

December 29, 1940

[Fire-side Speech]

1351B

FDR Speech File

SECOND DRAFT

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

In this
This is the season of the year when 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. It is a danger so serious that I want to let all Americans — and indeed the whole world — know exactly what I think about it and what I believe the people of the United States should do about it.

Ours is one of the few remaining free countries of the world, where the thoughts of the people control the actions of their Government. Here it is the will of the people themselves which rules. In order that we may act wisely to preserve our freedom and our civilization, we must first think together wisely. Tonight let us think together as frankly and as wisely as we can, about the position of our country in the world.

I speak bluntly of the danger which threatens the United



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States. I speak first of the physical dangers.

Saturday
On August 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin,

all of the armed might of Germany, all of the strength of Japan,
and the armed force of Italy were joined together in a threat of
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.

Insert ①

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. The Japanese
are being held in Asia by the Chinese -- and in the Pacific is our
fleet.

Insert ②

~~But if the Germans and Italians should be able to defeat
the British and the heroic Greeks who are fighting on the British
side, and if the Japanese should be able to conquer the Chinese, no
one who is realistic about the situation can doubt that the dicta-
tors would attack us, and the other democracies of the
Western Hemisphere.~~

The world in which we are trying to live our lives peace-
fully in our free Christian civilization is not only a world of war



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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.

We know that no nation can appease the Nazis. Belgium and Holland did everything they could to avoid displeasing the Nazis; but they were attacked as ruthlessly as if they had acted with outright hostility to Germany. No man can turn a tiger into a cat by stroking it. We know from the history of the past two years that a nation may hold off Nazi attack temporarily by becoming the accomplice of Germany; but that, in the long run, a nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of slavery, since they are determined to dominate the earth.



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Samuel Z. Rosenman

Inset 2. p. 2 (1)

What is our American stake in this conflict.
Some of us like to believe that European
It may be argued that ~~such~~ wars are
of no concern to us.

But it is a matter of most vital concern to us that ~~such~~ 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 promulgated 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, that security would be ended. We should enter upon a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our hemisphere included, would be ruled ^{by} force. To survive in such a world, we would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militarized power - on a permanent basis of war economy, with conception of manpower and of wealth.

This is why, ~~we~~ ^{the} ~~country~~ ^{is} in this present crisis.



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(2)

Some of us like to believe that even if Great Britain falls 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 day of the clipper ships.

At one point between Africa and Brazil the distance is no greater than from Pittsburgh to Denver — seven hours for the modern busses. And at one point between American territory and Asia the distance is less than two miles.

Even to-day we have planes which could fly from Newark to London and back ~~if necessary~~ without refueling. And the range of the modern busses is ~~increasing~~ now being increased.

During the past week many telegrams and letters have come to me from ^{the} parts of the United States nation expressing their hopes and wishes as to what I should say to-night. Almost all of them

(3)

~~urgent~~ ~~to you~~

expressed a courage desire to hear the plain truth about the gravity of the situation. But we ~~should~~ ^{telegraph} expressed the attitude of the small, timorous of those who want peace now and ~~for~~ ^{they} fear no evil, even tho they know that evil exists. Well, ~~telegraph~~ ^{sent me} ~~said me~~ acted ~~performed~~ ^{effected} to report the distresses 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 force which had gained bases in this Western Hemisphere. The gist of that telegram was: "Please tell 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



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the covers over our eyes.

The facts are these. If Great Britain goes down, the Axis powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa and they will be in a position to seize control of the continent of South America.

The peoples of Latin America have made splendid progress in ~~developing~~^{realizing} the democratic way of life ~~and~~^{and to keep} the cultural and social development that go with it. But the threat of attack they ~~were~~^{conceal} could not continue that progress under the threat of ~~any~~^{constant} attack by force or by what amounts to the same thing: the 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 ~~with~~^{under} a pistol at our heads — ~~and~~^{and} at the point of a gun — a gun loaded with ruthless force, economic as well as military.



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(5)

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



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(9)

INSERT TOP OF PAGE NO. (Move the tiger)

Some of the nations around Germany, which had full
independence two or three years ago, were bound by solemn
non-intervention pacts, ^{They} with Germany and rested on the
security of those ^{fixed} treaties. Other nations around Germany
were assured by Germany that they need never fear in-
vasion -- and the governments of these nations assured
their people in turn that they were safe. Non-inter-
vention 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 English} 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 the Netherlands in a hundred
places.

From actual events we ought to know the techniques
of conquest or control. ~~by now~~. Either the Axis powers
have struck literally without warning and literally
without adherence to solemn assurances or treaties; or ^{they} the Axis powers have so undermined the governments
of foreign and independent nations that ^{by creating} they have been
able to destroy these governments, to create internal



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and how they have
chos, or even to set up their own puppets before the
physical act of occupation, or control. ~~That ought to be~~
a lesson to every nation in the world, great and small,
no matter where it is situated.

The Axis powers have two other techniques. They have
justified such actions by various. One of these
are-masters of that pious fraud, which announces to the
world that they are conquering a nation for the purpose, as they
say, of restoring order within that nation. The other is, they are
the-equally-pious-fraud of occupying or controlling a
nation on the excuse that they are ~~saving~~ ^{protecting it} the nation
against the aggression of somebody else.



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If, for example, Germany had the affrontry to
say that she was occupying Belgium to save Belgium the Belgian
would be the state from the British, it would be a slight extension of
any with American country the imagination to say to Brazil "We are occupying you
to save the occupation of Brazil by the United States."

It is, of course, wholly fantastic to make sane
people believe that Great Britain would ever, in its
wildest dreams, seek to make Belgium a part of the
British Empire, but it is within the realms of past
and present history to imagine a Belgium, free perhaps
in name, but actually a provincial appendage to a

Those who say that we can protect ourselves by building a "ring of steel" around this Hemisphere do not ~~think~~ 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 which actually invite attack. Such deliberate invitations to attack constitute deliberate invitations to attack.



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Page 8 Annex 2

INSERT TOP OF PAGE 76

P Belgium to day is being used as
Germanized Europe. Belgium in the possession of Germany

would always remain an invasion base against a future free
Britain, never willing to let go. Any South American country
England, Brazil/in Germany's hands, would always constitute

the jumping off place for German attack on any one of the
Twenty Republics of North and Central and South America. This
Hemisphere.



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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 worshipful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resilience of so many so good peoples. The plain facts are that their design to conquer the world is no longer hidden, they have achieved ~~most of the~~ ~~all~~ their ~~right to do~~ ~~to~~ world domination. They have proclaimed time and again that all other races are their inferiors and therefore subject to conquest and enslavement. And most important of all, the vast resources ^{and wealth} of this Hemisphere constitute the most tempting boot in all the world.

This danger which threatens us from without already menaces us from within.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that

the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many peoples are an imminent threat to our own freedom. ~~and our freedom~~
~~much about them and us. Today is forcing them out and~~
~~contracting their insidious plots. Their evil forces are almost at our gates. Their secret emis-~~
~~aries are at work in our own and neighboring countries. They seek to~~

~~to cause~~
stir up suspicion and dissension among us ~~as long as they can cause~~

internal trouble and strife. ~~they do not care how they do it or what the~~

~~trouble and strife is about.~~ 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 not only active in almost every group that promotes intolerance,~~

~~but they exploit for their own ends our natural abhorrence of war and peace~~

~~humans desire to feed the hungry. These trouble-breeders have but one~~
~~desire, and it is certainly~~
~~not to banish war, nor to feed the hungry. It is to~~

~~divide our people into hostile groups and to destroy our unity and~~
~~shatter our will to defend.~~



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I have spoken of the danger which threatens us from without. There is an equal danger which threatens us from within.

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 countering their nefarious work.

But there are American citizens, many of them in high places, who, in most cases, unwittingly, are aiding and abetting the work of the Fifth Columnists. [refers to a number of business men in high places, a number of great newspaper owners, a number of columnists, a number of pastor priests, 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 Hitler did not done for him in the United States.

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.

The experience of the last two years has proven beyond doubt that Hitler's claim now, and we know that no nation can afford the Nazis. Belgium and Holland did everything they could to avoid invasion and gave a tiger into a lion by striking it.



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WPA FILE NO. 1.

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Sheet 3

Mount (3) p. 5 -

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 ~~they~~ we can and
~~should~~ should become the friends and
from 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.

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displeasing the Nazis; but they were attacked so ruthlessly as if _____
they had acted with outright hostility to Germany. We know now that a nation may hold off Nazi attack temporarily by becoming the accomplices of Germany; but that, in the long run, a nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of ~~slavery~~, since they are destined to dominate the earth.

The people of Italy for whom we have such affection in this country because we know so well the qualities that they display in our own communities, have been forced by their dictator 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.

But the American people ignore the warning to be ~~friendly~~ to your
They appeal to your heart-strings. They appeal to your
soft-heartedness, 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 ~~there being~~ all this
bloodshed in the world could be saved by the recognition of that
occupation, and that the United States might just as well throw its
dictated ^{They ask us to} influence into the scale of a negotiated peace. Look at what they call
facts in the case, take part in a ^{dictated} negotiated peace and get the

They call it a Negotiated peace. ^{There} Is it a negotiated peace if a gang of cut-throats, determined
to rule your community, land or threat of their domination make
you pay tribute & save your skin?

friendly to Latin America, friendly to Belgium, Holland and Denmark.



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Such a ~~too~~ dictated peace would be no peace at all. It would be only another armistice, leading to the most gigantic armament race and the ~~too~~ most devastating trade wars in history. And in these contests the United States would be the principal opponent of the Axis powers.



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

But the history of the last ten years seems to prove by the

blood of the innocent that the rack and the concentration camp are not
simply the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships.

The dictators may talk of a new order in the world, but what they have
in mind is not the creation of a new order but a revival of the oldest
and the worst evil — the degradation of mankind. In totalitarian dic-
tatorship there is no hope, no liberty, no freedom, no culture, no
religion. 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 an
order for any people who do justice, who love mercy and who walk humbly
before God.



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No one ~~saves~~ aware of their techniques. We have seen its ravages in Austria, Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Finland, in Albania, in Norway, in Denmark, in Holland, in Belgium, in France, in Hungary and in Rumania.

Only blindness to experience can believe aggressors will leave us alone if only we would give them a free hand. We know that they want us to believe that we can save our own skins by shutting our eyes to the fate of other nations. But we know that they want us now to be indifferent to the fate of other nations so that they can deal with us alone when the rest of the world has become enslaved.

And so we frankly recognize Britain and all freedom-loving peoples are ramparts 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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or meeting these threats to our American democracy. 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 has our enthusiastic
approval.

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 ~~invasion~~
~~will any~~
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



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Inset ① p10

~~100~~

P do this magnificent fight, the
British need munitions take vital need
of weapons and munitions of all kinds.
We must supply them, and we will supply
them. ~~A~~ ~~and~~ ~~will~~ ~~that~~

There is no demand for sending
an American Expeditionary Force outside
our own borders. There it was intention
~~not~~ by any member of your government
to send such a force.

~~We can't enter the war
any other way~~

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to being labeled "a war-monger". That has

~~To you~~
happened on an average of every six months.

~~These~~
The cheap partisans who cry "war-monger" seek

~~Urged~~
only to play on fears. For eight years I have

~~Urged~~
sought to eliminate fears. Our national policy,

our national direction is not headed toward war. Its sole purpose

~~is to draw us away from our country and our people.~~

~~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 untruth of those who in effect play~~

~~Hitler's game.~~

~~of~~ ~~but really?~~
~~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



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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
^{W. L. S.} steel daily into Germany, or for Russia and the
^{F. J. M. T.} Balkan nations to send oil and foodstuffs by
agreement into Germany.

The other day on an inspection trip of our ~~newly~~ ^{outlying} 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. ^{To handle a Great account} ~~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 have prepared}
I am, therefore, at work on the prospect that the flow of munitions and supplies should continue, thereby building up



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Present ① p. 12

We are greatly increasing our production capacity ~~but~~ for our own material defense and to keep strong the front line defense of civilization.



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BB (13)

our own production, and that when this nightmare of world conquest

shall have passed, the British Empire will, over a period of years,

return *when we have delivered them —*
repose, *the loan to the United States, not in dollars but in ~~diminu-~~*

Similar quote.

and I used the simile of the man who lends his garden hose to help

his neighbor put out a fire.

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^{a/s} 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.
steel must be met with steel. The maintenance of the fighting
lines that are protecting us depends, therefore, in large part on
the instruments of defense that the British, the Greeks and the
Chinese receive from us.



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(B)

ANSWER

The policy of your Government is, of course, outlined
There can be no other purpose in the front of
and carried out by your elected representatives -- the

Congress of the United States on the legislative side,
who is Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy
and the President on the executive side. What policy is it?
A civilian policy, but it is an interesting fact that it
is sustained and agreed to by those who are in charge as
specialists of the Army and Navy of the United States.

This aid to Britain is not a matter of sentiment, but
but is a matter of scientific military technique, 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
They are to command
United States. They are unanimous in recommending to
this Government and to 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.

or of controversial
federal power.



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Samuel I. Rosenman



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I should like to make it very clear that the British are
not asking us for money. They are asking us for arms in order
that they may be able to go on fighting against those who have
shown that if they can conquer Great Britain they will try to con-
quer us.

If we can supply instruments of defense quickly enough now to the nations that are holding the totalitarian states away from the Western Hemisphere, we shall be able to avoid war.

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.

From the papers of

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INVERT TO FOLLOW WORDS SO SORELY NEEDED* ON LAST PAGE

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 -- ~~xxxx~~
~~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 cooperation from labor and from industry in these efforts because labor and industry recognizes the value of stability.

~~Furthermore, and again unlike the days of the World War, we are looking ahead to the time when peace is restored -- when very large numbers of American workers will of necessity lose their jobs in purely defense manufactures and at a time before the normal wheels of private industry are ready to employ them on non-defense work.~~



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New York, N. Y.
From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

THE WHITE HOUSE

December 29, 1940

FIRESIDE SPEECH

Harry H.
Bob S.
I.



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

This is the season of the year when 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. It is a danger so serious that I want to let all Americans — and indeed the whole world — know exactly what I think about it and what I believe the people of the United States should do about it.

Ours is one of the few remaining free countries of the world, where the thoughts of the people control the actions of their Government. Here it is the will of the people themselves which rules. In order that we may act wisely to preserve our freedom and our civilization, we must first think together wisely. Tonight let us think together as frankly and as wisely as we can, about the position of our country in the world.

I speak bluntly of the danger which threatens the United



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From the Pershing Papers
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Editor

States. I speak first of the physical danger.

On August 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin, all of the armed might of Germany, all of the strength of Japan, and the armed force of Italy were joined together in a threat of 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.

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. The Japanese are being held in Asia by the Chinese -- and in the Pacific is our fleet.

But if the Germans and Italians should be able to defeat the British and the heroic Greeks who are fighting on the British side, and if the Japanese should be able to conquer the Chinese, no one who is realistic about the situation can doubt that the dictators would attack us.

The world in which we are trying to live our lives peacefully in our free Christian civilization is not only a world of war



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but also a strangely shrunken world. The earth has been so contracted by the aeroplane and the radio that the war machines of foreign nations are growing closer to us each day.

I speak also of the danger which is just as imminent as the physical danger -- the threat which comes from the philosophy of Nazism, Fascism or Communism.

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.

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



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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.



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I have spoken of the danger which threatens us from without. There is an equal danger which threatens us from within.
these
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 countering their nefarious work.

But there are American citizens, many of them in high places, who, in most cases, unwittingly, are aiding the 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.

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.

We realize that now, and we know that no nation can appease the Nazis. Belgium and Holland did everything they could to avoid



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displeasing the King; but they were attacked as ruthlessly as if they had acted with outright hostility to Germany. We know now that a nation may hold off Nazi attack temporarily by becoming the accomplice of Germany; but that, in the long run, a nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of slavery, since they are determined to dominate the earth.

The people of Italy for whom we have such affection in this country because we know so well the qualities that they display in our own communities, have been forced by their dictator to become accomplices of the Nazis; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be reduced to death by their allies.

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



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peoples 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.

Through all the changes of these days, there is that which does not change: The eternal truth of the commandments: "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you."

Men who have turned their backs on that teaching are now trying to impose what they call a "new order" on Europe and the world. By their works, we know them. And we know that their "new order" is a very old order indeed — the foul old order of slavery. To establish the tyranny of one group in one country over the earth, they are destroying the moral gains of twenty centuries of Christian civilisation.

I have painted this picture of danger from without and danger from within in order that we may consider the best means



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of meeting these threats to our American democracy. Certain facts are self-evident in this situation.

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 enthusiastic 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



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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 untruth 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 rearment of the United States and
by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions
and supplies that we can possibly spare to help



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From the President
Samuel I. Rosenman
July 1941

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.

The other day on an inspection trip of our new outlying 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.



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

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 Thermopolayæ 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. Steel must be met with steel. The maintenance of the fighting lines that are protecting us depends, therefore, in large part on the instruments of defense that the British, the Greeks and the Chinese receive from us.



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WHITE HOUSE, W. C.

Samuel I. Rosenman
From the People to
the People

I should like to make it very clear that the British are not asking us for money. They are asking us for arms in order that they may be able to go on fighting against those who have shown that if they can conquer Great Britain they will try to conquer us.

If we can supply instruments of defense quickly enough now to the nations that are holding the totalitarian states away from the Western Hemisphere, we shall be able to avoid war.

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.]

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



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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. We can, 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.



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The time is past when all business can be carried on as usual. It will not be sufficient for our needs merely to superimpose upon the ordinary peace-time production of goods the necessary production for defense. The manufacture of the ordinary goods of peace-time must give way, where necessary, to production for defense purposes.

We must find a way to use each machine to its fullest capacity. There should be no such thing as an idle machine, if that machine is capable of producing an implement of defense. There are no limits to what we have to produce, in this effort to bring our national defense to a point where it is able to cope with the danger which threatens.

It is no longer a question of what we can produce for Great Britain or for any other country. We must proceed upon a program of producing for ourselves -- for the Government of the United States. When these implements of defense have been manufactured, our Government itself can then determine how best to use them to defend the United States of America -- how many to keep at home and how many to send abroad to help those nations which are keeping potential attackers away from our shores.



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For we must be guided by the main principle that whatever aid we give to Britain or to the other democracies, is really in our own self-interest and is really the most powerful means of defence for ourselves.

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 lesser 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. More and more men must be trained to operate the machines of the defense industries. The hours per week in key defense industries are increasing but it must be remembered that there are limits to the effectiveness of workers employed too many hours per day or week.

The average work-week has been extended to hours per week. Any substantial increase providing for the full utilisation of the machines in the engine and aircraft factories must be found in the addition of trained workers to man machines now built or



From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

being built. Labor is entitled to the same uniformity and security of position as the engineer or manager or owner. For their's is the skill that turns out the destroyers, the airplanes and the tanks for defense.

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



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THIRD DRAFT

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

17/7/46

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 then 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.

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.



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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.



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From the Department of
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FOURTH DRAFT

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

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1945

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We ^{Ansel} 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 of 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



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to myself on

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

present (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.
^{in Asia,} The Japanese are being held in Asia by the Chinese.
^{in the west 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.

[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, that security would be ended. We should enter upon a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our



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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 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 - *about 4 hours for the modern* bomber. And at one point between American territory and Asia the distance is less than two miles.

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 to me from people in all parts of the nation expressing their hopes and wishes as to what I should say tonight. Almost all of them expressed a courage desire to hear the plain truth about the gravity of the situation.



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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 us please not to repeat [the distances and flying times which I enumerated in my message of May _____]

16 2:15 AM
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 covers over our 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 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



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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 at the point of such a gun.

Some of these nations were bound with Germany by solemn
non-intervention pacts.¹ 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 so undermined the governments of independent nations by



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creating internal chaos, and then they have set up their own puppets before the physical act of occupation, control and destruction.
They have justified such actions by various pious frauds.

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

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?



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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~~ ^{Their rights} and therefore subject to ~~com-~~
quest and enslavement. 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 from without already menaces
us from within.

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



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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 can have no place in this country. ^{friend} 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 hot 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 those 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



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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.

The people of Italy have been forced by their dictator 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.

But the American appeasers ignore the warning to be found in the fate of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Denmark. 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. 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.

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



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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 war in history. And in these contests 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.

The history of the last ten years seems to prove by the blood of the innocent that the Führer and the concentration camp are not simply the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships. These dictators may talk of a new order in the world, but what they have in mind is not the creation of a new order but a revival of the oldest and the worst evil -- the degradation of mankind. In totalitarian dictatorship there is no hope, no liberty, no freedom, no culture, no religion, no life. 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



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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 an order for any people who do justice, *w/* *Truth* who loves mercy and who walk humbly before God.

“~~Because~~ we frankly recognize Britain and all freedom-loving peoples are ramparts 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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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~~ and 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 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 ~~purveyors of~~ deliberate untruth.

For eight years I have become thoroughly accustomed to being labeled a "war-wonger". That has happened to me on an average of every six months. Those who cry "war-wonger" 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 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 defenses, 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.



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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, return to the United States what we have delivered to them — not in dollars but in similar goods.

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, the Greeks and the Chinese receive from us.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

FOURTH DRAFT

- 16 -

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.

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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From the People of
Samuel I. Rosenman

FOURTH DRAFT

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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.

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



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From the Office of
Samuel I. Rosenman
To Selected Personnel

FOUNDED DRAFT

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cooperation from labor and from industry in these efforts because

labor and industry recognize the value of stability.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D.C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE FELIX FRANKFURTER

December 29, 1940



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

William A. Rogers and Robert S. Rosenman

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WHITE HOUSE, W. C. T.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

Dear Sam:

This is truly exciting and just the invigoration and the call to action that the country needs. I am very happy about it.

And so it seems to me idle to make any suggestions in phraseology here and there - it would be a needless botheration. There is only one paragraph ^{especially this} that seems to me lacking in the kind of strength and vividness and eloquence that I am sure can easily be given it. I am referring to the last two paragraphs, and particularly the last one, on page 16. In that connection, I wish you would read, beginning with the bottom of page 3 to page 5, ~~the~~ the enclosed speech that Stimson made the other day. I think you could say something along those lines in a few sentences that would really help.

But I want to end on the note on which I began. I am terribly happy about the draft. *Really good?*

Ever yours,

Hon. Samuel I. Rosenman

P.S. Please return the Stimson speech. I need it.

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C.
CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE FELIX FRANKFURTER

December 29, 1940



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West Park, N. Y.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

Dear Sam:

This is truly exciting and just the invigoration and the call to action that the country needs. I am very happy about it.

And so it seems to me idle to make any suggestions in phraseology here and there - it would be a needless botheration. There is only one paragraph ^{or perhaps two} that seems to me lacking in the kind of strength and vividness and eloquence that I am sure can easily be given it. I am referring to the last two paragraphs, and particularly the last one, on page 16. In that connection, I wish you would read, beginning with the bottom of page 3 to page 5, ~~of~~ the enclosed speech that Stimson made the other day. I think you could say something along those lines in a few sentences that would really help.

But I want to end on the note on which I began. I am terribly happy about the draft. *Really pleased?*

Ever yours,

SI

Hon. Samuel I. Rosenman

P.S. Please return the Stimson speech. I need it.

12-27-40



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service
Records of the Post Office Department

From the Projects of
Harry L. Hopkins

Harry:-

The attached is
not supposed to be cast in
language for speech use.
You can do that. I'm
merely trying to set down
my earnest views of the
matter, which it seemed to
me you already had in
your mind.

I hope the emphasis
is not on doing away
with luxuries - and the
making of sacrifices, or
even the use of substitutes.
In reality - it is merely
the exercise of
CHOICE
in favor of defense.

Leon



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

From the Papers of

National Archives and Record Service
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
West Park, N. Y.

Harry L. Hopkins

The country is producing:

- A. Civilian goods
B. Defense materials

1. equipment, clothing, etc.
2. munitions -
 - (a) tanks, planes, guns, powder, etc.
 - (b) plants and equipment to produce more tanks, planes, guns, powder.

When the defense program began last summer, there were surpluses of men, machines and material. Except for rare instances, the authorized defense program could be handled by utilization of idle resources, and this was done. Unused steel capacity, idle metal mining capacity, unemployed contracting facilities were called into action. But even at the beginning, machine tools were scarce and preference had to be given to defense industries.

In many other industries, we are now faced with the necessity of giving preference to defense needs because:

- A. British and American requirements have increased, there is little idle capacity in defense industries now, and new capacity cannot be built in a hurry.
- B. We have tremendously quickened our desire for tanks, planes, and guns and the new plants to increase our capacity to make tanks, planes and guns.

Defense needs now come first, and the priority may be for plant capacity, or raw materials, or skilled labor, or managerial ability.

Leon Henderson

These priorities, however, while they touch important materials, machinery and skills, do not affect all goods, and fall least heavily on consumer goods - the things which bulk so importantly in the common man's standard of living. This is very fortunate, for the purchasing power released by the now high level of activity can largely be spent to raise the level of living of those now employed, and to create demands for employment of many now idle.

It does mean, though, that on certain things - defense requirements will take its especial needs, for which there are no substitutes, and civilian requirements will turn to the thousands of other choices which are available.

For example, the Aluminum Company is restricting the use of aluminum for kitchen utensils, so that more is available for planes. But this does not mean that the housewife must go without utensils. It means rather more demand, and therefore more employment, in the porcelain and glass industries.

Suggestion

I believe the appeal should be made to all forces engaged in defense production to assist in expediting the program by voluntarily exercising priorities and choices in favor of defense.

Thousands of subcontractors, and millions of workmen are engaged in defense requirements. By giving first preference in manufacture, in deliveries, in transportation, in the use of skills, - the work of the Big Four Board, which can really only give the signals can become truly effective.

Lee Henderson



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WHITE HOUSE, W. C.

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins



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HARRY L. Hopkins

From the Papers of

Insert B

Against all such efforts to dominate the world by force, we in America must stand firm. In accordance with our traditional policy we will not give legal sanction to acts of aggression. We cannot recognize governments set up or territory acquired by force and aggression. Government without the consent of the governed might last one year or ten or even a generation, but government by force cannot endure. There will always be in the hearts of humble men and women a yearning to be free -- free to speak as they think, free to worship as their conscience dictates, free to choose their own work, free to have a voice in the government under which they live. That yearning can never be snuffed out as long as life endures.