

January 6, 1944

[Message To Congress]

FDR Speech File

1353B

UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
WASHINGTON

December 28, 1940.

*y*  
*Message to Congress*  
*1941*

The President,

The White House.

My dear Mr. President:

Before leaving town last evening Secretary Iokes asked me to send you the enclosed statement on oil conservation for consideration in connection with your forthcoming message to Congress.

Sincerely yours,



First Assistant Secretary.

Enclosure 2699137.

1-028 a

**ENCLOSURE** 2699137

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

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0-4145

During the past seven years, our proven oil reserves have been increased by 50 per cent, but our oil consumption also has increased by 50 per cent. Although there is no present indication of an immediate shortage, oil-finding must keep pace with our needs if we are to avoid the social and economic penalties of scarcity. We must be certain also that we will obtain, without waste, the full benefits of the oil which we have found and will find. That task becomes increasingly important and difficult as we face the accelerated military and civilian needs of the defense program. No oil-producing State, no unit of the oil industry and no agency of the Federal government should lag behind or be unwilling to do its utmost in meeting this task and in solving the problems of distribution and manufacture which also may arise. We will not succeed in doing these things if each works separately and in his own way. A united and successful effort will be possible only if the work of each is specified and the whole activity coordinated. This problem is not new to the Congress; in various forms, it has been present for the past seven years. Its solution should be one of the first objectives at this session.



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR  
WASHINGTON

December 27, 1940.

*Handwritten:*  
Annual message  
File  
12-1

My dear Mr. President:

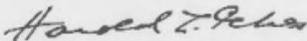
Yesterday I mentioned to you "ALL OUT" by Samuel Grafton. I am ordering a copy to be sent to you. It could be read in an hour or a little more and I believe it to be well worth the time. In the meantime, I am sending you this quotation from page 68 of the book, the quotation itself containing a very surprising one from the "ECONOMIST":

"The gloom of a year before, in England, and the pell of Munich, two years before, were succeeded by new hope; not merely the clenched-fist hope of winning the immediate battle, but a longer leap of hope to the 'future,' when bombers would not be heard again. In September of 1940 the better sections of the English press began to debate the need for an 'economic bill of rights,' to defeat Hitlerism in the world forever by establishing 'minimum standards of housing, food, education, and medical care,' along with free speech, free press, and free worship. Of this it was said in the 'ECONOMIST': 'We should be nailing our democratic colors to the mast and reinforcing our own faith in the principles to which we adhere . . . we are fighting Hitler because we detest the solution that he has imposed. Here is a means by which, while the war is still in progress, we can establish our own solution and proclaim the faith by which we live and die . . . . We are, in fact, faced with a golden opportunity if only we can have the vision to realize

that we are neither likely nor anxious to see the world of the 1930's again, but rather that we must bend our energies to the wise construction of the new. 1

"These declarations come to the surface when at last a democracy goes 'all out' against Fascism. Until they rise to the surface, democracy does not go 'all out.'"

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Harold I. Ickes". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

Secretary of the Interior.

The President,  
The White House.

12-30-40

(Additional Material for Draft Message - insert at page 4)

During the past ten years our ability to produce has far exceeded any level we have yet reached. This has been evident in our unused manpower. Certainly we have no desire to stabilize unemployment and thus waste our labor resources. Indeed, as we gain higher levels of production and national income within the next 18 months, and approach using our full productive capacity with a full utilization of our labor supply, we must find ways of stabilizing employment at those higher levels, and even of expanding our productive capacity for peacetime goods so that we may continue to make full use of the available manpower when the defense emergency period is over. In other words, we must seek the means for providing for a dynamic kind of employment stabilization.

The high level of industrial production cannot be maintained after the defense program has been completed unless we shift over to producing other kinds of goods to take the place of armaments. By continuing to place the emphasis of our productive efforts in the coming months upon defense requirements, a backlog of demands for goods and services, over

which the defense program now has priority, will be created. To meet these deferred demands in the post-defense period now efforts will be required which in turn will aid in maintaining the high level of employment. In this policy our Government must assume its share of responsibility.

As a step in this direction I have recommended in the Budget only those expenditures for Government construction which are required for national defense or which must be made in order to meet previous contractual commitments. Other Government construction, no matter how badly it is now needed, must yield in priority to the defense program.

The construction so deferred is the Government's "backlog" which can be used in the post-defense period to aid in supporting the higher levels of employment that will have been created.

I have tried to make clear on many previous occasions that under such circumstances, the Government is interested not only in providing work -- we also want that work to be done on something useful or necessary to the Nation. For that reason I have frequently emphasized

the necessity for advance planning and scheduling of useful public works on a long-term basis.

Planning provides the opportunity of proposing policies and action programs that will contribute most effectively to the best development of our national resources. If it is a good business practice for private corporations to plan and program their activities and plant expansion in the light of the probable demands for their goods and services, certainly it is an equally good practice for the Government to do so.

The Government is in the position of "trustee" for the permanent estate of the people. It has the responsibility of supplying leadership for public and private action through planning for both the immediate needs and income of the Nation and also for the wise investment of capital and the maintenance of the Nation's resources.

#### Resource Development

Beginning in 1934 I have, from time to time, presented to the Congress and to the Nation, a series of reports by the National Resources

Planning Board and its predecessor agencies recommending policies and programs to provide for the conservation and wise use of our national resources. These reports have dealt with our soil and forest resources, our mineral wealth, the use and control of our water resources, our energy resources, and last, but not least, the health and welfare of our people -- our human resources.

Today, we are confronted with the gigantic problem of national rearmament, but it should not be forgotten that developing and maintaining a strong, vigorous, and healthy national economy represents an essential phase of preparation for total national defense. The high priorities that must be given to our defense undertakings must not halt our planning for our national development which is vital to our long-term safety. We must continuously review and readjust our long-term safety. We must continuously review and readjust our long-term plans for our national development in the light of our current operations. We must always be on guard against acquiring that kind of a current asset which becomes a future liability.

With respect to our long-term resource development policies, we should bear in mind the following points:

Land - We must continue to strive for a national land-use policy whose central aim should be to enable the people of our Nation to derive from their land the maximum benefit and satisfaction consistent with the permanent maintenance of that resource. Furthermore, we must anticipate to the best of our ability some of the readjustments that are likely to become pressing in the post-defense period, such as those arising from the current shifts in land use and settlement.

Water Resources - We must recognize that the full utilization of water requires that it be related to our other resources; that in any program for water development and control, whether or not it may be required by reason of national defense, all of the potential uses must be given careful consideration. It is now realized that the development of our water resources through unrelated projects built for single purposes, and separately operated, often prove wasteful. Through cooperative action of Federal, State, and local agencies the full

potential value of our water resources can be obtained in each major drainage basin.

Energy Resources - The problem of conserving our energy resources is essentially that of avoiding unnecessary waste in their production and utilization. The immediate objective of a prudent national policy in this field is to provide an effective supply of energy to drive the national defense program. Beyond the immediate problem of defense is the continuing objective of obtaining higher efficiency in production and greater economy in the use of mineral fuels. Where possible we must use coal, of which there is an abundance in the ground, and water power, which is wasted if not used. We must reserve, where possible, the known supplies of petroleum and natural gas for the special duties to which they are so essential.

Transportation - In the American scene transportation has always been recognized as a vital agency in national and hemispheric development. Our Government spends vast sums in providing transportation facilities, - highways, airports, and waterways. Today, increasing

rates of technological development and modernization have been joined by the compelling force of national defense to produce unparalleled national responsibility for the achievement of an adequate, efficient, and up-to-date national transportation system.

While in the immediate future, priority should and must be granted to undertakings of demonstrated national defense value, it must also be realized that in general the proper development of peace-time transportation requirements is one of the primary requirements for adequate defense. We must also face the fact that a new definition is needed for the role of the Federal Government in dealing with transportation facilities and the extent to which direct Federal action, inter-governmental cooperation, or local action is most desirable.

#### Decentralized Planning

The policies we choose for national development must, so far as possible, reflect the desires and needs of the citizens in the areas affected as well as the national interest. Different parts of the country have different resources, different needs, and different opportunities.

The growth of local, State and regional planning agencies and the close-working relations which have been established among them and the National Resources Planning Board provide channels for full expression of citizen hopes and plans - from the ground up.

A heavy responsibility lies upon these planning agencies, each to plan and program the development of the areas they serve so that the whole national picture or program can be brought together more and more effectively as the years pass. The rights that belong to State and local governments carry with them corresponding obligations.

#### Construction Program

One of the most effective means the Government has for guiding the development of our national resources is the construction of new public works and facilities and grants of financial aid to State and local governments, private corporations, and individuals for the construction of new works and facilities. Without construction there can be little new development.

The estimated cost of new construction to be built or financially aided by the United States Government during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, is currently estimated to be \$0,000,000,000. This estimate is based on the proposed expenditures contained in the Budget of the United States which I have transmitted to the Congress. The actual amount of the Government's expenditures involved in this amount of construction is \$0,000,000,000. The difference represents the estimated additional expenditures to be made by State and local governments, and private corporations and individuals on construction work for which grants, loans or guaranties of loans will be provided by the Federal Government.

The total of \$0,000,000,000 for new construction to be built or financially aided by the Government during the fiscal year 1942 can be broken down as follows:

National Development Works, such as flood control

works, irrigation projects, roads, river

and harbor improvements, and airports . . . \$0,000,000,000

National Defense Works, including construction

by the Navy and War Departments . . . . . \$0,000,000,000

Government Plant Works, such as post offices

and other public buildings, schools,

hospitals, etc. . . . . 0,000,000,000

Housing, including that constructed by both

public and private corporations and

individuals . . . . . 0,000,000,000

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Total . . . . . \$ 0,000,000,000

The National Resources Planning Board has also presented the first outlines of a construction program for the Government for future years in terms of the projects proposed by the Federal construction agencies. Furthermore, the Board has grouped the projects in the advance program into broad priority classes. The Board will continuously revise the program so that it can be presented to the Congress annually. This procedure thus maintains the reservoir of useful, needed works envisioned by the Employment Stabilization Act.

CONFIDENTIAL

Draft Materials for Presidential Message on  
Report by National Resources Planning Board

I transmit herewith a report on "The Development of Resources and the Stabilization of Employment in the United States". This report is the first in a series which will be prepared by the National Resources Planning Board for the Chief Executive and transmitted by him to the Congress each year immediately following the presentation of the Budget of the United States. It should be considered a companion report to the annual statement of the Bureau of the Budget. In our Government we now provide for an annual report by the President to the Congress on the State of the Union, for an annual report on the estimated receipts and proposed expenditures of the Government, and, for the first time this year, for an annual report on the Six-Year Program of Public Works and related future policies and plans of the Government.

Significance of the Report

The Report outlines broad policies and plans for the development of the Nation's resources and for the stabilization of employment,

recommended by the Chief Executive for the consideration of the Congress. It is not a fixed policy statement. It is subject to constant revision, and its annual presentation affords an opportunity for the Congress and the citizens to review the policies, plans and programs which are recommended.

The Report is a document of a democratic government. Its real contribution is that it provides the framework for the people and their Government to anticipate and plan for those problems of resource development and employment stabilization which lie in the future.

#### The Content of the Report

The Report is divided into four parts:

Part I The Federal Program of National Development - consists of the report of the National Resources Planning Board, including its findings and recommendations;

Part II Six-Year Public Works Programs of Federal Agencies - comprises the development plans and public works programs as submitted by the Federal construction agencies;

Part III      Functional Development Policies - includes a series of statements on resource development policies in the several functional fields covered by the technical advisory committees of the Board;

Part IV      Regional Development Plans - contains statements prepared through the ten regional offices of the Board in cooperation with regional and State planning agencies and with representative citizens.

The preparation and presentation of the report was provided for by Reorganization Plan No. 1, Executive Order No. 8248 of September 8, 1939 and Executive Order No. 8455 of June 26, 1940. In order to facilitate its use by the Congress, I recommend that all four parts of the report be printed, together with the illustrations and supporting tables, as a companion volume to the Budget of the United States.

The studies by the Board upon which the report is based comprise four main features: (1) An economic outlook for the next fiscal year in terms of what our national income is likely to be and what the volume of employment will be at that national income; (2) A continuing

review of the progress of our plans for the functional development of our national resources, and suggestions for the adjustments in the Government's policies toward these resources in the light of the trends in income and employment; (3) Regional Development plans envisaging the potentialities of various parts of the country and the ambitions of the citizens for the development of the area in which they live; (4) The presentation of a program of the capital outlays of the Government for 1942 in terms of the expenditures for, and aid to the financing of, construction, and the listing by broad priority groups of the projects which are proposed for construction in later years.

#### Public Works Planning

In our thinking of the Government's future construction program and the relationship of such program to resource development policies and employment stabilization needs, it is vital that we bear in mind our experience during the past decade.

First, it has become apparent that close coordination of the public works policies of the Federal, State and local governments is

indispensible. In the absence of such coordination, State and local government policies may frustrate the efforts of the Federal Government to provide employment stabilization. The Government can initiate a coordinated policy by providing a continuing policy of public works planning which looks toward the establishment of advance programs of State and local public works. But to develop such capital budgets, it is desirable that State and local governments be informed of the intentions and purposes of the Federal Government. Accordingly, I intend to recommend to the Congress in the near future the outlines of appropriate legislation.

Experience demonstrates the need for advance authorization of procedures for grants, loans and other devices for aids to State and local governments to become effective when and if Federal appropriations are later necessary. Such authorization would provide a basis for State and local programming of projects and related fiscal policies.

The difficulties and delays in getting work under way when need arises should be anticipated. Programs should be prepared now. Surveys

and investigations should be undertaken, engineering plans completed, sites purchased, authorization secured -- all to permit rapid inauguration of work on projects in times of need. A revolving fund is suggested in the Report of the National Resources Planning Board for the advance investigation and design of useful, needed projects without in any way committing the Government to the immediate construction of such works.

Our experience over the past ten years has also emphasized the lack of flexibility that characterizes the ordinary construction program of the Federal Government. To a large extent, that program is automatically determined for several years in advance by virtual commitments to proceed with large undertakings already under way. In many cases these commitments are such that they cannot be avoided except by the abrogation of existing contracts. Thus, the budgetary policies of the Government are ineffective in trying to control a construction program, since a flexible program requires revision of construction expenditures downward as well as upward.

Related Governmental Policies

Useful as a construction program of the Government may be it would be unwise to assume that such a construction program can alone stabilize employment. Other Governmental policies must also be considered. The Government, in addition to its construction program, must have a series of policies correlated to achieve a dynamic type of employment stabilization.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS

*Annual Memo 1941*

December 27, 1940.

Mr. Secretary:

You suggested the other day that you would like to have a paragraph by way of rejoinder to threatening utterances which emanate currently from Germany and Japan.

I attach a two-page item which I have evolved while trying to comply with your suggestion. I realize that these paragraphs do not exactly fill the bill as regards what you asked for. They contain, however, something which you might find suggestive or which you might care to pass on to the President in connection with the drafting in which he doubtless is engaged now of the statement which he is scheduled to make over the radio on Sunday evening next. (You or the President presumably would not want to use the exact phraseology which appears here, which is perhaps too bald, but you might find the substance and the sequence of the ideas useful.)

*SECRET*

PA/R:SKH:ZMK

There are in the world today something over two billion people. There were two years ago approximately one hundred independent countries. Three countries are today endeavoring to establish what they call a "new order". They are endeavoring to do this not within their own boundaries but beyond their boundaries. Their method is that of armed force. Their objective is to impose their will upon other nations. Their leaders have given to the national organization and activities of those countries a character such that by their very nature those countries must persevere in predatory operations or repudiate and eliminate their existing leadership. Those nations will persist in such operations until they are stopped by superior force resisting them from without in the form of military and economic pressures.

One great immediate objective of the Axis powers is to defeat Great Britain and destroy the British Empire. Another great immediate objective of those powers is to impose their will in eastern Asia and the western Pacific, to eliminate the interests and influence of other nations from those areas, and to take control for themselves of the peoples and resources of those areas.

A few nations, outstandingly the British, the Chinese, and the Greeks, are resisting the armed forces of the Axis powers, launched against them, with their own armed forces. In this conflict the theater of operations is the whole world outside of the Western Hemisphere. If the Axis powers-- or any one of them--win either in Europe or in Asia, their victory will render them--all or any one of them--a menace to the security of the United States.

This country is giving and will give assistance to countries which are opposing force with force, countries that are defending themselves against aggression. We do this and we will do this because we want peace, we want security. There can be no real peace, and neither this country nor any other can have real security while force continues to be used by any nations in pursuit of policies of conquest. We give assistance to the British, the Chinese, the Greeks--and we will give assistance to other countries--because victory over those countries by the countries which have attacked them would render peace among the nations of the world impossible and would make this country's position in the world, both abroad and at home, absolutely insecure. We give assistance to those who are opposing force not for their sakes but-- in defense--for our own sakes. We give assistance to them in order that they may remain free and that ultimately we and they and all nations may have peace and security.

*Message File*

EH  
This telegram must be  
closely paraphrased be-  
fore being communicated  
to anyone. (A)

Berlin via Bern  
Dated December 27, 1940  
Rec'd 10:20 a.m., 29th.

Secretary of State,  
Washington.

5162, December 27, 5 p.m. (SECTION ONE).

The pause in military and diplomatic activity occasioned by the Christmas holidays presents an opportunity for a brief review of the stage to which Germany's war effort has now advanced.

As the German leaders look back over the first sixteen months of hostilities, they have much to which they can point with pride. Their armies have been everywhere successful on land and have swept British power from the continent at every point where they have gone into operation. Their submarines have succeeded in hampering British commerce, their air force in inflicting frequent damages on British cities, ports and industries. Altogether these depredations while not immediately decisive are--in the German view--so serious that unless they are more effectively counteracted in the future than they have been in the past they will gradually undermine Britain's war effort and bring her to her knees. On the  
other

EH -2- 5162, December 27, 5 p.m. (SECTION ONE) from Berlin.

other hand, despite the British blockade it has proved possible to maintain the health and efficiency of the German people at a level close to normal and to prevent any dangerous deterioration of their morale.

All this, however, has not been achieved without cost. The maintenance of the German war effort has necessitated a wide spread draining of the reserves of the entire continent. European economy is living more and more from hand to mouth. In Italy, Germany has been encumbered with an ally whose own weakness is now threatening the military prestige of the Axis and who is almost as difficult to assist as to neglect. The sudden collapse of France has unexpectedly enchaind German diplomacy to the interests of a French empire which it cannot entirely control and dares not entirely abandon. On Germany's eastern border the Kremlin's sphinx-like inactivity is more ominous than comforting; it has been bought with heavy sacrifices and there is little doubt in German minds that the slightest sign of German weakness would be met by inexorable Russian demands for further pounds of flesh. Finally, in order to achieve her victories, Germany has felt herself compelled to pull one European nation after another into the miseries of military occupation, blockade, requisitions, restrictions, and

EH -3- 5162, December 27, 5 p.m. (SECTION ONE) from Berlin.

and declining living standards. This harsh necessity has dogged the path of her armies and has weighed heavily on her efforts to popularize her rule throughout the continent. Burdened with the responsibility for so much human suffering and handicapped by their own lack of psychological insight, the Germans have failed to find the bridge from their own national pride to that of the peoples they rule. If there is no country in Europe where they are not dreaded, there is also none where they are liked. Their power rests on no firmer foundations than the fear and bewilderment of subject peoples, it can be maintained only by constant effort and vigilance, any effort to relax it would be apt to result in its being swept away altogether.

In these circumstances, the German leaders stand committed more desperately than ever to a completely victorious outcome of the war. For the moment, their immediate preoccupation must be with the stiffening of Italian resistance against Greece, a project which may be confined to an early movement of German technical units and equipment to Italy and to Albanian battlefields or may also include renewed pressure on Bulgaria and Yugoslavia with a view to intimidating these countries into allowing their territories to be used as bases for German operations.

Germany

EH -4- 5162, December 27, 5 p.m. (SECTION ONE) from Berlin.

Germany may also be unable to avoid an early readjustment of her relations with France, a readjustment which would involve a strengthening of her grasp on continental France at the sacrifice of much of her influence in the French colonies.

MORRIS

NK

EH  
This telegram must be  
closely paraphrased be-  
fore being communicated  
to anyone. (A)

Berlin via Bern

Dated December 27, 1940

Rec'd 10:25 a.m., 29th.

Secretary of State,  
Washington.

5162, December 27, 5 p.m. (SECTION TWO).

But moves of this sort will have only an essentially defensive purpose, namely to prevent the creation in the Mediterranean area of an Achilles heel to German continental power. The decisive theater of war will remain in German eyes the British Isles themselves. Here the determination of German military policy will be hampered by uncertainty over American deliveries. If these are to be no greater than in the past, the Germans will feel themselves in a position to wait secure in the confidence that the depredations of their submarines and air force will make England's early break down a certainty. But if it should become apparent that American deliveries would be extended in the near future to a point where they would more than balance the losses inflicted by German planes and submarines, the German leaders would be faced with a more difficult choice. To wait would be to risk a possible deterioration in their relative war potential and to prolong a strain on the peoples of Europe which is dangerous

to

EH -2- 5162, December 27, 5 p.m. (SECTION TWO) from Berlin.

to Germany in many respects. Of such alternative would be to invade England at an early date, an operation about which almost everything is unpredictable except the heavy cost of lives and materials which it would involve.

As long as this uncertainty prevails with regard to the future extent of American deliveries, persons in Berlin will find it hard to plan their future course in the careful and methodical manner to which they are accustomed. For this reason their tendency will be to try to eliminate this uncertain factor. Believing the majority of the American people to be reluctant to see our country drawn into direct participation in the war their first move will probably be to endeavor to create a situation where no serious extension of American aid to Britain could be carried out without involving the strong possibility of such a development. And as reinsurance against the possibility that our Government might nevertheless decide to proceed with a policy of this nature, they will doubtless endeavor to bring the weight of the Japanese fleet into play in the (?) in order to detract American attention and prevent any program for increasing assistance to England from being carried out in practice.

All in all, as Europe moves into a New Year the rulers  
of

EH -3- 5162, December 27, 5 p.m. (SECTION TWO) from Berlin.

of Germany find the roads ahead of them increasingly uncertain, the road behind them entirely cut off. Their game is getting more complicated and more dangerous. The odds still seem to them to be on their side and their winnings are already formidable. But these winnings together with everything else they possess are now staked irrevocably on the final outcome of the struggle.

(END OF MESSAGE).

MORRIS

NK

**cracy' to Aid Britain**

, tells what he thinks about the President. The reaction the speech evoked in id 6; foreign comment is also on page adence is shown on page 12, and the attention on page 20. On page 15 the al and on page 24 a sports editor re-

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

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

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

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

Nine days ago I announced the setting up of a more effective organization to direct our gigantic efforts to increase the production of munitions. The appropriation of vast sums of money and a well co-ordinated executive direction of our

country's peacetime needs will require all of the new productive capacity—if not still more.

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

**We Have Everything**

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

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

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

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

**The Great Arsenal**

*Satire is a sort of glass wherein beholders generally discover everybody's face but their own.*—JONATHAN SWIFT

### The Man We Elected

I heard President Roosevelt's speech on a portable radio at home.

Two hours earlier I had heard Ed Murrow from London, broadcasting from the little room in which I had sat with him while the Dorniers flew overhead. It was after midnight in London and there had been a big raid. When Ed Murrow says there has been a big raid there has been a big raid.

After Murrow I heard the Columbia man in Berlin and Winston Burdett from Belgrade. (See Page 9.) Then the CBS man in Tokyo. And a little later while I was still waiting for the President to speak I heard Dorothy Thompson (see Page 15), who was in Germany when it began. Then Walter Winchell from Miami calling a spy a spade. Then some jazz. And then one of those spot announcements about the story PM's Jimmy Wechsler is writing from Detroit.

All these things came to me from the radio before I heard President Roosevelt. But the realest was Ed Murrow's voice coming from the room where I had been with in London—the room past which they had carried his two friends from the first aid station, dead as mutton. I knew how black it was in the street outside. I knew the noise the bombers made in the sky overhead. I knew the noise the guns made and the drawn out going-away sound of the shells reaching up to find the Nazi pilots in their warm, fuzzy flying suits. I knew the noise of the bombs they dropped made. I saw the face of the red-headed cop looking up at me from the pavement just after he had been killed.

I wasn't there when it started as Dorothy Thompson was. I don't know as much about spies as Walter and his friend Edgar Hoover. I am not a man trying to get news through the censorships of Tokyo or Belgrade. I know that I didn't like the line about no strikes, and that I wanted much more said about the fight for freedom in this country. I know there is much thinking and acting still to be done. I don't know all the answers. But I know what Franklin D. Roosevelt meant when he said that there is no appeasement with ruthlessness, no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. I know how to hate force applied to free people. I know after last night's speech, if I never knew it before, that President Roosevelt knows how to hate it, too.

I am proud of the American people for having elected him President. I am proud that there are other peoples besides the British that will not take it lying down, reading a book on philosophy.

I am proud that the people who elected President Roosevelt are my people and that I am one of them. And that the end of Adolf Hitler is so very near. For if he thinks he has a chance now—after last night's speech—he is crazier even than he sounds.—RALPH INGERSOLL.

*Satire is a sort of glass wherein beholders generally discover every-body's face but their own.—JONATHAN SWIFT*

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Two hours earlier I had heard Ed Murrow from London, broadcasting from the little room in which I had sat with him while the Dorniers flew overhead. It was after midnight in London and there had been a big raid. When Ed Murrow says there has been a big raid there has been a big raid.

After Murrow I heard the Columbia man in Berlin and Winston Burdett from Belgrade. (See Page 9.) Then the CBS man in Tokyo. And a little later while I was still waiting for the President to speak I heard Dorothy Thompson (see Page 15), who was in Germany when it began. Then Walter Winchell from Miami calling a spy a spade. Then some jazz. And then one of those spot announcements about the story PM's Jimmy Wechsler is writing from Detroit.

All these things came to me from the radio before I heard President Roosevelt. But the realest was Ed Murrow's voice coming from the room where I had been with in London—the room past which they had carried his two friends from the first aid station, dead as mutton. I knew how black it was in the street outside. I knew the noise the bombers made in the sky overhead. I knew the noise the guns made and the drawn out going-away sound of the shells reaching up to find the Nazi pilots in their warm, fuzzy flying suits. I knew the noise of the bombs they dropped made. I saw the face of the red-headed cop looking up at me from the pavement just after he had been killed.

I wasn't there when it started as Dorothy Thompson was. I don't know as much about spies as Walter and his friend Edgar Hoover. I am not a man trying to get news through the censorships of Tokyo or Belgrade. I know that I didn't like the line about no strikes, and that I wanted much more said about the fight for freedom in this country. I know there is much thinking and acting still to be done. I don't know all the answers. But I know what Franklin D. Roosevelt meant when he said that there is no appeasement with ruthlessness, no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. I know how to hate force applied to free people. I know after last night's speech, if I never knew it before, that President Roosevelt knows how to hate it, too.

I am proud of the American people for having elected him President. I am proud that there are other peoples besides the British that will not take it lying down, reading a book on philosophy.

I am proud that the people who elected President Roosevelt are my people and that I am one of them. And that the end of Adolf Hitler is so very near. For if he thinks he has a chance now—after last night's speech—he is crazier even than he sounds.—RALPH INGERSOLL.

*Managers file*

Outline for Report  
on  
THE PROGRAM OF THE UNITED STATES  
FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESOURCES AND STABILIZATION OF EMPLOYMENT

Summary

- Part I (printed) - The Federal Program for National Development
- " II (offset) - Six Year Public Works Programs of Federal Agencies
- " III (printed) - Functional Development Policies
- " IV (offset) - Regional Development Plans

Part I

Submitted in Proof - December 31, 1940.

The Federal Program for National Development  
(Statement by the Board)

- Letter of Transmittal - authority and content of report (one page)
- Recommendations (facing pages)
- Section A - Introduction. Objectives and Economic Considerations of Public Works
- Section B - Trends of Employment
- Section C - Public Works for Employment Stabilization
- Section D - Public Works for National Development
- Section E - Functional Policies and Regional Plans
- Section F - Recommended Six Year Program

Part II

Six-Year Public Works Programs of Federal Agencies

1. Introductory statement on:
  - 1) History of Work (efforts under Employment Stabilization Act)
  - 2) Methods of Compilation (E.O. 8455 and Regulation No. 1 issued thereunder)
  - 3) Paraphrasing of agency's statements required under Section 4 of Regulation No. 1
  
2. Lists of Projects - Six-year Programs of Agencies:
  - 1) Entire Table to be divided over-all by agencies and departments
  - 2) Under each agency, give projects:
    - a) Under construction (in order of docket number)
    - b) Planned but not under construction (in order of docket numbers)
  
3. Executive Order and Regulation No. 1
  
4. Explanation of Docket System
  
5. Statistical tables on construction expenditures of Federal agencies
  
6. Lists of surveys under way

Part III

Functional Development Policies

- A. Introduction by the Board
  
- B. Statements by Committees and Staff:
  - 1. Public Works and Land-Use Adjustment - Land Committee
  - 2. National Water Policy - Water Resources Committee
  - 3. National Policy for Conservation and Wise Use of Energy Resources - Energy Resources Committee

Part IV

Regional Development Plans

A. Introduction

B. Statements from Regions:

1. New England
2. Middle Atlantic States
3. Southeast
4. Great Lakes and Ohio Valley
5. Central Southwest
6. Missouri Valley
7. Inter-Mountain
8. Pacific Southwest  
    Hawaiian Islands
9. Pacific Northwest
10. Alaska

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
To the Congress of the United States  
The Capitol, Washington, D. C.  
January 6, 1941.

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS:

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. And 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. (Applause)

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States often has (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. But in no case (however) had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence.

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

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

...the history of the Union. I was the word "united-  
...because of the fact that the American people had a national  
...as it is today.  
...of our Government under the Consti-  
...of the people of the United States, in our history have related  
...to our national identity. And temporarily, only one of these -- the form-  
...our history -- was the history of our national unity. Today,  
...in forty-eight States, in forty-eight States,  
...have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity. (Applause)  
...It is true that prior to 1848 the United States other had  
...been disturbed by events in other continents. We had even engaged in the  
...and in a number of independent wars in the West  
...in the West and in the West for the sake of the  
...and for the principle of "equal rights." But in no  
...had a serious threat been raised against our national unity  
...our national independence.  
...that I seek to convey in the historic truth that the United States  
...at all times maintained opposition, clear, definite op-  
...to any attempt to look at it behind an official facade will which  
...of civilization went back. Today, the history of our civilization  
...we oppose national isolation for ourselves or for any  
...other part of the continent. (Applause)

That determination of ours, extending over all these years, was proved, for example, in the early days 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.

And 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. (Applause)

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, as we remember, 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. (Applause)

I suppose that 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 propganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen long months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. And 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, unhappily, 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, and Asia, and Africa and Australasia will be dominated by (the) conquerors. And let us remember that the total of those populations in those four continents, the total of those populations and their resources greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and the resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere -- yes, 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." (Applause)

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

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. (Applause)

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually 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 by 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.

And that is why the future of all the American Republics of (is) today is in serious danger.

And 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 the 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. (Applause)

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. (Applause) By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and the 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. (Applause)

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. And 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, in ability, and in patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done. (Applause)

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

To give you 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 that schedule.

To change a whole nation from a basis of peacetime production of implements of peace to a basis of wartime production of implements of war is no small task. And the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools, new (and) plant facilities, (and) new assembly lines, and new 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 that 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. (Applause) They not need man power, but 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 all in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them they must surrender, merely because of present inability to that pay for the weapons which we

know they must have. (Applause)

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. And nearly all of their materiel would, if the time ever came, be useful in (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. (Applause)

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid, repaid within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, repaid 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. That (This) is our purpose and our pledge." (Prolonged applause)

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 or (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. (Applause)

And when the dictators, and if 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 (up)on 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. (Applause)

Yes, and we must all prepare -- all of us prepare -- to make the sacrifices that the emergency -- almost as serious as war itself -- demands, whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense -- in defense preparations of any kind -- 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. (Applause)

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 the courage which come from (an) unshakeable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that (which) we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all

the 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 for any of us 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.

For 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. And 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 will recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying for today. (applause) 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. (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 peacetime 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 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) <sup>and</sup> keep them. Our strength is (in) our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory. (Vigorous and prolonged applause)

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HOLD FOR RELEASE

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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

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh  
TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES Congress:

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. (Applause)

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. continued

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. Today, thinking of our children and their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any part of the Americas. (Applause.)

That determination of ours, extending over all these years, 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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*And*  
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. *(Applause.)*

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. *(as we remember,*

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. *(Applause.)*

*I suppose that*  
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 <sup>long</sup> months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. <sup>that are</sup> The assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small. *And*

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.

*Cashability.*  
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, <sup>and</sup> 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. *yes,*

*And let us remember that*  
In times like these: it is immature — and incidentally untrue — for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, <sup>in those four continents, the total of those people,</sup> 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". *(Applause.)*

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

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

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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. *eventually*

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. /

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

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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. (Applause.) *the*

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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.

(Applause.) *the*

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. To know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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

To give <sup>you</sup> 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 <sup>that</sup> 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, ~~the~~ 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.

↑  
that

Ne 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. <sup>(Applause.)</sup> They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

*but that* <sup>all</sup> The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. We cannot, and <sup>will</sup> not, tell them they must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which <sup>we</sup> know they must have. <sup>(Applause.)</sup>

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. <sup>(Applause.)</sup> Nearly all of their material would, if the time ever came, be useful <sup>for</sup> 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. <sup>(Applause.)</sup>

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid, <sup>repaid</sup> within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, in smaller materials, or, at our option, in other goods of many kinds, which they can produce and which we need. <sup>(Applause.)</sup>

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. <sup>is</sup> <sup>is</sup> our purpose and our pledge." <sup>(Prolonged applause.)</sup>

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 ~~but~~ 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. <sup>(Applause.)</sup>

<sup>and if the dictators,</sup> <sup>And</sup> 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. <sup>(Applause.)</sup>

*Yes, and almost -- all of us prepare --*  
No must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency -- as serious as ~~we~~ itself -- demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need. *...in defense*

*of any kind --*  
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. *(Applause.)*

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 the courage which come from ~~an~~ *the* unshakable belief in the danger of life which they are defending. The mighty action ~~which~~ *the* 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 *for any of us* 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.

*Don't* 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~~ *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~~ *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. <sup>And</sup> 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. <sup>for will</sup> (applause)

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause. (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 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 <sup>and</sup> keep them. Our strength is <sup>and</sup> in our unity of purpose. *Dignity and*

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

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

January 6, 1941.

Second Draft

*Bevel  
draft*

To the Congress of the United States:

The Seventy-seventh Congress convenes in a dangerous and dramatic hour in history. Every member of it is bound to play a part in the great pattern of history. Rarely has any Congress faced greater responsibilities, or been called on to assume a greater accountability to the nation of today and of the future.

The major forces affecting the Union continue to be those generated by a titanic world war. Yet, as will presently appear, international problems must be set aside with certain great internal problems whose solution, I believe, we are approaching. It is not too much to say that in the active struggle for ultimate peace it is as important to resolve internal problems as it is to meet foreign press. It has been truly said that external peace rests on internal peace.

The immediate and pressing problem before this nation is that of a swift and driving increase in our armament for national defense, and the disposal of that  
armament



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armament for national defense, and the disposal of that armament so that it shall serve its only purpose, namely, to keep war from our shores and contribute towards attaining at length a world in which free men and free nations can freely live in peace.

A year ago in addressing the Congress I observed that "There is a vast difference between keeping out of war, and pretending that this war is none of our business." The past year has proved with deadly clarity that the war raging in Europe, Africa and Asia was our business, - and not by any choice of ours.

On its outbreak the nation and its government were resolved to do the utmost so that we should not be involved in warfare by any act or incident which we could prevent. Never has any great power gone to such lengths in removing itself from the field of conflict. We called our nationals home from war areas. We prevented our ships from sailing in danger zones. We took care that our finance should not acquire a vested interest in hostilities. We saw to it that our ports were kept clear of enemy operations. In cooperation with our

sister



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sister American republics we established a zone of neutrality and with considerable success prevented warfare from entering that zone.

I could not, and did not, attempt to ask the American people to close their minds to the obvious facts of the struggle. It would have been absurd to do so. A huge war had developed by the direct choice of a single ruler, and on the brutally frank doctrine that superior might entitled him to seize what he wished. This had been done in spite of the fact that this Government had made available honorable and peaceful solutions even up to the last moment.

As the war went on, and as increasing information flowed in, it became apparent that we were not dealing with any ordinary European war. We were in the presence of a serious plan by one European power to dominate the entire earth.

To the average sane American, the idea that any nation should set out to conquer the earth seems

unbelievable.



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unbelievable. Our own nation is so devoted to the principle of live and let live, and has so thoroughly discarded the idea of empire and imperialism that it dismisses old-world doctrines of world domination by force as merely fantastic. Yet a glance at the pages of history would tell a different story.

The sober fact is that some European nation has attempted the conquest of the entire world about once in every century in modern history. These attempts have never been successful, - any more than the present attempt will be. But repeated failures have not prevented new trials of strength.

In the sixteenth century Spain attempted to conquer the entire world by the usual combination of brute force, propaganda within other countries, and alliances in which the ally was invariably swallowed up. This attempt as you remember was blocked and the Spanish armada was defeated in 1588. The new world was involved; the Spanish and English ships fought for the control of the Caribbean Sea and the West Indies.

At the end of the seventeenth century France tried

her



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her hand. She, too, succeeded in dominating most of the European continent. That attempt failed with the Battle of Blenheim in 1704, which put an end to the dream of Louis XIV for a French world empire. The new world was involved. French and English detachments, including many of our ancestors in the United States, fought for control of North America in New England, in Georgia, and in the Great Lakes region.

Another century passed. France again made her bid for world empire, this time under Napoleon. The thrust was finally checked at the Battle of Leipzig in 1812, and war ended in 1815 on the plain of Waterloo. The new world was involved. Napoleon sought to extend his empire in the Caribbean, and he obtained temporary ownership of one third of the present United States which was then called Louisiana. We were then a small and struggling country, but we warded off danger by resolute readiness to defend ourselves, and by the bold stroke of the purchase of Louisiana.

Now,



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Now, after the lapse of another century and a quarter, the European pattern repeats itself. The evidence is conclusive that the Nazi masters of Germany quite seriously intend, and propose to consummate a conquest of the world.

Once this became plain, it was clear that no act of ours could remove us from the path of the present conflict.

I have given careful attention to the many statements proceeding from Germany, and from her later and less willing allies, Italy and Japan, insisting that there is no thought of meddling with the new world; and that by consequence the affairs of Europe and of Asia ought to be no concern of ours. I recalled similar statements made to other nations, now invaded. What was done spoke louder than what was said. I speak now of those occurrences which make it plain that the disclaimer of intentions against the new world were merely designed to lull us to sleep - until the way was clear for a

final



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final attack.

Authorized Nazi agents, with the encouragement of their government, concerted a plot to seize and annex a portion of one of our neighbor republics in South America. It was discovered; the authors were defended; it was only repudiated on its final failure. A little later, a like plot, with like encouragement, was developed to seize the government of another of our neighbors: a plot which again was defeated by the swift and vigorous action of that nation, with the full approval of its neighbors in this continent. In still other friendly American republics Nazi agents quite openly attempted to create organizations designed to subvert the government of these countries, preparing the way meanwhile by an elaborate campaign of propaganda and intimidation.

We did not have to guess as to the real meaning of all this. We had read "Klein Kampf" with its frank explanation of method. We had seen the success of that method in a number of campaigns, notably that against Norway.

We found ample evidence of like propaganda and organization within the United States itself, and we took



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took appropriate measures.

In some cases the mask was thrown off. German diplomats made representations to five American republics endeavoring to intimidate them against attending the Habana Consultation last July -- representations which I am glad to say, were wholly unsuccessful. Official threatening statements during that conference were issued from Berlin. We had no illusions as to what was meant by the open presence of members of the German Gestapo at Habana.

We read thoughtfully the vicious attacks on the United States put out by the so-called Spanish organization known as the Phalange throughout Latin America. We had--and still have--reason to believe that this organization in its work in the new world is merely a simulated Spanish glove concealing a German hand.

At the same time we were likewise receiving reports to which we were now forced to give credit--reports of an intent to attack the United States as soon as conveniently possible after France and Britain were disposed

of.



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of. I do not here go into the many forms and sources in which this report reached us. They were most concisely expressed by a German officer in charge of a unit in France who observed to one of his prisoners:

(Take in)

No prudent government could fail to accept the conclusion: defense, defense, and more defense; arms, and yet more arms; production, and ever more production; these must be the immediate task of the American nation if it is to preserve itself from the ravages of an attempt to do to the new world what has already been done to large parts of the old.

Nor could we escape the conclusion that it would be criminal folly to wait until the tide of world conquest washed up on our own shores.

We have accordingly taken measures to drive through the largest program of defense in history. That we were right in doing so was presently proved; for, last September, all pretense was finally discarded and the Nazi ruler in Germany with his satellite the ruler of

Italy



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Italy now substantially a Nazi captive, and the present government of Japan announced an alliance. It was worked up, of course, at Berlin. Its real intent was to drag Japan into the world war should any nation, not already involved, resist the Nazi sweep. The Nazi leaders lost no time in indicating that the intent was to threaten the United States with a war in the Far East. I may remark that there is no particular evidence that Nazi Germany has the slightest interest in aiding Japan. Her leaders have steadily proclaimed that the German race is entitled to dominate the entire earth, and they assign to the Japanese an ultimate servile status. They would probably be quite willing to see Japan bled to death by exhaustion or smashed on the field of battle. It does not now suit their purpose to emphasize that fact, and it is not clear that Japan will fall into so obvious a diplomatic trap. But we are forced to make ourselves ready for every contingency.

In practice this means that we have every interest in assisting the British without stint or limit. This is not merely because Britain is a neighbor with whom we have

lived



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lived in friendship and peace for a century and a quarter. It is not merely that we respect her institutions and admire her people, but because it is to our solid interest that this twentieth-century scheme of world conquest shall fail once more as its forerunners have failed,-- and that before its devastation appears in the Western Hemisphere.

I have talked thus far of our defense and the reason for it. I do not wish to give the impression that our policy is war. I do wish to make it plain that our best chance of avoiding war lies in having in our hands virtually unlimited force.

In 1939 I pledged this Government to "the active search for peace". I propose to continue that search until the day comes when real peace can be attained; but I wish to make it perfectly clear that surrender to world conquest is not peace and cannot be.

In that active search for a real basis of solid peace I think I represent the desires, not only of the United States, but of every people in the world. I do not accept the idea that dictators represent the desire  
of



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of their people. If that were true there would be no need for concentration camps and secret police; no need for lying propaganda, no fear lest people should know the truth. The blunt fact is that the peoples of Europe have been led for years by men they did not trust, along paths they did not wish to tread, and have been landed in a conflict which none of them wants. When the plain people of Europe take back their lives from the hands of men who have betrayed them, the war will end.

Yet our people, these people, and every people, have the right to ask "What will peace bring? What is meant by peace? Must we travel again the tragic road that has led from the Treaty of Versailles to newer and more terrible battlefields?"

That question is entitled to an answer.

The first and necessary premise of any peace must be relinquishment of the idea of domination. On this there can be no compromise.

Second, those nations which have been overrun must be restored in their freedom and their national integrity.

Third,



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Third, economic understandings must be entered into assuring to every nation, everywhere, the indispensable flow of goods required to support a healthy peacetime life. This will require a greater degree of cooperation in finance, in transport, in trade, in the supply of raw materials than the world has ever seen. But it is necessary. There can be no political peace unless there is economic peace as well. No nation condemned to misery will fail to seek redress by arms if no other way appears.

We in America know that peace can be so organized because we have done it. The American republics for fifty years have worked together, evolving at length a system by which the weakest has the same right to existence and respect as the strongest; in which each one of them has renounced any desire to dominate its neighbor; and under which the economic needs of any one of them must receive the sympathetic assistance of all of them in seeking a solution.

This is peace without empire.

This pattern of peace rejects the idea of world domination.



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domination. It rests on a more solid basis than the balance of power. It rests on the recognition that no nation can live to itself or die to itself. It permits no hatreds. It ends the rule of fear.

In the American laboratory this plan of peace has been tested. It has been more successful than any system of peace yet realized in history.

I turn from the foreign scene to domestic affairs. The two subjects are not unrelated.

I am firmly of the opinion that the sound solution of certain of our domestic problems will make possible a major contribution in world affairs.

We are now experiencing the task of creating unprecedented production. As this work progresses certain facts have become clear.

Production on a national scale is a highly cooperative process. You cannot regard any plant or any corporation or any industrial group as an isolated unit. It

becomes



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defense effort is over. Where we need more plants now, - we must have them - now. Surplus production when peace comes must be the concern of the government. It is already under consideration. Fear of it must not delay the defense task by a single minute.

Just as we cannot permit industry to limit production for defense, so also we cannot permit labor to limit that production. So far as I know now labor not only has not attempted to limit production, but it has wholeheartedly cooperated. I have seen much talk in the press suggesting the idea that production efforts had been slowed down on account of labor standards or the exactions of labor unions. I am happy to say here that except for one or two unimportant incidents any such impression is wholly unfounded.

We have fought for, and have won, labor standards in the United States which are higher than those existing in any country in the world. These we propose to maintain. When there is a shortage of labor and sacrifices have to be made, we shall deal with the situation frankly and fairly, on an emergency basis; but save in a few instances



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instances I see no likelihood that such shortage will develop.

It must be plain, however, that the present situation and that which will exist for some time to come, places an unusual responsibility upon labor leadership. The position of labor leaders today is vastly different from what it was some years ago. Today these men have tremendous power--a power quite equal to the power which employers, corporation executives, or great financiers had in the past generation. Labor has a right to hold them to the standards of honor and integrity which the community exacts from men of power. The abuse of labor leadership for private profit,--an abuse fortunately rare but which has existed in times past,--simply cannot be permitted. The proper place where such problems should be met is in the labor unions themselves and in the leadership of the great federations which have assumed the responsibility of chartering such unions and of maintaining them as instruments for the welfare



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of the agencies by which these needs may be satisfied. I am having a study made of the peacetime production which will be needed, and of the means by which the workers for defense may be transferred without interruption to the work of reconstruction.

I am proceeding on the theory that we shall ask private industry to do everything it can to meet the situation; but on the companion theory that the government must be prepared to carry out that part of the task which private industry either cannot do or does not wish to do. The whole job must be done.

I am likewise proceeding on the idea that the silly opposition which once prevailed to the government's making full provision for full employment will not recur; and that, where a task is to be done, private industry will sit down peaceably with the government, will indicate what it can do, and will cooperate with that part of the work which the government may have to do. I do not see that we are unable to do for the country in peace what

we



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we do for it under threat of war.

A life worth defending is as necessary a defense itself.

There is also the problem of the government finance. I wish to discuss this with the utmost frankness. A frank approach to the subject now will bring great benefit as the necessary problems emerge.

I should like to note that certain prophets of disaster through the past seven years have suddenly found that the disaster did not occur. In 1933 we were told that if the budget was not immediately balanced the country was headed for catastrophe. There is no catastrophe. Later we were told that if the debt of the country increased we were headed for ruin; yet, somehow, as the debt increased the prosperity increased. We were told that a currency system was not a means to an end but an end in itself; something so sacred that the needs of the country had to yield to it, instead of permitting its modification to meet the needs of the country.

We



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We have got past these problems. We know, today, that finance and the monetary system have only one reason for existence: to make possible the fullest development of employment, production, transportation, and distribution; to produce, to take the product when made to the point where it is needed; to bring need and supply together.

Our defense program is already financed. We have gladly accorded the opportunity to finance it to every commercial bank or private banker who wished to carry out the operation. But we have likewise provided a government financing machinery through the Federal Loan Administration which is quite prepared to take over any part of the task which private finance does not feel that it cares to do. So far as defense is concerned we have worked out the problem of making money available for employment and for production, money available to take the product to the army and the navy where they are to be used.

We can do this in time of peace as well as in time of national emergency.

I have



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I have listened, with some amusement, to the advice about our finances which has been given us from Berlin. It has been pointed out in Germany the currency rests on work and not on gold. But I recall that we ourselves discovered that principle a quarter of a century ago when the Federal Reserve System was organized, and when we definitely adopted the policy of gearing our currency to goods.

Since 1933 we have definitely handled our currency so that it might meet our economic needs. There were those who said that we departed from the gold standard. But the fact was that the only value of gold was--and is --that you can sell the gold for dollars. Instead of the dollar being on the gold standard, gold is on the dollar standard. The value of gold today--and we have so much of it that we could replace every dollar bill in circulation with a gold dollar--the value of gold would cease to exist were the Treasury to stop issuing American dollar bills for it. We need fear no threats of devaluing gold;

no



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no one can devalue it except ourselves because the value it has is the value we ourselves give it.

No, our money is based on our production-- that is to say on our work and our ability for these many years. Since our production is the greatest in the world, our money is the strongest in the world. As a result we have, and have had, these past seven years, the steadiest and solidest money ever known.

After the war, we shall have to use our production to meet our national needs. We shall, for the same reason, use our finance so that our money remains, as it is now, adjusted to our supply of goods. We can do this without difficulty.

Meantime we have proposed and continue to take steps to assure that prices remain stable. We have done this by insisting that the normal price shall be maintained for the goods which we buy.

Because, in time of stress, we need more goods, and in some cases we need production which cannot operate as economically as most of the plants or mines, we may have

to



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Samuel I. Rosenman

to pay higher prices for that particular bit of production. But we shall not repeat the mistakes made in the World War, when in order to get the last ounce of production we forced ourselves to pay several times the normal cost of production, whereby the principal producers made huge profits to enable the marginal producers to live. We believe that, with the cooperation of industry, we shall be able to achieve this without having to go into a program of price controls. It is yet too early to tell whether we shall be successful in this. Happily, business has learned a great deal from the World War. It does not want a rapid rise in prices, accompanied by huge war profits, all of which are gone with the wind a few months after the emergency ends. So long as business remembers this, and wholeheartedly cooperates, we shall not need arbitrary control of prices.

Our finance will reflect our needs for production, both for defense and for readjustment. Already the increase in national effort has vastly increased the national income. Our taxation system is so arranged

that



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that the greater the national income, the greater the national revenue. This will at once keep our national debt within reasonable limits.

I am sending to you this year a national budget of some \_\_\_\_ billions of dollars which, at first blush, sounds like a staggering figure. Yet, in fact, our national revenues will be in the vicinity of 9 billions of debt which will be created is actually less than the amount of debt which was created in the year 1929--though in that year the government's name was not on the notes or bonds, but instead the public held securities of private corporations. There is another difference, too. The 9 billions of debt here reflects actual creation of actual goods--whereas under the older system, the debt created too often represented merely the profit of promoters or manipulators. What you are really seeing is the process by which finance ceases to be a master and becomes a servant.

The time has passed when anyone can say that the United States cannot afford to do what is needed, if

it



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it has available the men, the materials and the skill. Finance exists only to organize these materials, this labor, and this technical ability to get a task done.

Today the task is defense. Tomorrow it will be readjustment. We are prepared for both jobs. No one need fear that he will be jobless or destitute at the end of the national effort.

Meanwhile, we have not forgotten the necessary provision for those who are not able to work. We propose to maintain our old age security pensions. We propose to continue unemployment insurance, enlarging it where necessary, though our emphasis will be less on insurance for unemployment than on assuring a steady job. We propose to continue the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and the provision for farms and farmers placing them on an equal basis with industrial workers; and we intend to continue our work for youth. We shall not fail to provide work-relief where this is needed; but our task is to assure that it shall not be needed.

Though the emergency is great, and the hour is full of stress, I believe that the country is steadily growing stronger



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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 seriously threatened from without.

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



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Samuel I. Rosenman

THIRD DRAFT

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the British Empire. While the sovereignty of the United States was affected by the extension of that conflict to territories in the West Indies and to Louisiana; and while we believed it necessary to engage in the War of 1812 in the assertion of our rights against impressments of American seamen and interference with our peaceful commerce; 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.

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



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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 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, 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.

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 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. War in 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.



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

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 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 thrust for control of the world.

Overshadowing the many problems of our domestic concerns, there hangs over America today a more serious danger from 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.



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The great need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily, 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 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.

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

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



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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.



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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 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. They are creating many others 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.



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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 up to schedule; in ~~some~~ 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 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 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. It is a great task to raise our own



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Samuel I. Rosenman

THIRD DRAFT

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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 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.



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From the Papers of  
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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.

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 material 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



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From the Report of  
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ready our own defenses. For what we send abroad, we should expect them to repay us in similar material or in other such 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 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.



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The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done during the past eight years 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 in 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 convulsing the world.



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Samuel I. Rosenzweig

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.

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.



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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

December 31, 1940

MR. GRANDIN TO THE HONORABLE HARRY HOPKINS,  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Attached is a sighting shot at a draft of the message. I intend to go on working at it. It can be both shortened and tightened. I am not satisfied with it, but send it along for speed's sake.

The explosive matter is on pages 12 and 13. I have not yet discussed this with Secretary Hull.

*God*  
A. A. Bi, Jr.

Attachment:

Draft of message.



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MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

1 9 4 1

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Since President Washington addressed the Congress of the United States on the State of the Union in 1789, there have been many crises in our history -- each one differing to a degree from any other but no one of them more serious to our future than the world crisis of today.

Since the permanent formation of the government under the Constitution in 1789, most of the critical periods in our history have related to the domestic scene. Only one of these, fortunately -- the four year long War Between the States has threatened the continued unity of the nation.

There have been disturbances and even wars in the foreign field, but up to the year 1914 no single one of them has raised a threat against our national safety.

During the many years of European strife which followed the French Revolution, and down to the fall of Napoleon, the commerce of the United States and the rights of Americans in many parts of the world were seriously incummoded, so much so that our nation found it necessary to assert its rights in the War of 1812. Never, however,



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did we stand to lose our independence nor to have new forms of government imposed upon us.

The only potential danger in this long period of a century and a quarter came after the colonial possessions of Spain in Central and South America established their independence by successful revolt and some of the continental nations of Europe banded together to take steps to bring the new nations back to the status of European colonies.

That plan was recognized by President Monroe as a threat to the United States because, if successful, the aggression could well have been extended to our own boundaries. Hence the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine.

It was maintained through all the years as a cardinal point in American foreign policy and its successful application we should admit has been assisted by the existence of the great and almost at all times friendly power of the fleets of Great Britain.

Today the original Monroe Doctrine has in a sense been superseded by the even far better Pan American policy by which all of the twenty-one Republics of this hemisphere



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General I. Rosenman

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



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From the Papers of  
SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

peace in most parts of the world, and that few people anywhere gave serious thought to the danger of a new attempt at world conquest.

Therefore, we are facing a situation which is unprecedented in our history. I use the word "unprecedented" because the type of conquest threatened by Napoleon did not greatly involve us, and the type of conquest threatened in 1917 and 1918 was far less dangerous to our future American security than the kind that is definitely and deliberately pointed out to us today by the authors of this new philosophy.

No responsible person in the Kaiser-led governments of Germany and Austria Hungary ever talked of driving out the democratic way of life in other lands.

While conquest or control of the world was not sought by either side in the World War, and while its outcome did at least make most democracies safe for twenty years, it did not prevent the growth of new aspirations of conquest or control in later years. These aspirations grew into plans, into preparations, and finally into more the fundamental wars of today than the world as a whole has witnessed since the dominations of the old Roman Empire.



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Gerald I. Rosenbaum

That is why this Message on the State of the Union is of necessity unique in our history -- for overshadowing the normal or even the emergency problems of domestic, economic and social concern, there hang over this nation a more serious threat from without than at any other time since that day in 1783 when our independence was established in the world.

That is why the Seventy-Seventh Congress meets in a dramatic hour.

That is why ever member of it faces great responsibilities, assumes great accountability, and plays a part in the great pattern of history.

It is perhaps unnecessary for me to repeat the detail of facts of the moment in the existing wars, East and West. Since I addressed you a year ago, a large number of independent nations have passed, in part or in whole, into the domination of (another nation - ?).



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Samuel I. Baguenman

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 seriously threatened from without,

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



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THIRD DRAFT

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the British Empire. While the sovereignty of the United States was affected by the extension of that conflict to territories in the West Indies and to Louisiana; and while we believed it necessary to engage in the War of 1812 in the assertion of our rights against impressments of American seamen and interference with our peaceful commerce; 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.

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



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THIRD DRAFT

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which all of the twenty-one Republics of this Hemisphere are united for the common defence 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, 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.

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 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



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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.

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THIRD DRAFT

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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.

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 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 thrust for control of the world.

Overshadowing the many problems of our domestic concerns, there hangs over America today a more serious danger from without than at any other moment since that day when our independence was established in the world.

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THIRD DRAFT

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The great need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily, 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 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 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.

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

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



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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.



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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 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. They are creating many others 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.



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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 up to schedule; in ~~some~~ 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 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 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. It is a great task to raise our own



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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 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.



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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.

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 material 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



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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.



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The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done during the past eight years 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 in 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 convulsing the world.



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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.

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.



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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.--



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While the Napoleonic Wars threatened interests of the United States in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and 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 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 the Congress 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



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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 our 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 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.



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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 by secret infiltration 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 waged in four continents. If that defense fails all the population and the resources of those 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 generosity or restitution or world disarmament or freedom of expression or freedom of religion -- or even good business from victorious



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dictatorships. Most of us today may admit soft-heartedness, but we resent the change 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 all lies in the treaty alliance of the aggressor nations.

That is why the Americas 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 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 the danger from abroad. We must have a national identity of aims, purposeful and passionate, directed to creating



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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 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 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 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



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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 the 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 approximately twelve billion dollars, ten billion dollars have already been spent



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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 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 kinds of implements of war the capacity of peace time must be multiplied many times over.

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 schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplish-



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FOURTH DRAFT      INSERT A      page 8

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



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Samuel I. Roperman

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



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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



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DRAFT FOUR

- 11 -

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.

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



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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.



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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 96,000 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.



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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 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 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.



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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, to be repaid in dollars. On the other hand, I do not ask Americans to make free gifts of these weapons of defense.



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I recommend, 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 material 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 material 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



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

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 of radicalism of labor 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.



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never sacrifice those things which not only do not hinder 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 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 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



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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 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.



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Many subjects connected with our social economy call for improvement. <sup>97</sup> For example, we ought to bring more citizens into the coverage of old age pensions and unemployment insurance.

~~For instance, too,~~ <sup>we</sup> should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care in many parts of the country. <sup>with which we make</sup> ~~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,~~ <sup>we</sup> 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



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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 <sup>paying</sup> ~~levying~~ today. No person should try to get rich <sup>with allowed</sup> 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 <sup>guide our</sup> ~~legislation.~~



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FOURTH DRAFT

DECLARATION

21

We must look forward to a world based on 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 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.



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214

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.

[ On the other hand, I do not ask Americans to make free gifts of these weapons of defense. ]

I recommend, instead of having these 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. Most of it will be material 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 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 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 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.

Insert A



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General I. Rosenham

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Insert A p. 12

(1)

~~PROCESSION LETTER, 12 AUG 1945~~

~~I am convinced that the American people wish to go "all out" in their aid to those nations who are fighting to preserve their freedom from ser-~~

~~vice to us.~~ I am advised that the President, as Commander-in-Chief, <sup>already</sup> has power in an emergency to arrange for the transfer of military <sup>or naval</sup> equipment to other nations, if he deems such <sup>emergency</sup> action necessary to the defense of the United States. ~~But in taking such action,~~

~~I want the public to know that the Congress of the United States is in full agreement with me~~



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Insert A continued

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.

Insert A continued

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

-2-

~~RECAPITULATION OF PAGE #10 (continued)~~

~~There,~~  
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 ~~some~~  
such materials and equipment to  
those nations on satisfactory terms.



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