against the aggression of somebody else.

For example, Germany has said that she was occupying Belgium to save the Belgians from the British. Would she hesitate to say to any South American country, "We are occupying you to protect you from aggression by the United States?"

Belgium today is being used as an invasion base against Britain, now fighting for its life. Any South American country, in Nazi hands, would always constitute a jumping off place for German attack on any one of the other Republics of this Hemisphere.

Analyze for yourselves the future of two other places even nearer to Germany if the Nazis won. Could Ireland hold out? Would Irish freedom be permitted as an amazing exception in an unfree world? Or the Islands of the Azores which still fly the flag of Portugal after five centuries? We think of Hawaii as an outpost of defense in the Pacific. Yet, the Azores are closer to our shores in the Atlantic than Hawaii is on the other side.

There are those who say that the Axis powers would never have any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. This is the same dangerous form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance of so many conquered peoples. The plain facts are that the Nazis have proclaimed, time and again, that all other races are their inferiors and therefore subject to their orders. And most important of all, the vast resources and wealth of this Hemisphere constitute the most tempting loot in all the world.

Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many others are already within our own gates. Your government knows much about them and every day is ferreting them out.

Their secret emissaries are active in our own and neighboring countries. They seek to stir up suspicion and dissension to cause internal strife. They try to turn capital against labor, and vice-versa. They try to reawaken long slumbering racial and religious enmities which should have no place in this country. They are active in every group that promotes intolerance. They exploit for their own ends our natural abhorrence of war. These trouble-breeders have but one purpose. It is to divide our people into hostile groups and to destroy our unity and shatter our will to defend ourselves.

There are also American citizens, many of them in high places, who, unwittingly in most cases, are aiding and abetting the work of these agents. I do not charge these American citizens with being foreign agents. But I do charge them with doing exactly the kind of work that the dictators want done in the United States.

These people not only believe that we can save our own skins by shutting our eyes to the fate of other nations. Some of them go much further than that. They say that we can and should become the friends and even the partners of the Axis powers. Some of them even suggest that we should imitate the methods of the dictatorships. Americans never can and never will do that.

The experience of the past two years has proven beyond doubt that no nation can appease the Nazis. No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. There can be no appeasement with ruthlessness. There can be no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. We know now that a nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of total surrender.

Even the people of Italy have been forced to become accomplices of the Nazis; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be embraced to death by their allies.

The American appeasers ignore the warning to be found in the fate of Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and France. They tell you that the Axis powers are going to win anyway; that all this bloodshed in the world could be saved, and that the United States might just as well throw its influence into the scale of a dictated peace, and get the best out of it that we can.

They call it a "negotiated peace". Nonsense! Is it a negotiated peace if a gang of outlaws surrounds your community and on threat of extermination makes you pay tribute to save your own skins?

Such a dictated peace would be no peace at all. It would be only another armistice, leading to the most gigantic armament race and the most devastating trade wars in history. And in these contests the Americas would offer the only real resistance to the Axis powers.

With all their vaunted efficiency and parade of pious purpose in this war, there are still in their background the concentration camp and the servants of God in chains.

The history of recent years proves that shootings and chains and concentration camps are not simply the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships. They may talk of a "new order" in the world, but what they have in mind is but a revival of the oldest and the worst tyranny. In that there is no liberty, no religion, no hope.

The proposed "new order" is the very opposite of a United States of Europe or a United States of Asia. It is not a government based upon the consent of the governed. It is not a union of ordinary, self-respecting men and women to protect themselves and their freedom and their dignity from oppression. It is an unholy alliance of power and pelf to dominate and enslave the human race.

The British people are conducting an active war against this unholy alliance. Our own future security is greatly dependent on the outcome of that fight. Our ability to "keep out of war" is going to be affected by that outcome.

Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct statement to the American people that there is far less chance of the United States getting into war, if we do all we can now to support the nations defending themselves against attack by the Axis than if we acquiesce in their defeat, submit tamely to an Axis victory, and wait our turn to be the object of attack in another war later on.

If we are to be completely honest with ourselves, we must admit there is risk in any course we may take. But I deeply believe that the great majority of our people agree that the course that I advocate involves the least risk now and the greatest hope for world peace in the future.

The people of Europe who are defending themselves do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war, the planes, the tanks, the guns, the freighters which will enable them to fight for their liberty and our security. Emphatically we must get these weapons to them in sufficient volume and quickly enough, so that we and our children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure.

Let not defeatists tell us that it is too late. It will never be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.

Certain facts are self-evident.

In a military sense Great Britain and the British Empire are today the spearhead of resistance to world conquest. They are putting up a fight which will live forever in the story of human gallantry.

There is no demand for sending an American Expeditionary Force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your government to send such a force. You can, therefore, nail any talk about sending armies to Europe as deliberate untruth.

Our national policy is not directed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people.

Democracy's fight against world conquest is being greatly aided, and must be more greatly aided, by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines. It is no more unnatural for us to do that than it is for Sweden, Russia and other nations near Germany, to send steel and ore and oil and other war materials into Germany every day.

We are planning our own defense with the utmost urgency; and in its vast scale we must integrate the war needs of Britain and the other free nations resisting aggression.

This is not a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion. It is a matter of realistic military policy, based on the advice of our military experts who are in close touch with existing warfare. These military and naval experts and the members of the Congress and the Administration have a single-minded purpose -- the defense of the United States.

This nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency -- and with all possible speed. This great effort requires great sacrifice.

I would ask no one to defend a democracy which in turn would not defend everyone in the nation against want and privation. The strength of this nation shall not be diluted by the failure of the Government to protect the economic well-being of all citizens.

If our capacity to produce is limited by machines, it must ever be remembered that these machines are operated by the skill and the stamina of the workers. As the Government is determined to protect the rights of workers, so the nation has a right to expect that the men who man the machines will discharge their full responsibilities to the urgent needs of defense.

The worker possesses the same human dignity and is entitled to the same security of position as the engineer or manager or owner. For the workers provide the human power that turns out the destroyers, the airplanes and the tanks.

The nation expects our defense industries to continue operation without interruption by strikes or lock-outs. It expects and insists that management and workers will reconcile their differences by voluntary or legal means, to continue to produce the supplies that are so morally needed.

And on the economic side of our great defense program, we are, as you know, bending every effort to maintain stability of prices and with that the stability of the cost of living.

Nine days ago I announced the setting up of a more effective organization to direct our gigantic efforts to increase the production of munitions. The appropriation of vast sums of money and well coordinated executive direction of our defense efforts are not in themselves enough. Guns, planes and ships have to be built in the factories and arsenals of America. They have to be produced by workers and managers and engineers with the aid of machines which in turn have to be built by hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the land.

In this great work there has been splendid cooperation between the government and industry and labor.

American industrial genius, unmatched throughout the world in the solution of production problems, has been called upon to bring its resources and talents into action. Manufacturers of watches, of farm implements, linotypes, cash registers, automobiles, sewing machines, lawn mowers and locomotives are now making fuses, bomb packing crates, telescope mounts, shells, pistols and tanks.

But all our present efforts are not enough. We must have more ships, more guns, more planes - more of everything. This can only be accomplished if we discard the notion of "business as usual". This job cannot be done merely by superimposing on the existing productive facilities the added requirements for defense.

Our defense efforts must not be blocked by those who fear the future consequences of surplus plant capacity. The possible consequences of failure of our defense efforts now are much more to be feared.

After the present needs of our defense are past, a proper handling of the country's peace-time needs will require all of the new productive capacity — if not more.

No pessimistic policy about the future of America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries essential to defense.

I want to make it clear that it is the purpose of the nation to build now with all possible speed every machine and arsenal and factory that we need to manufacture our defense material. We have the men — the skill — the wealth — and above all, the will.

I am confident that if and when production of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries requires the use of machines and raw materials essential for defense purposes, then such production must yield to our primary and compelling purpose.

I appeal to the owners of plants — to the managers — to the workers — to our own government employees — to put every ounce of effort into producing these munitions swiftly and without stint. And with this appeal I give you the pledge that all of us who are officers of your government will devote ourselves to the same whole-hearted extent to the great task which lies ahead.

As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend this hemisphere. The decision as to how much shall be sent abroad and how much shall remain at home must be made on the basis of our over-all military necessities.

We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war.

We have furnished the British great material support and we will furnish far more in the future.

There will be no "bottlenecks" in our determination to aid Great Britain. No dictator, no combination of dictators, will weaken that determination by threats of how they will construe that determination.

The British have received invaluable military support from the heroic Greek army, and from the forces of all the governments in exile. Their strength is growing. It is the strength of men and women who value their freedom more highly than they value their lives.

I believe that the Axis powers are not going to win this war. I base that belief on the latest and best information.

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good reason for hope -- hope for peace, hope for the defense of our civilization and for the building of a better civilization in the future.

I have the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat to our democratic faith.

As President of the United States I call for that national effort. I call for it in the name of this nation which we love and honor and which we are privileged and proud to serve. I call upon our people with absolute confidence that our common cause will greatly succeed.

First Draft

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
DECEMBER 29, 1940

[Nearly eight years ago the world was at peace but almost every nation in the world was suffering from very serious economic ills. The worse they got in any one country, the worse they became in another.

We in the United States in March, 1933, suddenly discovered that the whole banking system of our own country had folded up. The wheels of American life were grinding to a full stop. Obviously two things had to be done. First, the banks had to be reopened, and, second, the people demanded reassurance by an explanation of what was wrong and what was about to be done.

I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House preparing to talk with the people of the United States, on the second Sunday evening of my Administration, I tried to keep before my eyes the vision of just whom I was talking with.

~~the~~
I saw the artisan on ~~the~~ scaffolding; the girl behind ~~the~~
~~ter~~ the counter; the man digging a ditch; the farmer doing his Spring plowing; the old lady wondering about her life's savings.

The response of the whole nation was immediate. They understood that deposits in banks are not put into safes and vaults, but that they are put out to the practical use of paying wages, or ordering and manufacturing goods, of keeping the active life blood of work running through the veins of the nation.

From that day on we have met all kinds of problems of detail -- economic, industrial, agricultural and social -- and I think that we have made progress. But the important thing is that in the saving of the situation, and in keeping things going, we have retained the same general system of American life which has existed here since our earliest colonial days. We have enabled it to continue, though it was threatened from within by a complete disruption.

Today it is threatened from without. Let no man or woman on any of our seaboards or in the center of the nation doubt that fact.] Let no man or woman fail to recognize that there are nearly two billion human beings in the world and that if 90% of them adopt or are dominated by a wholly different way of living and philosophy of life, the remaining 10% of the world's population is, whether they like it or not, on an exceedingly hot spot.

(A)

I ask you to take this long range point of view. The Axis powers of Europe contain one hundred and twenty million people within their own borders and they have in a year or two conquered or dominated another one hundred million people.

Speaking wholly dispassionately, their philosophy and practice of government eliminates certain ideals which have been ours for centuries. They have discarded freedom to worship God in your own way and without interference. They have forbidden free information through the freedom of the press and the freedom of discussion. They have forbidden labor to ask redress of grievances. They have abolished the choice of Governors through free elections. And they have said to the rest of the world that the might of a self-appointed few transcends the right of the many.

Finally, they have announced in no uncertain terms, first, that other races are so inferior to them that they must be subject to them, and, second, that because of their own superiority they intend to control the future of the world.

To them they seem to have joined a great Far Eastern nation which, while composed of only seventy or eighty million people, seems to seek to dominate the hundreds of millions of other people who form the population of what we call the Far East.

This announced scheme of conquest of the world is by no means as improbable or as distant as many people in the United States think. I admit that it is very pleasant to close one's eyes and ears and see no evil and hear no evil.

[Remember well that there are many other parts of the earth which may want to resist this announced conquest but which frankly have not the means to make the resistance. The whole Continent of Africa, for example, wishes without question to develop its own great future for the primary good of the people who live there. But that Continent has, to all intents and purposes, no munition plants, few weapons, and little training in the necessities of modern war. If the Axis powers should dominate the whole of Europe, including the British Isles, it is inevitable that Africa will follow too.]

In the same way the great Continent of South America, making splendid progress in its development in the democratic way of life and in the culture and thinking that goes with it, has unfortunately few of the material means ready and at hand to withstand an attack by a military machine that has announced that it seeks the conquest of the world.

I do not speak of the peace-loving one billion people who live on the Continent of Asia. The overwhelming majority of them are wholly unprepared to resist conquest by highly organized military nations which obviously seek to impose their will upon them.

The point is that the Americas are threatened either by conquest itself or by what amounts to the same thing; the domination of all the rest of the world by military might and the compulsion of the Americas to accept a dictated form of economy and a lower standard of living by what we might just as well call "the placing of a pistol at our heads".

Negotiated peace? Nonsense! Is it a negotiated peace if a gang of outlaws surrounds your community and on threat of extermination makes you pay tribute to save your own skins?

[There have been times in our own history when we have carried on with real courage for the sake of ideals and principles.]

A
Transcriber
to p. 7.

I do not charge that those whom we label "appeasers" are wholly unpatriotic. I do charge that they are very blind and very wishful and that they are somewhat stupid. R. [handwriting]

[In the days of our own Civil War when an outnumbered but brave minority of our own nation ~~were~~ seeking ~~the~~ ^{ADAF} ~~after~~ ^R year to establish the Confederacy, there were in the North many respectable citizens who, with much noise, demanded peace -- demanded a negotiated peace -- in other words, the recognition of the dissolution of the Union. And it was because most of the people in the North followed the leadership of Abraham Lincoln that the United States of America is intact today.]

Answer B

We Americans have in our midst many Fifth Columnists who are secretly and as agents of foreign powers seeking to create dissension and discord over here. Your Government knows much about them and every day is seeking them out and counteracting their nefarious work.

But there are many American citizens, many of them in high places, who, in most cases, unwittingly, are aiding and abetting the work of the Fifth Columnists. I refer to a number of business men in high places, a number of great newspaper owners, a number of columnists, a number of parlor pinks, a number even of preachers and professors. I do not charge them with being agents of Herr Hitler. But I do charge them with doing exactly the kind of work that Herr Hitler would have done for him in the United States.

A from J. b.

They appeal to your heart-strings. They appeal to your soft-headedness, if you have any. They tell you that the Axis powers are going to win anyway; that Great Britain and the British Empire are bound to go down in defeat anyway; that that being so all this bloodshed in the world could be saved by the recognition of that assumption, and that the United States might just as well throw its influence into the scale of a negotiated peace; look at what they call facts in the face, take part in a negotiated peace and get the best out of it that we can. Negotiated peace -- nonsense! These

people in their innocence ask us to acknowledge and abet
the conquest of all the world by the forces of the sword.

I deny the assumption of these people, and so does
the overwhelming majority of Americans; so I believe does
the overwhelming majority of human beings in all the rest
of the American Republics; so does the overwhelming majority
of human beings in all of Africa and all of Asia.

Invent J. > [Each day that goes by we are strengthened in our
belief, for we see a brilliant resistance to that domination
and we foresee its ultimate success.

This resistance is based on exactly the same principles
and ideals that most of the world adheres to -- the con-
tinued bettering and building up of decency, of faith to
the given word, of the Bill of Rights, and of peaceful
international relations on which our type of civilization
has long been based.

Invent C. Let me come down to cases.

1. In a military sense Great Britain and the
British Empire are today the spearhead of
resistance to world conquest -- and they
are putting up a fight which has our en-
thusiastic approval.

2. Because of the methods of the latest type of warfare, man-power in actual combat is less important than it was a quarter of a century ago, and munitions of all kinds and civilian supplies have become relatively more important.

3. The British Empire in its magnificent fight does not need an American Expeditionary Force to be sent outside our own borders. You in America can, therefore, label those who talk about sending armies to Europe as purveyors of deliberate untruth.

4. Our material assistance in the fight against world conquest does not call for us to declare war. For eight years I have become thoroughly accustomed to being labeled "a war-monger". That has happened on an average of every six months. The cheap partisans who cry "war-monger" seek only to play on fears. For eight years I have sought to eliminate fear. Our national policy, our national direction is not headed toward war. I invite you to look back over the files of our newspapers during all these eight years, and I invite you to watch during the coming week the cries of the appeasers who will chorus

the cry "yes, but if we help those who are fighting for the things we believe in we shall be drawn in." That is not true - And furthermore it is the cowardly outwith of those who in effect play Hitler's game.

5. The world fight against world conquest is being greatly aided and must be more greatly aided by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines. It is no more un-neutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, under a form of duress, to send steel daily into Germany or for Russia and the Balkan nations to send oil and foodstuffs by agreement into Germany.

Here take
in from p. 11 + 12
That brings me to the second part of what I would say to you. This nation is making a great effort but it is an effort which calls for more work and more sacrifice. The spade-work has been done. The preliminary study period is over. In that study period we have greatly increased our productive capacity and, at the same time, we have so far successfully maintained our balance.

By that I mean that the cost of living in this country has not entered into the upward spiral that characterized the World War years. We are trying to keep prices down in this program of increased production for two reasons. The first is that the average American ought not to have to pay greatly increased war prices; and the second is

that by keeping prices down the ultimate cost of this great program will be much less.

The other day on an inspection trip of our new out-lying bases, ^{we} worked out a plan by which, in general terms, the United States could continue its own building up of productive capacity and, at the same time, continue to produce all kinds of supplies to keep the front line defense of civilization going. I rejected the proposal that we should extend unlimited dollar credit to the British Empire, to be repaid in dollars at some future date -- this to be accomplished by the repeal of certain existing statutory prohibitions. I rejected proposals made that American taxpayers should give munitions and supplies to the British Empire, because I considered this unnecessary both from the point of view of America and of Great Britain.

I am, therefore, at work on the proposal that the flow of munitions and supplies should continue, thereby building up our own production, and that when this nightmare of world conquest shall have passed, the British Empire will, over a period of years, repay the loan to the United States, not in dollars but in kind --

Final [and I used the simile of the man who lends his garden hose to help his neighbor put out a fire.

Eight days ago there was announced the setting up of better coordinated and more responsible machinery for the actual turning out of these munitions and supplies, including all of the munitions and supplies which are going directly to our own defensive needs. Obviously we cannot by passing an appropriation and by giving an order multiply the airplane or the gun or the power output in a day or a week or a month. It is true that on the actual production of some items in a program which has thousands of items, we are not up to schedule, though we are moving better than schedule on many other items. That schedule was based on the goal set by industry and other experts last Summer.

We hope and we expect to attain that goal [and the simplified responsibility now after the preliminary period will help.

(We know)

It will help, however, only if every man and woman in the country gets behind it and works harder and puts their heart and their mind into it. It is a great effort. It is a worthy effort. It must be a serious effort

because it is a serious situation.

Insert E

[The threat is just as much a ~~F~~reat to the American way of life of the family that lives in the center of the country in a city, in a small town, or on the farm, as it is to the future American way of life of the family that lives on the seaboard within range of planes that come in from the sea.]

FOURTH DRAFT

11
12
36
12
13

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back eight years ago to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function.

I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States on that second Sunday evening of my Administration, I always had before my eyes the vision of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw the laborer digging a ditch, the girl behind the counter, the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories, the small shopkeeper, the farmer doing his Spring plowing, the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings.

I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis and the measures we were taking to meet it meant to them in their daily lives.

Tonight, I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America.

- 2 -

Prnt
We faced the issue of that crisis of 1933 with courage and realism; and worked our way out of the threat of disruption from within.

I believe that we are facing this new crisis of 1941 with the same courage and realism — this new threat to the security of our nation.

In this season of the year we celebrate the beginning of Christian civilization. We are the heirs of twenty centuries of faith in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. On that belief have been founded our families, our communities, and our nation.

This year for the first time in our history, that Christian civilization is in danger.

On September 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin, all the armed might of Germany, all of the strength of Japan, and the armed forces of Italy were joined together in a threat ^{that if the United States interfered, it would be blocked by Germany, Japan, and Italy} ~~to unite in ultimate action against the United States. That threat has now been underlined in red~~ by the highest authority in Germany and by high official authority in Japan.

The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country but also

to enslave the whole of Europe and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

A At this moment, the three totalitarian states that are leagued against all peoples who live in freedom are being held away from our shores. The Germans and Italians are being blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British. ^{and the Greeks (B)} The Japanese are being held in Asia by the Chinese ^{in another front defense. It} In the Pacific is our fleet.

Some of us like to believe that European wars are of no concern to us.

But it is a matter of most vital concern to us that European and Asiatic war-makers should not gain control of the oceans which lead to this hemisphere.

C One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine was propounded by our government in consultation with the British government. As a result of that, control of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans has been controlled by two friendly sea powers. The Western Hemisphere has accordingly been safe from aggression, from Europe or from Asia.

If Britain should fall, ^{our Hemisphere} security would be ended. We should enter upon a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our

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WASHINGTON

INSERT A - PAGE #3

Their leader three weeks ago stated "There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other Others are correct when they say: With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves".

In other words, (pick up page two of Insert A

2

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INSERT A - PAGE #3

The Axis not merely admits but asserts that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government.

It is interesting to note that in the same speech their leader was credibly reported to have said in verbatim translation " " though the official version which appeared later toned this down to the sentences - "it is truly a battle of two worlds against each other I can beat any other power in the world".

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INSERT A- PAGE #3 (continued)

The plain people of the United States and of the other American Republics need have no illusions about the consequences of Axis and Japanese domination of Europe, Africa, Asia and Australasia.

Should the United States work for world peace? Of course. That is a silly question to put. There is a condition, however. It can be asserted properly and categorically that the United States has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace until the day comes when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world.

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INSERT B - PAGE #3

and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from independent nations before complete occupation by invading forces.

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INSERT C - PAGE #3

One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine was propounded by our Government in the face of a threat against this Hemisphere by coalitions of continental Europe. It is not generally remembered that the Doctrine of America for the Americans -- North, Central and South -- was discussed by us with the British before we promulgated it. There was no treaty. There was no unwritten agreement. But the fact remains that two friendly sea powers -- friendly for 125 years -- has kept the Western

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INSERT C - PAGE #3

Hemisphere free from any aggression
from Europe or from Asia during
that whole time.

It is an historical fact also
that this strength on the seas has
not threatened or harmed the in-
dependence or the national life
of any one of the twenty-one
American Republics.

Hemisphere included, would be ruled by brute force. To survive in such a world, we would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power - on a permanent basis of war economy, with conscription of manpower and of wealth.

Some of us like to believe that even if Great Britain falls
because of
we still have safety ~~in~~ the broad expanse of the Atlantic and of the Pacific. The width of these oceans is not what it used to be in the days of ~~the~~ clipper ships.

At one point between Africa and Brazil the distance is no greater than from Pittsburgh to Denver - ~~four~~ hours for the ~~fastest~~ type of bomber. And at ~~one point~~ between American territory and Asia the distance is less than two ~~hours~~.

Even today we have planes which could fly from New York to London and back without refueling. And the range of the modern bomber is ever being increased.

During the past week many ~~telegrams and letters have come~~
~~from~~ people in all parts of the nation ~~expressing their hopes~~
~~they wanted me to~~
~~and wished me~~ what ~~should~~ say tonight. Almost all of them expressed
a courage desire to hear the plain truth about the gravity of the situation.
4

- 5 -

But one telegram expressed the attitude of the small minority ~~of those~~
who want to see no evil and hear no evil, even though they know that
~~evil exists.~~ That telegram begged me please not to ~~repeat the dis-~~
~~tances and flying times which I enumerated in my message of May~~
~~showing the ease with which our American cities could be bombed by any~~
~~hostile power which had gained bases in this Western Hemisphere.~~ The
gist of that telegram was: "Please Mr. President, don't frighten us by
telling us the facts."

There is no reason for any of us to be frightened. But we have
learned that we cannot escape from the evil of fear by crawling into bed
and pulling the cover over our ~~sleep~~ ^{heads}.

The facts are these. If Great Britain goes down, the Axis
Powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia ~~and~~ Africa - and they
~~will bring the Americas under their control~~
~~and Latin America~~
will be in a position to ~~seize control of~~ the continent of South America.
The peoples of Latin America have made splendid progress in the democratic
way of life and the culture and social development that go with it. But
they could not continue that progress under the constant threat of attack
by force or by what amounts to the same thing: domination by compulsion
to accept a dictated form of economy. It is no exaggeration to say that

all of us in the Americas would be living at the point of a gun -
a gun loaded with ruthless force, economic as well as military.

The fate of many European nations tells us what it ~~is~~ like
to live at the point of such a gun.

Some of these nations were bound ~~with Germany~~ by solemn
non-intervention pacts. They rested on the security of those paper
treaties. Other nations were assured by Germany that they need never
fear invasion — and the governments of these nations assured their
people in turn that they were safe. Non-intervention pact or not, the
fact remains that they were attacked, over-run and thrown into the
modern form of slavery at an hour's notice or even without any notice
at all. As an exiled leader of one of these nations said to me the
other day - "The notice was a minus quantity. It was given to my
government two hours after German troops had poured into my country
in a hundred places."

From actual events we ought ~~by now to know~~ the techniques
of conquest or control. The Axis powers have struck literally without
warning and literally without adherence to solemn assurances or treaties;
or they have ~~by~~ undermined the governments of independent nations by

FOURTH DRAFT

- 7 -

creating internal chaos, and then they have set up their own puppets

~~before the physical act of occupation, control and destructions~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{that} ~~are~~ ^{will} ~~be~~ ^{acted}.

They have justified such actions by various pious frauds.

One of these frauds is that they are occupying a nation for the

A purpose, as they say, of restoring order. The other is that they are occupying or controlling a nation on the excuse that they are "protecting it" against the aggression of somebody else.

If, for example, Germany had the affrontery to say that she was occupying Belgium to save the Belgians from the British, would she hesitate to say to any South American country "We are occupying you to protect you from aggression by the United States."

Belgium today is being used as an invasion base against Britain, now fighting for its life. Any South American country, in Germany's hands, would always constitute a jumping off place for German attack on any one of the Republics of this Hemisphere.
A

Those who say that we can protect ourselves by building a "ring of steel" around this hemisphere do not reveal much knowledge of military and naval facts. Of what will this ring of steel be composed? And where will the line be drawn?

FOURTH DRAFT

- 8 -

This is the obsolete theory of the old Chinese Wall - or,
to name a more modern example, the Maginot Line.

Modern aggressors are not stopped by such mechanical defenses.

There are those who say that the Axis powers would never have
any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. This is the same dangerous

✓ form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance
of so many conquered peoples. The plain facts are that their design to
~~control~~
~~conquer~~ the world is no longer hidden, they have actually boasted of
their right to world domination. They have proclaimed time and again
that all other races are their ~~inferior~~ ^{superior} and therefore subject to ~~the~~ ^{Their}
~~ideals~~
~~quest and achievement~~. And most important of all, the vast resources
and wealth of this Hemisphere constitute the most tempting loot in all
the world.

~~This danger which threatens us even without already incenses~~

~~us~~ ~~Constitutes~~

Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that
the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many ~~of the~~
~~peoples~~ ^{AHM} are now within our gates. Your government knows much about them
and every day is ferreting them out and counteracting their insidious
work.

Their secret emissaries are active everywhere in our own and neighboring countries. They seek to stir up suspicion and dissension among us to cause internal strife. They try to turn labor against capital, and capital against labor. They try to reawaken long slumbering racial and religious enmities which ~~should~~ have no place in this country. They are active in every group that promotes intolerance. They exploit ~~✓~~ for their own ends our natural abhorrence of war. These trouble-breeders have but one purpose, and it is certainly not to banish war. It is to divide our people into hostile groups and to destroy our unity and shatter our will to defense.

There are also American citizens, many of them in high places, who, in most cases, unwittingly, are aiding and abetting the work of these agents. I do not charge these American citizens with being foreign agents. But I do charge them with doing exactly the kind of work that the dictators want done for them in the United States.

These people believe not only that we can save our own skins by shutting our eyes to the fate of other nations. They go much further than that. They believe that we can and should become the friends and even the partners of the Axis powers. Some of them even suggest that

we should imitate the methods of the dictatorships. Americans never can and never will do this.

The experience of the past two years has proven beyond doubt that no nation can appease the Nazis. No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. We know now that a nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of total surrender.

(3) The people of Italy have been forced ~~to become~~ to become accomplices of the Nazis; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be embraced to death by their allies.

~~The~~ ^{2/3 of Europe,} American appeasers ignore the warning to be found in the fate of Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands Denmark, ^{2/3 of Europe,} They tell you that the Axis powers are going to win anyway; that Great Britain and the British Empire are bound to go down in defeat anyway; that all this bloodshed in the world could be saved, and that the United States might just as well throw its influence into the scale of a dictated peace. ^{(C) American diplomats} They ask us to take part in a dictated peace and get the best out of it that we can. They call it a negotiated peace.

Nonsense! Is it a negotiated peace if a gang of outlaws surround your community and on threat of ⁹ extermination make you pay tribute to save your own skins?

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INSERT C - PAGE #10

There is being shown, not in the picture houses but by invitation in private homes in this nation, a film which is merely a recent version of the film that was shown to leading citizens in independent nations subsequently overrun. It is a film that shows the might of arms, the munition power and amazing organization created by the Nazis. It is a film intended to prove to those who see it that no nation and no combination of nations in all the world could ever escape defeat at the hands of that machine.

Such a dictated peace would be no peace at all. It would be only another armistice, leading to the most gigantic armament race and the most devastating trade wars in history. And in these contests

~~The Americas offer the only real peace. The United States would be the principal opponent of the Axis powers.~~

I repeat - the American people can not and will not be parties to any such a deal, ~~which is no more than a gangster's compact.~~

present
The history of the last ten years seems to prove by the blood
~~of the innocent that the~~ *of Tyranny*
of the concentration camps are not simply
the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships. They
may talk of a new order in the world, but what they have in
mind is ~~new~~ *of Tyranny*, but a revival of the oldest and
the worst evil ~~the degradation of mankind.~~ *that* ~~In totalitarian dictator-~~

~~there is no~~ *no* liberty, ~~no~~ freedom, ~~no~~ culture, ~~no~~ religion, ~~no~~ hope
Nor is peace to be had by righting a wrong with other people's property
and other people's lives. And it is folly to believe that the property
or lives of any people will be safe in a world where peace is bought
at such a price.

The proposed new order is the very opposite of a United States
of Europe or a United States of Asia. It is not a government based upon

the consent of the governed. It is not a union of ordinary, self-respecting men and women to protect themselves and their freedom and their dignity from oppression and tyranny. It is an unholy alliance of power and pelf to dominate and enslave the human race.

There is no place in ~~such~~ order for any people who do justice, who love mercy and who walk humbly ~~before~~ God.

~~And so we frankly recognize Britain and all freedom-loving peoples are full parts of our own security. And that is why we have given~~ support, and must intensify our support, to those who are

fighting for a free and truly peaceful world. The peoples of Europe do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war, ~~the ships~~, the planes, the tanks, the guns which will enable them to fight for their liberty and our security. If we can only get these weapons to them in sufficient volume quickly enough, we and our children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure. Let not defeatists tell us that it is too late. It never will be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.

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INSERT D - PAGE 12

Remember that the first United States -- our own -- were constituted by the voluntary action of people who had set up and were living under their own independent governments.

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INSERT E - PAGE #12

Millions of people on the Continent of Europe reject the Nazi philosophy. Many on that Continent are fighting against having it imposed upon them.

In Great Britain other millions are conducting an active war against it. Our own future security is greatly dependent on that fight. Our own "keeping out of war" will be affected also by the outcome.

Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct statement to the American people that there is less chance of the

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INSERT E - PAGE #12 (continued)

United States getting into war if
we do all we can to aid the fight
against the Axis nations than if
we submit tamely to an Axis victory
and wait our turn to be dragged
into another war later on.

Certain facts are self-evident, ~~in this situation.~~

In a military sense Great Britain and the British Empire are today the spearhead of resistance to world conquest, ~~— and they~~ are putting up a fight which will live forever in the story of human achievement.

~~In this magnificent fight, the British have vital need of~~
~~material~~
~~weapons and munitions of all kinds. We must supply them, and we will~~
~~supply them.~~

There is no demand for sending an American Expeditionary Force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your government to send such a force. You can, therefore, nail any talk about sending armies to Europe as ~~purely~~ ~~or~~ deliberate untruth.

For eight years I have become thoroughly accustomed to being labeled a "war-monger". That has happened to me on an average of every six months. Those who cry "war-monger" seek only to play on your fears. For eight years I have sought to eliminate your fears. Our national policy, our national direction, is not headed toward war. It's sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people.

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The democracy's fight against world conquest is being greatly aided and must be more greatly aided by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines. It is no more un-neutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, under a form of duress, to send steel and ore daily into Germany, or for Russia and the Balkan nations to send oil and other war materials into Germany.

We are greatly increasing our productive capacity for our own national defense and to keep strong the front line defense of civilization. I rejected the proposal that we should repeal certain existing statutory prohibitions and extend unlimited dollar credit to the British Empire, to hand them a bank account to be repaid in dollars at some future date. I rejected proposals made that American taxpayers should give munitions and supplies to the British Empire, because I considered this unnecessary both from the point of view of America and of Great Britain.

I have proposed that the flow of munitions and supplies
should continue, thereby building up our own production, and that when
this nightmare of world conquest shall have passed, the British Empire
bag back
will, over a period of years, ~~return~~ to the United States ~~that we have~~
~~delivered to them~~ not ~~\$~~ dollars but ~~the~~ similar goods.

A. T.
At this moment, the British are holding their island fortress
and the gates to the Atlantic with a calm courage that does honor to
the human race. The Greeks have repulsed an Italian attack with the
old heroism of the men of Thermopylae and Marathon. The Chinese, almost
without modern weapons, are continuing their epic struggle with a tenacity
worthy of their greatest ancestors. But the British and the Greeks and
the Chinese are all in need of implements of defense of every sort. In
the months that lie ahead they will have to parry attacks more savage
than any they have yet had to meet.

Against modern instruments of war, courage is not enough.
The maintenance of the fighting lines that are protecting us depends,
therefore, in large part on the instruments of defense that the ~~British~~,
We can make,
~~the Greeks and the Chinese receive from~~

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INSERT F - PAGE 15

The British Empire, the Greeks and the Chinese, together with smaller forces from other nations, are continuing their epic struggle, but are in need of implements of defense of every sort.

FOURTH DRAFT

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Our support of those ~~peoples~~ who stand between us and still greater danger is a vital part of our own national defense. To impede that support is to impede our own defense.

The war needs of Britain and other free nations resisting aggression must be treated as an integral part of our own defense needs. It is essential that we coordinate the placing of orders and the expediting of production not only for the requirements of our own Army and Navy, but for the requirements of Britain and other free nations whose strength is part of our defense.

18 This ~~support of Britain and other democracies~~ is not a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion. It is a matter of realistic military policy, based on the advice of military experts who are in close touch with existing warfare. These military and naval experts of ours have a single-minded purpose -- the defense of the United States. There can be no other purpose on the part of your elected representatives -- the Congress of the United States on the legislative side, and the President who is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States. ~~These experts recommend to this Government and to~~

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~~the people of the United States that modern strategy requires that American defense weapons be produced in ever increasing quantities, and that as fast as produced those which we can spare be transferred for the immediate use of those who are engaged in the actual fighting.~~

This nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency -- and with all possible speed.

This great effort requires great sacrifice. The spade-work has been

*done, and the old models of hybernia have been
overcome.*

Many of you can remember the days of 1917 and 1918 and even early 1919 when the nation was in the midst of a spiral of increasing prices which left the average American family no better off than it had been before the war. The costs of living, rents, foods, clothing, etc. went up -- then wages went up, then rents and food and clothing and the necessities and the luxuries of life went up still further. The result was thoroughly bad for the people of the country.

That lesson we have tried to keep before our eyes all through this year. We are seeking to keep the cost of living as stable as possible, and to prevent the increasing spiral which did nobody any good twenty years ago. With few exceptions, we are getting excellent

FOURTH DRAFT

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cooperation from labor and from industry in these efforts because
labor and industry recognize the value of stability.

*Then Harry's putting in like
B*

FOURTH DRAFT

- 18 -

cooperation from labor and from industry in these efforts because

labor and industry recognize the value of stability.

Then Harry's putting in Cuba
#

- This follows the last page I sent up -

To this I would say that, after the present needs of our defense are past a proper handling of the country's ^{new} ~~this~~ needs ~~in peace~~ will require all of the new productive capacity - if not more.

~~1~~ [airplane icon]
Eight days ago I announced the setting up of a more effective organization to direct our gigantic efforts to increase the flow of munitions. The appropriation of vast sums of money and a well coordinated executive direction of our defense efforts are but essential instruments of ^{have taken} stimulation. Guns, airplanes and ships ~~were~~ built in the factories and arsenals of America. They are produced by workers and managers and engineers with the aid of machines which are in turn built by ^{hundreds} ~~some~~ of thousands of workers throughout the nation.

These munitions are being produced in vast quantities—
^{In this great work} for ourselves and Britain. There has been splendid co-operation between the government and industry and labor.

But the effort is not enough, ^{yet} ~~we~~ must have more ships, more guns, more planes. This can only be accomplished if we discard ^{in the heavy industries} the notion of business as usual. This job cannot be done merely by superimposing ^{added} on the existing productive facilities the requirements for

defense. Our defense efforts must not be impeded by those who fear ^{the consequences of} ~~more~~ for what will happen to their increased airplane plant capacity later than they ^{now} ~~are~~ for building guns now. ^{and fear the consequences of future of} our defense efforts now.

Insert-X

47

I have confidence that long after the needs of our defense are past, this nation will require the ~~next~~ enterprises essential to our expanding peace time economy.

Great projects must be now delayed, which must be executed after this war is over. No defeatist policy about the future of America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries essential to defense. The government is sharing with industry the financial responsibility for their expansion, much of which is already far advanced.

I want to make it clear that ^{it} ~~this~~ is the determined ^{now} policy of the nation to build with all possible speed every machine and arsenal and factory that we need to manufacture our defense material. We have the men -- the skill -- the wealth - and above all, the will. ^{I am confident that} If and when the manufacturer of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries interferes with defense, then these, too, will ~~gradually~~ give ^{way} before our primary and compelling purpose.

Every machine capable of producing an implement of defense must be used to its fullest capacity. There are no limits as to what we need to produce for our defense -- ~~Our needs are~~ ~~are~~ limited only by our capacity, ~~and that capacity is~~

This follows the last page sent up

In ~~the~~

~~the greatest of any nation in the world.~~) I appeal to the owners of plants -- to the managers -- to the workers -- to our own government employees -- to ~~put~~ bend every ounce of ~~into producing~~ effort to turn these munitions ~~out~~ swiftly and without stint.

As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend the United States of America. As we are convinced that the support of the democracies is in our self-interest, it clearly follows that the ~~decreta-~~
~~mination~~ as to how much shall be sent abroad and what shall remain at home must be ~~determined~~ ^{Deciding} ~~upon~~ on the basis of our over-all military necessities ~~are the situation which then exists.~~

~~Let us put every ounce of our strength and energy into~~
~~Before us is~~
the task of furnishing the sinews of war both for ourselves and ~~to~~ those whose victory will save our sons from death and our nation from war. We must be the great arsenal of democracy. ~~This is~~ ^{This is} ~~for us an~~ emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war.

I would ask no one to defend a democracy which in turn would not defend everyone in the nation against want and privation. The strength of this nation shall not be diluted by the failure of the Government to protect the economic well-being of the ^{all} least of its citizens.

If our capacity to produce is limited by machines, it must ever be remembered that these machines are operated by the skill and stamina of the worker. As the Government is determined to protect the rights of workers, so the nation can be certain ~~that~~ ^{has confidence} that the men who man the machines will discharge their full responsibilities to the urgent needs of defense.

Labor ~~possesses the~~ ^{human power} ~~is entitled to the same~~ dignity and security of position as the engineer or manager or worker. For ~~their's~~ ^{human power} is the skill and the brawn that turn out the destroyers, the airplanes and the tanks.

The nation expects our defense industries to be ~~operated~~ ^{continually} without interruption by strikes or lock-outs. It expects and insists that management and the workers will reconcile their differences by voluntary or legal means to produce the supplies that are so sorely needed.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A. F. T. C.

Finally, I would counsel all of the American people

against those who preach defeatism.

A year ago, after the wanton destruction of Poland, these amateur strategists, with cynical indifference, were insisting that this is "a phoney war".

They were taken by surprise last spring by the series of disastrous events in Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium and France.

The defeatists then suddenly discovered to their own satisfaction that the Axis powers were invincible. After the downfall of France, last June, they freely predicted that the conquest of Britain would be accomplished within a matter of days.

But six months have passed and the British today are stronger, both in arms and in morale, than ever before in this war.

The British have received invaluable support from the heroic Greek army, and from the forces of all the governments in exile. Their strength and the strength and inspiration of men who value their freedom more highly than they value their lives.

I, for one, believe that the Axis powers are not going to win this war. I base that belief on the latest and best information.

Peroration

- 2 -

World opinion is rapidly shifting in opposition to an Axis victory, and even in those countries which have been invaded and are today prostrate I believe there will be an increasing resistance to Axis domination.

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good reason
for hope -- hope for the defense of our civilization and the building
of a better civilization in the future.

The basis of that hope is the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat to our democratic faith.

As President of the United States I call for that national effort. I call for it with absolute confidence that it will ~~succeed~~
greatly succeed.

6th Draft

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

DECEMBER 29, 1940

This is not a fireside chat on war. It is a talk
on national security and peace; because the nub of the
whole [argument on the part] ^{point} of your President is to keep
you now, and your children later, and your grandchildren,
much later, out of a last-ditch war for the preservation
of American independence and all of the things that
American independence means ⁵ to you and to me and to ours.

FIFTH DRAFT

~~PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS~~
December, 1940

Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back eight years ago to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function.

I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States [on that second Sunday evening of my Administration,] I ~~always~~ had before my eyes the ~~vision~~ ^{pictore} of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw [the laborer digging a ditch, the girl behind the counter; the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories; the small shopkeeper, the farmer doing his Spring plowing; the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings.

1 / I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis ~~and the measures we were taking to meet it~~ meant to them in their daily lives.

Tonight, I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America.

- 2 -

We met the issue of that crisis of 1933 with courage and realism, and worked our way out of the threat of disruption from, additional,

I believe that we face this new crisis of 1941 with the same courage and realism -- this new threat to the security of our nation.

In this season of the year we celebrate the beginning of Christianity. We are the heirs of twenty centuries of faith in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. On that belief have been founded our families, our communities, and our nation.

A This year for the first time in our history, that Christian civilization is in danger.

P For, On September 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin, all

the armed might of Germany, all of the strength of Japan, and the ~~armed~~

force of Italy were joined together in the threat that if the United

States interfered with or blocked the expansion program -- ~~A program aimed at~~

~~of these three nations, they would be compelled to unite in ultimate action~~

against the United States. ~~That threat has been underlined in red by~~

~~the highest authority in Germany and by high official authority in Japan.~~

The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country but also

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A - Page 2

Never before since Jamestown
and Plymouth Rock has our American
civilization been in such danger as
now.

~~Their leader three weeks ago stated "There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other; ... Others are correct when they say: With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves".~~

~~In other words, the Axis not merely admits but [asserts] proclaims that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government.~~

It is interesting to note that in the same speech their leader was credibly reported to have said in verbatim translation "We will defeat the entire world"; though the official version which appeared later toned this down to the sentence - ~~"We are ready for~~ ~~battle of two worlds against each other I can beat any other power in the world".~~

The plain people of the United States and of the other American Republics need have no illusions about the consequences of Axis [and Japanese] domination, ~~of Europe, Africa, Asia and Australasia.~~

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In view of the nature
of this undesirable threat, it

[Should the United States work for world peace? Of course it should,

~~That is still a question to put.~~ There is a condition, however. It]

can be asserted, properly and categorically that the United States
has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace until the day comes
when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations
to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world.

At this moment, the three totalitarian states that are
leagued against all peoples who live in freedom are being held away
from our shores. The Germans and Italians are being blocked on the
other side of the Atlantic by the British and the Greeks and by
thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from independ-
ent nations before complete occupation by invading forces. The Japanese
are being held ^{of their} ~~engaged~~ in Asia by the Chinese in another great defense.

In the Pacific is our fleet.

Some of us like to believe that European wars are of no
concern to us.

But it is a matter of most vital concern to us that European
and Asiatic war-makers should not gain control of the oceans which lead
to this hemisphere.

Institute - Berlin

A

[E] One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine was propounded by our Government in the face of a treat against this Hemisphere by coalitions of continental Europe. It is not generally remembered that the Doctrine of America for the Americans -- North, Central and South -- was discussed by us with the British before we promulgated it. There was no treaty. There was no unwritten agreement. But the fact remains that two friendly sea powers -- friendly for 125 years -- has kept the Western Hemisphere free from any aggression from Europe or from Asia during that whole time.

It is an historical fact also that this strength on the seas has not threatened or harmed the independence or the national life of any one of the twenty-one American Republics.

If Britain should fall, our Hemisphere security would be ended. We should enter upon a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our Hemisphere included, would be ~~ruled~~ ^{run by threats of} brute force. To survive in such a world, we would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power ~~on a permanent~~ ^{in the} basis of war economy, with ~~conscription~~ ~~and~~ ~~or manpower control~~ wealth.

INSERT - PAGE #5

(A) One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine was propounded by our government in the face of a threat against this hemisphere by an alliance in Continental Europe. Thereafter, we stood on guard in the Atlantic, with the British as neighbors. There was no treaty. There was no unwritten agreement. Yet, no dispute arose which we, as neighbors, could not settle in peace. The fact is that two friendly sea powers, ~~are~~ since that date, friendly for 125 years -- have kept the Western Hemisphere free from aggression from Europe or Asia during that whole time.

Does anyone seriously believe that we need to fear attack while Britain remains our neighbor in the Atlantic? Does anyone seriously believe that we could rest easy if the Axis powers were our neighbor there?

Some of us like to believe that even if Great Britain falls,
^{we} we still have safety ^(safe) because of the broad expanse of the Atlantic and
of the Pacific. ^{But} The width of these oceans is not what it used to be ~~was~~
in the days of clipper ships.

At one point between Africa and Brazil, the distance is no greater than from Pittsburgh to Denver - five hours for the latest type of bomber. And at the North of the Pacific Ocean, America and Asia almost touch each other.

Even today we have planes which could fly from New York to London and back without refueling. And the range of the modern bomber is ever being increased.

During the past week many people in all parts of the nation have told me what they wanted me to say tonight. Almost all of them expressed a courageous desire to hear the plain truth about the gravity of the situation. ^{feeling} But one telegram expressed the attitude of the small minority who want to see no evil and hear no evil, even though they know ^{in their hearts} that evil exists. That telegram begged me please not to tell again of the ease with which our American cities could be bombed by any

FIFTH DRAFT

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hostile power which had gained bases in this Western Hemisphere. The gist of that telegram was: "Please, Mr. President, don't frighten us by telling us the facts."

A7 ~~This is no reason for any of us to be frightened. But we have learned that we cannot escape from the evil of fascism by crawling into bed and pulling the covers over our heads.~~

~~.....~~. If Great Britain goes down, the Axis Powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia —

and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval

~~this dominion here~~ resources against ~~the continent of South America.~~ [The peoples of Latin America

~~which~~ have made splendid progress in the democratic way of life and

the culture and social development that go with it. But they could not

continue that progress under the constant threat of attack by force or

by what amounts to the same thing: domination by compulsion to accept a

dictated form of economy.] It is no exaggeration to say that all of us

in the Americas would be living at the point of a gun -- a gun loaded

with ruthless force, economic as well as military.

The fate of many European nations tells us what it feels like [to live]

to live at the point of such a gun.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A - PAGE #7

Frankly and definitely there
is danger ahead -- danger against
which we must prepare. But we
well know that we cannot escape
danger or the fear of it, by
crawling into bed and pulling
the covers over our heads.

Some of these nations were bound by solemn non-intervention pacts with Germany. [They rested on the security of those paper treaties.] Other nations were assured by Germany that they need never fear invasion [and the governments of these nations assured their people in turn that they were safe.] Non-intervention pact or not, the fact remains that they were attacked, over-run and thrown into the modern form of slavery at an hour's notice or even without any notice at all. As an exiled leader of one of these nations said to me the other day - "The notice was a minus quantity. It was given to my government two hours after German troops had poured into my country in a hundred places."

[From actual events we ought to know by now the techniques of conquest or control. The axis powers have struck literally without warning and literally without adherence to solemn assurances or treaties; or they have undermined the governments of independent nations by creating internal chaos, and then they have set up their own puppets and occupied and controlled and robbed.]

The Nazis
[They have justified such actions by various pieces frauds.
the claim
One of these frauds is that they were occupying a nation for the

purpose, [as they say], of restoring order. ^{The} ~~One~~ ^{other} is that they are occupying or controlling a nation on the excuse that they are "protecting it" against the aggression of somebody else.

~~For example, Germany had the opportunity to say that she was occupying Belgium to save the Belgians from the British.~~ ^{has said} ~~Would she hesitate to say to any South American country, "We are occupying you to protect you from aggression by the United States."~~ [?]

~~Belgium today is being used as an invasion base against Britain, now fighting for its life. Any South American country, in Germany's hands, would always constitute a jumping off place for German attack on any one of the other Republics of this Hemisphere.~~ ^{Nazi}

~~Those who say that we can protect ourselves by building a "ring of steel" around this hemisphere do not reveal much knowledge of military and naval facts. Of what will this ring of steel be composed? And where will the line be drawn?~~

~~This is the obsolete theory of the old Chinese Wall -- or, to name a more modern example, the Maginot Line.~~

~~Modern aggressors are not stopped by such mechanical defenses.~~

~~There are those who say that the Axis powers would never have any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. This is the same dangerous~~

form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance of so many conquered peoples. The plain facts are that [their design to control the world is no longer hidden, they have actually boasted of their right to world domination. They] ^{the Nazis} have proclaimed time and again, that all other races are their inferiors and therefore subject to their orders. And most important of all, the vast resources and wealth of this Hemisphere constitute the most tempting loot in all the world.

Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many others are now ^{already} within our own gates. Your government knows much about them and every day is ferreting them out, and countering their insidious work.]

Their Secret emissaries are active [everywhere] in our own and neighboring countries. They seek to stir up suspicion and dissension [among us] to cause internal strife. They try to turn labor against capital, and ^{KICK - UCCRA} ~~capital against labor.~~ They try to reawaken long slumbering racial and religious enmities which should have no place in this country. They are active in every group that promotes intolerance. They exploit

FIFTH DRAFT

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for their own ends our natural abhorrence of war. These trouble-

breeders have but one purpose, *[Fascism]* *[and it is certainly not to banish war.]*

It is to divide our people into hostile groups and to destroy our
unity and shatter our will to defend. *[just below]*

There are also American citizens, many of them in high places,
who, *(in most cases, unwittingly)*, are aiding and abetting the work of
these agents. I do not charge these American citizens with being
foreign agents. But I do charge them with doing exactly the kind of
work that the dictators want done *here* in the United States.

These people believe not only that we can save our own skins
by shutting our eyes to the fate of other nations. They go much
further than that. They *believe* *(say)* that we can and should become the
friends and even the partners of the Axis powers. Some of them even suggest
that we should imitate the methods of the dictatorships. Americans
never can and never will do this!

The experience of the past two years has proven beyond
doubt that no nation can appease the Nazis. No man can tame a tiger
into a kitten by stroking it. We know now that a nation can have peace
with the Nazis only at the price of total surrender.

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Even
Even the people of Italy have been forced to become accomplices of the Nazis; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be embraced to death by their allies.

The American appeasers ignore the warning to be found in the fate of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, 2/3 of France. They tell you that the Axis powers are going to win anyway; [that Great Britain and the British Empire are bound to go down in defeat anyway;] that all this bloodshed in the world could be saved, and that the United States might just as well throw its influence into the scale of a dictated peace.

[There is being shown, not in the picture houses but by invitation in private homes in this nation, a film which is merely a recent version of the film that was shown to leading citizens in independent nations subsequently overrun. It is a film that shows the might of arms, the munition power and amazing organization created by the Nazis. It is a film intended to prove to those who see it that no nation and no combination of nations in all the world could ever escape defeat at the hands of that machine.] American defeatists ask us to take part in a dictated peace and get the best out of it that we can. They call it a negotiated peace. Nonsense! Is it a negotiated peace if a gang of outlaws surround your community and on threat of

2 - 6 1/2 - 13 - 2 - ? >

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extermination make you pay tribute to save your own skins?

Such a dictated peace would be no peace at all. It would be only another armistice, leading to the most gigantic armament race and the most devastating trade wars in history. And in these contests the Americas would offer the only real resistance ^{f.} to the Axis powers.

[I repeat - the American peoples can not and will not be parties to any such a deal.]

The history of recent years proves by the blood of the innocent [that] shootings and concentration camps are not simply the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships. They may talk of "a new order" in the world, but what they have in mind is but ^a revival of the oldest and ^{the} worst evil of tyranny. In that there is no liberty, no religion, no hope.

The proposed new order is the very opposite of a United States of Europe or a United States of Asia. It is not a government based upon the consent of the governed. It is not a union of ordinary, self-respecting men and women to protect themselves and their freedom and their dignity from oppression and tyranny. It is an unholy alliance of power and pelf to dominate and enslave the human race.

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[Remember that the first United States -- our own -- were constituted by the voluntary action of people who had set up and were living under their own independent governments. There is no place in any Nazi imposed new order for any people who do justice, who love mercy and who walk humbly with their God.]

Millions of people on the Continent of Europe reject the Nazi philosophy. Many on that Continent are fighting against having it imposed upon them.]

The British people [In Great Britain other millions] are conducting an active war against [this unholy alliance]. Our own future security is greatly dependent on the outcome that fight. [Our own "keeping out of war" will be affected also by the outcome.] Our ability to keep out of war is going to be affected by that outcome.

Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct

statement to the American people that there is less chance of the United States getting into war if we do all we can to end the fight against the Axis nations than if we submit tamely to an Axis victory and wait our turn to be dragged into another war later on.

(A)

[That is why we give support, and must intensify our support, to those who are fighting for a free and truly peaceful world.] The peoples of Europe do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for

A - 14

If we are to be completely honest with ourselves, we must admit there is risk in any course we may take. But I deeply believe that the great majority of our people agree that ~~is~~ ^{the} course that I advocate ~~is~~ ^{involves} the least risk and the greater hope for ^{would} peace ~~for the world~~.

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the implements of war, the planes, the tanks, the guns, the freighters which will enable them to fight for their liberty and our security. If we can only get these weapons to them in sufficient volume quickly enough, we and our children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure. Let not defeatists tell us that it is too late. It never will be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.

Certain facts are self-evident.

In a military sense Great Britain and the British Empire are today the spearhead of resistance to world conquest. They are putting up a fight which will live forever in the story of human achievement.

There is no demand for sending an American Expeditionary Force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your government to send such a force. You can, therefore, nail any talk about sending armies to Europe as deliberate untruth.

[For eight years I have become thoroughly accustomed to being labeled a "war-monger". That has happened to me on an average of every six months. Those who cry "war-monger" seek only to play on your fears. For eight years I have sought to eliminate your fears.] Our national policy, ^{directed} our national direction, is not headed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people.

Democracy's fight against world conquest is being greatly aided and must be more greatly aided by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines. It is no more unneutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, under a form of duress, to send steel and ore daily into Germany, or for Russia and the Balkan nations to send oil and other war materials into Germany.

[We are greatly increasing our productive capacity for our own national defense and to keep strong the front line defence of civilisation. I rejected the proposal that we should repeal certain existing statutory prohibitions and extend unlimited dollar credit to the British Empire, to hand them a bank account to be repaid in dollars at some future date. I rejected proposals made that American taxpayers should give munitions and supplies to the British Empire, because I considered this unnecessary both from the point of view of America and of Great Britain.

I have proposed that the flow of munitions and supplies should continue, thereby building up our own production, and that when this nightmare of world conquest shall have passed, the British Empire will, over a period of years, pay back to the United States not dollars but similar goods.

The British Empire, the Greeks and the Chinese, together with smaller forces from other nations, are continuing their epic struggle, but are in need of implements of defense of every sort. In the months that lie ahead they will have to parry attacks more savage than any they have yet had to meet.

Against modern instruments of war, courage is not enough. The maintenance of the fighting lines that are protecting us depends, therefore, in large part on the instruments of defense that we can make.

The war needs of Britain and other free nations resisting aggression must be treated as an integral part of our own defense needs. It is essential that we coordinate the placing of orders and the expediting of production not only for the requirements of our own Army and Navy, but for the requirements of Britain and other free nations whose strength is part of our defense.

and the members of
Congress and of the
Administration

This is not a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion. It is a matter of realistic military policy, based on the advise of military experts who are in close touch with existing warfare. These military and naval experts [of course] have a single-minded purpose -- the defense of the United States. [There can be no other purpose on the part of your elected representatives -- the Congress of the United States on the legislative side, and the President who is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States.]

This nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency -- and with all possible speed. This great effort requires great sacrifice. [The spade-work has been done, and the old models of preparedness have been improved on.]

[Many of you can remember the days of 1917 and 1918 and even early 1919 when the nation was in the midst of a spiral of increasing prices which left the average American family no better off than it had been before the war.

That lesson we have tried to keep before our eyes all through this year. We are seeking to keep the cost of living as stable as

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I would ask no one to defend a democracy which in turn
would not defend everyone in the nation against want and privation.
The strength of this nation shall not be diluted by the failure of
the Government to protect the economic well-being of all citizens.

If our capacity to produce is limited by machines, it must
ever be remembered that these machines are operated by the skill
and stamina of the workers. As the Government is determined to
protect the rights of workers, so the nation *can be certain that*
has a right to expect that
the men who man the machines will discharge their full responsibilities
to the urgent needs of defense.

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-FIFTH DRAFT

Labor possesses the same human dignity and is entitled to the same security of position as the engineer or manager or owner. *The workers provide* For this is the human power that turns out the destroyers, the airplanes and the tanks.

The nation expects our defense industries to continue operation without interruption by strikes or lock-outs. It expects and insists that management and workers will reconcile their differences by voluntary or legal means to produce the supplies that are *continues to* so sorely needed.

[possible, and to prevent the increasing spiral which did nobody any good twenty years ago. With few exceptions, we are getting excellent cooperation from labor and from industry in these efforts because labor and industry recognize the value of stability.]

Now
Eight days ago I announced the setting up of a more effective organization to direct our gigantic efforts to increase the flow of munitions. The appropriation of vast sums of money and a well co-ordinated executive direction of our defense efforts are [but essential instruments of stimulation. *not, in themselves enough.* Guns, airplanes and ships have to be built in the factories and arsenals of America. They are produced by workers and managers and engineers with the aid of machines which [are] in turn built by hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the nation.

In this great work there has been splendid cooperation between the government and industry and labor.

This in itself
But the effort is not yet enough. We must have more ships, more guns, more planes. This can only be accomplished if we discard the notion of business as usual. This job cannot be done merely by superimposing on the existing productive facilities the added require-

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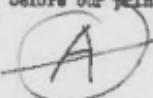
ments for defense.

block
Our defense efforts must not be impeded by those who fear
future
the consequences of surplus plant capacity, [later more than they fear]
possible
the consequences of failure of our defense efforts now, ~~are much~~
more to be feared.
To these I would say first, After the present needs of our
defense are past, a proper handling of the country's peace-time
needs will require all of the new productive capacity -- if not more.

[Great projects must be now delayed, which must be executed
after this war is over.] *fascistic*
No defeatist policy about the future of
America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries es-
sential to defense. [The government is sharing with industry the
financial responsibility for their expansion, much of which is already
far advanced.]

I want to make it clear that it is the *determined policy* of
the nation to build now with all possible speed every machine and
arsenal and factory that we need to manufacture our defense material.
We have the men — the skill — the wealth — and above all, the will.

[I am confident that if and when the manufacturer of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries interferes with defense, then these, too, will give way before our primary and compelling purpose.]



Every machine capable of producing an implement of defense must be used to its fullest capacity. There are no limits as to what we need to produce for our defense -- our needs are limited only by our capacity.

I appeal to the owners of plants -- to the managers -- to the workers -- to our own government employees -- to put every ounce of effort into producing these munitions swiftly and without stint.



As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend the United States of America. [As we are convinced that the support of the democracies is in our self-interest, it clearly follows that] the decision as to how much shall be sent abroad and what shall remain at home must be made on the basis of our over-all military necessities, ^{etc.} on the situation.

FIFTH DRAFT

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[I am confident that if and when the manufacturer of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries interferes with defense, then these, too, will give way before our primary and compelling purpose.]

(A)

Every machine capable of producing an implement of defense must be used to its fullest capacity. There are no limits as to what we need to produce for our defense -- our needs are limited only by our capacity.

I appeal to the owners of plants -- to the managers -- to the workers -- to our own government employees -- to put every ounce of effort into producing these munitions swiftly and without stint.

(B)

As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend the United States of America. [As we are convinced that the support of the democracies is in our self-interest, it clearly follows that] the decision as to how much shall be sent abroad and what shall remain at home must be made on the basis of our over-all military necessities, ^{etc.} ~~on the situation~~

FIFTH DRAFT

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which then exists.

[Before us is the task of furnishing the sinews of war both
for ourselves and for those whose victory will save our sons from
death and our nation from war.] We must be the great arsenal of
democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself.
We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the
same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice
as we would show were we at war.

2
[Finally, I again counsel all of the American people against those who preach defeatism.

A year ago, after the wanton destruction of Poland, these amateur strategists, with cynical indifference, were insisting that this is "a phony war".

They were taken by surprise last spring by the series of disastrous events in Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium and France.

The defeatists then suddenly discovered to their own satisfaction that the Axis powers were invincible. After the downfall]

V.F.DRAFT

26

will furnish
far more in the
future.

[of France, last June, they freely predicted that the conquest of Britain would be accomplished within a matter of days.

But six months have passed and the British today are

stranger, both in arms and in morale, than ever before in this war.]

P We have furnished the British great material support and we
no P The British have received invaluable support from the
military heroic Greek army, and from the forces of all the governments in
exile. Their strength is growing, and it is the strength of men
and women who value their freedom more highly than they value their
lives.

I, for one, believe that the Axis powers are not going to
win this war. I base that belief on the latest and best informa-
tion.

[World opinion is rapidly shifting in opposition to an Axis
victory, and even in those countries which have been invaded and
are today prostrate, I believe there will be an increasing resistance
to Axis domination.]

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good reason
for hope -- hope for peace, for the defense of our civilization and
for the building of a better civilization in the future.

~~Final Draft~~

27

-25-

[The basis of that hope is] the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat to our democratic faith.

As President of the United States I call for that national effort. I call for it with absolute confidence that it will greatly succeed.

SIXTH DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

DECEMBER 29, 1940

This is not a fireside chat on war. It is a talk on national security, ~~and defense~~; because the nub of the whole purpose of your President is to keep you now, and your children later, and your grandchildren much later, out of a last-ditch war for the preservation of American independence and all of the things that American independence means to you and to me and to ours.

Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back eight years ago to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function.

I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States, I had before my eyes the picture of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories; the girl behind the counter; the small shopkeeper; the farmer doing his Spring plowing; the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings.

SIXTH DRAFT

- 2 -

I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis meant to them in their daily lives.

Tonight, I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America.

We met the issue of that crisis of 1893 with courage and realism.

I believe that we face this new crisis ~~boldly~~ — this new threat to the security of our nation — with the same courage and realism.

~~We are the heirs of twenty centuries of Christian faith in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. On that belief have been founded our families, our communities, and our nation.~~

Never before since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock has our American civilization been in such danger as now.

For, on September 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin,
~~three powerful nations, two in Europe and one in Asia~~
~~the armed might of Germany, all of the strength of Japan, all the~~
~~army of Italy, were joined together in the threat that if the United~~
~~themselves~~

SIXTH DRAFT

- 3 -

States interfered with or blocked the expansion program of these three nations -- a program aimed at world control -- they would unite in ultimate action against the United States.

The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

Three weeks ago their leader stated "There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other". Then in defiant reply to his opponents, he said: ^{that} "Others are correct when they say: With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves... I can beat any other power in the world".

In other words, the Axis not merely admits but proclaims that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government.

[It is interesting to note that in the same speech their leader was credibly reported to have said in verbatim translation "We will defeat the entire world"; though the official version which appeared later, toned this down to the sentence, "I can beat any other power in the world".]

[The plain people of the United States and of the other American Republics need have no illusions about the consequences of Axis domination.]

In view of the nature of this undeniable threat, it can be asserted, properly and categorically, that the United States has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace, until the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world.

At this moment, the ~~various~~ states that are leagued against all peoples who live in freedom, are being held away from our shores. The Germans and Italians are being blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British, and by the Greeks, and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from ~~independent nations before complete occupation of them by invading forces.~~ ^{subjugated countries.} The Japanese are being engaged in Asia by the Chinese in another great defense.

In the Pacific is our fleet.

Some of ^{our people} like to believe that ~~European~~ wars are of no concern to us. But it is a matter of most ~~great~~ concern to us that European and Asiatic war-makers should not gain control of the oceans which lead to this hemisphere.

One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine
~~conceived~~ ^{As a measure of defense} was ~~espoused~~ by our government in the face of a threat
against this hemisphere by an alliance in Continental Europe.
Thereafter, we stood on guard in the Atlantic, with the
British as neighbors. There was no treaty. There was no
"unwritten agreement".

A. Yet, no dispute arose which we, as neighbors, could not
settle in peace. The fact is that two friendly sea powers,
since that date, have kept the Western Hemisphere free from
aggression from Europe or Asia during that whole time.

Does anyone seriously believe that we need to fear
attack while Britain remains our neighbor in the Atlantic?
Does anyone seriously believe, on the other hand, that we
could rest easy if the Axis powers were our neighbor there?

If Britain should fall, our hemisphere security would
be ended. We should enter upon a new and terrible era in
which the whole world, our hemisphere included, would be run
by threats of brute force. To survive in such a world, we
would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic
power on the basis of war economy.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A - PAGE #5

Yet, there was the feeling, proven correct by history, that we as neighbors could settle any disputes in peaceful fashion. The fact is that during the whole of this time the Western Hemisphere has remained free from aggression from Europe or from Asia.

SIXTH DRAFT

- 6 -

Some of us like to believe that even if Great Britain falls, we are still safe, because of the broad expanse of the Atlantic and of the Pacific.

But
But width of these oceans is not what it was in the days of clipper ships. At one point between Africa and Brazil the distance is no greater than from Pittsburgh to Denver — five hours for the latest type of bomber. And at the North of the Pacific Ocean, America and Asia almost touch each other.

Even today we have planes which could fly from New York to London and back without refueling. And the range of the modern bomber is ever being increased.

During the past week many people in all parts of the nation have told me what they wanted me to say tonight. Almost all of them expressed a courageous desire to hear the plain truth about the gravity of the situation. One telegram, however, expressed the attitude of the small minority who want to see no evil and hear no evil, even though they know in their hearts that evil exists. That telegram begged me not to

SIXTH DRAFT

- 7 -

tell again of the ease with which our American cities could be bombed by any hostile power which had gained bases in this Western Hemisphere. The gist of that telegram was: "Please, Mr. President, don't frighten us by telling us the facts."

Frankly and definitely there is danger ahead — danger against which we must prepare. But we well know that we cannot escape danger, or the fear of it, by crawling into bed and pulling the covers over our heads.

If Great Britain goes down, the Axis Powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa ~~and~~ Australasia — and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all of us in the Americas would be living at the point of a gun — a gun loaded with ruthless force, economic as well as military.

The fate of ~~many European~~ nations tells us what it means to live at the point of ~~of~~ a gun.

of Germany

Some [of these] nations were bound by solemn non-intervention pacts with Germany. Other nations were assured by Germany that they need never fear invasion. Non-intervention pact or not, the fact remains that they were attacked, over-run and thrown into the modern form of slavery at an hour's notice or even without any notice at all. As an exiled leader of one of these nations said to me the other day -- "The notice was a minus quantity. It was given to my government two hours after German troops had poured into my country in a hundred places".

Invent B prop. 7.

The Nazis have justified such actions by various pious frauds. One of these frauds is the claim that they were occupying a nation for the purpose of "restoring order". Another is that they are occupying or controlling a nation on the excuse that they are "protecting it" against the aggression of somebody else.

For example, Germany has said that she was occupying Belgium to save the Belgians from the British. Would she hesitate to say to any South American country, "We are occupying you to protect you from aggression by the United States"?

SIXTH DRAFT

- 9 -

Belgium today is being used as an invasion base against Britain, now fighting for its life. Any South American country, in Nazi hands, would always constitute a jumping off place for German attack on any one of the other Republics of this Hemisphere.

A17

There are those who say that the Axis powers would never have any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. This is the same dangerous form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance of so many conquered peoples. The plain facts are that the Nazis have proclaimed, time and again, that all other races are their inferiors and therefore subject to their orders. And most important of all, the vast resources and wealth of this Hemisphere constitute the most tempting loot in all the world.

Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many others are already within our own gates. Your government knows much about them and every day is ferreting them out.

Their secret emissaries are active in our own and neighboring countries. They seek to stir up suspicion and dissension to cause internal strife. They try to turn labor against capital, and vice-versa.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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Analyze for yourselves two other places even nearer to Germany if the Nazis won. Could Ireland hold out? Would Irish freedom be permitted as an amazing exception in an unfree world? Or the Islands of the Azores which still fly the flag of Portugal after five centuries? We think of Hawaii as an outpost of defense in the Pacific. Yet, the Azores are as close to our shores in the Atlantic as Hawaii is on the other side.

SIXTH DRAFT

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They try to reawaken long slumbering racial and religious enmities which should have no place in this country. They are active in every group that promotes intolerance. They exploit for their own ends our natural abhorrence of war. These trouble-breeders have but one purpose. It is to divide our people into hostile groups and to destroy our unity and shatter our will to defend ourselves.

There are also American citizens, many of them in high places, who, unwittingly in most cases, are aiding and abetting the work of these agents. I do not charge these American citizens with being foreign agents. But I do charge them with doing exactly the kind of work that the dictators want done in the United States.

These people not only believe that we can save our own skins by shutting our eyes to the fate of other nations. Some of them go much further than that. They say that we can and should become the friends and even the partners of the Axis powers. Some of them even suggest that we should imitate the methods of the dictatorships. Americans never can and never will do that.

SIXTH DRAFT

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The experience of the past two years has proven beyond doubt that no nation can appease the Nazis. No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. We know now that a nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of total surrender.

Even the people of Italy have been forced to become accomplices of the Nazi; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be embraced to death by their allies.

The American appeasers ignore the warning to be found in the fate of Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, 2/3 of France. They tell you that the Axis powers are going to win anyway; that all this bloodshed in the world could be saved, and that the United States might just as well throw its influence into the scale of a dictated peace, and get the best out of it that we can.

Gf They call it a negotiated peace. Nonsense! Is it a negotiated peace if a gang of outlaws surrounds your community and on threat of extermination makes you pay tribute to save your own skins?

[REDACTED]

There can be no appeasement with pathosers.
There can be no reasoning with an incendiary bomb.

Such a dictated peace would be no peace at all. It would be only another armistice, leading to the most gigantic armament race and the most devastating trade wars in history. And in these contests the Americas would offer the only real resistance to the Axis powers.

A 12 *Draft A* *and this*

The history of recent years proves that shootings and concentration camps are not simply the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships. They may talk of a "new order" in the world, but what they have in mind is but a revival of the oldest and the worst ~~of~~ tyranny.

In that there is no liberty, no religion, no hope.

The proposed new order is the very opposite of a United States of Europe or a United States of Asia. It is not a government based upon the consent of the governed. It is not a union of ordinary, self-respecting men and women to protect themselves and their freedom and their dignity from oppression, ~~and~~ ~~tyranny~~. It is an unholy alliance of power and pelf to dominate and enslave the human race.

The British people are conducting an active war against this unholy alliance. Our own future security is greatly dependent on the outcome of that fight. Our

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WASHINGTON

PROPOSED INSERT A - PAGE 12

With all ~~the~~ ^{their} vaunted efficiency
and ~~parte~~ ^A of pious purpose in this war,
there are still in the ^W background the
concentration camp and the servants of
God in chains.

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1708

ability to "keep out of war" is going to be affected by that outcome.

Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct statement to the American people that there is less chance of the United States getting into war, if we do all we can now to support the ~~fight against the Axis nations~~, ^{defending themselves against} ~~attack by~~ ^{The Axis will} then ^{if we} submit tamely to an Axis victory and wait our turn to be ~~dragged into~~ ^{the object of attack in} ^{acquisition of their rights} another war later on.

If we are to be completely honest with ourselves, we must admit there is risk in any course we may take. But I deeply believe that the great majority of our people agree that the course that I advocate involves the least risk, and the greatest hope for world peace ^{in the future}. ^{who are defending themselves} The people of Europe do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war, the planes, the tanks, the guns, the freighters which will enable them to fight for their liberty and our security. If we can only get these weapons to them in sufficient volume quickly enough, we and our children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure. ~~Let~~ not defeatists tell us that it is too late. It ~~will~~ ^{never} be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.

Certain facts are self-evident.

In a military sense Great Britain and the British Empire are today the spearhead of resistance to world conquest. They are putting up a fight which will live forever in the story of human achievement. *Gallantry.*

There is no demand for sending an American Expeditionary Force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your government to send such a force. You can, therefore, nail any talk about sending armies to Europe as deliberate untruth.

Our national policy is not directed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people.

Democracy's fight against world conquest is being greatly aided, and must be more greatly aided, by the re-armament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines. It is no more unneutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, under a form of duress, to send steel and ore daily into Germany, or for Russia and the Balkan nations to send oil and other war materials into Germany.

SIXTH DRAFT

A 15

- 18 -

The war needs of Britain and other free nations resisting aggression must be treated as an integral part of our own defense needs.

It is essential that we coordinate the placing of orders and the expediting of production not only for the requirements of our own Army and Navy, but for the requirements of Britain and other free nations whose strength is part of our defense.

This is not a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion. It is a matter of realistic military policy, based on the advice of our military experts who are in close touch with existing warfare. These military and naval experts and the members of Congress and ~~the~~ ^{the} Administration have a single-minded purpose — the defense of the United States.

This nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency — and with all possible speed. This great effort requires great sacrifice.

I would ask no one to defend a democracy which in turn would not defend everyone in the nation against want and privation. The

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
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We are planning our own defense with the utmost urgency; and in its vast scale we must integrate the war needs of Britain and the other free nations resisting aggression.

SIXTH DRAFT

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strength of this nation shall not be diluted by the failure of the Government to protect the economic well-being of all citizens.

If our capacity to produce is limited by machines, it must ever be remembered that these machines are operated by the skill and ^{THE} _A stamina of the workers. As the Government is determined to protect the rights of workers, so the nation has a right to expect that the men who man the machines will discharge their full responsibilities to the urgent needs of defense.

Labor possesses the same human dignity and is entitled to the same security of position as the engineer or manager or owner. For the workers provide the human power that turns out the destroyers, the airplanes and the tanks.

The nation expects our defense industries to continue operation without interruption by strikes or lock-outs. It expects and insists that management and workers will reconcile their differences by voluntary or legal means, to continue to produce the supplies that are so sorely needed.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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And on the economic side of our great defense program, we are, as you know, bending every effort to maintain stability of prices and with that the stability of the cost of living.

Nine days ago I announced the setting up of a more effective organization to direct our gigantic efforts to increase the production of munitions. The appropriation of vast sums of money and a well coordinated executive direction of our defense efforts are not in themselves enough. Guns, ~~air~~planes and ships have to be built in the factories and arsenals of America. They have to be produced by workers and managers and engineers with the aid of machines which in turn have to be built by hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the nation.

In this great work there has been splendid cooperation between the government and industry and labor. *but we*
A// is
But this ~~effort in itself~~ is not enough. We must
A *more of everything!*
have more ships, more guns, more planes. This can only be accomplished if we discard the notion of "business as usual". This job cannot be done merely by superimposing on the existing productive facilities the added requirements for defense.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT W

17

American industrial genius,
unmatched throughout the world in
the solution of production problems,
has been called upon to bring its
resources and talents into action.
Watchmakers, manufacturers of farm
implements, linotype, cash registers,
automobiles, sewing machines, lawn
mowers and locomotives are ~~now~~ ^{now} making
fuses, bomb packing crates, telescope
mounts, shells, pistols and tanks.

SIXTH DRAFT

- 18 -

Our defense efforts must not be blocked by those who fear the future consequences of surplus plant capacity. The possible sequences of failure of our defense efforts now are much more to be feared.

After the present needs of our defense are past, a proper handling of the country's peace-time needs will require all of the new productive capacity — if not more.

No pessimistic policy about the future of America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries essential to defense.

I want to make it clear that it is the purpose of the nation to build now with all possible speed every machine and arsenal and factory that we need to manufacture our defense material. We have the men — the skill — the wealth — and above all, the will.

I am confident that if and when production of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries requires the use of machines and raw materials essential for defense purposes, then such production must yield to our primary and compelling purpose.

Every machine capable of producing an implement of defense must be used to its fullest capacity. There are no limits as to what we need to produce for our defense -- our needs are limited only by our capacity.

I appeal to the owners of plants -- to the managers -- to the workers -- to our own government employees -- to put every ounce of effort into producing these munitions swiftly and without stint. And with this appeal I give you the pledge that all of us who are officers of your government will devote ourselves to the same extent to the great task which lies ahead.

As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend this hemisphere, the United States of America. The decision as to how much shall be sent abroad and how much shall remain at home must be made on the basis of our over-all military necessities.

We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war.

We have furnished the British great material support
Insert X 2d A
and we will furnish far more in the future. The British have received invaluable military support from the heroic Greek army, and from the forces of all the governments in exile. Their strength is growing. It is the strength of men and women who value their freedom more highly than they value their lives.

I, for one, believe that the Axis powers are not going to win this war. I base that belief on the latest and best information.

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good reason for hope -- hope for peace, for the defense of our civilization and for the building of a better civilization in the future.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT X / . 20

There will be no "bottlenecks" in our determination to aid Great Britain. No dictator, no combination of dictators, will weaken that determination by threats of how they will construe that determination. For our people thoroughly understand that Great Britain is the ally of every remaining democracy, fighting the fight of every remaining democracy, against the menace of aggression and the threat to our way of life. Every American gun, every American shell, every American plane that Great Britain is using, and will continue to use, is in the final analysis employed in part for American defense.

SIXTH DRAFT

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I have the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat to our democratic faith.

As President of the United States I call for that national effort. I call for it in the name of this nation which we love and honor and which we are privileged and proud to serve. I call upon our people with absolute confidence that our common cause will greatly succeed.

SEVENTH DRAFT

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DECEMBER 29, 1940

This is not a fireside chat on war. It is a talk on national security; because the nub of the whole purpose of your President is to keep you now, and your children later, and your grandchildren much later, out of a last-ditch war for the preservation of American independence and all of the things that American independence means to you and to me and to ours.

Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back eight years ago to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function.

I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States, I had before my eyes the picture of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories; the girl behind the counter; the small shopkeeper; the farmer doing his Spring plowing; the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings.

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 2 -

I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis meant to them in their daily lives.

Tonight, I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America.

We met the issue ~~of 1933~~ of 1933 with courage and realism.

~~Remember~~ [✓] that we face this new crisis — this new threat to the security of our nation — with the same courage and realism.

Never before since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock has our American civilization been in such danger as now.

For, on September 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin, three powerful nations, two in Europe and one in Asia, joined themselves together in the threat that if the United States interfered with or blocked the expansion program of these three nations — a program aimed at world control — they would unite in ultimate action against the United States.

The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

Three weeks ago their leader stated "There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other". Then in defiant reply to his opponents, he said this: "Others are correct when they say: With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves I can beat any other power in the world". *So said the leader of the Nazis.*

In other words, the Axis not merely admits but proclaims that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government.

In view of the nature of this undeniable threat, it can be asserted, properly and categorically, that the United States has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace, until the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world.

At this moment, the forces of the states that are leagued against all peoples who live in freedom, are being held away from our shores. The Germans and Italians are being blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British, and by the Greeks, and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from subjugated countries. The Japanese are being engaged in Asia by the Chinese in another great defense.

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 4 -

In the Pacific is our fleet.

Some of our people like to believe that wars in Europe and in Asia are of no concern to us. But it is a matter of most vital concern to us that European and Asiatic war-makers should not gain control of the oceans which lead to this hemisphere.

One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine was conceived by our government as a measure of defense in the face of a threat against this hemisphere by an alliance in Continental Europe. Thereafter, we stood on guard in the Atlantic, with the British as neighbors. There was no treaty. There was no "unwritten agreement".

Yet, there was the feeling, proven correct by history, that we as neighbors could settle any disputes in peaceful fashion. The fact is that during the whole of this time the Western Hemisphere has remained free from aggression from Europe or from Asia.

Does anyone seriously believe that we need to fear attack while a free Britain remains our most powerful naval neighbor in the Atlantic? Does anyone seriously believe, on the other hand, that we could rest easy if the Axis powers were our neighbor there?

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 5 -

If Great Britain goes down, the Axis Powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the high seas — and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all of us in the Americas would be living at the point of a gun — a gun loaded with ~~highway robbery~~, economic as well as military.

We should enter upon a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our hemisphere included, would be run by threats of brute force. To survive in such a world, we would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power on the basis of war economy.

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But the width of these oceans is not what it was in the days of clipper ships. At one point between Africa and Brazil the distance is ~~now greater~~ ^{fifteen} ~~Much longer~~ ^{less} ~~than~~ ^{than} from ~~Baltimore~~ to Denver — five hours for the latest type of bomber. And at the North of the Pacific Ocean, America and Asia almost touch each other.

- 6 -

the British Isles

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New England
to ~~London~~ and back without refueling. And the range of the modern
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- 7 -

or not, the fact remains that they were attacked, over-run and thrown into the modern form of slavery at an hour's notice or even without any notice at all. As an exiled leader of one of these nations said to me the other day -- "The notice was a minus quantity. It was given to my government two hours after German troops had poured into my country in a hundred places".

The fate of these nations tells us what it means to live at the point of a Nazi gun.

The Nazis have justified such actions by various pious frauds. One of these frauds is the claim that they ~~were~~ occupying a nation for the purpose of "restoring order". Another is that they are occupying or controlling a nation on the excuse that they are "protecting it" against the aggression of somebody else.

For example, Germany has said that she was occupying Belgium to save the Belgians from the British. Would she hesitate to say to any South American country, "We are occupying you to protect you from aggression by the United States"?

Belgium today is being used as an invasion base against Britain, now fighting for its life. Any South American country in Nazi hands, would always constitute a jumping off place for German

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attack on any one of the other Republics of this Hemisphere.

Analyze for yourselves ^{the future of} two other places even nearer to

Germany if the Nazis won. Could Ireland hold out? Would Irish freedom be permitted as an amazing exception in an unfree world? Or the Islands of the Azores which still fly the flag of Portugal after five centuries? We think of Hawaii as an outpost of defense in the Pacific. Yet, the Azores are ~~more~~ close to our shores in the ^A than ~~Hawaii~~ Hawaii is on the other side.

There are those who say that the Axis powers would never have any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. This is the same dangerous form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance of so many conquered peoples. The plain facts are that the Nazis have proclaimed, time and again, that all other races are their inferiors and therefore subject to their orders. And most important of all, the vast resources and wealth of this Hemisphere constitute the most tempting loot in all the world.

Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many others are already within our own gates. Your government knows much about them and every day is ferreting them out.

Their secret emissaries are active in our own and neighboring

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countries. They seek to stir up suspicion and dissension to cause internal strife. They try to turn capital against labor, and vice-versa. They try to reawaken long slumbering racial and religious enmities which should have no place in this country. They are active in every group that promotes intolerance. They exploit for their own ends our natural abhorrence of war. These trouble-breeders have but one purpose. It is to divide our people into hostile groups and to destroy our unity and shatter our will to defend ourselves.

There are also American citizens, many of them in high places, who, unwittingly in most cases, are aiding and abetting the work of these agents. I do not charge these American citizens with being foreign agents. But I do charge them with doing exactly the kind of work that the dictators want done in the United States.

These people not only believe that we can save our own skins by shutting our eyes to the fate of other nations. Some of them go much further than that. They say that we can and should become the friends and even the partners of the Axis powers. Some of them even suggest that we should imitate the methods of the dictatorships. Americans never can and never will do that.

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The experience of the past two years has proven beyond doubt that no nation can appease the Nazis. There can be no appeasement with ruthlessness. There can be no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. We know now that a nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of total surrender.

Even the people of Italy have been forced to become accomplices of the Nazis; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be embraced to death by their allies.

The American appeasers ignore the warning to be found in the fate of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Poland, and France. Denmark, Sweden, Norway: They tell you that the Axis powers are going to win anyway; that all this bloodshed in the world could be saved, and that the United States might just as well throw its influence into the scale of a dictated peace, and get the best out of it that we can.

They call it a "negotiated peace". Nonsense! Is it a negotiated peace if a gang of outlaws surrounds your community and on threat of extermination makes you pay tribute to save your own skins?

SEVENTH DRAFT

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Such a dictated peace would be no peace at all. It would be only another armistice, leading to the most gigantic armament race and the most devastating trade wars in history. And in these contests the Americas would offer the only real resistance to the Axis powers.

With all their vaunted efficiency and parade of pious purpose in this war, there are still in their background the concentration camp and the servants of God in chains.

The history of recent years proves that shootings and chains and concentration camps are not simply the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships. They may talk of a "new order" in the world, but what they have in mind is but a revival of the oldest and the worst tyranny. In that there is no liberty, no religion, no hope.

"
The proposed new order is the very opposite of a United States of Europe or a United States of Asia. It is not a government based upon the consent of the governed. It is not a union of ordinary, self-respecting men and women to protect themselves and their freedom and their dignity from oppression. It is an unholy alliance of power and ~~self~~ to dominate and enslave the human race.

The British people are conducting an active war against this

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unholy alliance. Our own future security is greatly dependent on the outcome of that fight. Our ability to "keep out of war" is going to be affected by that outcome.

Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct statement to the American people that there is ^{less} chance of the United States getting into war, if we do all we can now to support the nations defending themselves against attack by the Axis than if we acquiesce in their defeat, submit tamely to an Axis victory, and wait our turn to be the object of attack in another war later on.

If we are to be completely honest with ourselves, we must admit there is risk in any course we may take. But I deeply believe that the great majority of our people agree that the course that I advocate involves the least risk now and the greatest hope for world peace in the future.

The people of Europe who are defending themselves do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war, the planes, the tanks, the guns, the fighters which will enable them to fight for their liberty and our security. ^{Emphatically we must} ~~we must~~ get these weapons to them in sufficient volume quickly enough, we and our children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure.

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SEVENTH DRAFT

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Let not defeatists tell us that it is too late. It will never be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.

Certain facts are self-evident.

In a military sense Great Britain and the British Empire are today the spearhead of resistance to world conquest. They are putting up a fight which will live forever in the story of human gallantry.

There is no demand for sending an American Expeditionary Force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your government to send such a force. You can, therefore, nail any talk about sending armies to Europe as deliberate untruth.

Our national policy is not directed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people.

Democracy's fight against world conquest is being greatly aided, and must be more greatly aided, by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines.

It is no more unnatural for us to do that than it is for Sweden, ~~Sweden~~, Russia and other nations near Germany ~~and~~, Denmark, to send steel and ore daily into Germany or from Russia,

~~and the Balkan nations to send~~ oil and other war materials into Germany ~~every~~ ^{every} day.

We are planning our own defense with the utmost urgency; and in its vast scale we must integrate the war needs of Britain and the other free nations resisting aggression.

This is not a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion. It is a matter of realistic military policy, based on the advice of our military experts who are in close touch with existing warfare. These military and naval experts and the members of the Congress and the Administration have a single-minded purpose -- the defense of the United States.

This nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency -- and with all possible speed. This great effort requires great sacrifice.

I would ask no one to defend a democracy which in turn would not defend everyone in the nation against want and privation. The strength of this nation shall not be diluted by the failure of the Government to protect the economic well-being of all citizens.

If our capacity to produce is limited by machines, it must ever be remembered that these machines are operated by the skill and the stamina of the workers. As the Government is determined to protect the rights of workers, so the nation has a right to expect that the men who man the

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machines will discharge their full responsibilities to the urgent needs
of defense.

The worker
Labor possesses the same human dignity and is entitled to the
same security of position as the engineer or manager or owner. For the
workers provide the human power that turns out the destroyers, the air-
planes and the tanks.

The nation expects our defense industries to continue opera-
tion without interruption by strikes or lock-outs. It expects and
insists that management and workers will reconcile their differences by
voluntary or legal means, to continue to produce the supplies that are
so sorely needed.

And on the economic side of our great defense program, we are,
as you know, bending every effort to maintain stability of prices and
with that the stability of the cost of living.

Nine days ago I announced the setting up of a more effective
organization to direct our gigantic efforts to increase the production of
munitions. The appropriation of vast sums of money and a well coordinated
executive direction of our defense efforts are not in themselves enough.

SEVENTH DRAFT

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Guns, planes and ships have to be built in the factories and arsenals of America. They have to be produced by workers and managers and engineers with the aid of machines which in turn have to be built by hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the ~~country~~ land.

In this great work there has been splendid cooperation between the government and industry and labor.

American industrial genius, unmatched throughout the world in the solution of production problems, has been called upon to bring its resources and talents into action. ~~Manufacturers~~, manufacturers of farm implements, linotype, cash registers, automobiles, sewing machines, lawn mowers and locomotives are now making fuses, bomb packing crates, telescope mounts, shells, pistols and tanks.

~~our present efforts are~~
But all ~~this~~ is not enough. We must have more ships, more guns, more planes - more of everything. This can only be accomplished if we discard the notion of "business as usual". This job cannot be done merely by superimposing on the existing productive facilities the added requirements for defense.

Our defense efforts must not be blocked by those who fear the future consequences of surplus plant capacity. The possible consequences of failure of our defense efforts now are much more to be feared.

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SEVENTH DRAFT

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After the present needs of our defense are past, a proper handling of the country's peace-time needs will require all of the new productive capacity -- if not more.

No pessimistic policy about the future of America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries essential to defense.

I want to make it clear that it is the purpose of the nation to build now with all possible speed every machine and arsenal and factory that we need to manufacture our defense material. We have ^{the} men -- the skill -- the wealth -- and above all, the will.

I am confident that if and when production of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries requires the use of machines and raw materials essential for defense purposes, then such production must yield to our primary and compelling purpose.

I appeal to the owners of plants -- to the managers -- to the workers -- to our own government employees -- to put every ounce of effort into producing these munitions swiftly and without stint. And with this appeal I give you the pledge that all of us who are officers of your government will devote ourselves to the same whole-hearted extent to the great task which lies ahead.

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As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend this hemisphere. The decision as to how much shall be sent abroad and how much shall remain at home must be made on the basis of our over-all military necessities.

We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war.

We have furnished the British great material support and we will furnish far more in the future.

There will be no "bottlenecks" in our determination to aid Great Britain. No dictator, no combination of dictators, will weaken that determination by threats of how they will construe that determination.

The British have received invaluable military support from the heroic Greek army, and from the forces of all the governments in exile. Their strength is growing. It is the strength of men and women who value their freedom more highly than they value their lives.

I believe that the Axis powers are not going to win this war. I base that belief on the latest and best information.

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good reason for hope -- hope for peace, hope for the defense of our civilization and for the building of a better civilization in the future.

I have the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat to our democratic faith.

As President of the United States I call for that national effort. I call for it in the name of this nation which we love and honor and which we are privileged and proud to serve. I call upon our people with absolute confidence that our common cause will greatly succeed.

41-66-22

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

For the President:

F.D.R.

Dorothy Thompson says she offers
this humbly as suggestions for what she
longs to hear you say!

ER

[Signed: T.L.S., 10/19/40]

Jaf Dorothy Thompson says she offers her humbly some
suggestions for what she longs to hear you say.
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There are some things which I wish to say to the American people, quite openly, in this fashion, and I do not mind if all the world hears them.

This nation comprises the great central section of a large continent. It contains a hundred and forty million persons. These persons, we Americans, are the children of Europe. Our parents, grandparents, or more remote ancestors were English or Scotch, or Irish or French, or Dutch, or Russian, or Scandinavian, or German, or Italian. There is not a racial strain of the old world that is not represented in us.

Our ancestors hewed this country out of a wilderness. This nation was a howling wilderness only five generations ago. ~~England, Russia, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, etc.~~ ^{Totally} It is the largest industrial producer and one of the largest agricultural producers on earth. It was the first, and it remains the greatest, federal union of states on a continental scale.

This nation was born out of a stubborn idealism. Its independence originated as the result of what was really a civil war in the English-speaking world. It was the result of a rebellion of Englishmen and men of English ancestry against English tyranny. And in rebelling as they did, they were never more English. For a hundred and fifty years this country has been a periodic refuge for men of many races who have left the old world to escape tyranny in very many forms. Once in our history we were torn in twain, in the most disastrous of all our wars: The great civil war. That war, again, was a rebellion

against tyranny.

The struggle against tyranny is never over. I suppose that it is a struggle which man has, continually, with his own nature. And tyranny emerges in many forms. All tyrannies are not political. There have been religious tyrannies; there have been, and are, economic tyrannies. For generations there was the tyranny of men over women. And there are always personal tyrannies. One does not have to look abroad to find tyrannies against which to struggle. We have them amongst us, and, since we can never hope to have a perfect world, we shall probably always have them amongst us. Yet we may hope to break the crassest of them, and always and forever, as long as this country clings to the course of her destiny, we shall continue that struggle. For the message of America to the world is the message of Liberation. For millions and millions of people this country has been a liberator from bondage. For millions and millions of people all over the world the very name: America, has meant a country where no man need fear his neighbor, where no man should be humiliated because of his race, where no man should be rejected because of his original economic condition.

Throughout our history we have been moved by one great and passionate faith and one supreme emotion. The community of that Faith and Emotion is what it means to be an American. That faith and that emotion is the belief in man himself, in his right to the fullest enfranchisement, in his right to the opportunity most fully to develop all his powers, and in his duty to love and respect and aid his neighbors.

During all our life as a nation, we have sought to extend freedoms, and with those freedoms to enlarge reciprocal rights and reciprocal obligations. In this Administration, we have tried to extend these freedoms to cover the realities of the modern world, and include Freedom from want, freedom from insecurity, freedom from fear. This modern world is vastly more interdependent than the world of our grandfathers. The individualism of pioneer days finds different expression in our own. Our great grandfathers were mostly independent farmers, or small manufacturers, or merchants. They depended to a very great extent upon their own efforts. Today we live in a highly integrated world, in which a man, rarely, by his own effort, can even fully feed himself. Each of us lives by the integration of innumerable processes, involving the savings and labor of countless numbers of men and women whom we have never seen. The age of science, technology, and corporate industry, which rushed upon us with such amazing speed has created new liberations from drudgery and toil, new possibilities of fabulous wealth, -- and, alas new tyrannies, which can only be met through the mastery of very complicated problems of social organization.

To this age, America has contributed, probably more than any single complex of peoples on earth. Inventiveness is an American talent. The very weapons that the world is using today for mutual extermination, originated or were perfected to an amazing extent in the United States. The first airplane to stay in the air, flew above this soil. And although radio was discovered by a great Italian, it was American inventiveness which first perfected broadcasting.

None of the men who invented these and many other things foresaw how they would be used. The airplane was to give men wings with which to fly to the uttermost parts of the earth, carrying men and mail to other men, throughout the globe. The remarkable radio transmits the spoken word, and its inventors realized its power to bring minds together, to transmit a beloved voice, to bring music and entertainment into the most remote and humble home.

That the airplane might also be used to rain death and destruction upon the child in his cradle, the farmer in his field, the mother at the kitchen stove; that it might be used to enslave men; that the radio could carry words of poison across all borders, certainly never was in the minds of the inventors who sought to extend the liberation of mankind!

America, also, first brought to the highest degree of perfection the modern system of mass production, that extremely highly integrated process whereby by a swift series of simple and almost primitive actions the most complicated machines and the most imposing products could be produced cheaply and in infinite duplication.

The implication of this great age, to which America has contributed so much is infinitely grand. It has meant the world-wide collaboration of men of science. It has meant the speedy spreading of new inventions and new processes to the ends of the earth. It implies, and implies fully, the liberation of the whole human race from what, only a few years ago, seemed the strict limitations of nature. Researches into the nature of elements have revealed the possibility of their transmutation: of

wood into silk, of acetylene gas into wood, of vegetable fibers into plastics, of coal into innumerable products. Present research into atomic physics presages the release of energies such as the earth has never before had at its command! It implies the coming of the age of abundance, of universal abundance. And that implies the most grandiose realization of the American dream: A merica's perennial dream of Freedom and Equality for Man.

It implies this, provided Man, who has so grandly mastered nature, can, at long last, master himself. It implies this, provided Man, whose genius is so indisputably demonstrated in his remarkable works, can be almost as good as he is intelligent. It implies this, provided Man can master the world he has created, instead of being mastered by it.

For eons of time Man has been in bondage to nature. He has had to struggle for his life, and the life of his children, against wilderness, rocky soil, serious shortages of basic necessities, and against the very elements. In such a world of struggle for scarcities, the warring spirit of mankind was probably born. In such a world the struggle for the survival of the fittest had, perhaps, some justification. There was not enough for everybody, and so some were Haves and some Have nots, and the cleverest, or most predatory, or most warlike, or most shrewd lived. And the others died, and that was the law of life.

But that world has passed away! The struggle today of Haves and Have-Nots is a throwback. The struggle between nations and classes is a throwback! The problem of our age is not how to get something from someone else, but how to use the natural resources and the new resources created by the alchemy of genius, for the

welfare of every human being on this globe! Mankind, if it wants to be, is already free! Free of drudging toil; free of unequal struggle; free of want; to an immense extent free of pain; free of innumerable diseases that once struck him down in his prime; and decimated a mother's children often to the tune of seven out of nine.

And mankind, if it wants to, can achieve equality. Not the equality of the dead level; not the equality that denies the unequal distribution by nature of talents and abilities among individuals and among nations, but equality in those basic things, the need of which is common to all: Food, of sufficient quantity and quality to nourish them well; clothing, decent and becoming; a home which deserves the name of home; medical care to prevent and cure preventable and curable illnesses; the possibility to marry and rear a family. Self-respect, and mutual respect.

If you think that I paint a picture of Utopia, ask the scientists, ask the engineers, whether what I say is true. Man can realize, in this era, freedom and equality. Nothing stands in the way except popular ignorance, apathy and distrust, old habits of thought and behavior, old prejudices, old greeds and old wars.

Yet, what do we see, in this world where man, for the first time in the history of the human race, can, if he will, be free?

We see destruction, death, and slavery. We see the very races that have contributed most to man's liberation, systematically exterminating each other. We see millions of

wretched human beings on the march, people like you and me, refugees, hounded from one place to another, shoved away from this shore or from that. We hear cries from whole peoples, whose work and wealth has been looted from them, and who work now for their masters. We read of thousands of human beings cooped up within cement walls in ghettos erected in the name of the future. We hear that highly civilized and trained peoples must return to primitive agriculture and crafts. We hear raucous quarrels, between nations, and between classes, each trying to get as much as they can, each trying to live by the extermination of someone else, instead of seeking that integration of their efforts which will produce enough for all. If the cry comes from labor, then we hear that class strife is being spread. Yes, there is too much class-strife spread by labor, and particularly by some few of labor's leaders who, too often, are in no wise their representatives. Labor must realize that the process of modern production involves scientists, intellectuals, management, planning, the intelligent use of savings and the visions of men willing to take risk and responsibility., -- and that since labor has no monopoly on energies it can have no monopoly on the product of those energies.

Yet, behind the demands of labor is the realization of the possibilities of this world, and the demand that these possibilities be translated into reality and made more widely available. And in this. labor is absolutely right, and is in harmony with the future. And let those who raise the cry of class strife pluck out the mote from their own eyes, before they criticize the beam in their brother's. For they, too, stand for what they falsely consider their own self-interest, in the way of progress,

clinging to old procedures that are no longer valid in an abundant world, themselves too bound by the habits of their own class.

Not amongst those who cry and scramble in the market place will you find the great scientists, the great engineers, the great poets, or the rare saints. The scientists are sad, because they see the inventions of their brains turned to oppression and destruction. Yes, and some of them who helped prepare for the liberation of this universe, are cast into prison, or driven from the laboratories where they have worked, worked modestly and anonymously, as scientists usually do. What pain and what contempt must be in their hearts! And the poets are sad. They are God's gifted children, who possess insight and the gift of prophesy, and never cease to have faith and trust in the great destiny of Man. The rare saints are calm, for they know the Truth will live.

And now I would like to speak personally. I hear it is said of me that I am a warmonger. I hear also that it is said that this Administration has neglected its duty in that we are not fully armed, in this mad world. Both statements, my friends, cannot be true. I have said it before and I say it again, I hate war. And this particular war, I hate with peculiar hatred, because I find that nowar in history has less justification, for no conceivable benefit can accrue from it. Or, no, perhaps one benefit can accrue, and if it does, it will have been worth the suffering --namely that if, out of the despair and anguish of so many millions, a despair and anguish that you and I also share, in our minds and in our hearts, if not on our bodies -- if out of this heartbreak and despair there comes, at long last, the realization that men are brothers, and share a common fate on the common ground

of this little planet on which we live.

Yes, I confess, that even knowing more than all of you could learn from your papers of what was going on in this world, I still did not believe this war would happen. Not at all do I relish sending millions of young men into an army. Rather would I call them into an extended C.C.C. to use their strength and their idealism for a year of service in rebuilding and making beautiful this land. Not at all do I relish pouring tons of money and tons of materials into plants to turn out weapons of destruction. Rather would I pour out our savings and our resources for the welfare of our people, and the surpluses for the rest of the world: our brothers, wherever they are on earth.

Yet, the war has happened, and now we must do what, in our minds and hearts we consider waste and retrogression. We must do it because we are not alone in this world. We must do it because not all peoples share our Faith nor do they all strive for our goal: Freedom and Equality for themselves and all mankind.

And there are times in history when things will go one way or another; where the choices become limited; where we shall all go forward or all go back. This is one of those times.

The United States is a great country and it has a role to play in the world. The very fact of our size, wealth, and power puts upon us an unescapable responsibility. There are those who seem to think that we should seek to escape it, that we should wall ourselves up from a world gone mad, and seek to save ourselves and ourselves alone. Neither my religion, nor my faith, nor my intelligence recommends any such course to me as either possible or desirable. The acceptance of that viewpoint is defeatism.

Defeatism for the American ideal and the American dream. We are a very great nation, we, the children of the Old World. We have seen a great vision, and we hold fast and protect a great Faith. And we do not intend to shrink into our corner of this planet, and stand here indefinitely eating up our substance in arms, and awaiting whatever may come. We are a very great nation, and we have something to say to the world. What we have to say to the world is this: We have no hatred for any peoples. How can we hate any peoples, when we ourselves are the children of all of them? Were they not men of English blood who rebelled against England on this soil, and shall we remember forever that old fracas? Shall we deny New England? Shall we repudiate Washington and Jefferson and Hamilton -- all Anglo-Saxon men? Have not Germans manned our factories, furnished us with some of our most competent engineers, built some of our most beautiful agriculture? Shall we denounce Carl Schurz or Steinmetz? Have not Jews been among the leaders in our continual aspiration for a more righteous and fairer democracy? Shall we repudiate Brandeis? Have not Italians comforted us with vineyards? Have not the brawny men from the Balkans laid the rails to tie this Continent together? Have not Frenchmen guided us into more civilized living? And have not the sons and daughters of all of them intermarried, so that those who have been on this soil longest are likely to have the strains of most European races in their blood?

Who will stand up in America and attack his brother on account of his race? Only a few. Let them speak. The broad masses of America do not listen, or listen with boredom or contempt.

We, then,,the children of Europe, and of the New World, a great nation, on two oceans have this to say, and all foreign papers please copy:

We want to cooperate with all the world for the liberation of mankind in which liberation we see a greater liberation for ourselves. We hate war. But we wish to give notice: We also hate injustice. We also hate stupidity. We also hate persecution and greed. We also hate terrorism.

We are a great nation, and more representative of Europe than, perhaps, Europe today is of itself. And we do not intend to accept terms from the rest of the world. We have no desire to dictate terms. But we shall certainly share in making them or no final terms will be made. The country we are building, stone on stone, bit by bit, now with spurts of progress, now with retrogression, has always grown upward and wider toward greater freedom and greater equality. That is our vision, and in that vision we have faith, and we conceive it not in terms of geography, but believe in its validity for the whole world. And we can claim that validity without chauvinism for the ideas on which this nation were founded did not originate on this soil but came to us from across the seas. Freedom and Eqaulity, Union and Liberty are not American inventions. They are the American heritage of Christian civilization. They are the American heritage of the passion of humanity. We shall not be traitors to this Faith, whether out of fear or whether out of the honest admission that we have not always served it whole-heartedly or well.

We are not a timid nation. We are a bold nation. All our history testifies to that fact. We arm today with teeth clenched in anger at the stupid ideas and atavistic forces that compel us to arm. But our reluctance is no indication of timidity. We intend to be a free people in a free world. We intend to be a more free people, in a more free world -- a world freed from want, persecution, superstition, and war. All those who share our dream are our brothers, all who work for this end we will aid, and there are none on earth that we will not admit to fellowship and collaboration in the realization of this dream. We arm, but we seek peace. No peace of capitulation to ways and ideas we despise; no peace of dictation, no peace of imperialism, but the peace of a liberated and cooperative planet. We have wealth, and we do not intend to keep it buried like the non-productive talent of the parable, but to share it when the time comes for the sake of a world where an American can live at peace with his own conscience. There is not a moment when I, as President of the United States, am not willing to offer the collaboration of this people for a peace of freedom and equality. This country and this Administration which represents the modern temper of this country, are not committed to the preservation of any status quo. We would not lift a finger to preserve or restore the world as it has been. A new world is imperative. Our own experience and tradition do not recommend to us the eternal preservation of the complete sovereignty and independence of manifold small nations, unable by their nature to defend themselves against greater powers. The mind of America is wide; its vision is large, not provincial. We live in a continental way, and east and west look out upon oceans. We are not race-bound, class-bound or geography-bound. Our own history is a history of expansion. We have added

star after star to our flag from the original thirteen. But the states that have joined us have become equals, equals in all things, their citizen brothers, not subjects or slaves, and our government mutual, not imposed. Smaller units have merged into larger, in our political structure, but the merger has meant the extension of civil rights and personal opportunities not their repression or obliteration.

Out of the happiness and fruitfulness of our experience, we feel that we have something to offer our parents in Europe, and in the rest of the world. No totalitarian universe is our aspiration but a world where there is unity, and yet diversity, order and yet freedom, equality and yet the recognition of special talents: A world, above all, where the superiority or inferiority, the mastery or slavery of peoples is not determined by their superior or inferior capacities to wage war. For in such a world there is no Order at all. There is only terror and subjugation.

America was built out of European ideals frustrated in Europe. There is nothing that we can feel, and we can believe, and we can hope, that is not certainly shared by hundreds of millions of men and women throughout this world who are much more like us than they are unlike. If America has demonstrated anything it has demonstrated this: that though men may differ in race and background, they are tied together by common needs the world around, and among all the races of the west, these common needs conjoin in common culture. It is painful to think that we cannot communicate with those, our brothers, our very kinsmen, abroad, through the closed doors that censorship has imposed upon the peoples of so many nations.

But the eternal dreams common to all men are not crushed by terror, or censorship, or persecution. They are not blotted out in concentration camps and prisons. They are not killed even when those who dream them are. The world is not going to move into superstition and subjugation, but into liberation. The future belongs to those who would free the world for the greatest era yet born. For that purpose we live, and for the protection of that Faith we arm. And to the triumph of that Future I ask you to pledge with me, your lives, your fortunes, and your sacred honor.

December 13, 1940.

JULY						
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31						

FRIDAY

22

JULY

[Aug 14, 1956]

162

For remainder
of the attached
speech draft,
see the master
speech file -
Dec. 29, 1940.

IHKJ

attached to 697.

SATURDAY

JUNE 1955						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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23

JULY 1955

AUGUST 1955						
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204

APPOINTMENTS

161

- 8 A. M.
- 9 A. M.
- 10 A. M.
- 11 A. M.
- 12 Noon
- 1 P. M.
- 2 P. M.
- 3 P. M.
- 4 P. M.
- 5 P. M.
- 6 P. M.

1851

THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

FIRESIDE CHAT OF DECEMBER 29, 1940

In this speech the President appealed to the country to support his policy of sending all aid to the democracies as the most effective way of protecting the freedom and prosperity of the United States. Shown here are the first draft, the fourth draft, and the final reading copy.

THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

Fireside speech of December 29, 1940,
in which the President appealed to the
country to support his policy of sending
all aid to the Democracies as the most
effective way of protecting the freedom
and prosperity of the United States.
The four drafts displayed here are the
first, fourth, sixth, and final.

Contents of manuscript case labeled: "F.D.R. — Radio Address — The White House (Fireside No. 15) December 29, 1940.

- ✓(1). Draft numbered 1.
- ✓(2). " " 4.
- (3). " " 5.
- ✓(4). " " 6.
- (5). " " 7.
- ✓(6). Reading copy (not numbered).
- ✓(7). Newsreel draft (not numbered).
- ✓(8). Frankfurter draft. *Thrown away with other papers*
- ✓(9). Thompson draft.

Note removals below.

Sept. 9, 1943. For National Archives exhibit: items 1, 2, 4, 6.

" " " " F.D.R. Library exhibit: items 3, 5.

9-9-44
LAD

*Returned
G.B.M.*

Contents of manuscript case labeled: "F.D.R. — Radio Address — The White House (Fireside No. 15) December 29, 1940.

- ✓(1). Draft numbered 1.
- ✓(2). " " 4.
- (3). " " 5.
- ✓(4). " " 6.
- (5). " " 7.
- ✓(6). Reading copy (not numbered).
- (7). Newsreel draft (not numbered).
- (8). Frankfurter draft.
- (9). Thompson draft.

Note removals below.

Sept. 9, 1943. For National Archives exhibit: items 1, 2, 4, 6.

" " " " F.D.R. Library exhibit: items 3, 5.

IDENTIFICATION INVENTORY.

Franklin D. Roosevelt. Addressees as candidate and President, 1932-40. 22 items. Accession 41-66: 1-22.

*F.D.'s draft
to send for
microfilm -
with rest of
F.D. papers in
library office

This material consists of outlines, drafts, and reading copies of Mr. Roosevelt's speeches, typewritten on legal size paper, with corrections and additions in pencil in his hand. Included are two drafts submitted by Mr. Felix Frankfurter and Miss Dorothy Thompson in connection with the preparation of the President's address of December 29, 1940.

Address of July 2, 1940. Reading copy of the speech made by Mr. Roosevelt in accepting the presidential nomination from the Democratic Party Nominating Convention in Chicago, with an explanatory note concerning the drafting of the address. Bound in red leather covers. 18 pp.

Address of August 14, 1936. Delivered at Chautauqua, New York. Draft no. 1, 15 pp.; reading copy, 13 pp.

Inaugural address, January 20, 1937. Delivered in Washington, D.C., Draft no. 1, 12 pp.; draft no. 2, 9 pp.;

Address of March 4, 1937. The "Victory Dinner Speech," delivered in Washington, D.C., Draft no. 1, 8 pp.; draft no. 2, 9 pp.; draft no. 3, 20 pp.; draft no. 4, 21 pp.; draft no. 14, 20 pp.; draft no. 21, 20 pp.; reading copy, 18 pp.; Outline of the address, 2 pp.

Address of December 27, 1940. Delivered from the White House. Draft no. 1, 13 pp.; draft no. 4, 18 pp.; draft no. 5, 27 pp.; draft no. 6, 21 pp.; draft no. 7, 19 pp.; reading copy, 25 pp.; newreel draft (used by the President in speaking for the newsreels made of this address), 7 pp.; draft submitted for the use of the President by Mr. Felix Frankfurter, 26 pp.; draft submitted for the use of the President by Miss Dorothy Thompson, 14 pp.

Material received from the President, January 30, 1941.

Inventory completed, June 30, 1941. Revised April 27, 1942.

Edgar B. Nixon

Associate Archivist.

also read, with the attack.
Enclosed address of Jan. 20, 1937,
Dept no. 1, 12 pp.; Dept no. 2,

9 pp.

ERDA 428-42

44-6611-22

Circled

RECEIVED

THE WHITE HOUSE JAN 30 1941
WASHINGTON THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
LIBRARY

January 28, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. SHIPMAN:

Enclosed are four speeches --
original manuscripts -- of Franklin D.
Roosevelt which are to be exhibited at
the Library. They are:

Speech of Acceptance - 1932
Chautauqua Speech - Aug. 14, 1936
Victory Dinner - March 4, 1937
Fire-side Chat -- Dec. 29, 1940

Also attached are two glossy
prints of the President, taken about 1908
or 1909.

Dorothy Jones
Dorothy Jones

44-66122

• Newsreel "takes" on Sunday night
radio address -- Dec. 29, 1940 --
President used carbon copies instead
of original because easier to read
under lights.

No. 1

FOR THE NEWSREELS

This is a talk on national security; because the nub of the whole purpose of your President is to keep you now, and your children later, and your grandchildren much later, out of a last-ditch war for the preservation of American independence and all of the things that American independence means to you and to me and to ours.

Never before since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock has our American civilization been in such danger as now.

The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

STOP

No. 2

FOR THE NEWSREELS

The forces of the states that are leagued against all peoples who live in freedom, are being held away from our shores. The Germans and Italians are being blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British, and by the Greeks, and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from subjugated countries. The Japanese are being engaged in Asia by the Chinese in another great defense.

In the Pacific is our fleet.

If Great Britain goes down, the Axis Powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the high seas -- and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all of us in the Americas would be living at the point of a gun -- a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic as well as military.

STOP

No. 3

FOR THE NEWSREELS

Frankly and definitely there is danger ahead -- danger against which we must prepare. But we well know that we cannot escape danger, or the fear of it, by crawling into bed and pulling the covers over our heads.

Germany has said that she was occupying Belgium to save the Belgians from the British. Would she hesitate to say to any South American country, "We are occupying you to protect you from aggression by the United States?"

Belgium is being used as an invasion base against Britain, now fighting for its life. Any South American country, in Nazi hands, would always constitute a jumping off place for German attack on any one of the other Republics of this Hemisphere.

Analyze for yourselves the future of two other places even nearer to Germany if the Nazis won. Could Ireland hold out? Would Irish freedom be permitted as an amazing exception in an unfree world? Or the Islands of the Azores which still fly the flag of Portugal after five centuries? We think of Hawaii as an outpost of defense in the Pacific. Yet, the Azores are closer to our shores in the Atlantic than Hawaii is on the other side.

STOP

There are those who say that the Axis powers would never have any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. This is the same dangerous form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance of so many conquered peoples.

Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many others are already within our own gates. Your government knows much about them and every day is ferreting them out.

Their secret emissaries are active in our own and neighboring countries. They seek to stir up suspicion and disension to cause internal strife. They try to turn capital against labor, and vice-versa. They try to reawaken long slumbering racial and religious enmities which should have no place in this country.

There are also American citizens, many of them in high places, who, unwittingly in most cases, are aiding and abetting the work of these agents. I do not charge these American citizens with being foreign agents. But I do chargethem with doing exactly the kind of work that the dictators want done in the United States.

The experience of the past two years has proven beyond doubt that no nation can appease the Nazis. No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. There can be no appeasement with ruthlessness. There can be no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. We know now that a nation can have peace with theNazis only at the price of total surrender.

Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct statement to the American people that there is far less chance of the United States getting into war, if we do all we can now to support the nations defending themselves against attack by the Axis than if we acquiesce in their defeat, submit tamely to an Axis victory, and wait our turn to be the object of attack in another war later on.

The people of Europe who are defending themselves do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war, the planes, the tanks, the guns, the freighters which will enable them to fight for their liberty and our security. Emphatically we must get these weapons to them in sufficient volume and quickly enough, so that we and our children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure.

Let not defeatists tell us that it is too late. It will never be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.

In a military sense Great Britain and the British Empire are today the spearhead of resistance to world conquest. They are putting up a fight which will live forever in the story of human gallantry.

There is no demand for sending an American Expeditionary Force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your government to send such a force. You can, therefore, nail any talk about sending armies to Europe as deliberate untruth.

Our national policy is not directed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people.

STOP

No. 6

This nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency -- and with all possible speed. This great effort requires great sacrifice.

The nation expects our defense industries to continue operation without interruption by strikes or lock-outs. It expects and insists that management and workers will reconcile their differences by voluntary or legal means, to continue to produce the supplies that are so sorely needed.

In this great work there has been splendid cooperation between the government and industry and labor.

No pessimistic policy about the future of America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries essential to defense.

It is the purpose of the nation to build now with all possible speed every machine and arsenal and factory that we need to manufacture our defense material. We have the men -- the skill -- the wealth -- and above all, the will.

We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself.

STOP

No. 7

We have furnished the British great material support and we will furnish far more in the future.

There will be no "bottlenecks" in our determination to aid Great Britain. No dictator, no combination of dictators, will weaken that determination by threats of how they will construe that determination.

I believe that the Axis powers are not going to win this war. I base that belief on the latest and best information.

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good reason for hope -- hope for peace, hope for the defense of our civilization and for the building of a better civilization in the future.

As President of the United States I call for that national effort. I call for it in the name of this nation which we love and honor and which we are privileged and proud to serve. I call upon our people with absolute confidence that our common cause will greatly succeed.

STOP

END