

December 29, 1940

[~~Inside~~ Speech]

FDR Speech File

SIXTH DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

DECEMBER 29, 1940

*State Dept.
suggestion
in red.*

I want to talk to you

~~This is not a message that we want. It is a talk on~~

national security and peace; 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 ~~backing~~ *financial system* of our country had ceased to function.

I will 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.



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

SIXTH DRAFT

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I tried to convey to the great mass of American people
instead
what the ~~new~~ 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 1935 with courage and
realism.

I believe that we face this new crisis of 1941 — 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. *This danger is made it a*
new from a Communist movement of world G. with by force.
Her, on September 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin,
all the armed might of Germany, all of the strength of Japan, all the
force of Italy were joined together in the threat that if the United



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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: "Others are correct when they say: With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves".

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. *peaceful and democratic nations*

It is interesting to note that in the same speech their leader was credibly reported to have said in *German* translation "He 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 *his* Axis domination.



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From the Papers of
General I. Roosevelt

SIXTH DRAFT

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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 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 bickered 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. The Japanese are being engaged in Asia by the Chinese in another great defense.

In the Pacific is our fleet.

over Pacific
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.

in European wars



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SIXTH DRAFT

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One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine

Continued as a measure of self defense
~~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, 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 serious 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.



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SAMUEL I. ROOSEVELT

SIXTH DRAFT

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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 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



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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 such a gun.



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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.

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.

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. They call it a negotiated peace. Konsensel 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.

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 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.

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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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} fight against the Axis nations, ^{than if we submit tamely to an Axis victory and wait our} then if we submit tamely to an Axis victory and wait our turn to be dragged into 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.

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 never will be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.



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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.

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 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.



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SIXTH DRAFT

and in its vast scale we must

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as you can

We are planning our own defense with the utmost care
take care of 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 of 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



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From the Papers of
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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 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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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, airplanes 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 this effort in itself ^{is} not 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 requirements for defense.



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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, ~~one~~ ^{the need} *all the production which this country is capable of*, 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 the United States of America ^{and} *for the defense of our neighbors in the new world.* 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.



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From the Papers of
Sigmund I. Rosenthal

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. 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.



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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 with absolute confidence that it will greatly succeed.



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SIXTH DRAFT

LEWIS 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 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 will 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.



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SHERMAN I. BOESCHMAN

SIXTH DRAFT

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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 1933 with courage and
realism.

I believe that we face this new crisis of 1941 — this new
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We are the heirs of twenty centuries of Christian faith in
the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. On that belief have
we 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,
all the armed might of Germany, all of the strength of Japan, all the
force of Italy were joined together in the threat that if the United



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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.

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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: "Others are correct when they say: With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves". . . .

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".

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SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

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} ~~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 by the Greeks, and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from ^{independent countries} [independent nations] before complete occupation of them by invading forces. The Japanese are being engaged in Asia by the Chinese in another great defense.

In the Pacific is our fleet.

Some of ^{us} ~~us~~ like to believe that ^{Europe & Asia} [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.



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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".

Presented
[Yet, no dispute arose which we, as neighbors, could not settle in peace. The fact is that two friendly sea powers, *during more than a century,* 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? *most helpful hand*
Does anyone serious believe, on the other hand, that we could rest easy if the Axis powers were our neighbors there? *Alone Germany*

[If Britain should fall, our hemisphere security would be ended. *RP* 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.]

Transpose from p. 7



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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.

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SIXTH DRAFT

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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."

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

to p. 5 to p. 8



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Samuel I. Rosenman

SIXTH DRAFT

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".

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"?



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SIXTH DRAFT

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Handwritten notes:
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.

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.

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.



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From the Papers of
SARNOFF I. ROSENBERG

SIXTH DRAFT

- 10 -

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 dictators. Americans never can and never will do that.



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SIXTH DRAFT

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From the Papers of
General I. Rosenham

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, ^{presumably allies,} have been forced to become ^{subsequent to} accomplices of the Nazis; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be entranced 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, 2/5 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. 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.

The history of recent years proves that shootings and *Chinas* 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.

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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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} fight against the Axis nations, than if we ^{submit} submit tamely to an Axis victory and wait our turn to be ^{dragged into another war later on.} dragged into 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 ^{now} in the future.

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 never will be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenbaum

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 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.



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FROM the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 of 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



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SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

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 standing 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.

*33 Mr. Lusk
By Mr. Lusk
- given for
by Lusk*

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, airplanes 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 this effort ^{is} in itself is not 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 requirements for defense.



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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 man — 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 ^{wholehearted} 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 ^{the 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.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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. 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.



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From the Papers of
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SIXTH DRAFT

SUBSTITUTE FOR LAST PAGE

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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.



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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 peace~~; 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 will 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.



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From the Papers of
JERRY L. HOPKINS

SIXTH DRAFT

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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 1933 with courage and realism.

I believe that we face this new crisis ~~ed-gest~~ — 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, all the armed might of Germany, all of the strength of Japan, all the force of Italy were joined together in the threat that if the United



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

SIXTH DRAFT

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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: "Others are correct when they say: With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves". . .

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.]



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From the Papers of

BARRY L. HOPKINS

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. *Will be*

At this moment, the three ^{forces of the} [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 by the Greeks, and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from ^{subjugated countries} independent nations before complete occupation of them by invading forces. The Japanese are being engaged in Asia by the Chinese in another great defense.

In the Pacific is our fleet.

^{our people} Some of ~~us~~ like to believe that ^{see Europe & Asia} 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.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine ^{conceived as a measure of defense} was ^{proclaimed} 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, 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 ^{a few} attack while 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 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.



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HENRY L. JACKSON

SIXTH DRAFT

- 8 -

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.

^{The} 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 ^{Washington} ~~St. Louis~~ 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



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From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

SIXTH DRAFT

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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 will 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 such a gun.



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From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

SIXTH DRAFT

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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".

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"?



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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.

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.

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From the Papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

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.

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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.

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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 ^{nations defending themselves against attack} against the Axis-nations, ^{the Axis,} ^{signify in their defeat} than if we ~~wait until we are into victory~~ and wait our turn to be ^{the object of attack in} ~~drawn into~~ another war later on.

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SIXTH DRAFT

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

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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



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From the Papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

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} 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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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

From the Papers of
Dwight L. Hopkins

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, airplanes 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 this effort in itself ^{all of} is not enough. We must ^{- 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.



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Harry L. Hopkins

SIXTH DRAFT

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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 such 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.



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From the papers of
HARRY L. HOPKIN

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 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.



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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 in the ~~past~~ ^{past} and 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.



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From the Papers of
Dwight D. Eisenhower
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SIXTH DRAFT
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- 21 -

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.



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From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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 peace; 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.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
HENRY L. JOPLIN

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 1933 with courage and realism.

I believe that we face this new crisis of 1941 -- 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, all the armed might of Germany, all of the strength of Japan, all the force of Italy were joined together in the threat that if the United



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From the papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

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: "Others are correct when they say: With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves".

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.



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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 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 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. The Japanese are being 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.



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JAN. 15, 1941From the Papers of
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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, 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.



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From the Papers of
Barry L. Hopkins

SIXTH DRAFT

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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 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



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

SIXTH DRAFT

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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.

V
6 to
see chapter

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



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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".

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"?



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From the papers of
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SIXTH DRAFT

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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.

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.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

SIXTH DRAFT

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They try to awaken 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 dictators. Americans never can and never will do that.



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From the papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

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 Nazis; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be sentenced 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 scales 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?



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From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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 Americans would offer the only real resistance to the Axis powers.

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 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.

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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From the Papers of
JERRY L. ROBINSON

ability to "keep out of war" is going to be affected by that
~~outcome.~~ ^{but} ~~outcome.~~ ^{See below}

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,
than if we submit tamely to an Axis victory and wait our
turn to be dragged into 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.

The people of Europe do not ask us to do their fight-
ing. 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 never will
be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.



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From the Papers of
HENRY L. BOGGIN

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.

Our national policy is not directed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people. *Our real problem is not to keep Americans out of war but to keep war away from America.*

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.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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Pres. and*

SIXTH DRAFT

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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 of the Administration have a single-minded purpose — the defense of the United States.

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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

SIXTH DRAFT

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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 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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and State agencies*



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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, airplanes 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 this effort in itself ^{is} not 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 requirements for defense.



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Harry L. Hopkins

SIXTH DRAFT

- 18 -

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From the Papers of
HARRY L. DOPKINS

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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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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.

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From the papers of
Dwight D. Eisenhower

SIXTH DRAFT

SUBSTITUTE FOR LAST PAGE

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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.



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From the papers of
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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

SEVENTH 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; 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.



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From the Papers of
HARRY L. Hopkins

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 that crisis of 1933 with courage and realism.

I believe 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.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
HARRY L. JOCKIM

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".

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.



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From the Papers of
HARRY L. HOPKINS

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?



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From the papers of
Isidore L. Hopkins

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 3 -

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 ruthless force, 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 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.



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From the Papers of

Henry L. Hopkins

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 6 -

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 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



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

SEVENTH DRAFT

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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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From the Papers of
Barry L. Hopkins

SEVENTH DRAFT

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

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.

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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Henry L. Hopkins

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 9 -

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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From the Papers of

BARRY L. HOPKINS

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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, 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.

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?



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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 Americans 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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Henry L. Hopkins

SEVENTH DRAFT

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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 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.



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From the Papers of
HARRY L. HOPKINS

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 12 -

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 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.



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From the Papers of
HARRY L. HOPKINS

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 sacrifices.

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.

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.

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.



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MIL FORD, N. Y.

From the Bureau of
Military Law Discipline

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
nation.

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. Watchmakers, 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.

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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From the Papers of
BARRY L. HOPKINSON

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 the have/man -- 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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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

SEVENTH DRAFT

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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.



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From the Papers of
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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, 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.



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From the Papers of
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SEVENTH DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE

DECEMBER 29, 1940

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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenbaum

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 2 -

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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". *Is this the leader of the Nazis.*

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SEVENTH DRAFT

- 3 -

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The Nazis have justified such actions by various pious frauds. One of these frauds is the claim that they ^{are} 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 ^{as} close ^{to} our shores in the Atlantic as 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-brooders 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. We 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 entranced to death by their allies.

The American appeasers ignore the warning to be found in the fate of Austria, Czechoslovakia, ^{Poland} Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, ^{France} ~~W. of Europe~~. 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?



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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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wholly 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 ^{for} 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. ^{helpfully, we must} ~~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.



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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 unneutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, ^{Poland and} under a form of duress, ^{other nations near Germany} to send steel and ore ^{daily} into Germany, or for Russia and the Balkan nations to send ^{and} oil and other war materials into Germany ^{any day}.



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We are planning our own defense with the utmost urgency; and in its vast scope 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 action 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 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.



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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
nation. *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. *factories, manufacturers 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.

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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After the present needs of our defence 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 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.



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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 defection. 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.



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