
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

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

File No. 1361-A

1941 March 15

White House Correspondents Dinner Address

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS DINNER
MARCH 15, 1941

President Reynolds; Gentlemen - My friends

This dinner of the White House Correspondents

Association is unique. It is the first one at which I have made a speech in all these eight years. It differs from the press conferences that you and I hold twice a

For week. You cannot ask me any questions; and everything I have to say is word for word "on the record".

For eight years you and I have been helping each other. I have been trying to keep you informed of the news of Washington, and of the nation, and of the world, from the point of view of the Presidency. You, more than you realize it, have been giving me a great deal of information about what the people of this country are thinking.

In our press conferences, as at this dinner tonight, we include reporters representing papers and news agencies of many other lands. To most of them it is a matter of constant amazement that press conferences such as ours can exist in any nation in the world.

That is especially true in those lands where freedoms do not exist -- where the purposes of our democracy and the characteristics of our country and of our people have been seriously distorted.

Such misunderstandings are not new. I remember that in the early days of the first World War the German Government received solemn assurances from their representatives in the United States that the people of America were disunited; that they cared more for peace at any price than for the preservation of ideals and freedom; that there would even be riots and revolutions in the United States if this nation ever asserted its own interests.

Let not dictators of Europe and Asia doubt our
unanimity now.

Before the present war broke out on September 1,
1939, I was more worried about the future than many people --
most people. The record shows I was not worried enough.

That, however, is water over the dam. Do not let
us waste time reviewing the past, or fixing or dodging
the blame for it. History cannot be rewritten by wishful
thinking. We, the American people, are writing new
history today.

The big news story of this week is this: The
world has been told that we, as a united nation, realize
the danger which confronts us -- and that to meet that
danger our democracy has gone into action.

We know that although Prussian autocracy was bad
in the first War
enough, Nazism is far worse. *in this War*

Nazi forces are not seeking mere modifications in colonial maps or in minor European boundaries. They openly seek the destruction of all elective systems of government on every continent -- including our own; they seek to establish systems of government based on the regimentation of all human beings by a handful of individual rulers who have seized power by force.

These men and their hypnotized followers call this a new order. It is not new. It is not order. For order among nations presupposes something enduring -- some system of justice under which individuals, over a long period of time, are willing to live. Humanity will never permanently accept a system imposed by conquest and based on slavery.

These modern tyrants find it necessary to their plans to eliminate all democracies -- eliminate them one by one. The nations of Europe, and indeed we ourselves, did not appreciate that purpose. We do now. The process

of the elimination of the European nations proceeded according to plan through 1938 and 1940, until the schedule was shot to pieces by the unbeatable defenders of Britain.

The enemies of democracy were wrong in their calculations for a very simple reason. They were wrong because they believed that democracy could not adjust itself to the terrible reality of a world at war.

They believed that democracy, because of its profound respect for the rights of men, would never arm itself to fight.

They believed that democracy, because of its will to live at peace with its neighbors, could not mobilize its energies even in its own defense.

They know now that democracy can still remain democracy, and speak, and reach conclusions, and arm itself adequately for defense.

From the bureaus of propaganda of the Axis powers came the confident prophecy that the conquest of our country would be "an inside job" -- a job accomplished not by overpowering invasion from without, but by disrupting confusion and disunion and moral disintegration from within.

Those who believed that knew little of our history. America is not a country which can be confounded by the appeasers, the defeatists, the backstairs manufacturers of panic. It is a country which talks out its problems in the open, where any man can hear them.

We have just now engaged in a great debate. It was not limited to the halls of Congress. It was argued ^{The} in every newspaper, on every wave length -- over every cracker barrel in the land. It was finally settled and decided by the American people themselves.

The decisions of our democracy may be slowly arrived at. But when that decision is made, it is proclaimed not with the voice of any one man but with the voice of one hundred and thirty millions. It is binding on all of us. And the world is no longer left in doubt.

This decision is the end of any attempts at appeasement in our land; the end of urging us to get along with the dictators; the end of compromise with tyranny and the forces of oppression.

The urgency is now.

We believe firmly that when our production output is in full swing, the democracies of the world will be able to prove that dictatorships cannot win.

But, now, the time element is of supreme importance. Every plane, every other instrument of war, old and new, which we can spare now, we will send overseas. That is common sense strategy.

The great task of this day, the deep duty which rests upon us, is to move products from the assembly lines of our factories to the battle lines of democracy -- NOW!

We can have speed and effectiveness if we maintain our existing unity. We do not have and never will have the false unity of a people browbeaten by threats and misled by propaganda. Ours is a unity which is possible only among free men and women who recognize the truth, and face reality with intelligence and courage.

Today, at last, ours is not a partial effort. It is a total effort and that is the only way to guarantee ultimate safety.

Beginning a year ago, we started the erection of hundreds of plants and we started the training of millions of men.

Then, at the moment the aid-to-democracies bill was passed, we were ready to recommend the seven billion dollar appropriation on the basis of capacity production as now planned.

The articles themselves cover the whole range of munitions of war and of the facilities for transporting them.

The aid-to-democracies bill was agreed to by both houses of the Congress last Tuesday afternoon. I signed it one half hour later. Five minutes later I approved a list of articles for immediate shipment. Many of them are on their way. On Wednesday, I recommended an appropriation for new material to the extent of seven billion dollars; and the Congress is making patriotic speed in making the appropriation available.

Here in Washington, we are thinking in terms of speed and speed now. And I hope that that watchword will find its way into every home in the nation.

We shall have to make sacrifices -- every one of us. The final extent of those sacrifices will depend upon the speed with which we act NOW!

I must tell you tonight in plain language what this undertaking means to you -- to your daily life.

Whether you are in the armed services; whether you are a steel worker or a stevedore; a machinist or a housewife; a farmer or a banker; a storekeeper or a manufacturer -- to all of you it will mean sacrifice in behalf of country and your liberties. You will feel the impact of this gigantic effort in your daily lives. You will feel it in a way which will cause many inconveniences.

You will have to be content with lower profits from business because obviously your taxes will be higher.

You will have to work longer at your bench, or your plow or your machine, *in your best*.

Let me make it clear that the nation is calling for the sacrifice of some privileges but not for the sacrifice of fundamental rights. Most of us will do that willingly. That kind of sacrifice is for the common national protection and welfare; for our defense against the most ruthless brutality in history; for the ultimate victory of a way of life now so violently menaced.

A half-hearted effort on our part will lead to failure. This is no part-time job. The concepts of "business as usual" and "normalcy" must be forgotten until the task is finished. This is an all-out effort -- nothing short of all-out effort will win.

We are now dedicated, from here on, to a constantly increasing tempo of production -- a production greater than we now know or have ever known before -- a production that does not stop and should not pause.

And so, tonight, I am appealing to the heart and to the mind of every man and every woman within our borders who love liberty. I ask you to consider the needs of our nation at this hour, and to put aside all personal differences until our victory is won.

The light of democracy must be kept burning. To the perpetuation of this light, each must do his own share. The single effort of one individual may seem very small. But there are 130 million individuals over here. There are many more millions in Britain and elsewhere — bravely shielding the great flame of democracy from the blackout of barbarism. It is not enough for us merely to trim the wick, or polish the glass. The time has come when we must provide the fuel in ever-increasing amounts to keep the flame alight.

There will be no divisions of party or section or race or nationality or religion. There is not one among us who does not have a stake in the outcome of the effort in which we are now engaged.

A few weeks ago I spoke of four freedoms -- freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want, freedom from fear. They are the ultimate stake. They may not be immediately attainable throughout the world but humanity does move toward those ideals through democratic processes. If we fail -- if democracy is superseded by slavery -- then those four freedoms or even the mention of them will become forbidden things. Centuries will pass before they can be revived.

By winning now, we strengthen their meaning, we increase the stature of mankind ^{~ we establish} ~~and~~ the dignity of human life.

There is a vast difference between the word "loyalty" and the word "obedience". Obedience can be obtained and enforced in a dictatorship by the use of threat and extortion or it can be obtained by a failure ^{and blackmail,} on the part of government to tell the truth to its citizens.

Loyalty is different. It springs from the mind that is given the facts, that retains ancient ideals and proceeds without coercion to give support to its own government.

That is true in England and in Greece and in China and in the United States today. And in many other countries millions of men and women are praying for the return of a day when they can give that kind of loyalty.

Loyalty cannot be bought. Dollars alone will not win this war. Let us not delude ourselves as to that.

Today, nearly a million and a half American citizens are hard at work in our armed forces. The spirit and the determination of these men of our Army and Navy are worthy of the highest traditions of our country. No better men ever served under Washington, or John Paul Jones, or Grant, or Lee, or Pershing. That is a boast, I admit -- but it is not an idle one.

Upon the national will to sacrifice and to work,
depends the output of our industry and our agriculture.

Upon that will, depends the survival of the vital
bridge across the ocean -- the bridge of ships which carry
the arms and ^{the} food for those who are fighting the good fight.

Upon that will, depends our ability to aid other
nations which may determine to offer resistance.

Upon that will, may depend practical assistance to
people now living in nations which have been overrun,
should they find the opportunity to strike back in an
effort to regain their liberties.

This will of the American people will not be
frustrated, either by threats from powerful enemies abroad
or by small, selfish groups or individuals at home.

The determination of America must not be obstructed
by war profiteering.

It must not be obstructed by unnecessary strikes of workers, by short-sighted management, or by deliberate sabotage.

For, unless we win, there will be no freedom for either management or labor.

Wise labor leaders and wise business managers will realize how necessary it is to their own existence to make common sacrifice for this great common cause.

There is no longer the slightest question or doubt that the American people recognize the extreme seriousness of the present situation. That is why they have demanded, and got, a policy of unqualified, immediate, all-out aid for Britain, Greece, China and for all the governments in exile whose homelands are temporarily occupied by the aggressors.

From now on that aid will be increased -- and yet again increased -- until total victory has been won.

The British are stronger than ever in the magnificent morale which has enabled them to endure all the dark days and the shattered nights of the past ten months. They have the full support and help of Canada, and the other Dominions, of the rest of their Empire, and non-British people throughout the world who still think in terms of the great freedoms.

The British people are braced for invasion whenever the attempt may come -- tomorrow -- next week -- next month.

In this historic crisis, Britain is blessed with a brilliant and great leader in Winston Churchill. But, no one knows better than Mr. Churchill himself, that it is not alone his stirring words and valiant deeds which give the British their superb morale. The essence of that morale is in the masses of plain people who are completely clear in their minds about the one essential fact -- that they would rather die as free men than live as slaves.

These plain people --- civilians as well as soldiers and sailors and airmen -- women and girls as well as men and boys -- are fighting in the front line of civilization, and they are holding that line with a fortitude which will forever be the pride and the inspiration of all free men on every continent and on every island of the sea.

The British people and their Grecian allies need ships. From America, they will get ships.

They need planes. From America, they will get planes.

They need food. From America, they will get food.

They need tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds. From America, they will get tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds.

China likewise expresses the magnificent will of millions of plain people to resist the dismemberment of their nation. China, through the generalissimo, Chiang Kai-Shek, asks our help. America has said that China shall have our help.

Our country is going to be what our people have
proclaimed it must be -- the arsenal of democracy.

Our country is going to play its full part.

And when dictatorships disintegrate -- and pray
God that will be sooner than any of us now dares to hope --
then our country must continue to play its great part in
the period of world reconstruction.

We believe that the rallying cry of the dictators,
their boasting about a master-race, will prove to be
pure stuff and nonsense. There never has been, there
isn't now, and there never will be, any race of people
fit to serve as masters over their fellow men.

The world has no use for any nation which, because
of size or because of military might, asserts the right
to goosestep to world power over other nations or other
races. We believe that any nationality, no matter how
small, has the inherent right to its own nationhood.

We believe that the men and women of such nations, no matter what size, can, through the processes of peace, serve themselves and serve the world by protecting the common man's security; improve the standards of healthful living; provide markets for manufacture and for agriculture. Through that kind of peaceful service every nation can increase its happiness, banish the terrors of war, and abandon man's inhumanity to man.

Never, in all our history, have Americans faced a job so well worthwhile. May it be said of us in the days to come that our children and our children's children rise up and call us blessed.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Orig. reading copy, but
there was much red editing

#1361

Franklin D. Roosevelt's Broadcast

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Broadcast from the Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C.,
At the Annual Dinner of the
White House Correspondents' Association
March 15, 1941, 9:30 P.M., E.S.T.

(This address was broadcast in at least seven different languages.)

PRESIDENT REYNOLDS, MY FRIENDS:

This dinner of the White House Correspondents' Association is unique. It is the first one at which I have made a speech in all these eight years. It differs from the Press Conferences that you and I hold twice a week (.), for you cannot ask me any questions tonight; (laughter) and everything that I have to say is word for word "on the record".

(Laughter)

For eight years you and I have been helping each other. I have been trying to keep you informed of the news of Washington, (and) of the nation, and of the world, from the point of view of the Presidency. You, more than you realize (it), have been giving me a great deal of information about what the people of this country are thinking (.) and saying.

In our Press Conferences, as at this dinner tonight, we include reporters representing papers and news agencies of many other lands. To most of them it is a matter of constant amazement that Press Conferences such as ours can exist in any nation in the world.

That is especially true in those lands where freedoms do not exist -- where the purposes of our democracy and the characteristics of our country and of our people have been seriously distorted.

Such misunderstandings are not new. I remember that, a quarter of a century ago, in the early days of the first World War, the German Government received solemn assurances from their representatives in the United

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 or names which were added extemporaneously to the previously prepared reading copy text. (Underlined words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered; though these words are omitted from the prepared reading copy text, they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.)

SECRETARY OF STATE: FRIENDS

at conference telephone call came out to you with
word like of message is also what I have to say and all I can
block I have my just association said not until of course fully
(reduced) unless you see the source not yet (.) now a short
"secret" will not know at you or word I find appropriate one
(original)

and I send down original and what I have very often says not
say to (you) according to whom not to mention any one of which was
not concerned not to help to bring out more, below say to me, never
mention to last issue a majority and what (it) will say not more
anyway, but I get into this situation right to where our side needs
absolutely no, informed which will be on, necessary and too if
of course radio that to welcome what has been done before anything else
such association said this message contains in certain of it must be from
below not at certain you do take into account
further you do not want to make official record of this telephone or just
greatest not to withdraw and has been done not to consider not think --
but certain classifies need what always are to be
written up, just understand I am not the only one who does
not want to withdraw and to say this not to me you know a lot
before and all previous messenger that more consciousness action however involves

States that the people of America were disunited; that they cared more for peace at any price than for the preservation of ideals and freedom; that there would even be riots and revolutions in the United States if this nation ever asserted its own interests.

Let not dictators of Europe (and) or Asia doubt our unanimity now. {Applause}

Before the present war broke out on September 1, 1939, I was more worried, more worried about the future, than many people -- indeed, than most people. The record shows that I was not worried enough.

That, however, is water over the dam. 'Do not let us waste time in reviewing the past, or fixing or dodging the blame (for) of it. History cannot be rewritten by wishful thinking. We, the American people, are writing new history today. {Applause}

The big news story of this week is this: The world has been told that we, as a united nation, realize the danger (which) that confronts us -- and that to meet that danger our democracy has gone into action. {Applause}

We know that although Prussian autocracy was bad enough in the first War, Nazi-ism is far worse (.) in this. {Applause}

Nazi forces are not seeking mere modifications in colonial maps or in minor European boundaries. They openly seek the destruction of all elective systems of government on every continent -- including our own; they seek to establish systems of government based on the regimentation of all human beings by a handful of individual rulers who have seized power by force.

Yes, these men and their hypnotized followers call this a new order. It is not new(.) and it is not order. {Applause} For order among nations presupposes something enduring -- some system of justice under which

individuals, over a long period of time, are willing to live. Humanity will never permanently accept a system imposed by conquest and based on slavery.

These modern tyrants find it necessary to their plans to eliminate all democracies -- eliminate them one by one. The nations of Europe, and indeed we ourselves, did not appreciate that purpose. We do now. The process of the elimination of the European nations proceeded according to plan through 1939 and well into 1940, until the schedule was shot to pieces by the unbeatable defenders of Britain. (Applause)

The enemies of democracy were wrong in their calculations for a very simple reason. They were wrong because they believed that democracy could not adjust itself to the terrible reality of a world at war.

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Those who believed that knew little of our history. America is not a country which can be confounded by the appeasers, the defeatists, the backstairs manufacturers of panic. It is a country (which) that talks out its problems in the open, where any man can hear them.

We have just now engaged in a great debate. It was not limited

to the halls of Congress. It was argued, argued in every newspaper, on every wave length -- over every cracker barrel in all the land; (.) it was finally settled and decided by the American people themselves. (Applause)

Yes, the decisions of our democracy may be slowly arrived at. But when that decision is made, it is proclaimed not with the voice of any one man but with the voice of one hundred and thirty millions. It is binding on us all (of us). And the world is no longer left in doubt. (Applause)

This decision is the end of any attempts at appeasement in our land; the end of urging us to get along with (the) dictators; the end of compromise with tyranny and the forces of oppression.

And the urgency is now.

We believe firmly that when our production output is in full swing, the democracies of the world will be able to prove that dictatorships cannot win.

But, now, now, the time element is of supreme importance. Every plane, every other instrument of war, old and new, (which) every instrument that we can spare now, we will send overseas (.) because that is the common sense of strategy. (Applause)

The great task of this day, the deep duty (which) that rests upon each and every one of us is to move products from the assembly lines of our factories to the battle lines of democracy -- NOW!

We can have speed (and), we can have effectiveness, if we maintain our existing unity. We do not have and never will have the false unity of a people browbeaten by threats, (and) misled by propaganda. Ours is a unity (which) that is possible only among free men and women who recognize the truth and face reality with intelligence and courage.

Today, at last (,) -- today at long last -- ours is not a partial

effort. It is a total effort and that is the only way to guarantee ultimate safety.

Beginning a year ago, we started the erection of hundreds of plants; (and) we started the training of millions of men.

Then, at the moment that the aid-to-democracies bill was passed, this week, we were ready, ready to recommend the seven-billion-dollar appropriation on the basis of capacity production as now planned.

The articles themselves -- why, they cover the whole range of munitions of war and of the facilities for transporting them (.) across the seas!
(Applause)

(The) That aid-to-democracies bill was agreed (to) on by both houses of the Congress (last) on Tuesday afternoon last. I signed it one half hour later. Five minutes (later) after that I approved a list of articles for immediate shipment (.) ; and today -- Saturday night -- many of them are on their way. (Applause) On Wednesday, I recommended an appropriation for new material to the extent of seven billion dollars; and the Congress is making patriotic speed in making the (appropriation) money available.

Here in Washington, we are thinking in terms of speed and speed now. And I hope that that watchword -- "Speed, and speed now" -- will find its way into every home in the nation.

We shall have to make sacrifices -- every one of us. The final extent of those sacrifices will depend (up)on the speed with which we act NOW!

I must tell you tonight in plain language what this undertaking means to you -- to you in your daily life.

Whether you are in the armed services; whether you are a steel worker or a stevedore; a machinist or a housewife; a farmer or a banker; a storekeeper or a manufacturer -- to all of you it will mean sacrifice in behalf

of your country and your liberties. (Applause) Yes, you will feel the impact of this gigantic effort in your daily lives. You will feel it in a way (which) that will cause, to you, many inconveniences.

You will have to be content with lower profits, lower profits from business because obviously your taxes will be higher.

You will have to work longer at your bench, or your plow, or your machine (.), or your desk.

Let me make it clear that the nation is calling for the sacrifice of some privileges, (but) not for the sacrifice of fundamental rights. (Applause) And most of us will do (that) it willingly. That kind of sacrifice is for the common national protection and welfare; for our defense against the most ruthless brutality in all history; for the ultimate victory of a way of life now so violently menaced.

A half-hearted effort on our part -- that will lead to failure. This is no part-time job. The concepts of "business as usual," (and) of "normalcy," must be forgotten until the task is finished. (This is) Yes, it's an all-out effort -- and nothing short of an all-out effort will win.

(Applause)

Therefore, we are (now) dedicated, from here on, to a constantly increasing tempo of production -- a production greater than we now know or have ever known before -- a production that does not stop and should not pause.

(And so,) Tonight, I am appealing to the heart and to the mind of every man and every woman within our borders who love liberty. I ask you to consider the needs of our nation and this hour, (and) to put aside all personal differences until (our) the victory is won.

The light of democracy must be kept burning. To the perpetuation

of this light, each, each of us must do his own share. The single effort of one individual may seem (very) small. But there are 130 million individuals over here. And there are many more millions in Britain and elsewhere bravely shielding the great flame of democracy from the blackout of barbarism. It is not enough for us merely to trim the wick, or polish the glass. The time has come when we must provide the fuel in ever-increasing amounts to keep (the) that flame alight.

There will be no divisions, no divisions of party or section or race or nationality or religion. There is not one among us who does not have a stake in the outcome of the effort in which we are now engaged.

A few weeks ago I spoke of four freedoms -- freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want, freedom from fear. They are the ultimate stake. They may not be immediately attainable throughout the world but humanity does move toward those glorious ideals through democratic processes. And if we fail -- if democracy is superseded by slavery -- then those four freedoms, or even the mention of them, will become forbidden things. Centuries will pass before they can be revived.

By winning now, we strengthen the(ir) meaning of those freedoms, we increase the stature of mankind, we establish (and) the dignity of human life.

I have often thought that there is a vast difference between the word "loyalty" and the word "obedience". Obedience can be obtained and enforced in a dictatorship by the use of threat (and) or extortion or blackmail or it can be obtained by a failure on the part of government to tell the truth to its citizens.

Loyalty is different. It springs from the mind that is given the

facts, that retains ancient ideals and proceeds without coercion to give support to its own government.

That is true in England and in Greece and in China and in the United States, today. And in many other countries millions of men and women are praying for the return of a day when they can give that kind of loyalty.

Loyalty cannot be bought. Dollars alone will not win this war. Let us not delude ourselves as to that.

Today, nearly a million and a half American citizens are hard at work in our armed forces. The spirit -- (and) the determination of these men of our Army and Navy are worthy of the highest traditions of our country. No better men ever served under Washington or John Paul Jones or Grant or Lee or Pershing. (Applause) That is a boast, I admit -- but it is not an idle one.

Upon the national will to sacrifice and to work depends the output of our industry and our agriculture.

Upon that will, depends the survival of the vital bridge across the ocean -- the bridge of ships (which) that carry the arms and the food for those who are fighting the good fight.

Upon that will, depends our ability to aid other nations which may determine to offer resistance.

Upon that will, may depend practical assistance to people now living in nations (which) that have been overrun, should they find the opportunity to strike back in an effort to regain their liberties (.) -- and may that day come soon! (Applause)

This will of the American people will not be frustrated, either by threats from powerful enemies abroad or by small, selfish groups or individuals at home.

The determination of America must not and will not be obstructed by war profiteering.

It must not be obstructed by unnecessary strikes of workers, (applause) by short-sighted management, (applause) or by the third danger -- deliberate sabotage.

For, unless we win there will be no freedom for either management or labor.

Wise labor leaders and wise business managers will realize how necessary it is to their own existence to make common sacrifices for this great (common) cause. (Applause)

There is no longer the slightest question or doubt that the American people recognize the extreme seriousness of the present situation. That is why they have demanded, and got, a policy of unqualified, immediate, all-out aid for Britain, for Greece, for China, and for all the governments in exile whose homelands are temporarily occupied by the aggressors. (Applause)

And from now on that aid will be increased -- and yet again increased -- until total victory has been won. (Applause)

The British are stronger than ever in the magnificent morale (which) that has enabled them to endure all the dark days and the shattered nights of the past ten months. They have the full support and help of Canada, (and) of the other Dominions, of the rest of their Empire, and, and the full aid and support of non-British people throughout the world who still think in terms of the great freedoms. (Applause)

The British people are braced for invasion whenever (the) such attempt may come -- tomorrow -- next week -- next month.

In this historic crisis, Britain is blessed with a brilliant and great leader in Winston Churchill. (Applause) But, knowing him, no one knows

better than Mr. Churchill himself, that it is not alone his stirring words and valiant deeds (which) that give the British their superb morale. The essence of that morale is in the masses of plain people who are completely clear in their minds about the one essential fact -- that they would rather die as free men than live as slaves. (Applause)

These plain people -- civilians as well as soldiers and sailors and airmen -- women and girls as well as men and boys -- they are fighting in the front line of civilization at this moment, and they are holding that line with a fortitude (which) that will forever be the pride and the inspiration of all free men on every continent, (and) on every isle (island) of the sea.

The British people and their Grecian allies need ships. From America, they will get ships. (Applause)

They need planes. From America, they will get planes. (Applause)

Yes, from America they need food. From America, they will get food. (Applause)

They need tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds. From America, they will get tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds. (Applause)

China likewise expresses the magnificent will of millions of plain people to resist the dismemberment of their historic nation. China, through the generalissimo, Chiang Kai-Shek, asks our help. America has said that China shall have our help. (Applause)

And so our country is going to be what our people have proclaimed it must be -- the arsenal of democracy.

Our country is going to play its full part.

And when -- no, I didn't say if, I said when -- dictatorships disintegrate -- and pray God that will be sooner than any of us now dare(s) to

hope (applause) -- then our country must continue to play its great part in the period of world reconstruction (.) for the good of humanity.

We believe that the rallying cry of the dictators, their boasting about a master-race, will prove to be pure stuff and nonsense. (Laughter) There never has been, there isn't now, and there never will be, any race of people on the earth fit to serve as masters over their fellowmen. (Applause)

The world has no use for any nation which, because of size or because of military might, asserts the right to goosestep to world power over the bodies of other nations or other races. We believe that any nationality, no matter how small, has the inherent right to its own nationhood.

We believe that the men and women of such nations, no matter what size, can, through the processes of peace, serve themselves and serve the world by protecting the common man's security; improve the standards of healthful living; provide markets for manufacture and for agriculture. Through that kind of peaceful service every nation can increase its happiness, banish the terrors of war, and abandon man's inhumanity to man.

Never, in all our history, never in all our history have Americans faced a job so well worth while. May it be said of us in the days to come that our children and our children's children rise up and call us blessed.
(Prolonged applause)

* * * * *

Draft

PROPOSED DRAFT

4 copies

Because I am talking to you, my fellow members of the White House Press Association, perhaps I should begin by making it entirely clear that anything I have to say is on the record.

For the past eight years, you and I have been collaborating with each other -- as reporters.

We have been reporting the news of Washington, and of the Nation, and of the world. We have reported it, and it has been printed and broadcast, wherever freedom of the press and freedom of the air exist.

In those lands where such freedom does not exist, our purpose, the very character of our country and our people, have been seriously misunderstood. But I believe we can correct this misunderstanding ^{A/12/46} by our actions.

During the past week, there has gone forth from Washington a very big story -- a very great story -- the story of democracy ^{in action} ~~at-mostly~~

In our world today -- a world which shrinks in size with each new technical advance -- we are confronted with powerful forces which are determined eventually to destroy us and our free civilization.

These forces call themselves a new revolution. But they are not new. They are as ancient as hatred, as ancient as greed, as ancient as fear.

~~SECRET~~-A- PAGE #2

These forces believed that they could conquer the democracies, all the democracies, one at a time. They believed this so firmly that they made three bets; three bets against the world. ¶ The first was the bet that they could conquer France alone. ¶ The second was the bet that they could conquer England alone. ¶ The third was the bet that they could conquer America alone. ¶ They believed that democracy in France, in England, and in America could not resist in time, could not resist in common, because democracy is, first, too slow and, second, too selfish.

¶ After the fall of France they believed that they had won all their bets. But they were wrong. ¶ They were proved wrong in England in September. ¶ They have been proved wrong in America in March.

The enemies of democracy were wrong for a very simple reason. They were wrong because they had been told that democracy, by its very nature, could not adjust itself to the terrible reality of a world at war. They had been told that democracy, because of its eternal and passionate devotion to civil liberties, could not reach conclusions. They had been told that democracy, because of its profound respect for the rights of men, would never arm itself to

fight. They had been told that democracy, because of its hatred of imperialistic ~~aggressiveness~~ ^P*Aggression* -- its will to live together with its neighbors -- could not mobilize its energies even in its own defense. ^P They now know that democracy can still remain democracy, and reach conclusions, and defend itself, and arm itself, and speak.

From the Bureaus of Propaganda of the Axis powers
Came once the confident prophecy that the conquest of our country would be 2 B to follow

They were confident that they could conquer all democracies, one at a time, because they were certain that every democracy is too slow -- and too selfish.

The tragic fact is that in this assumption they were almost right. But the pages of history are littered with the frustrated ambitions of would-be world conquerors who were almost right.

All the ills and frailties of democracy, as advertised by democracy's enemies, are to be found in unmistakable form here in these United States. And we are not ashamed of them. And we don't intend to cure them. For they include our eternal, passionate devotion to civil liberties -- our profound respect for the rights of our ^{an abhorrence of racial and religious intolerance -} fellow-men -- our distaste for imperialistic/aggression in all its ^{militaristic} forms -- and, above all, our will to live together with our neighbors in a world at peace.

Because of this, it was assumed that we would not or could not adjust ourselves to the terrible reality of a world at war.

It was said that the conquest of our country would be

OK

"an inside job" — a job accomplished not by overpowering invasion from without, but by disrupting confusion and disunion and moral ^{from} disintegration _{within}.

Invent A

DRAFT 1

Page 5

Those who said that and believed it knew little of our history.

During the first three months of this year of 1941, we have made more of American history -- and it fits perfectly into the whole pattern of our American history. We have met a tremendous issue as Americans always have and always will -- with freedom of choice, and freedom of speech and freedom from fear.

Our country has engaged in a great debate. That debate was not limited to any ~~one~~^{star} chamber in the White House. It was not limited to the halls of Congress. It was argued in every newspaper, and on every wavelength -- and over every cracker barrel in the land. And it was finally settled and decided by the American people themselves.

The decisions of our democracy may be slowly arrived at. They may involve among us too much talk -- too many exchanges of bitterness and false accusation and the sounding of too many false alarms. But when that decision is made, it is proclaimed not with the voice of one man but with the voice of one hundred and thirty millions.

The world now knows where we stand. The world knows that our great strength is now being mobilized and will continue to be mobilized for the duration of this war against the axis aggressors.

INSERT A - PAGE #3

Those who said that and believed it knew little of our history. America is not a country which can be conquered by the tricks of the fear-mongers, the back-stairs manufacturers of panic. It is a country which talks out its problems in the open where any man can hear them.

We have just now engaged in such a debate. That debate was not limited, etc.

Draft A)

DRAFT 1

Page 4

The length of ^{the} duration of our national effort will depend
large extent on the speed with which we act in ~~boring~~ ^{boring} the weapons
needed to gain victory for the democratic cause.

Draft B)

We cannot have speed and effectiveness if we have
~~we do not and will never have~~
not unity. ~~but we can and will establish~~ the unhealthy unity of a
people browbeaten by governmental threats and misled by governmental
propaganda. ~~For~~ the kind of unity which is possible only in a
community of men and women who can recognize the truth and face the
truth with intelligence and courage.

C)

The sacrifices made by the people under a dictatorship
are enforced. They are obtained by extortion.

~~With every~~ ^{United} ~~republic~~ every necessary sacrifice is offered
as a gift -- a gift inspired by the loyalty which comes from a sense
of partnership in the continued forward progress of our country.

This loyalty cannot be bought. Let us not try for
one moment to delude ourselves that dollars alone will win this war.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Inset A p4

This is the end of
appeasement in our
land; the end of urging
us to get along with the
dictators; the end of
compromise with tyranny
and the forces of depression.

INSERT

B p. 4

The urgency is now. Final victory or defeat in this war will be decided in the next few months. The manufacture of modern planes and instruments of war is a complicated and difficult business which requires many materials but most of all, and most vitally, the expenditure of TIME. To enable Britain to gain the advantage -- to save American property, and American labor and even American lives in the future -- it is essential that ~~we~~ work and build NOW. To preserve our country and our civilization in the future, it is necessary that we labor, that we sacrifice our leisure and our comforts, NOW.

INSERT C - PAGE #4

We are not yet called upon to live on 25 cents worth of meat a week as are the people of England. We are not yet asked to subsist upon an ounce of butter a day as people do in England. We are not yet compelled to give up our sleep, to crowd into shelters, as people in England give up their sleep and crowd into shelters. But all these things may come to us in time, as they have come already to people in England. We must be prepared to meet them. And we are prepared.

The Congress is appropriating vast sums for our national defense and for strengthening the gallant forces of our friends across the seas.

These vast sums are not created by the wave of a magician's wand. They are created by work.

That work must go forward. It must not be interrupted by factional disputes.

Today, nearly a million and a half American citizens are hard at work in our armed forces. The spirit and the determination of these men of our Army and Navy are worthy of the highest traditions of our country. No better men ever served under Washington, or Grant, or Lee, or Farragut, or John Paul Jones. That is a boast, I admit, but it is not an idle one.

The quality of our soldiers and sailors reflects the quality of our people. It proves the national will to sacrifice and to work.

Upon that will depends the actions of our government -- the legislative and the executive branches as well.

And upon that will depends the output of our industry and our agriculture.

PAGE #6

Upon that will depends the survival of the vital bridge across the ocean -- the bridge of ships which carry the arms and food for those who are fighting the good fight.

The will of the American people must and shall prevail. The expression of this will must not be frustrated, either by threats from powerful enemies abroad or by small, selfish groups or individuals at home.

The American people have defined their purpose in a series of acts of legislation called Appropriation Acts. These Acts have laid the basis for our own training program in our Army and our Navy. They have provided for the manufacture of weapons and implements of war -- ships, planes, tanks, factories. They have now provided for aid to other democracies actually resisting the aggressors. Taken together they define the American will to resist in terms of the American capacity to produce -- and to produce NOW. We are not asking for things which cannot be produced for two or three years to come. We are pushing forward on the basis of the needs of 1941 and 1942.

PERORATION

The organization of our own army has been planned and will be developed with a view to the defense of the Western Hemisphere -- and that Hemisphere is a very large area, stretching from the Arctic to the Equator to the Antarctic. It includes every variety of climate and terrain. It presents every kind of problem in tactics. I may say that every kind of problem has been foreseen and provided for by our general staff.

The problem of defending this Hemisphere on land is no immediate problem -- and it is one which will never confront us as long as the British Navy controls the Atlantic Ocean and our own Navy controls the Pacific.

Despite the enormous advances of aviation -- the dominant factor in this war is still sea power.

Only when British sea power is either destroyed or captured by the enemy will this Hemisphere become vulnerable.

The American people know this. And that is why they have demanded, and got, a policy of unqualified, immediate, all-out aid for Britain.

From now on that aid will be increased -- and increased -- and increased until total victory has been won.

The Axis powers are acutely aware of this, as they have clearly indicated in their controlled press and by the recent statements of their authorities, official and semi-official.

They, therefore, know that they must win quickly -- or never.

The British people are ready for invasion whenever the attempt may come -- tomorrow -- next week -- next month.

The British are stronger than ever in the magnificent morale which has enabled them to endure all the dark days and the shattered nights of the past ten months.

In this historic crisis, Britain is blessed with a ^{himself}, ~~as Mr. Churchill well knows,~~ brilliant leader in Winston Churchill. But it is not ~~the~~ ^A his stirring words or valiant deeds ~~of Mr. Churchill~~ which has given the British their superb morale. That could have come only from the masses of plain people who are completely clear in their minds about the one essential fact -- which is that they would rather die as free men than live as slaves.

These ^{are} plain people -- civilians as well as ^{and} soldiers and sailors and airmen -- [^] fighting in the front line of civilization, and holding that line with a fortitude which will be forever the pride and the inspiration of all free ~~people~~ ^{men}

PERORATION (continued)

-3-

~~The British people and their allies~~

~~need ships.~~ From America, they will get ships.

They need planes. From America, they will get planes.

They need food. From America, they will get food.

They need tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies
of all kinds. From America, they will get tanks and guns
and ammunition and supplies of all kinds.

Our country is going to be what we have proclaimed
~~the~~
it must be -- the ~~arsenal~~ of democracy.

Our country is going to play its full, tremendous
part in the achievement of victory.

And when that day has come -- and pray God it will
be soon -- ~~from that day on~~
~~our country is going to continue to play its~~
~~invaluable~~
great part in the ~~service~~ of world reconstruction. ~~In the~~
~~permanent work of keeping the peace.~~

Never, in all our history, have Americans
faced a job ~~that was so well worth doing - the~~
~~permanent work of keeping the peace.~~

None than any of us now dares to hope -

Draft 2. White House Correspondents Dinner
March 15, 1941.

Because I am talking to you, my fellow members of the White House Press Association, perhaps I should begin by making it entirely clear that anything I have to say is on the record.

For the past eight years, you and I have been collaborating with each other — as reporters.

We have been reporting the news of Washington, and of the Nation, and of the world. We have reported it, and it has been printed and broadcast, wherever freedom of the press and freedom of the air exist.

In those lands where such freedom does not exist, our purpose, the very character of our country and our people, have been seriously misunderstood. But I believe we can now correct this misunderstanding.

A> During the past week, there has gone forth from Washington a very big story — a very great story — the story of democracy in action!

In our world today — a world which shrinks in size with each new technical advance — we are confronted with powerful forces which are determined eventually to destroy us and our free civilization.

These forces call themselves a new revolution. But they are not new. They are as ancient as hatred, as ancient as greed, as ancient as fear.

INSERT - PAGE #1

A year ago I was more worried than most people about the threatening world situation. But I was not worried enough.

We cannot waste time now reviewing the mistakes of the past, or assigning or dodging blame for them. Written history cannot be recalled by wishful thinking.

These forces believed that they could conquer the democracies,
as one eats an omelette
all the democracies, one at a time. They believed this so firmly that
they made three bets; three bets against the world.

The first was the bet that they could conquer France alone.

The second was the bet that they could conquer England alone.

The third was the bet that they could conquer America alone.

They believed that democracy in France, in England, and in
America could not resist in time, could not resist in common, because
democracy is *first*, too slow and *second*, too selfish.

disaster to
After the ~~fall~~^{of} France they believed that they had won
all their bets. But they were wrong.

They were proved wrong in England in September, 1940.

this month of
They have been proved wrong in America in March, 1941.

The enemies of democracy were wrong for a very simple reason.

They were wrong because they had been told that democracy, by its very
nature, could not adjust itself to the terrible reality of a world at
P war. *P* They had been told that democracy, because of its eternal and
passionate devotion to civil liberties, could not reach conclusions.

P They had been told that democracy, because of its profound respect for
the rights of man, would never arm itself to fight. *P* They had been told
that democracy, because of its hatred of imperialistic aggression -- its
will to live together with its neighbors -- could not mobilize its

energies even in its own defense.

They now know that democracy can still remain democracy, and speak,
and reach conclusions, and defend itself, and arm itself, and ~~speak~~ fight.

From the Bureau of Propaganda of the Axis powers came once
the confident prophecy that the conquest of our country would be
"an inside job" -- a job accomplished not by overpowering invasion
from without, but by disrupting confusion and disunion and moral
disintegration from within.

Those who said that, and believed it, knew little of our history. America is not a country which can be conquered by the tricks of the fear-mongers, the backstairs manufacturers of panic. It is a country which talks out its problems in the open where any man can hear them.

We have just now engaged in ~~such a~~ ^{great} debate. That debate was not limited to any "star chamber" in the White House. It was not limited to the halls of Congress. It was argued in every newspaper, ~~and~~ on every wavelength — ~~and~~ over every cracker barrel in the land. ~~and~~ It was finally settled and decided by the American people themselves.

The decisions of our democracy may be slowly arrived at. ^{at times} ~~event~~ They may involve among us too much talk — too many exchanges of bitterness and false accusation and the sounding of too many false alarms. But when that decision is made, it is proclaimed not with the voice of one man but with the voice of one hundred and thirty millions.

The world is no longer left in doubt.
The world now knows where we stand. The world knows that our great strength is now being mobilized and will continue to be mobilized for the duration of this war against the axis aggressors.

~~any attempts at~~
This is the end of appeasement in our land; the end
of urging us to get along with the dictators; the end of compromise
with tyranny and the forces of depression.

The length of the duration of our national effort will
depend on the ~~duration~~ of this war, and ~~the duration of this war~~ that
will depend ~~[a very large extent]~~ on the speed with which we act
in forging the weapons needed to gain victory for the democratic
cause.

P
The urgency is now. Final victory or defeat in this war
will be decided in the next few months. P
The manufacture of modern
planes and instruments of war is a complicated and difficult
business which requires many materials but most of all, and most
vitally, the ~~use~~ effective use ^P of TIME. To enable Britain to gain the
advantage -- to save American property, and American labor and
and even American freedom
even American lives in the future -- it is essential that we work
^{Insert A} and build NOW. To preserve our country and our civilization in
the future, it is necessary that we labor, that we sacrifice our
leisure and our comforts, NOW.

We cannot have speed and effectiveness if we have not
unity. We do not and will never have the unhealthy unity of a

INSERT A - PAGE 5

The great task of our day, the deep duty which
rests upon us toward the future is to move products
from the assembly lines of our factories to the battle
lines ^{of} ~~in~~ Britain -- Now!

people browbeaten by governmental threats and misled by governmental propaganda. But we can and will establish the kind of unity which is possible only in a community of men and women who can recognize the truth, and face the truth, with intelligence and courage.

We shall have to make sacrifices -- every one of us. And again -- the eventual extent of those sacrifices will depend upon the speed and the effectiveness with which we now act.

A >

We are not yet called upon to live on 25 cents worth of meat a week as are the people of England. We are not yet asked to subsist upon an ounce of butter a day as people do in England. We are not yet compelled to give up our sleep, to crowd into shelters, even though they endure all these hardships as people in England give up their sleep and crowd into shelters, cheerfully and unflinchingly. But all these things may come to us in time, as they have come already to people in England. We must be prepared to meet them. And we are prepared.

The sacrifices made by the people under a dictatorship are enforced. They are obtained by extortion.

With us, as in England, every necessary sacrifice is offered as a gift -- a gift inspired by the loyalty which comes from a sense of partnership in the continued forward progress of our country.

This loyalty cannot be bought. Let us not try for one moment to delude ourselves that Dollars alone will win this war. Let us not

INSERT A - PAGE 6

We are now embarked upon the most gigantic armament program ever undertaken by any nation. No country, save the United States, would have dared to attempt it in the time allotted for its completion.

I must tell you tonight in plain language what this undertaking means to you -- to your daily life. Whether you are a selectee in the armed services; whether you are a steel worker or a stevedore; a machinist or a housewife; a foreman or a financier; a merchant or a manufacturer -- to all of you it will mean sacrifice for your country and for your liberties. I say frankly that you will feel the impact of this gigantic effort in your daily lives. You will feel it in a way which will cause inconvenience and discomfort and sacrifice.

You may have to put off the purchase of a new family automobile.

You may have to stay longer at bench, or plow or machine.

You may have to abandon some of your accustomed business practices.

You may have to open your company's books to Government audit.

INSERT A - PAGE 6

-2-

You may have to share your trade secrets and be content with lower profits on the things you are manufacturing for defense.

You will have to pay higher taxes. There will have to be added work, abandonment of profiteering by capital or by labor, moratorium on internal differences. All this may involve personal sacrifices. But all of us will do these things gladly, for they are for the common and national protection and welfare, for our defense against the most ruthless brutality in history, for the ultimate victory of a way of life now so brutally menaced.

I wish I could sit down with each of you -- show you the charts and figures, the statistics of industrial capacity compared with our requirements;

CONTINUATION OF INSERT A - PAGE 6

3

go over with you item by item the colossal demands of this program in terms of raw materials and power and transportation and machinery and man hours of skilled labor.

You would then see clearly, as all of us who are directing this defense effort now see, that it demands of every man, woman and child in this country the utmost effort.

A half-hearted effort on our part now must lead to failure. This is no part-time job; the concepts of "business as usual" and "normalcy" in every sense of the word must be forgotten until the task is finished. They know that this is an all-out effort -- that nothing short of that kind of effort will suffice. That is what all of us must now understand.

Only in that spirit -- that spirit of determined dedication to the imperatives of production -- can we achieve success. We are now dedicated, from here on, to a constantly increasing tempo of production, a production that does not stop and dares not pause.

And so, tonight, I am appealing to the heart and to the mind of every man and every woman within our

CONTINUATION OF INSERT A - PAGE 6

-4-

borders who love liberty. I ask you to consider the needs of our nation at this hour and to put aside all personal differences until our victory is won. The light of Democracy no longer seems vague to any of us. To the perpetuation of its light each must do his own share. Our individual effort may seem to some but a light flickering in an ugly wind. But there are 130 millions of us here. There are many more millions in Britain and elsewhere bravely shielding this light from the blackout of barbarism. We here are trimming the wick and polishing the glass that the flame may burn ever brighter. The time has come when we must provide the fuel in ever-increasing amounts to keep the flame alight.

To this end, the energy of all of us, the thoughts of all of us must be directed with a singleness of purpose seldom asked of a population so great, so wide-spread, and so divergent of origin as ours. But I am asking for that singleness of purpose, that unity of effort, a unity in which there will be no divisions of party or section or race or nationality or religion.

CONTINUATION OF INSERT A - PAGE 6

-5-

There is not one among us who does not have a stake in the outcome of the effort in which we are now engaged. A few weeks ago I spoke of the four freedoms -- freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want and freedom from fear. They are the stake. If we fail, we forfeit all that they mean. If we win, we implement and strengthen their meaning and so increase the stature of man and the dignity of human life.

✓ delude ourselves as to that Americans are not
mercenaries.

The Congress is appropriating vast sums for our national
defense and for strengthening the gallant forces of our friends across
the seas.

These vast sums are not created by the wave of a magician's
wand. They are created by work.

That work must go forward. It must not be interrupted by
factional disputes.

Today, nearly a million and a half American citizens are
hard at work in our armed forces. The spirit and the determination
of these men of our Army and Navy are worthy of the highest traditions

of our country. No better men ever served under Washington, or *John Paul*

under
Jones by A Grant, or Lee, or Farragut, or *John Paul Jones*. That is a boast,

I admit, but it is not an idle one.

The quality of our soldiers and sailors reflects the quality
of our people. It proves the national will to sacrifice and to work.

Upon that will depends the actions of our government --
the legislative and the executive branches as well.

And upon that will depends the output of our industry and
our agriculture.

Upon that will depends the survival of the vital bridge across the ocean — the bridge of ships which carry the arms and food for those who are fighting the good fight.

The will of the American people must and shall prevail.

The expression of this will must not be frustrated, either by threats from powerful enemies abroad or by small, selfish groups ~~or~~ individuals at home.

The American people have defined their purpose in a series of acts of legislation [called Appropriation Act].

P These Acts have laid the basis for our own training program

P in our Army and our Navy. They have provided for the manufacture

of weapons and implements of war — ships, planes, tanks,

P factories. P They have now provided for aid to other democracies

actually resisting the aggressors. P Taken together they define

the American will to resist in terms of the American capacity

P to produce — and to produce NOW. We are not asking for things

which cannot be produced for two or three years to come. We

are pushing forward on the basis of the needs of 1941 and 1942.

The will of the American people, expressed in their statutes and in the determination of their government, must not be obstructed by war profiteering. ^P It must not be obstructed by attempts at monopoly. ^P It must not be obstructed by sabotage either of production plant or of the labor force which mans that plant.

This Administration has for many years fought efforts at monopoly in industry. It has endeavored by every means at its disposal to protect labor against attacks upon its right to bargain collectively with its employers. This Administration will continue those efforts.

I am about to establish, under an Executive Order, a Mediation Board for the period of the emergency. This Board will provide a means by which collective bargaining can proceed effectively to make adjustments by consent and thus minimize the interruptions due to strikes.

The organization of our own army has been planned and will be developed with a view to the defense of the Western Hemisphere -- and that Hemisphere is a very large area, stretching from the Arctic to the Equator to the Antarctic. It includes every variety of climate and terrain. It presents every kind of problem in tactics. *is under continuous examination*
I may say that every kind of problem has been foreseen and provided for by our general staff.

The problem of defending this Hemisphere on land is no immediate problem -- and it is one which will never confront us as long as the British Navy controls the Atlantic Ocean and our own Navy controls the Pacific.

Despite the enormous advances of aviation -- the dominant factor in this war is still sea power.

Only when British sea power is either destroyed or captured by the enemy will this Hemisphere become vulnerable.

The American people know this. And that is why they have demanded, and got, a policy of unqualified, immediate, all-out aid for Britain.

From now on that aid will be increased -- and increased -- and increased until total victory has been won.

The Axis powers are acutely aware of this, as they have clearly indicated in their controlled press and by the recent statements of their authorities, official and semi-official.

They, therefore, know that they must win quickly -- or never. The British people are ready for invasion whenever the attempt may come -- tomorrow -- next week -- next month.

The British are stronger than ever in the magnificent morale which has enabled them to endure all the dark days and the shattered U.S.A. T

nights of the past ten months.

In this historic crisis, Britain is blessed with a brilliant
no one knows better than
leader in Winston Churchill. But, ~~as~~ Mr. Churchill himself well knows,
that it is not his stirring words or valiant deeds which [?] has given the
British their superb morale. That could [?] come only from the
masses of plain people who are completely clear in their minds about
the one essential fact -- which is that they would rather die as
free men than live as slaves.

These plain people -- civilians as well as soldiers and
sailors and airmen -- are fighting in the front line of civilization,
and they are holding that line with a fortitude which will be forever
the pride and the inspiration of all free men.

The British people and their allies need ships. From
America, they will get ships.

They need planes. From America, they will get planes.

France
They need food. From America, they will get food.

They need tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all
kinds. From America, they will get tanks and guns and ammunition and
supplies of all kinds. -

A > Our country is going to be what *we* have proclaimed it must
be -- the arsenal of democracy.

INSERT A - PAGE 10

China is likewise blessed with a great leader in Chiang Kai-Shek. He likewise expresses in himself the magnificent will of millions of plain people to resist enslavement. China asks for our help. She is entitled *America has said:* to it. "She shall have it.

Our country is going to play its full, tremendous part in
the achievement of victory.

And when that day has come -- and pray God it will be
sooner than any of us now dares to hope -- from that day on our
country [~~is going to~~ ^{must}] continue to play its great part in the period of
world reconstruction.

(A) > Never, in all our history, have Americans faced a job that
was so well worth doing -- the permanent work of keeping the peace.

INSERT A - PAGE 11

Our country knows that the rallying cry of the dictators, their boasting about a master-race, will prove to be pure stuff and nonsense. There never has been, there isn't now, and there never will be, any race of people fit to serve as masters over their fellow men. And least of all does a race qualify to serve as masters merely because they rushed in to train more soldiers, build more planes and ships, or manufacture more death-dealing stuffs of war.

The world has no use for masters of peace loving people; it has a very real use for servants. Men and women everywhere, races, nations, who can serve the world by protecting the common man's security, improving his standards of health and living, shortening his hours of toil, providing markets for his manufactures and his agriculture; in short, serving to make the world a better place to live, not attempting to goose-step to power over their fellow-men. The world is not looking for any master race. It is searching for a race that can serve, that can cure its ills, increase its happiness, banish the terrors of war, bring back calm enjoyment and eliminate hunger, insecurity, and man's inhumanity to man.

DRAFT #4

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS DINNER

MARCH 15, 1941

Association

This dinner of the White House Correspondents

is unique. It is the first one at which I have made a speech
in all these eight years. It differs from the Press Conferences
that you and I hold twice a week. You cannot ask me any
word for word
questions, and everything I have to say is "on the record",
~~except~~.

For eight years you and I have been helping
each other. I have been trying to keep you informed of the
news of Washington, and of the nation, and of the world from
the point of view of the Presidency. You, more than you
realize it, have been giving me a great deal of information
about what the people of this country are thinking.

In our Press Conferences, as at this dinner
tonight, we include reporters representing papers and news
agencies of many other lands. To most of them it is a matter
of constant amazement that Press Conferences such as ours
can exist in any nation in the world.

That is especially true in those lands where freedoms such as ours do not exist -- where the purposes of our democracy and the characteristics of our country and our people have been seriously misunderstood.

Such misunderstandings are not new. I remember that the German Government in the early days of the first World War received solemn assurances from their representatives in the United States that the people of America were disunited, that they cared more for peace at any price than for the preservation of ideals and freedom, that there would even be riots and revolutions in the United States if this nation ever took a bold stand in asserting its own interest.

~~We made mistakes as to method in 1917, 1918 and 1919.~~

~~A~~
~~We have profited by that experience. We shall not make the same mistakes again -- during this war -- or after it.~~

~~But -- let not the dictators of Europe and Asia doubt that we can and will act with overwhelming unanimity, in meeting the threat to our form of government and to democracy throughout the world.~~

Before the present war broke out on September 1, 1939, I was more worried about the future than many people -- most people. The record shows I was not worried enough.

^{hyperbole}
That is water over the dam. Do not let us waste time reviewing ^{errors} mistakes of the past or dodging or fixing the blame for them. History cannot be rewritten by wishful thinking.

~~All that matters now is the big news story of this week is written crystal clear. It is that we have fully realized the danger which confronts us -- and to meet that danger our democracy has gone into action.~~

~~We know that the first World War actually did not carry the implications of danger to democracy such as exist today. Prussian autocracy was a lesser threat than Nazism; far worse.~~

These new forces are not seeking mere modifications in Colonial maps or in minor European boundaries. They openly seek the destruction of all elective systems of government on every continent, including our own; ~~and they will~~ ^{To establish} ~~the ultimate substitution therefore of~~ systems of government based on the regimentation of all human beings by a handful of individual rulers who have seized power by force.

These men and their hypnotized followers call
this a new order. But ~~it~~ is not new; and it certainly bears
no resemblance to order.

B

These modern tyrants find it necessary to their
plans to eliminate all democracies -- eliminate them one by
one. The nations of Europe, and indeed we ourselves, did
not appreciate that purpose. We understand it now. The
process of the elimination of the European nations proceeded
according to plan through 1939 and 1940, until the schedule
was shot to pieces by the unbeatable defenders of Britain.

The enemies of democracy were wrong in their
calculations for a very simple reason. They were wrong
because they believed that democracy could not adjust itself
to the terrible reality of a world at war.

They believed that democracy, because of its
profound respect for the rights of men, would never arm
itself to fight.

They believed that democracy, because of its will
~~to live in~~ ^{at} peace with its neighbors, could not mobilize its
energies even in its own defense.

They now know that democracy can still remain

democracy, and speak, and reach conclusions, and arm itself
~~and if necessary fight~~ adequately for defense.

From the bureaus of propaganda of the Axis powers came the confident prophecy that the conquest of our country would be "an inside job" -- a job accomplished not by overpowering invasion from without, but by disrupting confusion and disunion and moral disintegration from within.

Those who believed that knew little of our history. America is not a country which can be confounded by the appeasers, the defeatists, the backstairs manufacturers of panic. It is a country which talks out its problems in the open, where any man can hear them.

We have just now engaged in a great debate. It was not limited to the halls of Congress. It was argued in every newspaper, on every wave length -- over every cracker barrel in the land. It was finally settled and decided by the American people themselves.

The decisions of our democracy may be slowly arrived at. They may at times involve among us even too much talk -- too many exchanges of bitterness and false accusation and the sounding of too many false alarms. But when that decision is

made, it is proclaimed not with the voice of ^{any} one man but
with the voice of one hundred and thirty millions. *It is building,*
~~an all of us to find~~

~~The world is no longer left in doubt. The world~~

~~now knows where we stand. The world knows that our great
strength is now being mobilized and will continue to be
mobilized for the duration of this war against the Axis~~

~~aggressors.~~

Nation
This is the end of any attempt at appeasement in
our land; the end of urging us to get along with the
dictators; the end of compromise with tyranny and the
forces of oppression.

The urgency is now.

~~D~~ ~~Whether there will be final victory or defeat in
this war, will be decided in the next few months.~~

~~The manufacture of modern planes and instruments
of war is a complicated and difficult business which
requires many materials, but most of all, and most vitally, the
effective use of TIME~~

To enable Britain, Greece and China to gain the
advantage -- to save American property, and American labor
and American lives and even American freedom in the
future -- it is essential that we work and build now.

The great task of ~~the~~ day, the deep duty which rests upon us ~~demands~~ is to move products from the assembly lines of our factories to the battle lines ~~desperately~~ of ~~Europe~~ NOW!

To preserve our country and our civilization in the future, it is necessary that we labor, that we sacrifice our leisure and our comforts, NOW.

We cannot have speed and effectiveness if we ~~have~~ ^{achieve} unity. We do not have and will never have the false unity of a people browbeaten by threats and misled by propaganda.

But we can and will establish the kind of unity which is possible only in a community of men and women who ~~will~~ recognize the truth, and face reality with intelligence and courage.

We shall have to make sacrifices -- every one of us. The final extent of those sacrifices will depend upon the speed with which we act NOW!

We are embarked upon the most gigantic armament program ever undertaken by any nation.

I must tell you tonight in plain language what this undertaking means to you -- to your daily life.

Whether you are in the armed services; whether you are a steel worker or a stevedore; a machinist or a housewife; a farmer or a banker; a storekeeper or a manufacturer --/all of you it will mean sacrifice ~~for~~ your country and ~~to~~ your liberties. You will feel the impact of this gigantic effort in your daily lives. You will feel it in a way which will cause ^{many} inconvenience and discomfort.
~~and sacrifice.~~

You will have to ~~abandon some of your usual business practices; and be content with lower profits from business.~~
~~increase obviously your taxes will be higher.~~
You will have to work longer at your bench, or ~~your plow or machine.~~

~~You will have to pay higher taxes.~~
~~There will have to be added work, abandonment of profiteering by capital or by labor, moratorium on internal differences.~~

(7) ~~All this will involve personal sacrifice. But most~~
~~of us will do That willingly. That kind of sacrifice~~
for the common national protection and welfare; for our defense against the most ruthless brutality in history; for the ultimate victory of a way of life now so ~~vividly~~ ^{markedly} ~~marked~~

A half-hearted effort on our part ~~now such~~ will //
lead to failure. This is no part-time job. The concepts
of "business as usual" and "normalcy" must be forgotten
until the task is finished. This is an all-out effort --
All out effort
nothing short of ~~that kind of effort will~~ //

We are now dedicated, from here on, to a
constantly increasing tempo of production -- a production
greater than we now know or have ever known before -- a
production that does not stop and dares not pause.

And so, tonight, I am appealing to the heart
and to the mind of every man and every woman within our
borders who love liberty. I ask you to consider the needs
of our nation at this hour, and to put aside all personal
differences until our victory is won.

The light of democracy must be kept burning.

To the perpetuation of this light, each must do his own share.
The single effort of one individual
~~The single effort of one individual~~ may seem to some but a ~~tiny~~ *Huntington, Calif*
~~tiny~~ *spark over*
~~innumerable~~. But there are 130 million ~~us~~ here.

There are many more millions in Britain and elsewhere bravely
the great flame of democracy
shielding ~~the~~ *from the blackout of barbarism*. It is
not enough for us merely to trim the wick, ~~the~~ polish the
glass. The time has come when we must provide the fuel in

ever-increasing amounts to keep the flame alight.

To this end, the energy of all of us must be directed with a singleness of purpose seldom asked of a population so great, so wide-spread, and so divergent in origin as ours. But that is the singleness of purpose, that is the unity of effort which we need -- a unity in which

There will be no divisions of party or section or race or nationality or religion. There is not one among us who does not have a stake in the outcome of the effort in which we are now engaged.

A few weeks ago I spoke of ~~the~~ four freedoms -- freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want and freedom from fear. C They are the stake. If we should fail, we would forfeit all that they mean. By winning, we implement and strengthen their meaning, and so increase the stature of man and the dignity of human life.

We are not called upon to live on 25 cents worth of meat a week -- as are the people of England.

We are not asked to subsist upon an ounce of butter a day -- as people do in England.

We are not compelled to give up our sleep, to crowd into shelters -- as people in England give up their sleep and crowd into shelters, even though they endure all these hardships cheerfully and unflinchingly.

But all these things may come to us in time -- as they have come already to people in England. We must be prepared to meet them.

The sacrifices made by the people under a dictatorship are enforced. They are obtained by extortion.

With us, as in England, every necessary sacrifice is offered as a gift -- a gift inspired by the loyalty which comes from a sense of partnership in the continued forward progress of our country.

~~This~~ Loyalty cannot be bought. Dollars alone will not win this war. Let us not delude ourselves as to that. ~~Americans are not mercenaries.~~

Today, nearly a million and a half American citizens are hard at work in our armed forces. The spirit and the determination of these men of our Army and Navy are worthy of the highest traditions of our country. No better men ever served under Washington, or John Paul Jones or ~~Pershing~~ Grant, or Lee or ~~Washington~~. That is a boast, I admit -- but it is not an idle one.

The quality of our soldiers and sailors reflects the quality of our people. It proves the national will to sacrifice and to work.

Upon that will, depends the output of our industry and our agriculture.

Upon that will, depends the survival of the vital bridge across the ocean -- the bridge of ships which carry the arms and food for those who are fighting the good fight.

(H) ~~That will of the American people must and shall~~
~~overcome~~ ~~The expression of this will,~~ ~~not be frustrated,~~
either by threats from powerful enemies abroad or by small, selfish groups or individuals at home.

~~They have now provided for aid to other democracies~~
~~actually resisting the aggressors.~~

Taken together that define the American will to resist in terms of the American capacity to produce -- and to produce NOW.

We are not asking for things which cannot be produced for two or three years to come. We are pushing forward on the basis of the needs of 1941 and 1942.

~~The will of the American people, expressed in
the statutes and in the determination of their government,~~

must not be obstructed by war profiteering.

It must not be obstructed by unnecessary strikes of workers, by short-sighted management, or by deliberate sabotage.

~~But the prime objective now is to win ourselves~~
~~so that that that policy may endure. Otherwise there will~~
~~be no freedom for either management or labor. Wise labor~~
~~leaders and wise business managers will realize how necessary~~
~~it is to their own existence to make common sacrifice for~~
~~this great common cause.~~

Because of the necessity of avoiding strikes and lockouts in defense plants, I am about to establish a Labor Mediation Board for the period of the emergency. This Board will provide a means by which collective bargaining can proceed effectively and minimize ~~the~~ interruptions of ~~defence production.~~

There is no longer the slightest question or doubt that the American people recognize the extreme seriousness of the present situation. That is why they have demanded, and got, a policy of unqualified, immediate, all-out aid for Britain, Greece, China and for all the governments in exile whose homelands are temporarily occupied by the aggressors.

From now on that aid will be increased -- and *y. Tegnér* increased -- until total victory has been won.

The British people are braced for invasion whenever the attempt may come -- tomorrow -- next week -- next month.

The British are stronger than ever in the magnificent morale which has enabled them to endure all the dark days and the shattered nights of the past ten months. *I*

In this historic crisis, Britain is blessed with *and great* a brilliant leader in Winston Churchill. But, no one knows better than Mr. Churchill himself, that it is not alone his stirring words and valiant deeds which give the British their superb morale. The essence of that morale is in the masses of plain people who are completely clear in their minds about the one essential fact -- that they would rather die as free men than live as slaves.

These plain people -- civilians as well as soldiers and sailors and airmen -- are fighting in the front line of civilization, and they are holding that line with a fortitude which will ~~ever~~ forever be the pride and the inspiration of all free men on every continent and on every island of the sea.

The British people and their Grecian allies need ships. From America, they will get ships.

They need planes. From America, they will get planes.

They need food. From America, they will get food.

They need tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds. From America, they will get tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds.

China is likewise blessed with a great leader in Chiang Kai-Shek. He likewise expresses in himself the magnificent will of millions of plain people to resist enslavement. China asks for our help. America has said that China shall have our help.



Our country is going to be what our people have proclaimed it must be -- the arsenal of democracy.

Our country is going to play its full ~~part~~

~~part in the achievement of victory~~

~~dictators for disintegrate~~
And when ~~the day has come~~ and pray God ~~that~~

will be sooner than any of us now dares to hope -- ~~so that this~~

~~our country must continue to play its great part in~~
the period of world reconstruction.

~~We believe~~
~~our country~~ that the rallying cry of the dictators, their boasting about a master-race, will prove to be pure stuff and nonsense. There never has been, there isn't now, and there never will be, any race of people fit to serve as masters over their fellow men.

~~The world has no use for masters over peace-loving people. It has a very real use for ~~men~~ men and women everywhere, races, nations, who can serve the world by protecting the common man's security, improving his standards of health and living, shortening his hours of toil, providing markets for his manufactures and his agriculture; in short, serving to make the world a better place to live, not attempting~~

Follow brings a

to goose-step to power over the ~~whole world~~. The world is not looking for any master race. It is searching for a race that can serve, that can cure its ills, increase its happiness, banish the terrors of war, bring back calm enjoyment and eliminate hunger, insecurity, and man's inhumanity to man.

Never, in all our history, have Americans faced a job ~~that~~ so well worth ~~doing~~ -- the permanent work of keeping the peace.

* * * * *

DRAFT #4

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS DINNER

MARCH 15, 1941

This dinner of the White House Correspondents is unique. It is the first one at which I have made a speech in all these eight years. Second, it differs from the Press Conferences that you and I hold twice a week; ~~in that~~ you cannot ask me any questions, and everything I have to say is "on the record" verbatim.

For eight years you and I have been helping each other. I have been trying to keep you informed of the news of Washington, and of the nation, and of the world from the point of view of the Presidency, ~~and~~ You, more than you realize it, have been giving me a great deal of information ^{which has kept me in touch} ~~about~~ ^{as the ~~the~~ ~~and~~ ~~but~~ big} with ~~what the people of this country want to know about~~.

In our Press Conferences, as at this dinner tonight, we include reporters representing papers and news agencies ~~of~~ many other lands. To most of them it is a matter of constant amazement ~~and admiration~~ that Press Conferences such as ours can exist in any nation in the world.

That is especially true in ~~the case of those~~ guests ^{of} ours who come ~~from~~ lands where freedom such as ours do not exist -- ~~from lands~~ where our purposes ^{the} of ^{our} democracy and the characteristics of our country and our people have been seriously misunderstood.

Such misunderstandings are not new. When I was here as Assistant Secretary of the Navy - a quarter of a century ago -- I remember well some of the stories, some of the so-called information and prophesy that was sent back to other nations by some foreigners in our midst. I remember that ^{The German Government} governments of aggression in the early days of the first World War received solemn assurances from ^{their representatives in} the United States that the people of America were disunited, that they cared more for peace at any price than for the preservation of ideals and freedom, that there would even be ^{rugs and} revolutions ~~and riots and~~ revolts in the United States if this nation ever ^{undertook to} ~~some to~~ the defense of democracy. ^{it's own interest} took a bold stand in asserting I do not draw a literal comparison, event by event, between those days and these, because the methods of conducting war on a large scale have greatly changed since then. I do not imply in any way that American man power, used overseas, is either necessary or advisable. In a quarter of a century the multiplication of arms and munitions has largely replaced soldiers in trenches.

I do use the parallel as it applies to the production of implements of war -- an even greater need today than then; and I do use a parallel of the willingness of America -- our state of mind -- to act with overwhelming unanimity in a world situation that threatens our form of government and threatens to black out all democratic forms of government.

2 A

We made mistakes as to method in
1917, 1918 and 1919.

We have profited by that experience. We
shall not make the same mistakes again -
during this war - or after it.

But - let not the dictators of Europe
and Asia doubt that we can and will
act with overwhelming unanimity in
~~this~~ meeting the threat to our form of
government and to democracy throughout
the world.

Before the present war broke out on September 1, 1939, I was more worried about the future than many people -- most people. The records show I was not worried enough.

That is water over the dam. Do not let us waste time reviewing mistakes of the past or dodging the blame for them. History cannot be rewritten by wishful thinking. (A) Today, almost everybody in Washington and almost everybody in every state realize two big facts: The first is the fact of present danger to us and to all democracies and the continuance of that danger until the underlying causes of that danger are eliminated; and second, the big news story of the past week -- that this democracy -- our democracy -- has gone into action.

Today, we know that the first World War actually did not carry the implications of danger to democracy such as exist today. Prussian autocracy was a lesser threat than Nazism.

These new forces are not seeking mere modifications in Colonial maps or in minor European boundaries. [These new forces] openly seek the destruction of all elective systems of government on every continent, including our own, and the ultimate substitution therefore of systems of government [based on a social and economic system] based on the regimentation of all human beings [at the behest of and planning] by a [ruling caste culminating in a] handful of individual rulers who have seized power by force.

Inset A p 3

white
coupons
~~us~~

P All that matters ~~now~~ ^{now} is that we have fully realized the danger — and our democracy has gone into action.

the big news story of this week —

These men and their hypnotized followers call this
[a philosophy. In many previous ages of civilization the same
thing happened and history does not call it a philosophy -- history
uses shorter and uglier words.]

These modern tyrants find it necessary to their
plans to eliminate all democracies -- eliminate them one by one.
These smaller] nations of Europe, and indeed we ourselves, did
not appreciate that purpose. We understand it now. The process
of the elimination of the [smaller] ^{lesser powers} nations proceeded according
to plan through 1939 and 1940, until the schedule ~~went astray~~
~~and the British Isles did not fall in the Autumn of last year.~~

→ a new order. But it is ~~neither~~ ^{not} new; and it
certainly bears no resemblance to order.

→ was shot to pieces by
the ^{unbeaten} gallant defenders
of Britain *

DRAFT #3

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS' DINNER

March 15, 1941

Because I am talking to you, my fellow members of the White House Press Association, perhaps I should begin by making it entirely clear that anything I have to say is on the record.

For the past eight years, you and I have been collaborating with each other -- as reporters.

We have been reporting the news of Washington, and of the Nation, and of the world. We have reported it, and it has been printed and broadcast, wherever freedom of the press and freedom of the air exist.

In those lands where such freedom does not exist, our purpose, the very character of our country and our people, have been seriously misunderstood. But I believe

we can now correct this misunderstanding.

The state of mind of our country has undergone a startling change - produced by startling events. A year ago I was more worried than most people

about the threatening world situation. But I was not worried enough.

We cannot waste time now reviewing the mistakes of the past, or assigning or dodging blame for them. Written history cannot be recalled by wishful thinking.

During the past week, there has gone forth from

Washington a very big story -- a very great story -- the story of democracy in action!

In our world today -- a world which shrinks in size with each new technical advance -- we are confronted with powerful forces which are determined eventually to destroy us and our free civilization.

These forces call themselves a new revolution. But they are not new. They are as ancient as hatred, as ancient and and as greed, as ancient as fear.

These forces believed that they could conquer the democracies all the democracies [~~as one sets a match to~~] by one at a time. They believed this so firmly that they made three bets, three bets against the world.

The first was the bet that they could conquer France alone.

The second was the bet that they could conquer England alone.

The third was the bet that they could conquer America alone.

They believed that democracy in France, in England, and in America could not resist in time, could not resist in common, because democracy is -- first, too slow and --

DRAFT #3

-3-

second, too selfish.

After the disaster to France they believed that they had won all their bets. But they were wrong.

They were proved wrong in England in September, 1940.

They have been proved wrong in America in this month of March, 1941.

The enemies of democracy were wrong ^{in their calculations} for a very simple reason. They were wrong because they [had been told] ^{blindly} that democracy, by its very nature, could not adjust itself to the terrible reality of a world at war.

[They had been told that democracy, because of its eternal and passionate devotion to civil liberties, could not reach conclusions.]

They [had been told] ^{blindly} that democracy, because of its profound respect for the rights of men, would never arm itself to fight.

They [had been told] ^{blindly} that democracy, because of [its militaristic hatred of imperialistic aggression --] its will to live in peace together with its neighbors -- could not mobilize its energies even in its own defense.

They now know that democracy can still remain

democracy, and speak, and reach conclusions, and arm

itself, [and defend itself] and ^{its} [rescue] fight.

From the bureaus of propaganda of the Axis powers came ^{once} the confident prophecy that the conquest of our country would be "an inside job" -- a job accomplished not by overpowering invasion from without, but by disrupting confusion and disunion and moral disintegration from within.

Those who said that^{believed} [and believed it] knew little of our history. America is not a country which can be conquered^{confounded} by the ^{apparition, the defeatists,} [tricks of] the fear-mongers, the backstairs manufacturers of panic. It is a country which talks out its problems in the open, where any man can hear them.

We have just now engaged in a great debate. [That debate was not limited to any "star chamber" in the White House.] It was not limited to the halls of Congress. It was argued in every newspaper, on every wavelength -- over every cracker barrel in the land. It was finally settled and decided by the American people themselves.

The decisions of our democracy may be slowly arrived at. They may at times involve among us even too much talk -- too many exchanges of bitterness and false accusation and the sounding of too many false alarms.

But when that decision is made, it is proclaimed not with the voice of one man but with the voice of one hundred and thirty millions.

The world is no longer left in doubt.

The world now knows where we stand. The world knows that our great strength is now being mobilized and will continue to be mobilized for the duration of this war against the axis aggressors.

This is the end of any attempts at appeasement in our land; the end of urging us to get along with the dictators; the end of compromise with tyranny and the forces of depression, oppression.

The length of the duration of our national effort will depend on the duration of this war, and that will depend on the speed with which we act in forging the weapons needed to gain victory for the democratic cause.

The urgency is now.
Whether there will be final victory or defeat in this war, will be decided in the next few months.

The manufacture of modern planes and instruments of war is a complicated and difficult business which requires many materials but most of all, and most vitally the

effective use of TIME.

To enable Britain, Greece and China to gain the advantage -- to save American property, and American labor and American lives and even American freedom in the future -- it is essential that we work and build NOW.

The great task of our day, the deep duty which rests upon us toward the future is to move products from the assembly lines of our factories to the battle lines of Britain -- Now!

To preserve our country and our civilization in the future, it is necessary that we labor, that we sacrifice our leisure and our comforts, NOW.

We cannot have speed and effectiveness if we have not unity. We do not ^{have} and will never have the ^{false} unhealthy unity of a people browbeaten by [governmental] threats and misled by [governmental] propaganda. But we can and will establish the kind of unity which is possible only in a community of men and women who can recognize the truth, and face [the truth] ^{honestly} with intelligence and courage.

We shall have to make sacrifices -- everyone of us. [And again --] The [eventual] ^{final} extent of those sacrifices will depend upon the speed and the effectiveness with which we now act.^{now}

We are ~~now~~ embarked upon the most gigantic armament program ever undertaken by any nation. No country, save the United States, would have dared to attempt it in the time allotted for its completion.

I must tell you tonight in plain language what this undertaking means to you -- to your daily life.

Whether you are [a selected] in the armed services; whether you are a steel worker or a stavedore; a machinist or a ^{a farmer or a banker}; a storekeeper; housewife; [or] foremen or a financier; a merchant or a manufacturer -- to all of you it will mean sacrifice for your country and for your liberties. [I say frankly that]

You will feel the impact of this gigantic effort in your daily lives. You will feel it in a way which will cause inconvenience and discomfort and sacrifice.

[You may have to put off the purchase of a new family automobile.]

You ^{wild} may have to ^{work} stay longer at ^{your} bench, or plow or machine.

You ^{wild} may have to abandon some of your [accustomed] ^{usual} business practices;

[You may have to open your company's books to Government audit.

You may have to share your trade secrets and be content with lower profits. [on the things you are manufacturing for defense.]

You will have to pay higher taxes. There will have to be added work, abandonment of profiteering by capital or by labor, moratorium on internal differences.

P All this ^{wild} will involve personal sacrifices. But all of us will do these things ^{willingly} for they are for the common ^{wild} national protection and welfare; for our defense against the most ruthless brutality in history; for the ultimate victory of a way of life now so

~~violently~~
~~brutally~~ manaced.

[I wish I could sit down with each of you -- show you the charts and figures, the statistics of industrial capacity compared with our requirements; go over with you item by item the colossal demands of this program in terms of raw materials and power and transportation and machinery and man hours of skilled labor. You would then see clearly, as all of us who are directing this defense effort now see, that it demands of every man, woman and child in this country the utmost effort.]

A half-hearted effort on our part now must lead to failure. This is no part-time job. The concepts of "business as usual" and "normalcy" [in every sense of the word] must be forgotten until the task is finished. [Many know that] This is an all-out effort -- [that] nothing short of that kind of effort will suffice. [That is what all of us must now understand.]

[Only in that spirit -- that spirit of determined dedication to the imperatives of production -- can we achieve success.] We are now dedicated, from here on, ~~a production greater than we have ever known or have ever known before~~ a production greater than we now know or have ever known before --

And so, tonight, I am appealing to the heart and to the mind of every man and every woman within our borders who love liberty. I ask you to consider the needs of our nation at this hour and to put aside all personal differences until our victory is won. ^P The light of democracy ^{must be kept burning.} no longer seems vague to any of us. To the perpetuation of ^{this} light each must do his own share. Our individual effort may seem to some but a light flickering in an ugly wind. But there are 130 million of us here. There are many more millions in Britain and elsewhere bravely shielding this light from the blackout of barbarism. ^{It has not enough force merely to trim} ^{We here are trimming]} the wick and polishing ^{that the flame may burn ever brighter.} The time has come when we must provide the fuel in ever-increasing amounts to keep the flame alight.

To this end, the energy of all of us, the thoughts of all of us must be directed with a singleness of purpose seldom asked of a population so great, so wide-spread, and so divergent of origin as ours. But ^{I am asking for} ^{the} ^{which we need -} that singleness of purpose, that unity of effort ^{a unity} in which there will be no divisions of party or section or race or nationality or religion. There is not one

among us who does not have a stake in the outcome of the effort in which we are now engaged. ^P A few weeks ago I spoke of the four freedoms -- freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want and freedom from fear. They are the stake. ^{should} ^{would} If we fail, ^{we} forfeit all that they mean. ^{By winning,} [If we win] we implement and strengthen their meaning, and so increase the stature of man and the dignity of human life.

We are not yet called upon to live on 25 cents worth of meat a week -- as are the people of England.

We are not yet asked to subsist upon an ounce of butter a day -- as people do in England.

We are not yet compelled to give up our sleep, to crowd into shelters -- as people in England give up their sleep and crowd into shelters, even though they endure all these hardships cheerfully and unflinchingly.

But all these things may come to us in time -- as they have come already to people in England. We must be prepared to meet them.

The sacrifices made by the people under a dictatorship are enforced. They are obtained by extortion.

B. Franklin

With us, as in England, [and in Greece and in China,]
every necessary sacrifice is offered as a gift -- a gift
inspired by the loyalty which comes from a sense of partner-
ship in the continued forward progress of our country.

This loyalty cannot be bought. Dollars alone will
not win this war. Let us not delude ourselves as to that.
Americans are not mercenaries.

[The Congress is appropriating vast sums for our
national defense and for strengthening the gallant forces
of our friends across the seas.

These vast sums are not created by the wave of a
magician's wand. They are created by work.

That work must go forward. It must not be interrupted
by factional disputes.]

Today, nearly a million and a half American citizens
are hard at work in our armed forces. The spirit and the
determination of these men of our Army and Navy are worthy
of the highest traditions of our country. No better men
ever served under Washington, or John Paul Jones or [under]
Grant, or Lee, or Farragut. That is a boast, I admit, but
it is not an idle one.

The quality of our soldiers and sailors reflects the quality of our people. It proves the national will to sacrifice and to work.

[Upon that will, depends the actions of our government -- the legislative and the executive branches as well.]

[And upon that will depends the output of our industry and our agriculture.

Upon that will, depends the survival of the vital bridge across the ocean -- the bridge of ships which carry the arms and food for those who are fighting the good fight.

[Then] The will of the American people must and shall prevail.

[The expression of this will must not be frustrated, either by threats from powerful enemies abroad or by small, selfish groups ^{or} individuals at home.

[The American people have defined their purpose in a series of acts of legislation.

These acts have laid the basis for our own training program in our Army and our Navy.

They have provided for the manufacture of weapons and implements of war -- ships, planes, tanks, factories.

They have now provided for aid to other democracies actually resisting the aggressors.

Taken together they define the American will to resist in terms of the American capacity to produce -- and to produce NOW.

We are not asking for things which cannot be produced for two or three years to come. We are pushing forward on the basis of the needs of 1941 and 1942.

The will of the American people, expressed in their statutes and in the determination of their government, must not be obstructed by war profiteering.

[It must not be obstructed by attempts at monopoly.]
[It must not be obstructed by sabotage either of the production plant or of the labor force which mans ~~that~~ plant.]

This Administration has for many years fought efforts at monopoly in industry. It has endeavored by every means at its disposal to protect labor against attacks upon its right to bargain collectively with its employers. This Administration will [never abandon that policy.] continue these efforts.

unnecessary strikes of workers, by short-sighted management; or by deliberate sabotage

I am about to establish, under an Executive Order,
[]
Labor Mediation Board for the period of the emergency. This
Board will provide a means by which collective bargaining
can proceed effectively ^{and} make adjustments by consent and
thus will minimize the interruptions due to strikes.

[] The organization of our own army has been planned
and will be developed with a view to the defense of the
Western Hemisphere -- and that Hemisphere is a very large
area, stretching from the Arctic to the Equator to the
Antarctic. It includes every variety of climate and terrain.
It presents every kind of problem in tactics. I may say
^{has been foreseen} that every kind of problem is under continuous examination
by our general staff.

The problem of defending this Hemisphere on land
is ^{an} ~~not~~ immediate problem -- and it is one which will never
confront us as long as the British Navy controls the
Atlantic Ocean and our own Navy controls the Pacific.

Despite the enormous advances of aviation -- the
dominant factor in this war is still sea power. []

(A) p. 114

We made mistakes in 1917

Because of the necessity of avoid strikes
and lockouts in defense plants,

But the prime objective now is to arm
ourselves so fast that that policy may endure.
Otherwise there will be no ~~freedom for either~~
~~no free management~~. Wise labor leaders
and wise business managers will realize
how necessary it is to their own existence
to make common sacrifice for this great
common cause.



[Only when British sea power is either destroyed or captured by the enemy will this Hemisphere become vulnerable.]

[The American people know this. And that is why they have demanded, and got, a policy of unqualified,

~~for immediate, all-out aid for Britain, Greece, China and all the governments in exile whose homelands are temporarily occupied by the aggressors.~~ From now on that aid will be increased -- and

increased -- and increased -- until total victory has been won.

[The Axis powers are acutely aware of this, as they have clearly indicated in ~~the~~ controlled press and by the recent statements of their authorities, official and semi-official.

They, therefore, know that they must win quickly -- or never.]

The British people are ~~ready~~ ^{prepared} for invasion whenever the attempt may come -- tomorrow -- next week -- next month.

The British are stronger than ever in the magnificent morale which has enabled them to endure all the dark days and the shattered nights of the past ten months.

Insert A p. 15

There is no longer the slightest
question or doubt that the American
~~people are fully aware of the~~ people to
extreme kindness of the present
situation.

In this historic crisis, Britain is blessed with a brilliant leader in Winston Churchill. But, no one knows better than Mr. Churchill himself that it is not alone his stirring words or valiant deeds which give the British their superb morale. *The essence of that morale is in* [That could come only from] the masses of plain people who are completely clear in their minds about the one essential fact — [which is] that they would rather die as free men than live as slaves.

These plain people -- civilians as well as soldiers and sailors and airmen -- are fighting in the front line of civilization, and they are holding that line with a fortitude which will be forever the pride and the inspiration of all free men.

by sea
The British people and their allies need ships. From America, they will get ships.
They need planes. From America, they will get planes.
They need food. From America, they will get food.
They need tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds. From America, they will get tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds.

China is likewise blessed with a great leader in

Chiang Kai-Shek. He likewise expresses in himself the magnificent will of millions of plain people to resist enslavement. China asks for our help. [~~she is entitled~~
~~to it.~~] America has said that ^{China} we shall have ~~now~~ our help.

Our country is going to be what our people have proclaimed it must be -- the arsenal of democracy.

Our country is going to play its full, tremendous part in the achievement of victory.

And when that day has come -- and pray God it will be sooner than any of us now dares to hope -- from that day on our country must continue to play its great part in the period of world reconstruction.

Our country knows that the rallying cry of the dictators, their boasting about a master-race, will prove to be pure stuff and nonsense. There never has been, there isn't now, and there never will be, any race of people fit to serve as masters over their fellow men. [And least of all does a race qualify to serve as masters merely because they rushed in to train more soldiers, build more planes and ships, or manufacture more death-dealing stuffs of war.]

The world has no use for masters ^{of} peace-loving

people; it has a very real use for servants. Men and women everywhere, races, nations, who can serve the world by protecting the common man's security, improving his standards of health and living, shortening his hours of toil, providing markets for his manufactures and his agriculture; in short, serving to make the world a better place to live, not attempting to goose-step to power over their fellow-men. The world is not looking for any master race. It is searching for a race that can serve, that can cure its ills, increase its happiness, banish the terrors of war, bring back calm enjoyment and eliminate hunger, insecurity, and man's inhumanity to man.

Never, in all our history, have Americans faced a job that was so well worth doing -- the permanent work of keeping the peace.

* * * * *

DRAFT #5

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS' DINNER

MARCH 15, 1941

This dinner of the White House Correspondents Association is unique. It is the first one at which I have made a speech in all these eight years. It differs from the ~~press~~ conferences that you and I hold twice a week. You cannot ask me any questions; and everything I have to say is word for word "on the record".

For eight years you and I have been helping each other. I have been trying to keep you informed of the news of Washington, and of the nation, and of the world, from the point of view of the Presidency. You, more than you realize it, have been giving me a great deal of information about what the people of this country are thinking.

In our ~~Press~~ conferences, as at this dinner tonight, we include reporters representing papers and news agencies of many other lands. To most of them it is a matter of constant amazement that ~~press~~ conferences such as ours can exist in any nation in the world.

That is especially true in those lands where freedoms [redacted] do not exist -- where the purposes of our democracy and the characteristics of our country and our people have been seriously [✓] ~~distorted~~.

Such misunderstandings are not new. I remember that (the German Government) in the early days of the first World War received solemn assurances from their representatives in the United States that the people of America were disunited; that they cared more for peace at any price than for the preservation of ideals and freedom; that there would even be riots and revolutions in the United States if this nation ever ~~took a bold stand in asserting~~ its own interests.

Let not the dictators of Europe and Asia doubt our unanimity. [We are already acting with that unanimity.] Because production and still more production is the key to the saving of democracy throughout the world, we have undertaken a program of production that is in the process of being thrown into high gear.

Before the present war broke out on September 1, 1939, I was more worried about the future than many people -- most people. The record shows I was not worried enough.

That, however, is water over the dam. Do not let us waste time reviewing ~~errors~~ ^{fixing or} of the past, or dodging ~~concealing~~ ⁱⁿ the blame for ~~that~~. History cannot be rewritten

by wishful thinking. We, the American people, are writing new history to-day ^{This:}

The big news story of this week is ~~written~~ ^{crystal} ~~in fact little~~. The word has been told that we, as a united nation, ~~should~~ ^{but} that we ~~have fully~~ realized the danger which confronts us -- and to meet that danger our democracy has gone into action.

^{I know that although}
The Prussian autocracy was bad enough, ~~but~~ Nazism is far worse.

^{Nazi}
~~These~~ forces are not seeking mere modifications in colonial maps or in minor European boundaries. They openly seek the destruction of all elective systems of government on every continent, including our own; they seek to establish systems of government based on the regimentation of all human beings by a handful of individual rulers who have seized power by force.

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These men and their hypnotized followers call this
a new order. ~~It is not new,~~ ^{It is not older,} ~~certainly does no~~
~~resemblance to order.~~ For order among nations presupposes
~~enduring~~ ^{justice under which} something permanent -- some system ~~and~~ individuals, over a
long period of time, are willing to live ~~under~~. Humanity
~~a system imposed by~~ ^{do} will never permanently accept ~~conquest and~~ ^{based on slavery.}

These modern tyrants find it necessary to their
plans to eliminate all democracies -- eliminate them one
by one. The nations of Europe, and indeed we ourselves,
did not appreciate that purpose. We ~~understand~~ ^{do} now.
The process of the elimination of the European nations
proceeded according to plan through 1939 and 1940, until
the schedule was shot to pieces by the unbeatable defenders
of Britain.

The enemies of democracy were wrong in their
calculations for a very simple reason. They were wrong
because they believed that democracy could not adjust
itself to the terrible reality of a world at war.

They believed that democracy, because of its
profound respect for the rights of men, would never arm
itself to fight.

They believed that democracy, because of its will to live at peace with its neighbors, could not mobilize its energies even in its own defense.

They know now that democracy can still remain democracy, and speak, and reach conclusions, and arm itself adequately for defense.

From the bureaus of propaganda of the Axis powers came the confident prophecy that the conquest of our country would be "an inside job" -- a job accomplished not by overpowering invasion from without, but by disrupting confusion and disunion and moral disintegration from within.

Those who believed that knew little of our history. America is not a country which can be confounded by the appeasers, the defeatists, the backstairs manufacturers of panic. It is a country which talks out its problems in the open, where any man can hear them.

We have just now engaged in a great debate. It was not limited to the halls of Congress. It was argued in every newspaper, on every wave length -- over every cracker barrel in the land. It was finally settled and decided by the American people themselves.

The decisions of our democracy may be slowly arrived at. They may at times involve among us even too much talk --- too many exchanges of bitterness and false accusation and the sounding of too many false alarms. But when that decision is made, it is proclaimed not with the voice of any one man but with the voice of one hundred and thirty millions. It is binding on all of us. And the world is no longer left in doubt.

This decision is the end of any attempts at appeasement in our land; the end of urging us to get along with the dictators; the end of compromise with tyranny and the forces of oppression.

The urgency is now.

We believe firmly that when our production output is in full swing ~~in November~~, the democracies of the world will be able to prove ~~to~~ ^{that} dictatorships ~~they~~ cannot win.

But, ~~in the meantime~~, the time element is of ~~utmost~~ ^{Supreme} importance, ~~in its relationship to things we can do next week and in each succeeding week of this year~~. Every plane, every other instrument of war, old and new, which we can spare now, we will send overseas. That is common sense strategy.

The great task of this day, the deep duty which rests upon us is to move products from the assembly lines of our factories to the battle lines of democracy -- NOW!

We can have speed and effectiveness if we maintain our existing unity. We do not have and never will have the false unity of a people browbeaten by threats and misled by propaganda. Ours is a unity which is possible only among free ~~men~~ men and women who recognize the truth, and face reality with intelligence and courage.

Today, at last, ours is not a partial effort. It is a total effort and that is the only way to guarantee ultimate safety.

Beginning a year ago, we drew the over-all blue prints and the Congress began through a series of appropriations to create the facilities for making the instruments. We started the erection of hundreds of plants and we started the training of millions of men.

The said tools or carbide prints were based on the pre-war economy, therefore, at the moment the aid-to-democracies bill was passed we were ready to recommend

51 W.K.

the seven billion dollar appropriation on ~~the~~ basis
of capacity production as ~~now planned~~

~~In other words,~~ This will be money which will be
used for things which can be turned out and delivered in 1941
and 1942 -- everything that can be manufactured in an orderly
way and with the greatest possible speed.

The articles themselves cover the whole range of
munitions of war and of the facilities for transporting them, ~~up to what we believe to be our full capacity~~

The aid-to-democracies bill was agreed to by both
~~last~~ houses of the Congress ~~on~~ Tuesday afternoon. I signed it one
half hour later. Five minutes later I approved a list of
articles for immediate shipment. Many of them are on their
way. On Wednesday, I recommended an appropriation for new
material to the extent of seven billion dollars; ~~and the Congress~~
~~in making fast rather spend in making the off~~ ~~in making the off~~
~~are working overtime to begin making the articles as soon~~
~~as the appropriation goes through.~~

Here in Washington, we are thinking in terms of
speed and speed now. And I hope that that watchword will find
its way into every home in the nation.

14 ✓

We shall have to make sacrifices -- every one
of us. The final extent of those sacrifices will depend
upon the speed with which we act NOW!

We are embarked upon the most gigantic armament
program ever undertaken by any nation.

I must tell you tonight in plain language what
this undertaking means to you -- to your daily life.

14

Whether you are in the armed services; whether you are a steel worker or a stevedore; a machinist or a housewife; a farmer or a banker; a storekeeper or a manufacturer -- to all of you it will mean sacrifice in behalf of country and your liberties. You will feel the impact of this gigantic effort in your daily lives. You will feel it in a way which will cause many inconveniences.

You will have to be content with lower profits from business because obviously your taxes will be higher.

You will have to work longer at your bench, or your plow or your machine.

Let me make it clear that the nation is calling for the sacrifice of some privileges but not for the sacrifice of fundamental rights. Most of us will do that willingly. That kind of sacrifice is for the common national protection and welfare; for our defense against the most ruthless brutality in history; for the ultimate victory of a way of life now so violently menaced.

A half-hearted effort on our part will lead to failure. This is no part-time job. The concepts of "business as usual" and "normalcy" must be forgotten until

4/2

the task is finished. This is an all-out effort -- nothing short of all-out effort will win.

We are now dedicated, from here on, to a constantly increasing tempo of production -- a production greater than we now know or have ever known before -- a production that does not stop and ~~should~~ ^{should} not pause and ~~will~~ not pause.

And so, tonight, I am appealing to the heart and to the mind of every man and every woman within our borders who love liberty. I ask you to consider the needs of our nation at this hour, and to put aside all personal differences until our victory is won.

The light of democracy must be kept burning. To the perpetuation of this light, each must do his own share. The single effort of one individual may seem ~~very small~~ ^{very small}. But there are 130 million ~~individuals~~ over here. There are many more millions in Britain and elsewhere bravely shielding the great flame of democracy from the blackout of barbarism. It is not enough for us merely to trim the wick, or polish the glass. The time has come when we must provide the fuel in ever-increasing amounts to keep the flame alight.

There will be no divisions of party or section or race or nationality or religion. There is not one among us who does not have a stake in the outcome of the effort in which we are now engaged.

A few weeks ago I spoke of four freedoms -- freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want, ~~and~~ freedom from fear. They are the ultimate stake. They may not be immediately attainable throughout the world but humanity does move toward those ideals through democratic processes. If we fail -- if democracy is superseded by slavery -- then those four freedoms or even the mention of them will become forbidden things. Centuries will pass before they can be revived.

By winning now, we strengthen their meaning, we increase the stature of mankind and the dignity of human life.

There is a vast difference between the word "loyalty" and the word "obedience". Obedience can be obtained and enforced in a dictatorship by the use of threat and extortion or it can be obtained by a failure on the part of government to tell the truth to its citizens.

Loyalty is different. It springs from the mind that is given the facts, that retains ancient ideals and proceeds without coercion to give ~~the~~ support to its own government.

That is true in England and in Greece and in China and in the United States today. And in many other countries millions of men and women are praying for the return of a day when they can give that kind of loyalty.

Loyalty cannot be bought. Dollars alone will not win this war. Let us not delude ourselves as to that.

Today, nearly a million and a half American citizens are hard at work in our armed forces. The spirit and the determination of these men of our Army and Navy are worthy of the highest traditions of our country. No better men ever served under Washington, or John Paul Jones, or Grant, or Lee, or Pershing. That is a boast, I admit -- but it is not an idle one.

The quality of our soldiers and sailors reflects the quality of our people. It proves the national will to sacrifice and to work.

6 Mh

DRAFT #5

-13-

the national will to sacrifice and to work
Upon ~~the~~, depends the output of our industry
and our agriculture.

Upon that will, depends the survival of the vital bridge across the ocean -- the bridge of ships which carry the arms and food for those who are fighting the good fight.

Upon that will, depends our ability to aid other nations which may determine to ~~protect~~ ^{Her resistance,} the aggressor. May

Upon that will, may depend practical assistance to people now living in nations which have been overrun, should they find the opportunity to strike back in an effort to regain their liberties.

This will of the American people will not be frustrated, either by threats from powerful enemies abroad or by small, selfish groups or individuals at home.

The determination of America must not be obstructed by war profiteering.

It must not be obstructed by unnecessary strikes of workers, by short-sighted management, or by deliberate sabotage.

To, Unless we win there will be no freedom for either management or labor.

q.l. -K

Wise labor leaders and wise business managers will realize how necessary it is to their own existence to make common sacrifice for this great common cause.

~~Because of the necessity of avoiding strikes and lockouts in defense plants, I am about to establish a Labor Mediation Board for the period of the emergency. This Board will provide a means by which collective bargaining can proceed effectively and minimize interruptions of defense production.~~

There is no longer the slightest question or doubt that the American people recognize the extreme seriousness of the present situation. That is why they have demanded, and got, a policy of unqualified, immediate, all-out aid for Britain, Greece, China and for all the governments in exile whose homelands are temporarily occupied by the aggressors.

From now on that aid will be increased -- and yet again increased -- until total victory has been won.

The British are stronger than ever in the magnificent morale which has enabled them to endure all the dark days and the shattered nights of the past ten months. They have

the full support and help of Canada, and the other Dominions, of the rest of their Empire, and non-British people throughout the world who still think in terms of the great freedoms.

The British people are braced for invasion whenever the attempt may come -- tomorrow -- next week -- next month.

In this historic crisis, Britain is blessed with a brilliant and great leader in Winston Churchill. But, no one knows better than Mr. Churchill himself, that it is not alone his stirring words and valiant deeds which give the British their superb morale. The essence of that morale is in the masses of plain people who are completely clear in their minds about the one essential fact -- that they would rather die as free men than live as slaves.

These plain people -- civilians as well as
— women and girls as well as men and
soldiers and sailors and airmen -- are fighting in the front line of civilization, and they are holding that line with a fortitude which will forever be the pride and the inspiration of all free men on every continent and on every island of the sea.

The British people and their Grecian allies need ships. From America, they will get ships.

They need planes. From America, they will get planes.

They need food. From America, they will get food.

They need tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds. From America, they will get tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds.

China likewise expresses the magnificent will of millions of plain people to resist the dismemberment of their nation. China, through the generalissimo, Chiang Kai-Shek, asks our help. America has said that China shall have our help.

Our country is going to be what our people have proclaimed it must be -- the arsenal of democracy.

Our country is going to play its full part.

And when dictatorships disintegrate -- and pray God that will be sooner than any of us now dares to hope -- then our country must continue to play its great part in the period of world reconstruction.

We believe that the rallying cry of the dictators, their boasting about a master-race, will prove to be pure stuff and nonsense. There never has been, there isn't now, and there never will be, any race of people fit to serve as masters over their fellow men.

The world has no use for any nation which, because of size or because of military might, asserts the right to goosestep to world power over other nations or other races. We believe that any nationality, no matter how small, has the inherent right to its own nationhood.

We believe that the men and women of such nations, no matter ~~the~~ size, can, through the processes of peace, serve themselves and serve the world by protecting the common man's security; improve the standards of healthful living; provide markets for manufacture and for agriculture. Through that kind of peaceful service every nation can increase its happiness, banish the terrors of war, and abandon man's inhumanity to man.

Never, in all our history, have Americans faced a job so well worthwhile. May it be said of us in the days to come that our children and our children's children rise up and call us blessed.

A p.5

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The great task of
our day, the deep duty which
rests upon us toward the
future is to move ^{product} ~~gradually~~
~~the products of our assembly~~
~~lines to~~
from the assembly lines
of our factories to the battle
lines in Britain. — Now!

4. Insert A
p. 6

William H. Mortzope Jr.
President of Production
Planning Board

[Upon our program initiated last spring we have superimposed huge additional demands arising from passage of the Lend Lease Bill.]

We are now embarked upon the most gigantic armament program ever undertaken by any nation. No country, save the United States, would have dared attempt it in the time allotted for its completion. [But we dared.]

[As a result,] I must tell you tonight in plain language what this undertaking means to you—to your daily life, whether you are a selectee in the armed services; whether you are a steel worker or a stevedore; a machinist or a housewife; a foreman or a financier; a merchant or a manufacturer. To all of you it will mean sacrifice for your country and for your liberties, to the millions of citizens, whatever your occupation, your trade, your business or profession—to all of you,] I say frankly that you will feel the impact of this gigantic effort in your daily lives. You will feel it in a way which will cause inconvenience and [personal] discomfort and [even] sacrifice.

[You may, for instance, have to use a different kind of saucepan.]

You may have to put off the purchase of a new family automobile.

You may have to stay longer at bench, or plow or machine.

You may have to abandon some of your accustomed business practices.

You may have to open your company's books to Government audit.

You may have to share your trade secrets and be content with lower profits on the things you are manufacturing for defense.

[You will have to pay higher taxes. There will have to be capital or by labor, on all sides]
[All of these things—the added work, [the] abandonment of profiteering by the moratorium on internal differences. All this may involve personal sacrifices. But all of us will do these things gladly for the common good, for the ultimate victory of a way of life now so brutally menaced. and national protection and welfare.]

I wish I could sit down with each of you—show you the charts and figures, the statistics of industrial capacity compared with our requirements;

[for defense against the most ruthless brutality in history,

The time has come when
polishing the glass that the flame may burn ever brighter. Now we must provide
the fuel in ever-increasing amounts to keep the flame alight.

To this end, the energy of all of us, the thoughts of all of us must be directed with a singleness of purpose seldom asked of a population so great, so wide-spread, and so divergent of origin as ours. But I am asking for that singleness of purpose, that unity of effort, [tonight.] There is not one among us who does not have a stake in the outcome of the effort in which we are now engaged. A few weeks ago I spoke of the four freedoms--freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want and freedom from fear. They are the stake. If we fail, we forfeit all that they mean. If we win, we implement and strengthen their meaning and so increase the stature of man and the dignity of human life.

a unity in which there will be
no divisions of party or
section or race or
nationality or religion

Front A p. 10

China is liberating herself with a great hand in Cheung
bai - Shek. The liberating government is kindly the world of millions
of plain people to resist and liberate. China asks for our help. It
is entitled to it. She shall have it.

Inset Ap 11

Our country

~~Every believer in democracy~~ knows that the rallying cry of the dictators, their boasting about a master-race, will prove to be pure stuff and nonsense. There never has been, there isn't now, and there never will be, any race of people fit to serve as masters over their fellow men. And least of all does a race qualify to serve as masters merely because they ~~had~~ trained more soldiers, built more planes and ships, or manufactured more death-dealing stuffs of war.

The world, ~~moreover~~, has no use for masters; - it has a very real use for servants. Men and women everywhere, races, nations, who can serve the world by protecting the common man's security, improving his standards of health and living, shortening his hours of toil, providing ~~markets~~ ^{Manufactures and bus} ~~commodities~~ for his agriculture; - in short, serving to make the world a better place to live in, not attempting to ~~leap~~ step to power over their fellow-men. No indeed; The world is not looking for any Master race. It is searching for a race that can serve, that can cure its ills, increase its happiness, banish the terrors of war, bring back calm enjoyment and eliminate hunger, insecurity, and man's inhumanity to man.

.....
Stalwart believers in democracy insist that peoples everywhere ~~may~~ shall live in freedom, not exist in servitude.

.....
Democracies everywhere demand that we have a world ruled by international laws, not a world dominated by international outlaws.

RADIO STATION WRUL, BOSTON, AN ENDORED ORGANIZATION, WILL BROADCAST
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH TONIGHT TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD IN ¹⁴
DIFFERENT LANGUAGES.

HOBART C. MONTEE, WRUL NEWS EDITOR, WHO WAS HERE TO ARRANGE
TRANSMISSION, SAID THAT THE ENGLISH VERSION WILL BE CARRIED TONIGHT,
ALONG WITH SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE TRANSLATIONS FOR SOUTH AMERICA.
TOMORROW, HE SAID, THE ADDRESS WILL BE CARRIED IN NORWEGIAN,
FRENCH, DUTCH, CZECH, SLOVAK, YUGOSLAV, SERBIAN, ALBANIAN, GREEK,
TURKISH, AND GERMAN.

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STATEMENTS FILE

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BROADCAST FROM THE WILLARD HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.,
AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE
WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS' ASSOCIATION
MARCH 15, 1941, 9:30 P.M., E.S.T.

address
(This speech was broadcast in 7 different languages.)

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*Rebroadcast
in seven different
languages.*

STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

MARCH 15, 1941

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered at the White House Correspondents' Annual Dinner, Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:30 P.M., E.S.T., March 15, 1941. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

President Reynolds, My Friends:

This dinner of the White House Correspondents Association is unique. It is the first one at which I have made a speech in all these eight years. It differs from the press conferences that you ~~usually~~ hold twice a week~~(s)~~. You cannot ask me any questions; and everything I have to say is word for word "on the record." *(Applause)* (cc)

For eight years you and I have been helping each other. I have been trying to keep you informed of the news of Washington, and of the nation, and of the world, from the point of view of the Presidency. You, more than you realize *(it)*, have been giving me a great deal of information about what the people of this country are thinking *(and saying)*.

In our press conferences, as at this dinner tonight, we include reporters representing papers and news agencies of many other lands. To most of them it is a matter of constant amazement that press conferences such as ours can exist in any nation in the world.

That is especially true in those lands where freedoms do not exist — where the purposes of our democracy and the characteristics of our country and of our people have been seriously distorted.

Such misunderstandings are not new. I remember that, *a quarter of a century ago*, in the early days of the first World War, the German Government received solemn assurances from their representatives in the United States that the people of America were disunited; that they cared more for peace at any price than for the preservation of ideals and freedom; that there would even be riots and revolutions in the United States if this nation ever asserted its own interests.

Let not dictators of Europe *(and Asia)* doubt our unanimity now. *(Applause)* *more worried*

Before the present war broke out on September 1, 1939, I was more worried about the future than many people — most people. The record shows *I* was not worried enough. *indeed than*

That, however, is water over the dam. Do not let us waste time reviewing the past, or fixing or dodging the blame *(for fit)*. History cannot be rewritten by wishful thinking. We, the American people, are writing new history today. *(Applause)*

The big news story of this week is this: The world has been told that we, as a united nation, realize the danger ~~which~~ confronts us -- and that to meet that danger our democracy has gone into action. (Applause)

We know that although Prussian autocracy was bad enough, Nazism is far worse. (Applause)

(in the first place)
Nazis are not seeking mere modifications in colonial maps or in minor European boundaries. They openly seek the destruction of all elective systems of government on every continent -- including our own; they seek to establish systems of government based on the regimentation of all human beings by a handful of individual rulers who have seized power by force. (Applause)

Yes, these men and their hypnotized followers call this a new order. It is not new; it is not order. For order among nations presupposes something enduring -- some system of justice under which individuals, over a long period of time, are willing to live. Humanity will never permanently accept a system imposed by conquest and based on slavery.

These modern tyrants find it necessary to their plans to eliminate all democracies -- eliminate them one by one. The nations of Europe, and indeed we ourselves, did not appreciate that purpose. To do now. The process of the elimination of the European nations proceeded according to plan through 1933 and 1940, until the schedule was shot to pieces by the unbeatable defenders of Britain. (Applause)
well into

The enemies of democracy were wrong in their calculations for a very simple reason. They were wrong because they believed that democracy could not adjust itself to the terrible reality of a world at war.

They believed that democracy, because of its profound respect for the rights of *any*, would never arm itself to fight. (Applause)

They believed that democracy, because of its will to live at peace with its neighbors, could not mobilize its energies even in its own defense.

They know now that democracy can still remain democracy, and speak, and reach conclusions, and arm itself adequately for defense. (Applause)

From the bureaus of propaganda of the Axis powers came the confident prophecy that the conquest of our country would be "an inside job" -- a job accomplished not by overpowering invasion from without, but by disrupting confusion and disunion and moral disintegration from within.

Those who believed that knew little of our history. America is not a country which can be confounded by the appeasers, the defeatists, the backstairs manufacturers of panic. It is a country which talks out its problems in the open, where any man can hear them. (Applause)

We have just now engaged in a great debate. It was not limited to the halls of Congress. It was argued in every newspaper, on every wave length -- over every cracker barrel in the land. It was finally settled and decided by the American people themselves. (Applause)

all

and

argued

(Yes)
The decisions of our democracy may be slowly arrived at. But when that decision is made, it is proclaimed not with the voice of any one man but with the voice of one hundred and thirty millions. It is binding on all (of us). And the world is no longer left in doubt. *(Applause)*

This decision is the end of any attempts at appeasement in our land; the end of urging us to get along with (the) dictators; the end of compromise with tyranny and the forces of oppression.

And the urgency is now.

We believe firmly that when our production output is in full swing, the democracies of the world will be able to prove that dictatorships cannot win.

But, now *(now)* the time element is of supreme importance. Every plane, every other instrument of war, old and new, (which) *every instrument we can spare now, we will send overseas*) That is common sense *and that* strategy. *(Applause)* *Because the that*

each and every one of
The great task of this day, the deep duty (which) rests upon us is to move products from the assembly lines of our factories to the battle lines of democracy — NOW!

We can have speed and effectiveness, if we maintain our existing unity. We do not have and never will have the false unity of a people browbeaten by threats and misled by propaganda. Ours is a unity (which) it is possible only among free men and women who recognize the truth and face reality with intelligence and courage.

-- Today at long last --
Today, at last, ours is not a partial effort. It is a total effort and that is the only way to guarantee ultimate safety.

Beginning a year ago, we started the erection of hundreds of plants; and we started the training of millions of men.

(that)
this week
Then, at the moment, the aid-to-democracies bill was passed, we were ready to recommend the seven billion dollar appropriation on the basis of capacity production as now planned.

(ready) carrying them across the seas!
The articles themselves cover the whole range of munitions of war and of the facilities for transporting them *across the seas!*

(that)
after that
(The) aid-to-democracies bill was agreed to by both houses of the Congress (last) Tuesday afternoon. I signed it one half hour later. Five minutes later, I approved a list of articles for immediate shipment. Many of them are on their way. On Wednesday, I recommended an appropriation for new material to the extent of seven billion dollars; and the Congress is making patriotic speed in making the (appropriation) available.

(now)
Here in Washington, we are thinking in terms of speed and speed now. And I hope that that watchword will find its way into every home in the nation.

We shall have to make sacrifices — every one of us. The final extent of these sacrifices will depend (upon the speed) with which we act NOW!

I must tell you tonight in plain language what this undertaking means to you — to your daily life.

now is
; and today -- Saturday night --

(Applause) Yes
- 4 -

your

Whether you are in the armed services; whether you are a steel worker or a stevedore; a machinist or a housewife; a farmer or a banker; a storekeeper or a manufacturer -- to all of you it will mean sacrifice in behalf of country and your liberties. You will feel the impact of this gigantic effort in your daily lives. You will feel it in a way (which) that will cause many inconveniences.

To you

lower profits

You will have to be content with lower profits from business because obviously your taxes will be higher.

You will have to work longer at your bench, or your plow, or your machine, or your desk.

Let me make it clear that the nation is calling for the sacrifice of some privileges (but) not for the sacrifice of fundamental rights. Most of us will do (that) willingly. That kind of sacrifice is for the common national protection and welfare; for our defense against the most ruthless brutality in history; for the ultimate victory of a way of life now so violently menaced. (Applause) And that

all

A half-hearted effort on our part, will lead to failure. This is no part-time job. The concepts of "business as usual," (and) "normalcy" must be forgotten until the task is finished. (This is) an all-out effort -- nothing short of all-out effort will win. (Yes, it's) And that

(Applause)

Therefore,

We are (now) dedicated, from here on, to a constantly increasing tempo of production -- a production greater than we now know or have ever known before -- a production that does not stop and should not pause.

The

(And so,) Tonight, I am appealing to the heart and to the mind of every man and every woman within our borders who love liberty. I ask you to consider the needs of our nation at this hour, (and) to put aside all personal differences until (our) victory is won.

each fire

The light of democracy must be kept burning. To the perpetuation of this light, each must do his own share. The single effort of one individual may seem (very) small. But there are 130 million individuals over here. There are many more millions in Britain and elsewhere bravely shielding the great flame of democracy from the blackout of barbarism. It is not enough for us merely to trim the wick, or polish the glass. The time has come when we must provide the fuel in ever-increasing amounts to keep the flame alight. (That) And that

no division

There will be no divisions of party or section or race or nationality or religion. There is not one among us who does not have a stake in the outcome of the effort in which we are now engaged.

A few weeks ago I spoke of four freedoms -- freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want, freedom from fear. They are the ultimate stake. They may not be immediately attainable throughout the world but humanity does move toward those ideals through democratic processes. If we fail -- if democracy is superseded by slavery -- then those four freedoms, or even the mention of them, will become forbidden things. Centuries will pass before they can be revived.

And

By winning now, we strengthen their meaning, we increase the stature of mankind (and) the dignity of human life.

of these freedoms

And

we establish

I have often thought that

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there is a vast difference between the word "loyalty" and the word "obedience." Obedience can be obtained and enforced in a dictatorship by the use of threat (and) extortion or, it can be obtained by a failure on the part of government to tell the truth to its citizens.

(Blackmail or)

Loyalty is different. It springs from the mind that is given the facts, that retains ancient ideals and proceeds without coercion to give support to its own government.

That is true in England and in Greece and in China and in the United States, today. And in many other countries millions of men and women are praying for the return of a day when they can give that kind of loyalty.

Loyalty cannot be bought. Dollars alone will not win this war. Let us not delude ourselves as to that.

Today, nearly a million and a half American citizens are hard at work in our armed forces. The spirit -- (and) the determination of these men of our Army and Navy are worthy of the highest traditions of our country. No better men ever served under Washington; or John Paul Jones; or Grant; or Lee; or Foching. That is a boast, I admit -- but it is not an idle one. (Applause.)

Upon the national will to sacrifice and to work depends the output of our industry and our agriculture. (that)

Upon that will, depends the survival of the vital bridge across the ocean -- the bridge of ships (which) carry the arms and food for those who are fighting the good fight.

Upon that will, depends our ability to aid other nations which may determine to offer resistance. (that)

Upon that will, may depend practical assistance to people now living in nations (which) have been overrun, should they find the opportunity to strike back in an effort to regain their liberties -- and may that day come soon! (Applause.)

This will of the American people will not be frustrated, either by threats from powerful enemies abroad or by small, selfish groups or individuals at home! (And will not)

The determination of America must not be obstructed by war profiteering.

"It must not be obstructed by unnecessary strikes of workers, by short-sighted management, or by deliberate sabotage." (Applause.) (Applause.) (The third danger.)

For, unless we win there will be no freedom for either management or labor.

Wise labor leaders and wise business managers will realize how necessary it is to their own existence to make common sacrifice for this great cause. (Applause.)

There is no longer the slightest question or doubt that the American people recognize the extreme seriousness of the present situation. That is why they have demanded, and got, a policy of unqualified, immediate, all-out aid for Britain, Greece, China, and for all the governments in exile whose homelands are temporarily occupied by the aggressors. (Applause.)

And from now on that aid will be increased -- and yet again increased -- until total victory has been won. (Applause.)

for

for

The British are stronger than ever in the sacrifice
and morale which has enabled them to endure all the dark days
and the shattered nights of the past ten months. They have
the full support and help of Canada, (and) the other Dominions,
of the rest of their Empire, and non-British people throughout
the world who still think in terms of the Great Freedoms. *(Applause)*
and the great and stupendous
and the great and stupendous
The British people are braced for invasion when-
ever (she) *attempts* may come — tomorrow — next week — next
month. *(Applause)*

In this historic crisis, Britain is blessed with
a brilliant and great leader in Winston Churchill. But, no
one known better than Mr. Churchill himself, that it is not
alone his stirring words and valiant deeds which give the
British their superb morale. The essence of that morale is
in the masses of plain people who are completely clear in
their minds about the one essential fact — that they would
rather die as free men than live as slaves. *(Applause)*

These plain people — civilians as well as
soldiers and sailors and airmen — women and girls as well
as men and boys — are fighting in the front line of civiliza-
tion, and they are holding that line with a fortitude which *that*
will forever be the pride and the inspiration of all free men
on *this continent* *and* *every* *lager* *of* *the* *sea*. *(Applause)*

The British people and their French allies need
ships. From America, they will get ships. *(Applause)*

They need planes. From America, they will get
planes. *(Applause)*

Yes, they need food.

From America, they will get food. *(Applause)*

They need tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies
of all kinds. From America, they will get tanks and guns
and ammunition and supplies of all kinds. *(Applause)*

China deserves the magnificence which will
millions of plain people to resist the dismemberment of
their nation. China, through the Generalissimo, Chiang
Kai-Shek, asks our help, *knowing* he has said that China shall
have our help. *(Applause)*

That is the country is going to be what our people have
proclaimed it must be — the arsenal of democracy.

Our country is going to play its full part.

And when dictatorships disintegrate — and pray

God that will be sooner than any of us now dare(s) to hope —
then our country must continue to play its great part in *the* *liberation*
the period of world reconstruction. *for the good of America* *and* *the* *world*.

We believe that the rallying cry of the dictators,
their boasting about a master-race, will prove to be pure
stunt and nonsense. There never has been, there isn't now,
and there never will be, any race or people fit to serve
as masters over their fellow men. *(Applause)* *for the good of America* *and* *the* *world*.

The world has no use for any nation which, be-
cause of size or because of military might, asserts the
right to dominate world power over other nations or
other races. We believe that any nationality, no matter
how small, has the inherent right to its own independence.

Long live

the United States of America

We believe that the men and women of such nations, no matter what size, can, through the processes of peace, serve themselves and serve the world by protecting the common man's security; improve the standards of healthful living; provide markets for manufacture and for agriculture. Through that kind of peaceful service every nation can increase its happiness, banish the terrors of war, and abandon man's inhumanity to man.

Never, in all our history, have Americans faced a job so well worthwhile. May it be said of us in the days to come that our children and our children's children rise up and call us blessed.

(never in all our history)

(Prolonged applause)