
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

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

File No. 1353-A

1941 January 6

**Message to Congress –
The State of the Union**

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

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I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the Constitution, in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these -- the four year War Between the States -- ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, one hundred and thirty million Americans, in forty-eight States, have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States often had been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce. In no case, however, had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained opposition to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past ~~thereabout~~. Today, thinking of our children and their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any part of the Americas.

That determination of ours was proved, for example, during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is, nevertheless, clear that neither France nor Great Britain nor any other nation was aiming at domination of the whole world.

In like fashion from 1815 to 1914 -- 99 years -- no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength. It is still a friendly strength.

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But, as time went on, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not over-emphasize imperfections in the Peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction. We should remember that the Peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of "pacification" which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world -- assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda, by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations still at peace.

During sixteen months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. The assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations , great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union", I find it necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. The total of those populations and their resources greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere -- many times over.

In times like these it is immature -- and incidentally untrue -- for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion -- or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. "Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety".

As a nation we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed.

We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement.

We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack, which we must expect if the dictator nations win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even if there were no British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate.

But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe -- particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years.

The first phase of the invasion of this Hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and their dupes -- and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they -- not we -- will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

That is why the future of all American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why every member of the Executive branch of the government and every member of the Congress face great responsibility -- and great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily -- almost exclusively -- to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all our fellow-men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will, and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today, it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases -- and I am sorry to say very important cases -- we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy, however, have made substantial progress during the past year. Actual experience is improving and speeding up our methods of production with every passing day. And today's best is not good enough for tomorrow.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. The men in charge of the program represent the best in training, ability and patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done.

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, our objective is quicker and better results.

To give two illustrations: We are behind schedule in turning out finished airplanes; we are working day and night to solve the innumerable problems and to catch up.

We are ahead of schedule in building warships; but we are working to get even further ahead of schedule.

To change a whole nation from a basis of peace time production of implements of peace to a basis of war time production of implements of war is no small task. And the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools and plant facilities and new assembly lines and ship ways must first be constructed before the actual materiel begins to flow steadily and speedily from them.

The Congress, of course, must rightly keep itself informed at all times of the progress of the program. However, there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which, in the interests of our own security and those of the nations we are supporting, must of needs be kept in confidence.

New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power. They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. We cannot, and will not, tell them they must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons -- a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend that we make it possible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own program. Nearly all of their materiel would, if the time ever came, be useful for our own defense.

Taking counsel of expert military and naval authorities, considering what is best for our own security, we are free to decide how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their determined and heroic resistance are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense.

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid, within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, in similar materials, or, at our option, in other goods of many kinds which they can produce and which we need.

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our pledge".

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law and as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be.

When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war.

Their only interest is in a new one-way international law, which lacks mutuality in its observance, and, therefore, becomes an instrument of oppression.

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger.

We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency -- as serious as war itself -- demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of government to save government.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and courage which come from an unshakeable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action which we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

Mr. There is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple and basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.

As examples:

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression -- everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want -- which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants --- everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear -- which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor --- anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception -- the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in a change -- in a perpetual peaceful revolution -- a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly, adjusting itself to changing conditions -- without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is in our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Orig. reading copy

Preamble

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January 6, 1941

CONFIDENTIAL: To be held in STRICT CONFIDENCE and no portion, synopsis or intimation to be published or given out until delivery of the President's message to the Congress HAS BEGUN.

Release expected about 2:00 P. M., E. S. T., January 6, 1941.

CAUTION: Extreme care must be exercised to avoid premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

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That determination of ours was proved, for example, during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is, nevertheless, clear that neither France nor Great Britain nor any other nation was aiming at domination of the whole world.

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The preservation of civil liberties for all, in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

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To that new order we oppose the greater conception — the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in change — in a perpetual peaceful revolution — a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions — without the concentration camp or the quicklime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is in our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

January 6, 1941.

are in complete accord in the mutual defense of the hemisphere against any potential act of aggression from overseas in either direction.

And up to 1914, not one of many wars in many places constituted a real threat against us. During that whole time, therefore, no President found it necessary to advise the Congress that the future of the State of the Union was overwhelmingly wrapped up in events happening outside of our borders. Then when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed in its progress and in its objectives to threaten small danger to our own American future. But as time went on it became more and more clear that the World War had in it the possibilities of an effort at world domination by the forces of the then existing alliance between Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

We in this war were made more and more aware of these dangers to our own commerce in every part of the world. Wholly aside from any analysis of the events of 1917 and 1918, and wholly aside from the treaties which came out of that war, one outstanding fact will be recorded by history; that the world did enjoy nearly twenty years of actual

SECOND DRAFT

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

1941

I address you the Members of the Seventy-Seventh
or the State of the Union Congress, at a moment unprecedented in our history. I
use the word "unprecedented" because at no previous time
has [the future of] American security been more [greatly] seriously
threatened from without.

Since the permanent formation of the government
under the Constitution in 1789, most of the periods of
crisis in our history have related to the domestic scene.
Fortunately, only one of these -- the four year war
Between the States -- has threatened continued national
unity.

It is true that up to 1914 the United States was ~~had been~~
often disturbed by events in other Continents, and we ~~had~~
even engaged in wars with ^{Europe} other nations. In no case,
however, ~~had~~ ^{been} a serious threat raised against our national
safety or independence.

has no time for example, during ~~Such was~~ the quarter century that followed the ~~end of~~ French Revolution -- a period of almost continual struggle between the French Empire and alignments of other nations usually led by the British Empire. [It is clear to us today that] While the sovereignty of the United States was affected by the extension of that ~~were~~ conflict to territories in the West Indies and to Louisiana; and was questioned by ~~the~~ ^{against} impressments of American seamen and the ^{interference with} jeopardizing of our peaceful commerce; and while we believed it necessary to engage in the War of 1812 in the assertion of our rights, it is, nevertheless, clear that neither France nor Great Britain nor any other nation showed that their objective was either to conquer or to control the world as a whole.

Based upon

A little later the belief that certain European continental powers sought to take away the new and hard-won independence of the Latin American Republics, the Doctrine promulgated by President Monroe ended the plan of aggression. *[We can well admit that]* ^{that} this keystone of

American foreign policy was strengthened through all the years *that*
followed, by the existence of the great, and almost at all times friendly,
power of the fleets of Great Britain.

Today in the face of more serious threats to this hemisphere,
the Pan American policy by which all of the twenty-one
Republics of this hemisphere are united for the mutual defense
of the hemisphere is an accomplished fact.

Up to 1914 no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted
a real threat against us or against any other American nation.
During that whole time, therefore, no President found it
necessary to advise the Congress that the future of the State
of the Union was overwhelmingly wrapped up in events occurring *far*
beyond our borders.

When the World War broke out it seemed *in its progress*
- to threaten only small threat of
and in its objectives to threaten *small danger to our own*
American future. But as time went on, and the success of

German and Austro-Hungarian arms increased, ^{The American} people began to visualize what the downfall of nations governed under ^{by} democratic processes might mean to our own American future.

It is of little use for us today to expend lengthy argument on the pros and cons of the ^{treaties which ended} statements of that war.

It is undeniable that the threat of those days was thrust aside by victory ^{of democratic forces;} followed, and that a period of peace, lasting almost a generation, ensued.

For many years after November 11, 1918, few people anywhere gave serious thought to the danger of a new attempt at world conquest. Yet, under ^{and domination.} these surface of things, especially in the past eight years as we know, ^{now selfish} aspirations were growing ^{ruthless} into plans, plans into ^{fervid} preparations, and finally preparations into acts -- acts of war ^{more fundamental in their striving} ~~aimed toward world~~ ^{in a more direct fashion} for domination by ^{one} man or ^{one} race than the world as a whole ^{one}. has ever witnessed since the [control of the western world by] ^{days of} the old Roman Empire.

Every realist here and elsewhere [must truthfully agree] knows that the democratic way of life in every part of the world

is at this moment being assailed. During sixteen months this
assault has blotted out ^{directly} ~~the whole pattern of~~ democratic life in an amazing number of
independent nations great and small; and ^{now, its} ~~at the point of~~ deadly
^{are} weapons ~~is~~ threatening that kind of life in several other nations
great and small. ~~All in all~~ War in defense of democratic
^{view} existence is being bravely waged in four continents. And if
^{defense} that fight fails the population and the resources of those
continents will, of necessity, be dominated by the conquerors.
The total ~~All~~ of those populations and resources greatly exceed the sum
total of the population and resources of the whole of the
Western Hemisphere -- many times over. ^(A) That is why this annual
message to the congress is, ~~of neeeeessity~~, unique in our history --
~~because~~, overshadowing the many problems of our domestic concerns,
~~that~~ hangs over America today a more serious ^{danger} ~~threat~~ from without
than at any other moment since that day in 1783 when our
independence was established in the world.

That is why this Congress meets in a dramatic hour. → P

(A) Page 5

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring ~~us~~ ^{us} into our very midst the physical attack which we must expect if the dictator nations win this war. This nation ~~knows by us~~ and the people of this Hemisphere know by now how direct a threat exists against us all in their ^{nations} alliance of the aggression nations in their thrust for control of the world.

The Congress

That is why every member of ~~it~~ faces great responsi-

bility and assumes great accountability.

Our *fact* *(A)*
~~The~~, national policy is clear, not alone because it
is based on morality and on national ideals, but also because
~~It appears clearly to have~~ ^{for} the support of the overwhelming majority
of the people of the nation. In the recent national election
~~are substantial difference~~
there was ~~small division~~ between the two great parties in
respect to that national policy. No issue ~~was~~ fought out
on this line by the American Electorate. Since then, indications
are self ~~evident~~ abundantly *it has become*
substantial unity in demanding speedy and complete action in
recognition of recognized danger.

First, by impressive majorities and without partisanship, we are committed to all-out national defense. Second,

by impressive majorities and without partisanship, we are committed to every aid, short of war, to all peoples everywhere
now *for* *the* *those brave and resolute*
where who are keeping aggression away from our hemisphere by
the brave resistance against aggressors.

Page 6

(A)

from abroad.

The great need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted ~~solely~~ primarily, almost exclusively, to meeting the danger. We must have a national identity of ~~aims~~, purposeful and passionate, directed to ^{offering} the most immediate the most effective answer to the challenge which is being made to our civilization. There must be a ~~unity~~ and a ~~ability~~ to our democratic ~~democracy~~ which acts in an age

not why

In this policy we uphold principles and simultaneously at the same time we strengthen the security of our nation.

P Third. Neither ^{material} principles nor ^{consideration for our own} security permit a dictated peace dictated by aggressors and accepted by appeasers or appeasement.

Japan & A

The last Congress, in a series of enactments, authorized and appropriated the money for the undertaking of a great program of defense.

Of a sum of eleven billion dollars, ten billion dollars ~~has~~ ^{have} already been spent or contracted toward carrying out that program. Leaders of industry and labor are responding magnificently. They are using every existing facility; they are converting many facilities used for other purposes, and they are creating many others from the bottom up.

It is worth remembering ^{must be remembered} that a year ago the United States was almost wholly engaged in peace time pursuits; that even today we are not at war; that that defense production is [in certain shortages] very different from peace production; and that the development of the practice of actual war bring constantly changing demands and needs.

Op 7

That national policy must be carried out in a manner which proclaims the validity and vitality of our democratic devotion.

The immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production, and the disposal of that armament so that it shall serve its only purpose - to keep war away from this Hemisphere and to keep attain a world in which free men and free nations can freely live in peace. Defense, defense and more defense; arms and yet more arms; production, and even more production - that is the immediate task before us.

For this war production many hundreds of thousands of new workers must be trained in many varieties of skills; and in the manufacture of many implements, the capacity of peacetime must be multiplied many times over.

I can report to the Congress that
Considering these facts real progress has been and is being made. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are up to schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

It is of course right that the Congress should be kept informed at all times of the progress of the program in all its details, except that as the Congress itself will readily recognize, there is certain information which our own security and the good of nations we are helping require to be kept in confidence.

It is a great task to raise production in one year or two years in the same proportion as production was increased in certain other nations over a period of six or seven years.

Point A
Every day that passes the need of speed and yet more speed, is being driven home by the government, by industry and by labor. I am not satisfied with the progress because I am never satisfied. *Forward,* I can say, only that we are putting forth all that we can give in the cause.

New circumstances beget constant new needs for our safety. I must ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on supplement what we have begun.

Point A
I seek this Congress also for authority in addition to all manufacturing ^{work} this to superimpose a program for munitions and supplies of many kinds which may best be used by those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Inset A. J. 9

of implements of war

To change a whole nation to a basis of war time production from a basis of peace time production of implements of peace is no small task. It must be remembered that the aggressor nations have been engaged in a feverish armament production for six or seven years. It is a great task to raise our own production in one or two years in the same proportion as their production was increased over a period of six or seven years. The greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program when ^{new} tool and plant facilities and assembly lines must be first constructed before the actual war material begins to flow from them.

I have suggested that our most useful role is to act and immediate
as an arsenal for ourselves and for them. They do not need
man power. They ^{do} need [to order and to get delivery of] billions
of dollars worth of the weapons of defense. P Soon they will
not be able to pay for them in ready cash. That is no reason
for us to tell them they must submit.

part A

I do not recommend that we with which to pay for these weapons
Rather than make them a loan of dollars to be repaid
in dollars, rather than ask Americans to make free gifts
of these weapons of defense. I am suggesting that this
government place the orders and supervise the construction
of the materiel. Most of it will be materiel which, if the
time ever came, would fit into our own defense. *part B* If that
is not essential, such materiel can best be used by our
friends overseas. For what we send abroad,
to repay us in similar materiel or in other much needed goods
~~materiel~~ within a reasonable time following the close of
hostilities.

(A) p. 10

I recommend that instead of having those nations continue to place their orders with our manufacturers of war materials, that this government ~~take over the job~~ task of alone place the ~~the~~ necessary orders and supervise the construction and pay for the weapons.

(B) We can determine on the basis of the best military and naval judgment and advice ~~how much we should~~ based ^{only} on what is best for own security, how much should be kept here and how much should be sent ~~to~~ abroad to our friends who are the victims of aggression and who by their gallant resistance are giving us a ~~free~~ period of grace, a breathing spell, in which to make ready our own defences.

(11)

As we continue to muster all that we have in this great cause, we must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency - as serious as war itself - demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need. On the other hand we must never sacrifice those things which do not hinder us in our efforts but actually provide ^{added} stimulus and determination to do what ~~we~~ ^{we} must be done.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight with by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses must have the stamina and courage which come from an ~~unshaken~~ unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action which we shall for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

II The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been

(12)

done during the last eight years to make
the great mass of its people conscious of
their individual stake in the preservation
of democratic life in America. ~~These things~~
~~Only those who would seek to repeat that legislation~~
~~for all time believe that they know things~~

Laws toughened the stamina and fibre of
our people, laws renewed their faith and
strengthened their devotion in the institutions
we make ready to protect, laws made a free
people ever more willing and ready to
defend their freedom. ~~They know a~~

While our defense needs come first
and while there are things which we might
like to do but cannot because they might
slow down our defense effort, we must not
assume that what we have done or that
we shall continue to do

B

[we might now do] to improve the social and economic conditions of our people will interfere with our defense effort. [For there are things undone which can be done which will actually strengthen our national morale and make our defense effort more effective.]

Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today convulsing the world.

There is nothing mysterious about the basis of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are equality of opportunity for youth, ^{and for others,} jobs for those who can work, security for those who need it, the absence of special privilege for the few and the possession of civil liberties by all, and the enjoyment of the fruits of technological progress in a constantly rising and widely diffused standard of living. These are the simple and basic things that [we must ever strive to further and which] must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political

systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these basic expectations.

There are many subjects connected with domestic affairs ~~which I shall about~~^{as to}, which I shall make specific recommendations to the Congress from time to time in subsequent special messages. These will include recommendations as to taxes necessary to pay for our increased armament program; amendments in our social security law with respect to old age pensions and unemployment insurance; expansion of our youth aid program; etc etc

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THIRD DRAFT

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

1941

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, ~~on the State of the Union~~ at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been ~~more~~ ^{as} seriously threatened from without ~~it is testing~~.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the Constitution in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these --- the four year War Between the States --- even threatened our continued national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States had often disturbed by events in other Continents, and we had even engaged in two wars with European nations. In no case, however, had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or independence.

That was true, for example, during the quarter century that followed the end of the French Revolution --- a period of almost continual struggle between the French Empire and alignments of other nations usually led by

THIRD DRAFT

-2-
*The Neutrality Was Threatened
in the British Empire. While the sovereignty of the United States was affected by the extension of that conflict in territories in the West Indies and Louisiana, and while we believed it necessary to engage in the War of 1812 to assert our rights against impressment of American seamen and interference with our peaceful commerce, it is nevertheless clear that neither France nor Great Britain nor any other nation aimed at that their objectives were either to conquer or control the world as a whole.*

A little later, based upon the belief that certain European continental powers sought to take away the new and hard-won independence of the Latin American Republics, the doctrine promulgated by President Monroe ended that plan of aggression on this Hemisphere. This keystone of American foreign policy was strengthened through all the years that followed, by the existence of the great, and almost at all times friendly, power of the fleets of Great Britain. Today in the face of more serious threats to this Hemisphere, the Pan American policy by

~~1~~ p. 2

(A) From 1815 to 1914 - 99 years -
~~so called~~

XXX

(B) No foreign power sought to ~~take~~
~~area~~, the ~~independence~~ establish itself
in this Hemisphere; and ~~to fort~~
~~#~~ the strength of the British fleet was
at almost all times a ~~friendly~~ strength

(C) ~~Merely, in fact~~

which all of the twenty-one Republics of this Hemisphere are united for the common defense of the Hemisphere is an accomplished fact.

~~Up to 1914 no single war in Europe or in Asia con-~~

stituted a real threat against us or against any other

American nation. During that whole time, therefore, no

President found it necessary to advise the Congress, ~~as I~~

~~now must advise it~~, that the future of the State of the

Union was overwhelmingly wrapped up in events occurring

far beyond our borders. *Necessity compels that advice today.*

When the World War broke out it seemed during the early stages to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But as time went on, and the success of German and Austro-Hungarian arms increased, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of nations governed by democratic processes might mean to ~~their~~ ^{their} own future.

It is of little use for us today to expend lengthy argument on the pros and cons of the treaties which ended that war. It is undeniable that the threat of those days was thrust aside by the victory of democratic forces; and that a period of peace followed, lasting almost a

generation.

For many years after November 11, 1918, few people anywhere gave serious thought to the danger of a new attempt at world conquest and domination. Yet, under the surface of things, especially in the past eight years as we now know, selfish aspirations were growing into ruthless plans, plans into feverish preparations, and finally preparations into acts -- acts of war aimed ~~at~~ toward world domination by one man or one race in a more direct fashion than the world as a whole has ever witnessed since the days of the old Roman Empire.

Every realist here and elsewhere knows that the democratic way of life in every part of the world is at this moment being directly assailed. During sixteen months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an amazing number of independent nations great and small; and now, its deadly weapons are threatening that kind of life in several other nations great and small. *A//* defense of democratic existence is now being bravely waged in four continents. If that defense fails the population and the resources of those continents will be dominated by the conquerors.

A p. 4

— assailed either by arms or by
secret infiltration to promote disunity in
nation still at peace.

The total of those populations and resources greatly exceed the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere -- many times over.

A5

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must expect if the dictator nations win this war. This country ~~nation~~ and the people of this Hemisphere know by now how direct a threat ~~exists~~ against us all in the treaty alliance of the aggressor nations, in their ~~threat for control~~ ^{for} ~~of the world.~~

~~Overshadowing the many problems of our domestic concerns,~~
~~that is why the Americas are today on~~
~~the edge of a serious danger,~~
~~without than at any other moment since that day when our~~
~~independence was established in the world.~~

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why this Congress meets in a dramatic hour.

That is why every member of the Congress faces great responsibility and assumes great accountability.

(A) p 4.5

- or even good business

No realistic American can expect
generosity of retaliation or world disarmament
or freedom of expression or freedom of
religion from vicious dictatorships. Most
of us today may admit soft-heartedness,
but we resent the change of soft-headedness.

The great need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily ~~and~~ almost exclusively, — to meeting the danger from abroad. We must have a national identity of aims, purposeful and passionate, directed to creating the most immediate and most effective answer to the challenge which is being made to our civilization.

Our national policy is clear. It is based on morality and on national ideals. It clearly has the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of the nation. In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line ~~by~~ before the American Electorate. Since then, it has become abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere show substantial unity in demanding speedy and complete action in recognition

of recognized danger.

Our Policy is this: ^{expression of the public will}
First, by ^{an} impressive ~~majorities~~ and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to "all-out" national defense.

Second, by ^{an} impressive ~~majorities~~ and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to every aid, short of war, to all those brave and resolute peoples everywhere

who are now keeping aggression away from our Hemisphere by brave resistance against the aggressors. In this policy we not only uphold our moral principle, but, at the same time, we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation.

Third, neither moral principles nor consideration for our own security permit a peace dictated by aggressors and accepted by appeasers.

That national policy must be carried out in a manner which proclaims the validity and vitality of our democratic devotion.

The immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production, and the disposal of that armament so that it shall serve its only purpose -- to keep war away from this Hemisphere and to help attain a world in which free men and free nations can freely live in peace. Defense, defense and more defense; arms and yet more arms; production, and ever more production -- that is the immediate task before us.

The last Congress, in a series of enactments, authorized and appropriated the money for the undertaking of a great program of defense. Of a sum of ~~eleven~~ approximately ¹² billion dollars, ten billion dollars have already been spent or contracted toward carrying out that program. Leaders of industry and labor are responding magnificently. They are using every existing ~~direct~~ facility. They are converting many ^{other} facilities used for other purposes. They are creating ~~new~~ ^{new facilities} from the bottom up.

It must be remembered that a year ago the United States was almost wholly engaged in peace time pursuits; that even today we are not at war; that that defense production is very different from peace production; and that the development of the practice of actual warfare brings constantly changing demands and needs.

For this war production many hundreds of thousands of new workers must be trained in many varieties of skills. In the manufacture of hundreds of implements of war the capacity of peace time must be multiplied many times over.

q A

War

Our Army program has made true and steady progress during 1940. We have set up a formidable program. We know what we want, how much of it we want, and when we are likely to get it. Of the \$6,500,000,000 appropriated by the Congress to the War Department during 1940, more than three-fourths did not become available until September 9th and October 8th with the passage of the Second and Third Supplemental Appropriations Acts. Yet by the end of the calendar year the War Department had placed eighty-one percent of this sum, or nearly \$5,400,000,000. During the three and a half months ending December 31, 1940, funds were obligated at the rate of \$2,000,000 per hour. We cannot expect industrial miracles overnight, but our efforts are bearing fruit. ~~Within the next six months our production figures will surprise the world.~~

Today we are embarked on the most colossal military production program in our history. For the first time in that history we have initiated a munitions industry. Industry is being geared for the load, ^{and I am confident that industry will carry} ^{industry is exceeding the load —} a load that must tax the energies and facilities of even the greatest industrial nation in the world since the factory system began. Only consider the fact that a 36,000 airplane program, with each airplane set at a round figure of \$100,000, represents an expenditure of \$3,600,000,000, ~~xxxxxx~~ — a figure larger than the highest annual production ever established by the American automotive industry, and one and one-half times the production figures of that industry during 1939.

In 1940 we motorized virtually our entire Army. We have made long strides in mechanization. We count our mechanized troops now, not by regiments but by armored divisions. We have improved our shoulder-weapons, our artillery, our tanks, our ~~airplanes~~ airplanes. We are collaborating in practical fashion with our friends throughout the Western Hemisphere, both to the south and to the north, and we are collaborating with Great Britain. British air and sea bases in the Atlantic and the Caribbean have become available for the defense of America. Military missions from friendly countries have inspected our forces and our preparations for augmenting and ~~implement~~ implementing our forces. Out of these visits has come a mutual approach to the technique of arms, to a better comprehension of hemisphere strategy. Our Latin American guests came here on errands that were more than military in scope, and returned home convinced as much of our friendship and good will as of our armed might.

We have set up an Air Corps organization that doubles the number of our squadrons. Last June we had in service 3322 Regular and Reserve air officers, 1894 flying cadets, and 45,914 enlisted men. Today we have 6180 officers, 7000 cadets and 83,000 men. We have held the first large-scale peacetime maneuvers in our history, and we have derived great benefit from them. We have built forty large camps which are the equivalent of, and are in fact, forty new cities. We have transformed the organization of the military establishment from an administrative to a tactical basis, creating thereby a military force capable of taking the field. We have called out the National Guard; for the first time in our peacetime history we have put into operation a selective service law; we have laid the foundation for an Army ready, able and willing to defend America.

66 Ginstalagh
nr 5684

to 3:30

Navy

QB

NAVAL ACCOMPLISHMENT - 1940

And now we turn to the Navy - our first line of defense. I would not be fair if I told you the Navy could be greatly augmented overnight. We started increasing our Navy eight years ago. The latest emergency in world conditions has caused America to start a great expansion in a comparatively short time. I must impress on you that a fighting sea force cannot be created by the wave of a wand.

The Navy consists essentially of ships, men, planes and bases. The year 1940 witnessed an increasingly accelerated tempo in each of these co-related major divisions, leading towards the eventual completion and maintenance of a two-ocean fleet. It is not enough to merely double the number of combatant ships and planes of our Navy. Ships and planes without trained personnel to man them are valueless, just as ships, men and planes would soon be rendered helpless without adequate bases to supply them.

During the calendar year 1940 we have added 27 combatant
²³⁵ vessels and over 250 combatant planes to the Navy. 26 auxiliary vessels have been acquired from the Maritime Commission and private companies to service this ever-expanding Fleet.

208,000 officers and men -- an increase of 70,000 in the past year -- are manning our forces ashore and afloat while the Marine Corps has been doubled in size in the corresponding period.

8 new naval and air bases have been acquired from Great Britain to augment 22 already under construction. When completed they will form an iron ring around our country that will be difficult to penetrate.

Behind the outer line of defense are our Navy Yards and ship-builders. Employment has increased in this field from 98,000 to over 175,000 men, 75,000 of whom are engaged in shipbuilding.

Our entire sea program is proceeding ahead of schedule. Destroyers that normally took 24 months to build are now being completed in 10 months - from the laying of the keel to commissioning. The future of the United States will be secure, as this entire naval team - functioning splendidly now - will certainly achieve its aim, an impregnable force at sea.

Considering these facts I can report to the Congress
that real progress has been and is being constantly made.
Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals
are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are ~~on~~ ~~on~~
~~on~~ schedule; in xxxx other cases there are slight but not
serious delays; and in some cases we are all concerned by
the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

*Final A⁹
B⁹* It is, of course, right that the Congress should be
kept informed at all times of the progress of the program
in all its details; except that there is certain information,
as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which our
own security and the good of the nations we are helping,
require to be kept in confidence.

~~It is a great task to raise production in one year or
two years in the same proportion as production was increased
in certain other nations over a period of six or seven years.~~

To change a whole nation to a basis of war time pro-
duction of implements of war from a basis of peace time
production of implements of peace is no small task. It
must be remembered that the aggressor nations have been
engaged in a feverish armament production for six or
seven years. It is a great task to raise our own

production in one or two years in the same proportion as
their production was increased over a period of ~~one~~ ^{three} ~~time~~ ^{is long.}
~~now~~ ^A The greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program when new tool and plant facilities and assembly lines must be first constructed before the actual war materiel begins to flow from them.

Every day that passes, the need of speed and yet more speed, is being driven home by the government, by industry and by labor. I am not satisfied with the progress because I am never satisfied. I can say, however, that we are putting forth all that we can give in the cause.

New circumstances beget constant new needs for our safety. I must ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I must ask this Congress also for authority in addition to all this, to superimpose a program for manufacturing munitions and war supplies of many kinds to be used by those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

)) A
PROPOSED INSERT A

To do so would be like refusing to furnish medicine
in a raging epidemic to those who could not afford
immediately to pay for it, forgetting that the epidemic
itself will spread further and further unless it can
be stopped by the medicine we have in our possession.

Proposed (A) - to be on a separate page

and further

~~It would be~~

To do so would be like refusing to furnish
medicine ~~to~~ in a raging epidemic to those
who could not afford ^{imperial} ~~to pay~~ forgetting that
the epidemic ^{still} spread further unless it ~~can~~
be stopped by the medicine we have in our possession.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for ourselves and for them. They do not need man power. They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

Soon they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. That is no reason for us to tell them they must ~~submit~~ ^{use}.

II A 7

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons, to be repaid in dollars. On the other hand, I do not ask Americans to make free gifts of these weapons of defense.

I recommend ~~that~~ instead of having those nations continue to place their orders with our manufacturers of war materials, that this government alone place the necessary orders and supervise the construction and pay for the weapons. Most of it will be materiel which, if the time ever came, would fit into our own defense.

We can determine on the basis of the best military and naval judgment and advice, based only on what is best for our own security, how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who are the victims of aggression and who by their gallant resistance are giving us a period of grace, a breathing spell, in which to make

ready our own defenses. For what we send abroad, we should expect them to repay us in similar materiel or in other much needed goods within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities.

As we continue to muster all that we have in this great cause, we must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency -- as serious as war itself -- demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need. On the other hand, we must never sacrifice those things which not only do not hinder us in our efforts but actually provide added stimulus, ~~and determination to do what must be done.~~

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses must have the stamina and courage which come from an unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action which we call for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done ~~during the past eight~~ to make the great mass of its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the stamina and fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion ^{to} the institutions we make ready to protect, have made a free people ever more willing and ready to defend their freedom.

While our defense needs come first and while there are things which we might like to do but cannot because they might slow down our defense effort, we must not assume that what we have done or what we shall continue to do to improve the social and economic conditions of our people will interfere with our defense effort.

Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of ^{a fact} the social revolution which is today ~~shaking~~ the world.

There is nothing mysterious about the basis of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are equality of opportunity for youth and for others, jobs for those who can work, security for those who need it, the absence of special privilege for the few and the possession of civil liberties by all, and the enjoyment of the fruits of technological progress in a constantly rising and widely diffused standard of living. These are the simple and basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these basic expectations.

H.A. There are many subjects connected with domestic affairs as to which I shall make specific recommendations to the Congress from time to time in subsequent special messages. These will include recommendations as to taxes necessary to pay for our increased armament program; amendments in our social security law with respect to old age pensions and unemployment insurance; expansion of our youth aid program; etc., etc.

14 (A)

18

Many subjects connected with our
social economy call for improvement.
For example we ought to bring more
citizens to ~ 7000 160 acre
2 > (Grace)

Worship of God - We
are good; we are 6 years
old - (2) and we
are in a bad boat for
we >
we are in a bad boat for
we are 6 years old - (2)
we are in a bad boat for
we are 6 years old - (2)
we are in a bad boat for
we are 6 years old - (2)

Indigo - very
common in the 2nd
and 3rd flrs -
60% -
8. - 60% out of 34
over 200 (18) 2 R -
drying P. - 6 VNs - 40000
in H. 20% - 4 cold
over C 16 May - 5 years

Dear Sam,

This is very
rough.

Ben V. C.

Dear Sam,

This is very
rough.

Ben V. C

[] I have repeatedly said that the national defense program does not require us to throw away the social gains of the last eight years - the labor standards, the business standards or the farm standards which have renewed the confidence of our people in our American way of life.

I go further. I say that to throw away these social gains would be to slow down rather than to speed our national defense effort.

The vast majority of our business men, our workers and our farmers are patriotic citizens and not greedy or selfish. They are willing to make sacrifices to help this nation defend itself and to help other nations whose strength is our defense.

[] But no group under the guise of national defense has a right to ask another group to make sacrifices of a kind which they themselves are unwilling to make or which really are not required in the interest of national defense.

Our national defense effort is a great democratic effort. In itself it is a challenge to us to prove that democracy can work, that freedom can summon a more effective response from free men than tyranny

Jan 16 A

can summon from its slaves.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort and sacrifice not among other groups but within their own groups.

No country has ever been saved by its business men pointing to the selfishness or radicalism of labor ~~by side members~~ or by its workers pointing to the greed or reactionism of capital. A free nation derives its strength from free men who are more eager to do their best for their country in time of crisis than they are to complain of the slackers.

I do not believe that there are many conscious slackers in America in business, in labor or agriculture. But the best way of dealing with the few slackers in our midst is to shame them by our own patriotic example.

Four Freedoms

The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.

The second is the freedom ^{of every person} to worship God in his own way anywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want - which translated into international terms means economic understandings which will secure to every nation ^{anywhere} here a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants.

The fourth is freedom from fear - which translated into international terms means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and ⁱⁿ such a thorough fashion that no nation anywhere will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor.

FOURTH DRAFT

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

1941

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the Constitution in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these -- the four year War Between the States -- even threatened our ~~continued~~ national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States had often been disturbed by events in other Continents; and we had even engaged in two wars with European nations. In no case, however, had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our independence.

That was true, for example, during the quarter century of wars that followed the end of the French Revolution.

In defining his "constitutional duty" to give the Congress information of the
state of the Union.

FOURTH DRAFT

-2-

While the Napoleonic Wars threatened interests of the United States [in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and because of the French foothold] while we engaged in the War of 1812 to assert our rights against impressment of American seamen and interference with our peaceful commerce, it is, nevertheless, clear that neither France nor Great Britain nor any other nation [aimed at conquest or was aiming at domination control] of the world [as a whole].

From 1815 to 1914 -- 99 years -- no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against us or against any other American nation.

No foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet was at almost all times a friendly strength.

During that whole time, therefore, no President found it necessary to ~~advise~~ ^{report} the Congress that the future of our country the State of the Union was overwhelmingly involved in events occurring far beyond our borders. Necessity compels that advice today.

When the World War broke out it seemed during the early stages] to contain only small threat of danger to our

own American future. But as time went on, and the success of German and Austro-Hungarian arms increased, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of nations ^{democratic} governed by

^{democratic processes} might mean to our own ~~future democracy~~
Insert (A) [It is of little use for us today to expend lengthy argument on the pros and cons of the treaties which ended that war. It is undeniable that the threat of those days was thrust aside by the victory of democratic forces; and that a period of peace followed, lasting almost a generation.]

For many years after November 11, 1918, few people anywhere gave serious thought to the danger of a new attempt at world conquest and domination. Yet, under the

surface of things, especially in the past eight years as we now know, ^{during these last few years,} selfish aspirations were growing into ruthless plans,

plans into feverish preparations, and finally, preparations

into acts -- acts of war, aimed to ~~domination~~ ^{They were in the direction of a world}

man or one race, in a more direct fashion than the world as

a whole has ever witnessed, ^{Not even} since the days of the old Roman

Empire had such concentrated power and aims

that so challenged all the spiritual achievements of mankind.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A - PAGE #3

We need not blink at the imperfections of the Peace of Versailles, in recognizing that they were nothing, ^{and} compared with those of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk which preceded it, or ~~with~~ the Peace of Munich which followed it, or the proposals for a "New Order" of tyranny that are currently made.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A - PAGE #3 (continued)

The important thing about
the result of the World War is
that the forces of democracy
survived the threat against it;
that the world has had sub-
stantial peace for almost a
generation.

Every realist [here and elsewhere] knows that the democratic way of life (in every part of the world) is at this moment being directly assailed -- assailed either by arms or operating off ^{with the aid of} those whose true purpose by secret insurgents to promote disunity in nations still at peace.

During sixteen months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an amazing number of independent nations great and small ^{and now}, its deadly weapons are threatening that kind of life in several other nations great and small. Armed defense of democratic existence is now being bravely gallantly ^P waged in four continents. If that defense fails all the population and ^{all} the resources of those ^{four} continents will be dominated by the conquerors.

The total of those populations and resources greatly exceed the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere -- many times over.

No realistic American can expect ^{international} generosity or ~~reciprocity~~ ~~reciprocal action~~ ~~restitution~~ or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion -- or even good business from victorious

• p. 4

(A) Spreading of un-American ideas by those whose true purpose is to destroy the unity and promote discord in nation still at peace.

dictatorships. Most of us today may admit soft-heartedness,
~~are loath to confess to~~
but we ~~resent the charge of~~ soft-headedness.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo
of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical
attack which we must expect if the dictator nations win this
war. This country and all the people of this Hemisphere know
by now how direct a threat against us ~~we~~ lies in the ~~hostile~~
~~inflitit,~~ ^{formal}
alliance of the aggressor nations. ^{of the world}

That is why the Americas ^{and Republics} are today in serious
danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress
is unique in our history.

That is why this Congress meets in a dramatic hour.
^{Executive branch of the government and every}
That is why every member of the Congress faces ^{member of} ~~the~~
great responsibility and assumes great accountability.

The great need of the moment is that our actions
and our policy should be devoted primarily -- almost exclusively --
^{This}
to meeting the danger from abroad. ^{We must} ^{all}
identity of aims, purposeful and passionate, directed to creating

*(For all our domestic problems are now
entangled in the great emergency.)*

Inset X

the most [immediate and most] effective answer to the challenge
which is being made to our civilization.

Our national policy is clear. It is founded on sound
morality and ~~as~~ national ideals. It clearly has the support
of the overwhelmingly majority of the people of the nation.

In the recent national election there was no
substantial difference between the two great parties in respect
~~or any part of it.~~
to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line
before the American Electorate. Since then, it has become
abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere [show
substantial unity] in demanding speedy and complete action in
recognition of recognized danger.

The policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public
will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to
"all-out" national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public
will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to ~~"all-out" aid~~
[every aid, short of war, to all those [brave and] resolute peoples
everywhere, who are now keeping aggression away from our Hemis-
sphere by brave resistance against the aggressors. In this] By this aid,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT X - PAGE #6

Just as our national policy
in internal affairs has been based
upon a decent respect for the
rights and dignity of all our
fellow-men, so our national policy
in foreign affairs has been based
on a decent respect for the rights
and dignity of all nations, large
and small.

policy we not only uphold our moral principle, but, at the

same time, we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation.

Third, neither moral principles nor considerations

for our own security permit a peace dictated by aggressors

and stunned accepted by appeasers. Enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

That national policy must be carried out in a

manner which proclaims the validity and the vitality of our

democratic devotion, profession.

The immediate need is a swift and driving increase

in our armament production, and the disposal of that armament

in a way that will best serve our

so that it shall serve its only purpose -- to keep war away

from this Hemisphere and to help attain a world in which free

men and free nations can freely live in peace. Defense, defense

and more defense; arms and yet more arms; production, and ever

adequate and effective,
more production -- that is the immediate task before us.

The last Congress, in a series of enactments ^{in 1940},

authorized and appropriated the money for the undertaking of

a great program of defense. Of a sum of approximately twelve

appropriated in that calendar year
billion dollars, ten billion dollars have already been spent

pushing forward
and placing
in context

(A) or contracted toward carrying out that program. Leaders of industry and labor are responding magnificently. They are trying to ~~get to work~~ ^{for that purpose;} using every existing direct facility. They are ~~utilizing~~ originally many other facilities used for other purposes; They are creating new facilities from the bottom up.

→ It must be remembered that ~~year~~ ago the United

States was almost wholly engaged in peace time pursuits; that even today we are not at war; ~~but~~ that defense production is very different from peace production; and that the development of the practice of actual warfare brings constantly changing demands and needs.

Inset B

For this war production, many hundreds of thousands of new workers must be trained in many varieties of skills.

In the manufacture of hundreds of ^{different} kinds of implements of war the capacity of peace time must be multiplied many times over.

Considering these ^{difficulties - physical and psychological -} facts I can report to the Congress that real progress has been, and is being, constantly made.

Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule;

in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in ~~and I am sorry to say very important cases~~ some cases we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

Inset between these pages -

FOURTH DRAFT INSERT A page 8

This includes appropriations and authorizations
made by the Congress as late as three months *ago*.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT B - PAGE #8

It must be remembered that until recently our peace-loving people have been unwilling to believe that the whole economy of the United States and the thoughts and plans of our people must be turned toward an effort of comprehensive military defense.

~~ment of our plans.~~

out & p. 13 Our Army program has made true and steady progress during 1940. We have set up a formidable program. We know what we want, how much of it we want, and when we are likely to get it. Of the \$6,500,000,000 appropriated by the Congress to the War Department during 1940, more than three-fourths did not become available until September ninth and October eighth with the passage of the Second and Third Supplemental Appropriation Acts. Yet by the end of the calendar year the War Department had placed eighty-one percent of this sum, or nearly \$5,400,000,000. During the three and a half months ending December 31, 1940, funds were obligated at the rate of \$2,000,000 per hour. We cannot expect industrial miracles overnight, but our efforts are bearing fruit.

Today we are embarked on the most colossal military production program in our history. For the first time in that history, we have initiated a munitions industry. Industry is being geared for the load and I am confident that industry will carry the load -- a load that must tax the energies and facilities of even the greatest industrial nation in the world *[since the factory system began]*. Only consider the fact that a 36,000

airplane program, with each airplane set at a round figure of \$100,000, represents an expenditure of \$3,600,000,000 -- a figure larger than the highest annual production ever established by the American automotive industry, and one and one-half times the production figures of that industry during 1939.

In 1940 we motorized virtually our entire Army.

We have made long strides in mechanization. We count our mechanized troops now, not by regiments but by armored divisions. We have improved our shoulder-weapons, our artillery, our tanks, our airplanes. We are collaborating in practical fashion with our friends throughout the Western Hemisphere, both to the south and to the north, and we are collaborating with Great Britain. British air and sea bases in the Atlantic and the Caribbean have become available for the defense of America. Military missions from friendly countries have inspected our forces and our preparations for augmenting and implementing our forces. Out of these visits has come a mutual approach to the technique of arms, to a better comprehension of hemisphere strategy. Our Latin American guests came here on errands that were more than military in scope, and returned home convinced

as much of our friendship and good will as of our armed might.

We have set up an Air Corps organization that doubles the number of our squadrons, [Last June we had in service 3322 Regular and Reserve air officers, 1894 flying cadets, and 45,914 enlisted men. Today we have 6180 officers, 7000 cadets and 63,000 men. We have held the first large-scale peacetime maneuvers in our history, and we have derived great benefit from them.] We have built forty large camps which are the equivalent of, and are in fact, forty new cities. We have transformed the organization of the military establishment from an administrative to a tactical basis, creating thereby a military force capable of taking the field. We have called out the National Guard; for the first time in our peacetime history we have put into operation a selective service law; we have laid the foundation for an Army ready, able and willing to defend America.

*What about
the Navy?*
And now we turn to the Navy -- our first line of defense. I would not be fair if I told you the Navy could be greatly augmented overnight. We started increasing our Navy eight years ago. [The latest emergency in world conditions has caused America to start a great expansion in a comparatively

short time.] I must impress on you that a fighting sea force cannot be created by the wave of a wand.

The Navy consists essentially of ships, men, planes and bases. The year 1940 witnessed an increasingly accelerated tempo in each of these co-related major divisions, leading towards the eventual completion and maintenance of a two-ocean fleet. It is not enough to merely double the number of combatant ships and planes of our Navy. Ships and planes without trained personnel to man them are valueless, just as ships, men and planes would soon be rendered helpless without adequate bases to supply them.

During the calendar year 1940 we have added 27 combatant vessels and over 235 combatant planes to the Navy. 26 auxiliary vessels have been acquired from the Maritime Commission and private companies to service this ever-expanding Fleet.

208,000 officers and men -- an increase of 70,000 in the past year -- are manning our forces ashore and afloat while the Marine Corps has been doubled in size in the corresponding period.

Eight new naval and air bases have been acquired from Great Britain to augment 22 already under construction.

[When completed they will form an iron ring around our country that will be difficult to penetrate.]

Behind the outer line of defense are our Navy Yards and shipbuilders. Employment has increased in this field from 98,000 to over 175,000 men, 73,000 of whom are engaged in shipbuilding.

Our entire sea program is proceeding ahead of schedule. Destroyers that normally took 24 months to build are now being completed in 10 months -- from the laying of the keel to commissioning. The future of the United States will be secure, as this entire naval team -- functioning splendidly now -- will certainly achieve its aim, an impregnable force at sea.

It is, of course, right that the Congress should be kept informed at all times of the progress of the program [in all its details; except that there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which our own security and the good of the nations we are helping, require to be kept in confidence.]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMO FOR

S. I. R.

On the Army and Navy I would
do this:

Where billions of defense
money is being spent and contracted
for in acquiring thousands of
different military and naval items,
anybody can discover to his own
satisfaction, by the well-known
process of hindsight, that if
something had been done differently
months ago the result on some
items, or series of items, would

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

S. I. R.

be better than they actually are today. Likewise, it is wholly possible for any person to insist that their individually self-conceived method of defense preparation is better than a program which represents what really amounts to the best consensus of opinion of experts in many lines.]

Janet ^{for me}
The Army and Navy have made great progress during the past year.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

S. I. R. -3-

The figures show that. Actual
experience is improving ^{new} methods
of ~~increasing~~ production with every
passing day. I continue to insist, ^{still},
that every person responsible for
the carrying out of the program
~~must~~ ^{must} realize that this improve-
ment cannot be static -- that it
must continue in every passing
day of the future. Yesterday's best is
not good enough for to-day.

To change a whole nation to a basis of war time production of implements of war from a basis of peacetime production of implements of peace is no small task. It must be remembered that the aggressor nations have been engaged in a feverish armament production for six or seven years. [It is we cannot expect a great task] to raise our own production in one or two years in the same proportion as their production was increased over a period of three times as long. The greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tool and plant facilities and assembly lines must be first constructed before the actual war materiel begins to flow ^{steadily} from them.

Every day that passes, the need of speed and yet more speed, is being driven home by the government, by industry and by labor. I am not satisfied with the progress because I am never satisfied. [I can say, however, that we are putting forth all that we can give in the cause.]

New circumstances beget constantly new needs for our safety. I must ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I must ask this Congress also for authority in

addition to all this, to superimpose a program for manufacturing munitions and war supplies of many kinds to be used by those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for ourselves and for them. They do not need man power. They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

Soon they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. That is no reason for us to tell them they must surrender.

To do so would be like refusing to furnish medicine in a raging epidemic to those who could not afford immediately to pay for it, forgetting that the epidemic itself will spread further and further unless it can be stopped by the medicine we have in our possession.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons, ^{- a loan} to be repaid in dollars. ^{A/} On the other hand, I do not ask Americans to make free gifts of these weapons of defense.

I recommend, instead of having those nations continue to place their ^{own} ~~orders~~ directly with our manufacturers of war materials, that this government alone place [the necessary] orders and supervise ^{all} ~~the~~ construction and pay for ^{all} ~~A~~ the weapons. Most of it will be materiel which, if the time ever came, would fit into our own defense.

We can determine on the ^{how} basis of the best military and naval judgment and advice, based only on what is best for our own security, how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends ^{who} are the victims of aggression and ^{whose} who by their gallant resistance are giving us a period of grace, a breathing spell, in which to make ready our own defenses. For what we send abroad, we should expect them to repay us in similar materiel ^{or at our option,} or in other much-needed materials of all kinds which they can produce and which we need goods, within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities.

insert (B) As we continue to muster all that we have in this great cause, we must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency -- as serious as war itself -- demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need. ^[On the other hand, we must]

Inset A p. 16

Their victory will be
our victory; their
freedom will ensure
our safety.

• Sunday A.M. 16

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The nation's hands must not be tied when the nation's life is in danger.

[never sacrifice those [things] which not only do not hinder us
in our efforts but actually provide added stimulus.]

social achievements
Assert (A)
A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort and sacrifice not among other groups but within their own groups.

No country has ever been saved by its business men pointing to the selfishness or radicalism of labor; or by its workers pointing to the greed or *conservatism* or *reactionism* of capital. A free nation derives its strength from free men who are more eager to do their best for their country in time of crisis than they are to complain of the slackers.

I do not believe that there are many conscious slackers in America in business, in labor or agriculture. But the best way of dealing with the few slackers in our midst is to shame them by our own patriotic example.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Inset A p 16 A

But our national
effort towards defense
is impeded, and
not advanced, if the
spirit of a free people
is not willingly enlisted
in their second cause.

never sacrifice those things which not only do not binder us
in our efforts but actually provide added stimulus.

> As men do not live by bread alone, they do not
fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and
those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina
and courage which come from an unshakeable belief in the manner
of life which they are defending. The mighty action which we
call for, cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth
fighting for.

The nation takes great satisfaction and much
strength from the things which have been done to make the great
mass of its people conscious of their individual stake in the
preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have
toughened the [stamina and] fibre of our people, have renewed
their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions
we make ready to protect -- have made a free people ever more
willing and ready to defend their freedom.

While our defense needs come first and while there
are things which we might like to do but cannot because they
might slow down our defense effort, we must not assume that

what we have done or what we shall continue to do to improve the social and economic conditions of our people will interfere with our defense effort.

Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a fact in the world.

There is nothing mysterious about the basis of ^a/healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are equality of opportunity for youth and for others, jobs for those who can work, security for those who need it, the absence of special privilege for the few and the possession of civil liberties by all, and the enjoyment of the fruits of technological progress in a constantly rising and widely diffused standard of living. These are the simple and basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these basic expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy
call for improvement. For example, we ought to bring more
citizens into the coverage of old age pensions and unemployment
insurance.

For instance, too, We should widen the oppor-
tunities for adequate medical care in many parts of the country.
With this we must make
and with this goes a better provision for the care of those who
are handicapped in life by physical or mental causes or by
personal conditions which make them exceptions to the normal.

For example again, We must go further than ever
before in planning a nationwide system by which all persons
desiring gainful employment may obtain it in private or in
government work. [It does not follow, by any means, that each
individual would be guaranteed employment of his own choosing
and at a place and a time of his own choosing, but it does mean
a sincere effort to avoid the necessity for a dole and to maintain
the total of the national income by the continuation of the
income flow to the average citizen.]

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am
assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond
to that call. A part of the response involves harder work and

the giving up of certain things in life which are not essentials.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are ~~paying~~ today. No person should try to get rich out of this program. No person should be allowed so to do.

likewise, the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

FOURTH DRAFT

(21)

PREPARATION

~~We must look forward to a world based on freedom~~
~~human freedom.~~

The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere
in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God
in his own way everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want -- which translated into
international terms means economic understandings which will
secure to every nation everywhere a healthy peace time life
for its inhabitants.

The fourth is freedom from fear -- which translated
into international terms means a world-wide reduction of
armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion
that no nation anywhere will be in a position to commit an
act of physical aggression against any neighbor.

That kind of a world is the very
antithesis of the so-called "new order" which
~~being~~ by the dictators seek to
~~for European Asia~~ create at
first the power of a gun in Europe
and in Asia

A p 21

That is the kind of system which we have been seeking to build. That is the kind of system which we shall continue to build ~~for~~ for the future.

In that future, we look forward to a world founded fundamentally upon four essential human freedoms.

stronger in spirit, more aware of its place in the world,
and greater in the service it can render its citizens.

We have heard of the "new order" in Europe and Asia.

P That "new order" To it we oppose the greater conception, the moral order, A
good society is
which is always new. ~~No one~~ able to face schemes
of world domination and foreign revolutions without fear.
It has ~~No one~~ no need either for the one or for the other.

II P Since the beginning of our history we have been engaged
in a perpetual revolution--a revolution which goes on
steadily, quietly and kindly. ~~The world domination which~~
~~co-operation of free nations~~
~~we seek is the domination of kind men working together~~
~~a friendly civilized world.~~
~~in the service of a common civilization.~~

One hundred and fifty-three years ago, This nation ~~had~~
placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of
its millions of free men, and its faith in the guidance
of God under liberty. No class ~~was~~ made sacred. No
property system ~~was~~ made superior to human rights. Our
strength ~~was~~ in our union; and our generosity ~~was~~ open
to every nation of the world. To that conception there
can be no end save victory.

FIFTH DRAFT

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

1941

159
3563

Jen 6, 1941

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress,
at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word
"unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security
been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the
Constitution in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history
have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these --
the four year War Between the States -- ever threatened our national
unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States had often
been disturbed by events in other Continents; and we had even engaged
in two wars with European nations. In no case, however, had a serious
threat been raised against our national safety or our independence.

That was true, for example, during the quarter century of wars
that followed the end of the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic Wars did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our rights against impressment of American seamen and interference with our peaceful commerce, it is, nevertheless, clear that neither France nor Great Britain nor any other nation was aiming at domination of the whole world.

From 1815 to 1914 — 99 years — no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against us or against any other American nation.

No foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic was at almost all times a friendly strength.

[During that whole time, therefore, no President in performing his constitutional duty "to give to the Congress information of the state of the Union" found it necessary to report that the future of our Country was overwhelmingly involved in events occurring far beyond our borders. Necessity compels me to make that report today.]

When the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our

732

own American future. But as time went on, and the success of German and Austro-Hungarian arms increased, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

Inset A (on draft 6)
(in dictation)

[We need not blink at the imperfections of the Peace of Versailles, in recognizing that they were nothing as compared with those of] the Peace of Brest-Litovsk which preceded it, or [with the] Peace of Munich which followed it, or [with the proposals for a "New Order" of tyranny that are currently made.]

[The important thing about the result of the World War is that the forces of democracy survived the threat against it; that the world has had substantial peace for almost a generation.]

For many years after the end of that war in 1918, few people anywhere gave serious thought to the danger of a new attempt at world conquest and domination. Yet, under the surface of things, during these last few years, selfish aspirations were growing into ruthless plans, plans into feverish preparations, and, finally, preparations into acts -- acts of war. They were aimed in the direction of world domination by one man or by one race, in a more direct fashion than the world has ever witnessed. Not even the old Roman Empire had such concentrated powers and aims that so challenged all the spiritual achievements of mankind.]

- 4 -

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world — ^{by those who} assailed either by arms or by secret spreading of ~~un-American~~ ideas by those whose true purpose is to destroy ~~the~~ unity and promote discord in nations still at peace.

During sixteen months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an amazing number of independent nations great and small. Now, its deadly weapons are threatening that kind of life in several other nations great and small. ^A Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. ^(part A)

If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of ^{Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia} ~~these four continents~~ will be dominated by the conquerors.

The total of those populations and resources greatly exceed the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere — many times over.

No realistic American can expect international generosity or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion — or even good business — from victorious dictatorships.

Insert A, Page 4

Therefore as your President, performing ~~my~~ constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union", I find it necessary to report that the future of our country is overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

*and the safety
and of our
democracy are*

[Most of us today may admit soft-heartedness, but are
loath to confess to soft-headedness.]

Draft A

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack, which we must expect if the dictator nations win this war. This country and all the people of this Hemisphere know by now how direct a threat against us lies in the formal tri-partite alliance of the aggressor nations of the world.

Draft B

That is why all the American Republics are today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why this Congress meets in a dramatic hour. That is why every member of the Executive branch of the government and every member of the Congress faces great responsibility and assumes great accountability.

The great need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily -- almost exclusively -- to meeting this danger from abroad. For all our domestic problems are now entangled in the great emergency. We must all have a national identity of aims, purposeful and passionate, directed to creating

Inset B. p. 5

There is much loose talk of the dangers to us of direct invasion from across the sea. Obviously, as long as the British ~~fleet~~^{navy} retains its power, no such dangers exist. Even without the British navy, ~~there~~ of direct invasion it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us in the most difficult manner, by sending troops across thousands of miles ~~across~~ of ocean.

We can learn much from the lessons of the past year in Europe - particularly the lesson of Norway, along whose ^{strategic} seaports were captured ~~under the way~~ simultaneously under the very eyes of the British fleet.

The first invaders in this hemisphere would not be regular troops. They would be secret agents - so called "salesmen" - so-called "tourists". These invaders are already here, ^{and in Latin America,} in considerable numbers.

This country's most vulnerable frontier may not be on the Atlantic Coast, or the Pacific Coast. It may well be Texas. P As long as the ~~T~~ ^(over)

aggressor nations maintain the offensive.
They ~~are~~ ^{the} ones will have the advantage
of choosing the time and place and
method of attack.

the most effective answer to this challenge which is being made to our civilization.

Our national policy is clear. It is founded on sound enlightened self-interest. *[enlightened self-interest]* Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all our fellow-men, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. *[It clearly has the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of the nation.]*

The policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to "all-out" national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to "all-out" *[support of]* all those resolute peoples everywhere, *[are resisting aggression and are thereby]* who are *[now]* keeping war away from our Hemisphere. *[By brave resistance against the aggressors.]* By this *[we not]* only carry out our moral principle, but, at the same time, *[we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation.]*

heavy A →

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that neither principles nor considerations for our own security will ever permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. *We know that* Enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy, [or any part of it.] No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Since then, it has become *Today, it is* abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are [almost] completely united in demanding speedy and complete action in recognition of [*obvious*] recognized danger.

[That national policy must be carried out in a manner which proves the validity and the vitality of our democratic professions.]

The immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production, and the disposal of that armament in a way that will best serve our purpose -- to keep war away from this Hemisphere and to help attain a world in which free men and free nations can freely live in peace. [Defense, defense and more defense; arms and yet more arms; production,]

FIFTH DRAFT

-8-

[and ever more production, adequate and effective -- that is the task before us.]

The last Congress, in a series of enactments in 1940, authorized and appropriated the money for the undertaking of a great new program of defense. Of a sum of approximately twelve billion dollars appropriated in that calendar year, ten billion dollars have already been spent or contracted toward carrying out that program. This includes appropriations and authorizations made by the Congress as late as three months ago. Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. [They are trying to put to work every existing direct facility for that purpose; they are pushing forward with plans to convert many other facilities originally used for other purposes; they are creating new facilities from the bottom up.

For this war production, many hundreds of thousand of new workers must be trained in many varieties of skills. In the manufacture of hundreds of different kinds of implements of war, the normal capacity of peace time must be multiplied many times over.

It must be remembered that only eight months ago the United States was almost wholly engaged in peace time pursuits. [Defense]

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[production is very different from peace production. It must be remembered that until recently our peace-loving people have been unwilling to believe that the whole economy of the United States and the thoughts and plans of our people must be turned toward an effort of comprehensive military defense.

Considering these difficulties -- physical and psychological -- I can report to the Congress that real progress has been, and is being, constantly made. [^{page 11} no 8] Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases -- and I am sorry to say very important cases -- we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy have, however, made substantial progress during the past year. The figures show that.

Actual experience is improving our methods of production with every passing day. (^{This is really important, however,} I shall continue to insist, however, that) every person responsible for the carrying out of the program must realize that this improvement cannot be static -- that it must continue in every passing day of the

future. Yesterday's best is not good enough for today.

It is, of course, right that the Congress ^{of course must} should be kept
informed at all times of the progress of the program; except
that there is certain information, as the Congress itself will
readily recognize, which our own security and the ^{interests} good of the
nations we are helping, ^{supporting} require to be kept in confidence.

To change a whole nation to a basis of war time production of implements of war, from a basis of peace time production of implements of peace, is no small task. It must be remembered that the aggressor nations have been engaged in a feverish armament production for six or seven years. We cannot expect to raise our own production in one or two years in the same proportion as their production was increased over a period three times as long. For the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tool and plant facilities and new assembly lines must be first constructed before the actual war material begins to flow steadily from them.

TP Every day that passes, the need of speed and yet more speed, is being driven home by the government, by industry and by labor. ^{We are} ^{thus far did we shall} I am not satisfied with the progress because I am never satisfied until the job is done. Insert A

Q New circumstances beget constantly new needs for our

Inset A. p. 10

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

This is no time for com-
pliance. This is no time for
fear or faltering. The
hour requires candor &
courage. The American
people will not flinch
from the truth nor from
that action on the truth
which alone wakes &
keeps men free.

shall
safety. I ~~want~~ ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

shall also
I ~~want~~ ask this Congress ~~why~~ for authority and for funds, *A* in addition to all this, sufficient to include a program for manufacturing munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an *arsenal as well as for* arsenal for ourselves, and ~~for~~ them. They do not need man power. They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when
Soon they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. *That is no reason for us to tell them they must* surrender.

To do so would be like refusing to furnish medicine in a raging epidemic to those who could not afford immediately to pay for it, forgetting that the epidemic itself will spread further and further, unless it can be stopped by the medicine we have in our possession.]

Inset A

Inset A. p. 11.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

We shall not tell them
they must surrender
merely because they do
not have the ~~for~~ cash
We cannot immediately
pay for the weapons
which we know they
must have.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Insert A p. 5
~~A dictator's peace~~
~~brings no security.~~

Such a peace
would bring no security,
for us or for our
neighbors. In the words
of Benjamin Franklin "
They that give up liberty
to obtain a little temporary
safety deserve neither liberty
nor safety."

Point A continued,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

P. As a nation we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed.

R. We must always be wary against those who preach the gospel of appeasement - especially that small group of selfish men who would ~~the~~ clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

(A)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

p. 6

By this support, we
express our determination
that the democratic
cause shall prevail, and

Note: This draft (the 6th) consists of 13 pages each labeled "sixth draft" and eleven other pages. Some of these eleven pages are labeled "fifth draft"; some longhand notes are interlarded. It is on the "fifth draft" pages that FDR's holograph notes appear. The "Four Freedoms" section of the address begins at bottom of page 17.

7/29/63
jvd

SIXTH DRAFT

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

1941

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress,
at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word
"unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security
been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the
Constitution in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history
have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these
-- the four years War Between the States -- ever threatened our national
unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States had often
been disturbed by events in other Continents; and we had even engaged
in two wars with European nations.¹ In no case, however, had a serious
threat been raised against our national safety or our independence.

~~that was true~~, for example, during the quarter century of wars
that followed the end of the French Revolution.

Boxset A - Page # 1

and a number of
undeclared wars in the
West Indies, in the
Mediterranean and in the
Pacific for the maintenance
of American rights and for
the principle of peaceful
commerce.

Inset B - Page #1

What I seek to convey
is the historic truth that
the United States as a nation
has at all times maintained
opposition to any attempt
to lock it into an attic
room while the procession
of civilization goes past the
door. Today, thinking of
our children, we oppose
enforced isolation for
ourselves or for any part
of the Americas.

That determination of ours
was proved, for example
etc

Struggles

While the Napoleonic Wars did threaten interests of the
United States because of the French foothold in Louisiana, and while
we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our rights against im-
presment of American seamen and interference with our peaceful *Trade*
~~commerce~~, it is, nevertheless, clear that neither France nor Great
Britain nor any other nation was aiming at domination of the whole
world.

go too,

From 1815 to 1914 — 99 years — no single war in Europe
or in Asia constituted a real threat against ~~any~~ or against any other
American nation.

Excepting the Mexican interlude in 1840, no
~~one~~ foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere;
and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic ~~was~~ ~~is~~ ~~now~~ ~~as~~
~~same~~ a friendly strength. It is still a friendly strength.

Then ~~when~~ When the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain
only small threat of danger to our own American future. But as time
went on, and the success of German and Austro-Hungarian arms increased,
the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic
nations might mean to our own democracy.

SIXTH DRAFT

- 5 -

We need not blink at ~~the~~ imperfections at the Peace of Versailles. We need not blink at ~~the~~ failure of the Democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction ~~in the days following~~ ~~the World War~~, but we should remember that the Peace of Versailles was far less unjust than ~~the Peace of Brest-Litovsk which preceded~~ ~~The kind of pacification which began soon before Minsk~~ ~~the peace which followed it, on the proposals for~~ and which is being carried under the "New Order" of tyranny that ~~are currently made~~ ~~endeavor to spread over~~ ~~every continent but~~ ~~Asia.~~

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world — assailed either by arms or by secret spreading of poisonous ideas by those whose true purpose is to destroy unity and promote discord in nations still at peace.

During sixteen months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an amazing number of independent nations great and small. Now, its deadly weapons are threatening that kind of life in several other nations great and small.

Therefore as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union",

Page # 3 - Desert A

continue same paragraph -

The American people
have unalterably set
their faces against that
tyranny.

SIXTH DRAFT

- 4 -

I find it necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. The total of those populations and resources greatly exceed the sum total of the population and re-

sources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere — many times over.

from a dictatorial peace

4A.

No realistic American can expect international generosity

A

or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion -- or even good business,

~~or other important things~~.

Such a peace would bring no security, for us or for our

neighbors. In the words of Benjamin Franklin, "that give up
liberty to ~~purchase~~ a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty
nor safety."

"This, which shall

be the words of Benjamin Franklin, "that give up

liberty to ~~purchase~~ a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty

A

A

nor safety."

Page 4 - Insert A

In times like these it
is immature -- and incidentally
untrue -- for anybody to
boast that an unprepared
America, single-handed, and
with one hand tied behind
its back, can defeat the
whole world.

SIXTH DRAFT

- 5 -

As a nation we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed.

We must always be wary against those who preach the ~~ospel~~
of those who with sounding brass most artfully symbol.
We must beware
of appeasement, especially that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack, which we must expect if the dictator nations win this war. This country and all the people of this Hemisphere know by now how direct a threat against us lies in the formal tri-partite alliance of the aggressor nations of the world.

There is much loose talk of the dangers to us of direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such dangers exist. Even without the British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us directly, *landing in the United States*, in the most difficult manner, by ~~sending~~ troops across thousands of miles of ocean.

We can learn much from the lessons of the past year in Europe -- particularly the lesson of Norway, whose strategic seaports were captured ~~simultaneously under the very eyes of the British fleet.~~

The first invaders in this hemisphere would not be regular troops. They would be secret agents -- so-called "Salesmen" -- so-called "tourists". Those invaders are already here and in Latin America ~~— they — and — themselves~~ in considerable numbers.

6A This country's most vulnerable frontier may not be on the Atlantic coast, or the Pacific Coast. It may well be Texas.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, ~~— nature — will choose~~ ^{He} ~~they will have the advantage of choosing~~ the time and place and method.

~~the future of all~~
That is why ~~the~~ American Republics ~~are~~ today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why this Congress meets in a dramatic hour.

• Desert A - Page 6.

This country's most
vulnerable frontier might
not be on either the
immediate Atlantic or
Pacific Coasts. It might
be in Nova Scotia or
Quebec or in British
Columbia. It might be
at some distant or nearer
point on the Continent
of South America. It
might be somewhere
among the Republics that
lie immediately to the
south of us. It might
be the Rio Grande.

That is why every member of the Executive branch of the government and every member of the Congress faces great responsibility — and ~~and~~ great accountability.

The great need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily — almost exclusively — to meeting ~~foreign peril~~, this ~~dangerous situation~~. For all our domestic problems are now ~~a part of~~ ~~throughout~~ the great emergency. We must all have a national identity of aims, purposeful and passionate, directed to creating the most effective answer to this challenge which is being made to our civilization.

Our national policy is clear. It is founded on sound morality and enlightened self-interest. JA.

7A. Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all our fellow-men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small.

Insert A - Page 7

Our national policy
is clear. It is founded
on enlightened self-
interest and our self-
interest is founded on
morality. And the justice
of morality must and will
win in the end.

SIXTH DRAFT

- 8 -

The policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to "all-out" national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to "all-out" support of all those resolute peoples everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail, and we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that *And* ~~sethose~~ principles of morality ~~and~~ considerations for our own security will ever permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and *4* sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national

SIXTH DRAFT

- 9 -

policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today, it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are ~~completely united in~~ ^{and inspired} demanding speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production, and the disposal of that armament in a way that will best serve our purpose — to keep us away from this Hemisphere and to help attain a world in which free men and free nations can freely live in peace.

The last Congress, in a series of enactments in 1940, authorized and appropriated the money for the undertaking of a great new program of defense. Of a sum of approximately twelve billion dollars appropriated in that calendar year, ten billion dollars have already been spent or contracted toward carrying out that program. This includes appropriations and authorizations made by the Congress as late as three months ago.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons

Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases — and I am sorry to say very important cases — we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy have, however, made substantial progress during the past year. The figures show that. Actual experience is improving our methods of production with every passing day. It is vitally important, however, that every person responsible for the carrying out of the program must realize that this improvement cannot be static — that it must continue in every passing day of the future. Yesterday's best is not good enough for today.

10 B

Every day that passes, the need of speed and yet more speed, is being driven home by the government, by industry and by labor. We are not satisfied with the progress thus far and we shall never be satisfied until the job is done. This is no time for complacency, this is no time for fear or faltering. The hour requires candor and courage. The American people will not shrink from the truth nor from

Insert A - Page # 10 -

I am not satisfied
wth the progress thus
far made. People in charge
of producing the results
of the program represent
as good ability, training,
and experience as can
be found in the country.
They are not satisfied
wth the progress thus
far made. We ought
not be satisfied until
the job is done.

Insert B - Page 10-

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, the objective is quicker and better results.

To give two illustrations: We are behind hand in the goal for the actual turning out of finished airplanes. we are working day and night to catch up.

In the case of warship building we are doing better in speed than we anticipated; it

is now our objective to
get even greater speed
in the launching and
commissioning of those
ships.

~~that action or the truth which alone makes and keeps men free.~~

To change a whole nation to a basis of war time production of implements of war, from a basis of peace time production of implements of peace, is no small task. For the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools and plant facilities and shift ways and assembly lines must be first constructed before the actual material begins to flow steadily from them.

The Congress of course must ~~be kept~~ ^{rightly informed} ~~informed~~ at all times of the progress of the program; except that there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which our own security and the interests of the nations we are supporting, require to be kept in confidence.

New circumstances beget constant ~~new~~ new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I shall also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to include a program for manufacturing munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to get as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power. They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them ~~Can not~~ ^{and will not} in ready cash. We should not tell them they must surrender merely because ~~they cannot immediately~~ ^{if} fit to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons -- a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend, instead of having those nations continue to place their own orders directly with our manufacturers of war materials, that this government alone place all orders and supervise all construction and pay for all the weapons. ~~Mostly~~ ^{Nearly all} of it will be materiel which, if the time ever came, would fit into our own defense.

We can then determine, on the best military and naval judgment and advice, based ~~on~~ on what is best for our own security, how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their gallant resistance are giving us a period of grace, a breathing spell, in which to make ready our own defenses. Their victory will be our victory; their freedom will ensure our safety. For what we send abroad, we shall expect them to repay us

H

in similar materials or, at our option, in other goods of all kinds which they can produce and which we need within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities.

I am advised that the President, as Commander-in-Chief, already has power in an emergency to arrange for the transfer of military or naval equipment to other nations, if he deems such emergency action necessary to the defense of the United States. But when such action is taken, the world must know that the Congress of the United States and the Administration are in full agreement as to our national purpose.

Therefore, I am asking the Congress for its approval to construct and repair war materials and equipment of all kinds, not only for our own Army and Navy but for those nations whose defense is important to our defense, and to transfer such materials and equipment to those nations.

~~SECRET DRAFT~~

~~PRESIDENTIAL RECORD~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

13A
Our aid to those peoples who stand between us and still greater danger is a vital part of our own national defense. To impede that aid is to impede our national defense. The war orders of the democracies are not ordinary commercial transactions. Such aid is not a matter of barter. Such aid is not given because there is cash on the barrel-head. Such aid is given because it strengthens our defense and reduces the risks of further entanglement.]

Let us say to the democracies: America stands behind you. Is ~~tiny~~ America ~~would~~ put forth her energies, her resources and her organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. America will send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks and guns, food and medical supplies.

I hope that none of us will be beguiled by the threats of ~~the~~ dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law and as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war. ~~if~~ ^{when} ~~dictators~~ should ^{unilaterally} proclaim it to be. When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or Holland to commit an act of war.

~~They~~ ~~the~~ are not interested in international law.

With a cynical appeal to the international law which they

13B

~~SECRET DRAFT~~

PROPOSED INSERT PAGE 16 (continued)

~~themselves completely reject as part of democratic nonsense, they~~
~~warn free people to commit suicide by indifference~~
~~their self-interest, so that they may attack their victims one~~^{at a time}
~~when each victim nation is least able to defend itself and~~
~~least able to get help from other nations in a common, democratic~~
~~cause.~~

International law which lacks mutuality in its observance becomes an instrument of oppression. ~~let us not deceive ourselves.~~
~~Dictators who have murdered law, never have been, are not now, and~~
~~never can be the guardians of law as we conceive it.~~

~~14.~~

14

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger.

~~As we continue to number all that we have in this great~~
~~war,~~ We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency -- as serious as war itself -- demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need. ~~But our national effort toward defense is impaired,~~
~~and not advanced,~~ if the spirit of a free people is not willingly enlisted in their own cause.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort and sacrifice not among other groups but within their own groups.

No country has ever been saved by its business men pointing to the selfishness or radicalism of labor; or by its workers pointing to the greed or conservatism of capital. ~~A free nation derives its strength from free men who are more eager to do their best for their~~

~~country in time of crisis than they are to complain of the slackers.~~

I do not believe that there are many conscious slackers in America in business, in labor or agriculture. But the best way of dealing with the few slackers in our midst is to shame them by patriotic example.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and courage which come from an unshakeable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action which we call for, cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make the great mass of its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect, ~~--have made a free people~~
~~even more willing and ready to defend their freedom.~~

While our defense needs come first and while there are things which we might like to do but cannot because they might slow down our defense effort, we must not assume that what we have done

~~- 16~~

or what we shall continue to do to improve the social and economic conditions of our people will interfere with our defense effort.

Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution ^{dangerous factor} which is today a ~~fact~~ in the world.

There is nothing mysterious about the basis of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are: ~~equality~~ of opportunity for youth and for others, ~~jobs~~ for those who can work, ~~security~~ for those who need it, ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~privilege~~ ^{privilege} for the few, ~~and~~ the ^{the} ~~possession~~ ^{preservation} of civil liberties by all, ~~and~~ the enjoyment ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{Scientific} ~~material~~ ^{wider and} of the fruits of technological progress in a constantly rising ~~and~~ widely diffused standard of living. These are the simple and basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these basic expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for improvement.

Or 16A
For example, we ought to bring more citizens into the coverage of old age pensions and unemployment insurance.

• Insert A - Page 16.

¶ As examples:

¶ We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old age pensions and unemployment insurance

¶ We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care

¶ We should plan a better system by which persons desiring or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care in many parts of the country. With it we must make better provision for the care of those who are handicapped in life by physical or mental causes or by personal conditions which make them exceptions to the normal.

We must go further than ever before in planning a nationwide system by which all persons desiring gainful employment may obtain it in private or in government work.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call. ~~A part of the response involves harder work and the giving up of certain things in life which are not essentials.~~

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program. The principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

That is the kind of system which we have been seeking to build. That is the kind of system which we shall continue to build for the future.

The days which we seek to make secure
In this future, we look forward to a world founded fundamentally upon four essential human freedoms.

Insert A - Page # 17

If the Congress
maintains these fundamentals,
the voters, putting patriotism
ahead of pocketbooks,
will give you their
applause

The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want — which translated into ~~international~~ terms means economic understandings which will secure to every nation ~~anywhere~~ a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants ~~everywhere in the world~~

The fourth is freedom from fear — which translated into ~~international~~ terms means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation ~~anywhere~~ will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor ~~anywhere in the world~~.

A-17A That kind of a world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new order" which the dictators seek to create ~~at the points of a~~ ^{with the watch of a} Europe in Europe and in Asia.

To that "new order" we oppose the greater conception, the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear. It has no need either for the one or for the other.

• Insert A - Page 18

This is no vision
of a distant millennium.
It is a definite possi-
bility of attainment in
our own time and
generation.

Americans

Since the beginning of our history we have been engaged
peaceful
in a perpetual revolution -- a revolution which goes on steadily,
quietly and kindly. The ~~international~~ *world* order which we seek is the
cooperation of free nations working together in a friendly civilized
~~and~~ *society*.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and
hearts of its millions of free men, ~~and women~~ in freedom under
~~God and Country~~. No class is made sacred. No property system is
made superior to human rights. Our strength is in our union; and our gener-
osity is open to every nation of the world. To that conception there
can be no end save victory.

*The supremacy of
Freedom means human rights everywhere
Our hills are open to those who
seek to gain those rights & keep them.
Our strength is in our unity of
purpose. To ~~that~~ that high and
concept there can be no end save victory*

3595
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SEVENTH DRAFT

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

1941

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the Constitution in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these -- the four year War Between the States -- ever threatened our national

~~Domestic~~ unity. To-day, thank God, we stand and the ~~United States~~ ^{the} ~~confederation~~ ^{America} ~~has~~ ^{is} ~~been~~ ^{now} ~~in~~ ^{with} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~own~~ ^{own} ~~territory~~ ^{territory} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~people~~ ^{people} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~world~~ ^{world} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~any~~ ^{any} ~~other~~ ^{other} ~~country~~ ^{country}.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States had ~~adversaries~~

been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in two wars with European nations and a number of undecided ~~wars~~ ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{the} ~~West Indies~~ ^{West Indies} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Pacific~~ ^{Pacific} ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~the maintenance~~ ^{the maintenance} ~~of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce.~~ In no case, however, had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United

States as a nation has at all times maintained opposition to any attempt to look ~~it~~ into an ~~attic~~ room while the procession of civilization ~~has~~ past the door. Today, thinking of ^{our} ~~and their~~ children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any part of the Americas.

That determination of ours was proved, for example, during the quarter century wars ~~that followed the end of the French Revolution,~~

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the

United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in

Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right

~~against impressment of American seamen and interference with our peaceful~~

trade, it is, nevertheless, clear that neither France nor Great Britain

~~nor any other nation was aiming at domination of the whole world.~~

From 1815 to 1914 -- 99 years -- ~~any~~, no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against

the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength. It is still a friendly strength.

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain

only small threat of danger to our own American future. But as time went on, ~~and the success of German and Austro-Hungarian arms increased,~~ the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

versailles 1919
We need not ~~blame~~ imperfections at the Peace of Versailles.
failure
We need not ~~blame~~ failure of the Democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction, ~~but~~ we should remember that the Peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of pacification which began even before Munich and which is being carried under the ~~new~~ order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world — assailed either by arms or by secret spreading of poisonous ideas, by those whose ~~true~~ purpose is to destroy unity and promote discord in nations still at peace.

During sixteen months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an ~~enormous~~ number of independent nations, great and small. *now, its deadly weapons are threatening that kind of life in ~~numerous~~ other nations great and small.*

Therefore as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union", I find it necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. The total of those populations and resources greatly exceed^{the} the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere — many times over.

In times like these it is immature — and incidentally untrue — for anybody to ~~believe~~^{bring} that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can ~~hold off~~^{hold off} the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion -- or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. "Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

SEVENTH DRAFT

-5-

As a nation we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed.

We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement.^A We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack, which we must expect if the dictator nations win this war. This country and all the people of this Hemisphere know by now how direct a threat against lies in the formal tri-partite alliance of the aggressor nations of the world.

There is much loose talk of the dangers to us of direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such dangers exist. Even without ~~the British~~ ^{our immunity from immediate and} ~~we are no~~ ^{British} attack us ~~successfully~~ ^{in the most difficult manner}, by landing troops in the United States ^{from} ~~across~~ thousands of miles of ocean, until at last acquired strategic bases from which to operate.

~~Russia~~ — learn much from the lessons of the past year in Europe — particularly the lesson of Norway, whose ~~strategic~~ ^{essential} seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years. ~~place of the invasion of~~ ~~the first invaders in this hemisphere would not be regular~~ ~~we already know their designs~~ ~~which are~~ ~~so-called tourists.~~ These invaders are already here and in Latin America in considerable numbers.

~~frontier~~ This country's most vulnerable frontier might not be on either the immediate Atlantic or Pacific Coasts. It might be in Nova Scotia or Quebec or in British Columbia. It might be at some distant or nearer point on the Continent of South America. It might be somewhere among the Republics that lie immediately to the south of us. It might be the Rio Grande.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they — not we — will choose the time and the place and the methods ^{of their attack}.

That is why the future of all American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

~~That is why this Congress meets in a dramatic hour,~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A - PAGE #6

The first phase of the invasion of this hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. ^{The necessary} ~~A~~ Strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and their dupes -- and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America.

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That is why every member of the Executive branch of the government and every member of the Congress face great responsibility -- and great accountability.

The greatest need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily -- almost exclusively -- to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Our national policy is also. It is founded on enlightened self-interest. ~~which~~ self-interest is founded on morality. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all our fellow-men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small.

b7c b7d b7e
policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and
without regard to partisanship, we are committed to ~~national~~ all-inclusive
defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and
without regard to partisanship, we are committed to ~~national~~ *fr. 11* support
of all those resolute peoples everywhere, who are resisting aggression
and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support,
we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail;
and we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and
without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition
that principles of morality and considerations for our own security
will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and
sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought
at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial
difference between the two great parties in respect to that national

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policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today, it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

~~The last Congress, in a series of enactments in 1940, authorized and appropriated the money for the undertaking of a great new program of defense. Of a sum of approximately twelve billion dollars appropriated in that calendar year, ten billion dollars have already been spent or contracted ~~for~~ carrying out that program. This includes appropriations and authorizations made by the Congress as late as three months ago.~~

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases -- and I am sorry to say very important cases -- we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy ~~have~~, however, made substantial progress
had

during the past year. [The figures show that.] Actual experience is
and speeding up improving our methods of production with every passing day. It is

vital important, however, that every person responsible for the
carrying out of the program must realize that this improvement cannot

be static -- that it must continue in every passing day of the future.

And Today's Yesterday's best is not good enough for today. *Tomorrow's*,

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. People
in charge of ~~guiding~~ the results of the program represent ~~as well~~ the best in
ability, training, and ~~justification~~ experience ~~as can be found in the country~~. They
are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. We ought not be
satisfied until the job is done.

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too
low, the objective is quicker and better results.

To give two illustrations: We are behind ~~hand in the goal~~ *about*
for the ~~actual~~ turning out ~~of~~ finished airplanes; we are working day
and night to ~~catch up~~ *to solve the innumerable problems and to* *catch up*.

B → *E* In the case of warship building we are doing better in speed
than we anticipated; it is now our objective to get even greater speed
in the launching and commissioning of those ships.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT B - PAGE #10

We are ahead of schedule
in building warships; but we
are working to get even
further ahead of schedule.

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SEVENTH DRAFT

- 11 -

To change a whole nation to a basis of war time production
of implements of war, from a basis of peace time production of imple-
ments of peace, is no small task. And the greatest difficulty comes
at the beginning of the program, when new tools and plant facilities
and new assembly lines and ship ways must be first constructed before
the actual material begins to flow steadily from them.

The Congress, of course, must rightly keep itself informed at
all times of the progress of the program; except that there is certain
information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which our
own security and the interests of the nations we are supporting, ~~supposing~~
~~which~~ be kept in confidence.

New circumstances ~~call~~ now needs for our safety.

I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations
and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I ~~will~~ also ask this Congress for authority and for funds
sufficient to ~~enlarge a program for~~ manufacturing munitions and war
supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are
now in actual war with aggressor nations.

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 12 -

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power. They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. We cannot and will not tell them they must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons -- a loan to be repaid in dollars.

> I recommend, instead of having those nations continue to place their own orders directly with our manufacturers of war materials, but that this government ~~should~~ place all orders and supervise all construction and pay for all the weapons. Nearly all of it will be material which, if the time ever came, would fit into our own defenses.

*P The two armed forces military and naval authorities
We can then determine on the best military and naval judgment
according to ~~advice~~ ^{we are free to decide}
~~advice~~ based on what is best for our own security, how much
should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends
who by their gallant resistance are giving us ~~express~~ ^{determined and heroic} ~~of grace,~~ ^{now}*

(A)

on p. 12

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

I recommend that
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for those nations to
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own program. Nearly
all of their material would

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

if the time ever came,
be ~~needed~~ useful for
our own defense.

in which to make ready our own defense.

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid, within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, in similar materials, or, at our option, in other goods of many kinds which they can produce and which we need.

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our ^p pledge.

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law and as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be.

When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war.

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 13 -

~~a breathing-spell~~, in which to make ready our own defenses.

Their victory will be our victory; their freedom will ensure our safety. For what we send abroad, we shall expect them to repay us in similar materials or, at our option, in other goods of ~~the~~ ^{be repaid} ~~Money~~ kinds which they can produce and which we need within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities,

Let us say to the democracies: America stands behind you. We Americans are wholly committed ~~to your way of freedom~~ to our ~~whole~~ America is putting forth her energies, her resources and her organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free

world. America will send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks and guns, food and medical supplies.

~~With full intent of this purpose we shall not be intimidated~~
~~I hope that none of us will be frightened by the threats of~~
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When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway ³⁶ ~~the Netherlands~~ or Belgium or Holland to commit an act of war. ~~They are not states~~ ~~acted in internationalism.~~

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 14 -

With a cynical appeal to the international law which they themselves completely reject as part of obsolete democratic nonsense, they warn free people to commit suicide by indifference so that they may attack their victims one by one.

their only interest is in a new and-way International law, which lacks mutuality in its observance, and

therefore becomes an instrument of oppression.

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger.

We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency -- as serious as war itself -- demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need.

*B*ut a free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort ~~and sacrifice~~ not among other groups but within their own groups.

No country has ever been saved by its business men pointing

to the selfishness or radicalism of labor; or by its workers pointing
to the greed or conservatism of capital.

I do not believe that there are many conscious slackers in
America in business, in labor or agriculture. ~~but~~ ^{first} the best way of

dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is to

shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use
~~The sovereignty of government to over government.~~

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by

armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who

build our defenses, must have the stamina and courage which come from

an unshakeable belief in the manner of life which they are defending.

The mighty action which we call for, cannot be based on a disregard of

all things worth fighting for.

The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from

the things which have been done to make ~~the greatness of~~ its people

conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic

life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people,

have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the

institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

There is nothing mysterious about the ~~needs~~ ^{fundamental} of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties ~~for~~ ^{to} all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple and basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these ~~basic~~ expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for improvement.

As examples:

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SEVENTH DRAFT

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We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; ^{and} _A the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these ~~Fundamental~~ principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded ~~fundamentally~~ upon four essential human freedoms.

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 18 -

The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want -- which translated into world terms means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants -- everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear -- which translated into world terms means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor -- anywhere in the world.

This
There is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable possibility of attainment in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new order" which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb, in Russia and in Asia.

To that *new order* we oppose the greater conception -- the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination

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SEVENTH DRAFT

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and foreign revolutions alike without fear. It has no need either

~~for the one or for the other.~~

Since the beginning of our American history we have been
changin' — in
engaged in a perpetual peaceful revolution — a revolution which goes
on steadily, quietly ~~and kindly~~, ^{without the concentration camp in the} ~~and kindly~~
cooperation of free ~~nations~~ working together in a friendly civilized
society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads
and hearts of its millions of free men and women; its faith in freedom
under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights
everywhere. Our ~~helpless~~ ^{dearly loved} ~~sick~~ to those who seek to gain these rights
or keep them. Our strength is in our unity of purpose. To that high
concept there can be no end save victory.

adjusting itself to changing conditions —