
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. 1364

1941 March 29

Jackson Day Dinner Radio Address

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am sitting in the little cabin of the little ship "Potomac," in the harbor of Fort Lauderdale, Florida, after a day of sunshine out in the Gulf Stream. That I cannot in person attend one of the many Jackson Day dinners I regret; but it is good that you are again celebrating the memory of a great American leader who believed, fanatically almost, in the principles of a democracy based on the freedom of the ballot box.

I try to get away a couple of times a year on these short trips on salt water. In Washington, as you know, the working day of the Presidency in these days averages about 15 hours. Even when I go to Hyde Park or to Warm Springs, the White House office, the callers and the telephone all follow me. But at sea the radio messages and the occasional pouch of mail reduce official work to not more than two or three hours a day.

So there is a chance for a bit of sunshine, or a wetted line, or a biography, or a detective story or a nap after lunch. ^{for} ~~But~~ Above all there is the opportunity for thinking things through -- for differentiating between principles and methods, between the really big things of life and those other things of the moment which may seem all important today and are forgotten by the world in a month. That means that if today the fellow next to you catches a bigger fish than you do, or vice versa, you don't lie awake at night thinking about it.

Yes, you recapture your philosophy. ^R But in so doing you do not sit down mentally and become a fatalist. You still seek peace of mind and of spirit -- but you come to realize that ^{in these days} ~~today~~ you have to work overtime, and work harder than ever before in your life to make that peace possible later on. If we sit down now we may get run over later. And if our kind of civilization gets run over, the kind of peace we seek will become ^{the mirror} ~~an~~ unattainable ~~hope~~ ^{idealism}.

That is why, in the comparative quiet of this week,
I have become more than ever clear that the time calls for
courage and more courage -- action and more action.

That is why it is appropriate today to honor the name
of Andrew Jackson -- because he was first and foremost a great
American, who placed his devotion to country above adherence to
party, and provided an ever-living symbol of the rugged,
courageous spirit of our people.

Responsibility lay heavily upon the shoulders of
Andrew Jackson.

In his day the threat to the Federal Union came
from within. It was a sectional threat. More than that,
it was a threat which came from ^{down w/} _A Jackson's own people --
indeed, from some members of his own party. It was inspired
by refusal to recognize the sovereign authority of the United
States. And by his actions Jackson placed himself far above
both section and party.

In our own day the threat to our Union and to our democracy is not a sectional one. It comes from a great part of the world which surrounds us, and which draws more tightly around us, day by day.

Again, to do this job, we Americans -- nearly all of us -- have risen above any considerations of party politics.

Long before Jackson became President, the two-party system of government had become firmly entrenched as a basic principle of American political life. It had shown its value as a method of obtaining free and open discussion of public issues, formulating new policies to meet new conditions, and fixing responsibility in affairs of government as an indispensable part of our conception of free elections.

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The dictators cannot seem to realize that here in America our people can maintain two parties, and at the same time maintain an inviolate and indivisible nation. The totalitarian mentality is too narrow to comprehend the greatness

of a people who can be divided in party allegiance at election

time, but remain united in devotion to their country and to the ideals of democracy at all times.

In dictatorships there can be no party divisions.

For all men must think as they are told, speak as they are told, write as they are told, live -- and die as they are told. In those countries the nation is not above the party, as with us; the party is above the nation; the party is the nation.

Every common man and woman is forced to walk the straight and narrow path of the party line, ~~as~~ drawn by the ^{not strictly, which may partly limit but} A line dictator himself.

In our country, disagreements among us are expressed in the polling place. In the dictatorships, disagreements are suppressed in the concentration camp.

Last year we held an American election, in which the people -- Democrats, Republicans, Independents and others -- by secret ballot, and without prodding by the bayonets of storm troopers, voted for their public officers -- local, state, and national.

And we are determined so to act that Americans will go on year after year, holding free elections.

All of the great freedoms ~~which~~ form the basis of our American democracy are part and parcel of that concept of free elections, with free expression of political choice between candidates of political parties. For such elections guarantee that there can be no possibility of stifling freedom of speech, freedom of the press and the air, freedom of worship.

These are the eternal principles ~~which~~ are now being threatened by the alliance of dictator nations.

Ours is the responsibility of defending these principles which have come to us as our national heritage. Ours is the responsibility of passing them on -- not only intact, but stronger than ever, to all the generations yet to come.

We Americans realize how tenuous would be the existence of our party system, our freedom of elections,

our freedom of living, if the doctrines of dictatorship were to prevail. For if they were to prevail, it would not be in Europe alone.

The history of nations betrayed during the past year, the history of nations conquered during the past year, should show us and the rest of the world what it means to live in a world organized and ruled by the Gestapo.

Let us ask ourselves, frankly and fearlessly: How long could we maintain our ancient liberties under these terrible conditions? How soon would we have to accept the doctrine that one must fight fire with fire?

How long would it be possible to maintain a semblance of our two party system, with free elections, in a Nazi-dominated world?

How soon would we decide to imitate Nazism and abandon our two party system, and regiment our people into one party -- which would certainly be neither Democratic nor Republican?

Should that evil time come, we would no longer hold these friendly gatherings, either on Jackson Day or on Lincoln Day.

We Americans have already weighed these questions carefully and thoughtfully. We Americans have announced our determination that, with all our resources and all our power, we shall help those who block the dictators in their march toward domination of the world.

The decision we have reached is not a partisan decision. The leader of the Republican party himself -- Mr. Wendell Willkie -- in word and in action, is showing what patriotic Americans mean by rising above partisanship and rallying to the common cause. And now that the plain people of America have spoken their determination, Republicans and Democrats in the Congress and out of the Congress are patriotically cooperating to make that determination take positive form.

The enemies of democracy are now trying, by every means, to destroy our unity. The chief weapon they now use against us is propaganda — *propaganda that appeals to selfishness*.

The propaganda comes in ever increasing quantities, with ever increasing violence, from across the seas. And it is disseminated within our own borders by agents *small, numerous - by* or innocent dupes of foreign powers.

It is directed against all Americans -- Republican and Democratic -- farmers and bankers -- employers and employees.

Propagandists, defeatists and dupes, protected as they are by our fundamental civil liberties, have been preaching, and are still preaching, the ungodly gospel of fear. They use insinuation and falsehood. They have tried to shatter the confidence of Americans in their government and in one another.

We have seen what has happened to the great industrialists of Germany who supported the Nazi movement, and then received their reward in Nazi concentration camps or in death.

We have seen how the workers of France were betrayed by their so-called champions, the Communists. For no matter what Communist lips have said, their actions have proved that in their hearts they care nothing for the real rights of free labor.

The agents of Nazism and those who unwittingly help them are still trying to play both ends against the middle.

They have attempted to exploit the natural love of our people for peace. They have represented themselves as pacifists, when actually they are serving the most brutal warmongers of all time. They have preached "Peace - Peace!" in the same way ~~that~~ ^{opposed} the devil can quote Scripture.

Of course, the purpose of all this has been to spread ^{But} terror among us. ^A The effect of it has been only to fortify our determination.

When Abraham Lincoln became President, he had to face the awful reality of war between the states. On July 4th, 1861, in his first message to the Congress, he presented this vital question:

"Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

Lincoln answered that question as Jackson had answered it -- not by words, but by deeds. And America still marches on.

We of today have been presented with that same question. We too are answering it by deeds. Our well considered philosophy for the attainment of peace comes not from weakness, but -- everlastingly -- from the courage of America.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Original reading copy
H.S.S. Potomac - March 24, 1940
At Port Everglades, Florida.

#1364

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Broadcast from the U. S. S. POTOMAC,
Port Everglades, Florida,
March 29, 1941.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am sitting in the little cabin of the little ship "POTOMAC", in the harbor of Fort Lauderdale, Florida, after a day of sunshine cut in the Gulf Stream. That I cannot in person attend one of the many Jackson Day dinners I regret; but it is good that you are again celebrating the memory of a great American leader who believed, fanatically almost, in the principles of a democracy based on the freedom of the ballot box.

I try to get away a couple of times a year on these short trips on salt water. In Washington, as you know, the working day of the Presidency in these times averages about fifteen hours, and even when I go to Hyde Park or to Warm Springs, the White House office, the callers, the visitors and the telephones all follow me. But at sea the radio messages and the occasional pouch of mail reduce official work to not more than two or three hours a day.

So there is a chance for a bit of sunshine or a wetted line, or a biography or a detective story or even a nap after lunch. But above all there is the opportunity for thinking things through -- for differentiating between principles and mere methods, between the really big things of life and those other things of the moment that may seem all important today and yet are forgotten by the world in a month. That means that if today the fellow next to you catches a bigger fish than you do, or vice versa as sometimes happens, you don't lie awake at night thinking about it.

Yes, you recapture your philosophy. But in so doing you do not "sit down" mentally and become a fatalist. You still seek peace of mind

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

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and peace of spirit -- but you come to realize that you have to work overtime nowadays, and work harder than ever before in your life to make that kind of peace possible later on. It is a fact that I think we all recognize that if we sit down now, we may get run over later. And if our kind of civilization gets run over, the kind of peace that we seek will become a mere unattainable dream.

And so that is why, in the comparative quiet of this week, I have become more than ever clear that the time calls for courage and more courage -- calls for action and more action.

That is why it is appropriate today to honor the name of Andrew Jackson -- because he was first and foremost a great American, who placed his devotion to his country above adherence to party, and provided an ever-living symbol of the rugged, courageous spirit of our people.

Responsibility lay heavily on the shoulders of Andrew Jackson.

In his day the threat to the Federal Union came from within. It was a sectional threat. More than that, it was a threat that came from some of Jackson's own people -- indeed, from some members of his own party. It was inspired by refusal to recognize the sovereign authority of the United States. And by his actions Jackson placed himself far above both section and party.

In our own day the threat to our Union and to our democracy is not a sectional one. Far from it, it comes from a great part of the world that surrounds us, that draws more tightly around us, day by day.

Again, to do this job, we Americans -- nearly all of us -- have risen above any considerations of party politics.

Long before Jackson became President, the two-party system of government had become firmly entrenched as a basic principle of American

political life. It had shown its value, it had shown its value as a method of obtaining free and open discussion of public issues, formulating new policies to meet new conditions, fixing responsibility in affairs of government as an indispensable part of our conception of free elections.

Now the dictators of some lands cannot seem to realize that here in America our people can maintain two parties, and at the same time maintain an inviolate and indivisible nation. The totalitarian mentality is too narrow to comprehend the greatness of a people who can be divided in party allegiance at election time, but remain united in devotion to their country and to the ideals of democracy at all times.

In dictatorships there can be no party divisions. For all men must think as they are told, speak as they are told, write as they are told, live -- and die as they are told. In those countries the nation is not above the party, as with us; the party is above the nation; the party is the nation.

Every common man and woman is forced to walk the straight and narrow path of the party line, not strictly, not strictly speaking a party line, but rather a line drawn by the dictator himself, who owns the party.

In our country, disagreements among us are expressed in the polling place. In the dictatorships, disagreements are suppressed in the concentration camp.

Last year we held an American election, in which the people -- Democrats, Republicans, Independents and others -- by secret ballot, and without prodding by the bayonets of storm troopers, voted for their public officers -- local, and state, and national.

And we are determined so to act that Americans will go on year after year, holding free elections.

For all of the great freedoms that form the basis of our American democracy are a part and a parcel of that concept of free elections, with free expression of political choice between candidates of political parties. For such elections guarantee that there can be no possibility of stifling freedom of speech, or freedom of the press, or freedom of the air, or freedom of worship.

These are the eternal principles that are now being threatened by the alliance of dictator nations. .

Ours is the responsibility of defending these principles that have come to us as our national heritage. Ours is the responsibility of passing them on -- not only intact today, but stronger than ever, to all of the generations yet to come.

We Americans realize how tenuous would be the existence of our party system, our freedom of elections, our freedom of living, if the doctrines of dictatorship were to prevail. For if they were to prevail, it would not be in Europe alone.

The history of nations betrayed during the past year, the history of nations conquered during the past year, should show us and should show the rest of the world what it means to live in a world organized and ruled by the Gestapo.

Let us ask ourselves, frankly and fearlessly: How long could we maintain our ancient liberties under these terrible conditions? How soon would we have to accept the doctrine that one must fight fire with fire?

How long would it be possible to maintain a semblance of our two-party system, with free elections, in a Nazi-dominated world?

How soon would we decide to imitate Nazi-ism and abandon our two-party system, and regiment our people into one party -- which would cer-

tainly be neither Democratic nor Republican?

Should that evil time come, we would no longer hold these friendly gatherings, either on Jackson Day or on Lincoln Day.

We Americans have already weighed these questions carefully and thoughtfully. We Americans have announced our determination that, with all our resources and all our power, we shall help those who block the dictators in their march toward domination of the world.

The decision we have reached is not a partisan decision. The leader of the Republican party himself -- Mr. Wendell Willkie -- in word and in action, is showing what patriotic Americans mean by rising above partisanship and rallying to the common cause. And now that the plain people of America have spoken their determination, Republicans and Democrats in the Congress and out of the Congress are patriotically cooperating to make that determination take positive forms.

The enemies of democracy are now trying, by every means, to destroy our unity. The chief weapon they now use against us is propaganda -- propaganda that appeals to selfishness, that propaganda comes in ever increasing quantities, with ever increasing violence, from across the seas. And it is disseminated within our own borders by agents or, equally menacing, by innocent dupes of foreign powers.

It is directed against all Americans -- Republican and Democratic -- farmers and bankers -- employers and employees.

Propagandists, defeatists and dupes, protected as they are by our fundamental civil liberties, have been preaching, and are still preaching, the ungodly gospel of fear. They use insinuation and falsehood. They have tried to shatter the confidence of Americans in their Government and in one another.

We have seen what has happened to the great industrialists of Germany for example, industrialists who supported the Nazi movement, and then received their reward in Nazi concentration camps or in death.

We have seen how the workers of France were betrayed by their so-called champions, the Communists. For no matter what Communist lips have said, their actions have proved that in their hearts they care nothing for the real rights of free labor.

The agents of Nazi-ism and those who unwittingly help them are still trying to play both ends against the middle. They have attempted to exploit the natural love of our people for peace. They have represented themselves as pacifists, when actually they are serving the most brutal warmongers of all time. They have preached "Peace -- Peace!" in the same way that the devil can speciously quote the Scriptures.

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We of today have been presented with that same question. We too are answering it by deeds. Our well considered philosophy for the attainment of peace comes not from weakness but -- everlastingly -- from the courage of America.

I am sitting in the little cabin of the little ship "Patomac," in the harbor of Fort Lauderdale Florida, after a day of sunshin' out on the Gulf Stream. That I cannot in person attend one of the many Jackson Day dinners I regret; but it is good that you are again celebrating the memory of great American Leader who believed, fanatically, almost, in the principles of a Democracy based on the freedom of the ballot box.

I try to get away a couple of times a year on these short trips on salt water. In Washington as you know the working day of the Presidency ^{in these days} averages about 15 hours. Even when I go to Hyde Park or to Warm Springs the White House office, the cables and the telephone will ~~not~~ ^{never} see me. But at sea the radio messages and the occasional pouch of mail reduce official work to not more than two or three hours a day.

So there is a chance for a bit of sunshin' or a writing time, or a biography or a detective story or a nap after lunch. Above all there is the opportunity for thinking.

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honor

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The immediate occasion for these Jackson Day dinners being held tonight throughout the United States is a celebration, by a political party, in honor of one of the really great leaders of that party. ~~But every Democrat honors~~ the name of Andrew Jackson because he was first and foremost a great American, who placed his devotion to country above adherence to party, and provided an ever-living symbol of the rugged, courageous spirit of our people.

A Long before Jackson became President, the two-party system of government had become firmly entrenched as a basic principle of American political life. It had shown its value as a method of obtaining free and open discussion of public issues, as a means of formulating new policies to meet new conditions, and as a method for fixing responsibility in affairs of government.

C Since Jackson's time that two-party system of government has become ever more deeply imbedded in our political life; today it is ^a ~~an~~ indispensable part of our conception of free elections.

The dictators cannot seem to realize that here in America our people can maintain two ~~or more~~ political parties, and at the same time maintain an inviolate and indivisible nation. The totalitarian mentality is too rigidly limited to comprehend the greatness of a people, who can be divided in party allegiance at election time, but remain united in devotion to their country and to the ideals of democracy at all times.

In dictatorships there can be no party divisions. For all men must think as they are told, speak as they

are told, write as they are told, ~~worship as they are told~~, live - and die as they are told. In those countries the nation is not above the party, as with us; the party is above the nation; the party is the nation.

Every common man and woman is forced to walk the straight and narrow path of the party line, as drawn by the dictator himself.

In our country, disagreements among us are expressed in the polling place. In the dictatorships, disagreements are suppressed in the concentration camps.

Last year we held an American election, in which the people - the Democrats and the Republicans - by secret ballot, and without prodding by the bayonets of storm troopers, voted for their public officers - local, state, and national.

~~And next year we shall have another American free election, another contest between two parties, each with its own candidates arguing against each other, pointing with pride, viewing with alarm, and perhaps even calling names. And then again, in 1944 we shall have another free election, in which a new President will be chosen, and Senators, and Congressmen; Governors and Mayors; Sheriffs and Constables.~~

And we are determined so to act that Americans will go on year after year, holding ~~such~~ free elections, in the same old way - "come hell or high water!"

All of the great freedoms which form the basis of our American democracy are part and parcel of that concept of free elections, with free expression of political choice between candidates of political parties. For such elections guarantees that there can be no possibility

of stifling freedom of speech, freedom of the press and the air, freedom of worship.

[These are the eternal principles which America is now ~~arming~~ ^{arising} itself to defend.] These are the eternal principles which are now being threatened by the alliance of dictator nations. Ours is the responsibility of defending these principles which have come to us as our national heritage. Ours is the responsibility of passing them on - not only intact, but stronger than ever, to all the generations yet to come.

~~That same sense of~~ Responsibility lay heavily upon the shoulders of Andrew Jackson.

In his day the threat to the Federal Union came from within. It was a sectional threat. More than that, it was a threat which came from Jackson's own people - indeed, from some members of his own party. It was inspired by refusal to recognize the sovereign authority of the United States. And by his actions Jackson placed himself far above both section and party. He did the job which had to be done - the preservation of the Union.

In our own day the threat to our Union and to our democracy is not a sectional one. It comes from the ^{a great} part of the world which surrounds us, and which draws more tightly around us, day by day. [The great job of our generation is to protect our democracy from this danger, which presses upon us from across the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Again, to do this job, we Americans have all risen above any considerations of party politics.

We Americans realize how temious would be the existence of our party system, our freedom of elections,

D

our freedom of living, if the doctrines of dictatorship were to prevail. For if they were to prevail, it would not be in Europe alone. ~~There would be an immediate domination of every continent on earth except our own.~~

D The history of ~~European~~ nations betrayed during the past year, the history of ~~European~~ nations conquered during the past year, ~~has shown us~~ ^{Should Show} and the rest of the world what it means to live in a world organized and ruled by the Gestapo.

Let us form in our minds a clear picture of what such a world would be like.

We are now mobilizing the entire strength of our nation for what we recognize as a temporary emergency.

But - in the event of Nazi victory - this emergency would not be temporary; it would be ~~long lasting~~.

We should be required permanently to organize our entire industry for war.

We should be engaged permanently in armament races with the hostile powers, who would control and dominate every continent but our own.

To defend this hemisphere from invasion, we should have to patrol continuously the Atlantic and Pacific with our fleets - all the way from the Arctic to the Antarctic. We should have to keep huge armies constantly under arms, constantly on the alert, constantly ready for action along far-flung lines of battle.

Let us ask ourselves, frankly and fearlessly:

E ~~How long could we maintain our ancient liberties under these terrible conditions? For how long could we maintain our civil liberties when, in all the rest of the world,~~

E ~~civil Liberties were dead? How soon would we have to accept the doctrine that one must fight fire with fire - and that one nation, fighting alone, cannot successfully endure, in a completely totalitarian world, without surrendering its own freedom and becoming totalitarian itself?~~

E How long would it be possible to maintain a semblance of our two party system, with free elections, in a Nazi-dominated world?

E How soon would we decide to imitate ~~our~~ ~~Nazism~~ triumphalism, and abandon our two party system, and regiment our people into one party - which would certainly be neither Democratic nor Republican?

E Should that evil time come, we would no longer hold these friendly gatherings, either on Jackson Day or on Lincoln Day.

E We Americans have already weighed these questions carefully and thoughtfully. We Americans have announced our determination that, with all our resources and all our power, we shall help those who block the dictators in their march toward domination of the world.

E The decision we have reached is not a partisan decision. The leader of the Republican party himself - Mr. Wendell Willkie - in word and in action, ~~is leading~~ ^{is leading} what patriotic Americans mean by ~~forgetting~~ ^{forgetting about} partisanship and rallying to the common cause. And now that the plain people of America have spoken their determination, Republicans and Democrats, in the Congress and out of the Congress, are patriotically cooperating to make that determination take positive form.

~~Last November, on the evening before Election Day, speaking to the nation from my home, I said:~~

~~"After the ballots are counted, the real rulers of this country will have had their say, as they have had it every two years or every four years during our whole national existence.~~

~~"After the ballots are counted, the United States of America will still be united."~~

~~That was no expression of mere pious hope.~~

~~It was a statement of the faith that is ^{the} mind and heart of every one of us. It was the plain truth. And today, the whole world knows that it is the truth.~~

~~E
The enemies of democracy are now trying, by every means, to destroy our unity. The weapons they use against us are propaganda and sabotage.~~

~~E
The propaganda comes in every increasing quantities, with ever increasing violence, from across the seas. And it is disseminated within our own borders by agents or innocent dupes of foreign powers.~~

~~E
It is directed against all Americans - Republicans and Democratic - farmers and bankers - employers and employees.~~

~~We have ^{seen} witnessed a terrible, tragic demonstra-
~~tion of~~ the power of propaganda and sabotage in the ^{take} defeat of the French Republic.~~

~~In France the agents of both Fascism and Communism collaborated in working to divide a great people and destroy their powers of resistance.~~

~~The Fascists sowed their seeds of discord among the wealthier classes. The Communists spread their own~~

brand of poison among the workers.

The Fascists and the Communists in our own
~~very~~ midst are few in number - but they and their dupes are
still capable of making a ~~certain amount~~ of noise.

~~Propagandists, Defeatists, and dupes~~

~~Protected as they are~~ ~~as~~ men in our
democracy always will be by our fundamental civil liber-
ties, ~~they~~ have been preaching, and are still preaching,
the ungodly gospel of fear. They have tried to shatter
the confidence of Americans in their government and in one
another.

The Fascists have told the business men and
financiers that our government is Communistic - and under
the domination of "labor racheteurs".

The Communists have told the workers that our
government is Fascist - and under the domination of inter-
national bankers.

We have seen what has happened to the great
~~industrialists~~ industrialists of Germany who supported the
Nazi movement, and then received their reward in Nazi
concentration camps or in death.

We have seen how the workers of France were
betrayed by their so-called champions, the Communists.
For no matter what Communist lips have said, their actions
have proved that in their hearts they care nothing for the
real rights of free labor.

~~The Unholy alliance of Nazism and Communism is here~~
still trying to play both ends against the middle. They
have attempted to exploit the natural love of our people
for peace. They have represented themselves as pacifists,
when actually they are ~~agents~~ of the most brutal war-

mongers of all time. They have preached "Peace - Peace!" in the same way the devil can quote Scriptures.

~~These foreign agents have committed physical sabotage in many parts of our great defense structure.~~

~~When I say physical sabotage, I mean dynamiting of defense plants, wrecking of trains, endangering the very lives of the men in our armed forces. And, even worse than this, are the attempts of these foreign agents and their dupes to commit spiritual sabotage on our national will.~~

~~Of course, the purpose of all this ~~is~~ war has been to spread terror among us. The effect of it has been only to fortify our determination.~~

When Abraham Lincoln became President, he had to face the awful reality of war between the states. On July 4th, 1861, in his first message to the Congress, he presented this vital question:

"Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

Lincoln answered that question as Jackson had answered it — ~~done~~ not by words, but by deeds.

We Americans of today have been presented with that same question. We too are answering it by deeds.

~~I believe that it is within our power to destroy the hope and contempt. Our will considered philosophy, ~~but~~ for the attainment of peace comes not from what was ~~but~~ but — exceedingly — from the courage of America.~~

I am sitting in the little cabin of the little ship "Potomac," in the harbor of Fort Lauderdale, Florida, after a day of sunshine out in the Gulf Stream. That I cannot in person attend one of the many Jackson Day dinners I regret; but it is good that you are again celebrating the memory of a great American leader who believed, fanatically almost, in the principles of a democracy based on the freedom of the ballot box.

I try to get away a couple of times a year on these short trips on salt water. In Washington as you know the working day of the Presidency in these days averages about 15 hours. Even when I go to Hyde Park or to Warm Springs, the White House office, the callers and the telephone all follow me. But at sea the radio messages and the occasional pouch of mail reduce official work to not more than two or three hours a day.

So there is a chance for a bit of sunshine or a wetted line, or a biography or a detective story or a nap after lunch. Above all there is the opportunity for thinking

things through -- for differentiating between principles and methods, between the really big things of life and those other things of the moment which may seem all important today and are forgotten by the world in a month. That means that if today the fellow next to you catches a bigger fish than you do, or vice versa, you don't lie awake at night thinking about it.

Yes, you recapture your philosophy, but in so doing you do not sit down mentally and become a fatalist. You ~~ever~~ ^{never} still seek peace of mind and of spirit ~~but~~ ^{— but —} you come to realize that today you have to work overtime, and work harder than ever before in your life to make that peace possible later on. If we sit down now we may get run over later. And if our kind of civilization gets run over, the kind of peace we seek will become an unattainable hope.

That is why, in the comparative quiet of this week, I have become more than ever clear that the time calls for courage and more courage -- action and more action.

That is why it is appropriate today to honor the name of Andrew Jackson -- because he was first and foremost a great American, who placed his devotion to country above adherence to

party, and provided an ever-living symbol of the rugged, courageous spirit of our people.

Responsibility lay heavily upon the shoulders of Andrew Jackson.

In his day the threat to the Federal Union came from within. It was a sectional threat. More than that, it was a threat which came from Jackson's own people -- indeed, from some members of his own party. It was inspired by refusal to recognize the sovereign authority of the United States. And by his actions Jackson placed himself far above both section and party. ~~He did the job which had to be done~~ -- ~~the preservation of the union~~.

In our own day the threat to our Union and to our democracy is not a sectional one. It comes from a great part of the world which surrounds us, and which draws more tightly around us, day by day.

Again, to do this job, we Americans have ~~must~~ risen above any considerations of party politics.

Long before Jackson became President, the two-party system of government had become firmly entrenched as a basic principle of American political life. It had shown its value

as a method of obtaining free and open discussion of public issues, formulating new policies to meet new conditions, and fixing responsibility in affairs of government as an indispensable part of our conception of free elections.

The dictators cannot seem to realize that here in America our people can maintain two parties, and at the same time maintain an inviolate and indivisible nation. The totalitarian mentality is too ~~backward~~ ^{backward} to comprehend the greatness of a people who can be divided in party allegiance at election time, but remain united in devotion to their country and to the ideals of democracy at all times.

In dictatorships there can be no party divisions. For all men must think as they are told, speak as they are told, write as they are told, live -- and die as they are told. In those countries the nation is not above the party, as with us; the party is above the nation; the party is the nation.

Every common man and woman is forced to walk the straight and narrow path of the party line, as drawn by the dictator himself.

In our country, disagreements among us are expressed

in the polling place. In the dictatorships, disagreements are suppressed in the concentration camps.

Last year we held an American election, in which the people -- ~~the~~ Democrats, ~~and~~ Republicans by secret ballot, and without prodding by the bayonets of storm troopers, voted for their public officers -- local, state, and national.

And we are determined so to act that Americans will go on year after year, holding free elections.

All of the great freedoms which form the basis of our American democracy are part and parcel of that concept of free elections, with free expression of political choice between candidates of political parties. For such elections guarantee that there can be no possibility of stifling freedom of speech, freedom of the press and the air, freedom of worship.

These are the eternal principles which are now being threatened by the alliance of dictator nations.

Ours is the responsibility of defending these principles which have come to us as our national heritage.

Ours is the responsibility of passing them on -- not only intact, but stronger than ever, to all the generations yet to come.

We Americans realize how tenuous would be the existence of our party system, our freedom of elections, our freedom of living, if the doctrines of dictatorship were to prevail. For if they were to prevail, it would not be in Europe alone.

The history of nations betrayed during the past year, the history of nations conquered during the past year, should show us and the rest of the world what it means to live in a world organized and ruled by the Gestapo.

Let us ask ourselves, frankly and fearlessly: How long could we maintain our ancient liberties under these terrible conditions? How soon would we have to accept the doctrine that one must fight fire with fire.

How long would it be possible to maintain a semblance of our two party system, with free elections, in a Nazi-dominated world?

How soon would we decide to imitate Nazism and abandon our two party system, and regiment our people into one party -- which would certainly be neither Democratic nor Republican?

Should that evil time come, we would no longer hold these friendly gatherings, either on Jackson Day or on Lincoln Day.

We Americans have already weighed these questions carefully and thoughtfully. We Americans have announced our determination that, with all our resources and all our power, we shall help those who block the dictators in their march toward domination of the world.

The decision we have reached is not a partisan decision. The leader of the Republican party himself -- Mr. Wendell Willkie -- in word and in action, is showing what patriotic Americans mean by rising above partisanship and rallying to the common cause. And now that the plain people of America have spoken their determination, Republicans and Democrats, in the Congress and out of the Congress, are patriotically cooperating to make that determination take positive form.

The enemies of democracy are now trying, by every means, to destroy our unity. The ^{chief} ~~weapons~~ ^{now} they use against us propaganda. ~~propaganda~~.

The propaganda comes in ever increasing quantities, with ever increasing violence, from across the seas. And it is disseminated within our own borders by agents or innocent dupes of foreign powers.

It is directed against all Americans -- Republican
and Democratic -- farmers and bankers -- employers and employees.

Propagandists, defeatists and dupes, protected as they
are by our fundamental civil liberties, have been preaching,
They are insincere and falsehood.
and are still preaching, the ungodly gospel of fear. They
have tried to shatter the confidence of Americans in their
government and in one another.

We have seen what has happened to the great
industrialists of Germany who supported the Nazi movement,
and then received their reward in Nazi concentration camps
or in death.

We have seen how the workers of France were betrayed
by their so-called champions, the Communists. For no matter
what Communist lips have said, their actions have proved that
in their hearts they care nothing for the real rights of free
labor.

The agents of Nazism and those who unwittingly help
them are still trying to play both ends against the middle.
They have attempted to exploit the natural love of our people
for peace. They have represented themselves as pacifists, when

actually they are serving the most brutal warmongers of all time. They have preached "Peace - Peace!" in the same way the devil can quote Scripture.

Of course, the purpose of all this has been to spread terror among us. The effect of it has been only to fortify our determination.

When Abraham Lincoln became President, he had to face the awful reality of war between the states. On July 4th, 1861, in his first message to the Congress, he presented this vital question:

"Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

Lincoln answered that question as Jackson had answered it -- not by words, but by deeds. *And America still answers it.*
We ~~America~~ of today have been presented with that same question. We too are answering it by deeds. Our well considered philosophy for the attainment of peace comes not from weakness but -- everlastingly -- from the courage of America.

and 6
Long 44 K88 Patonan
4-29-41
EXACT TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S SPEECH BROADCAST BY RADIO FROM U.S.S. POTOMAC,
PORT EVERGLADES, FLA., MARCH 29, 1941.

Delivery time: 14 minutes, 20 seconds, commencing at 9:30 P.M.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

STATEMENTS FILE

I am sitting in the little cabin of the little ship "Potomac," in the harbor of Fort Lauderdale, Florida, after a day of sunshine out in the Gulf Stream. That I cannot in person attend one of the many Jackson Day dinners I regret; but it is good that you are again celebrating the memory of a great American leader who believed, fanatically almost, in the principles of a democracy based on the freedom of the ballot box.

I try to get away a couple of times a year on these short trips on salt water. In Washington, as you know, the working day of the Presidency in these times averages about 15 hours, and even when I go to Hyde Park or to Warm Springs, the White House office, the callers, the visitors and the telephone all follow me. But at sea the radio messages and the occasional pouch of mail reduce official work to not more than two or three hours a day.

So there is a chance for a bit of sunshine or a wetted line, or a biography or a detective story or even a nap after lunch. But above all there is the opportunity for thinking things through — for differentiating between principles and mere methods, between the really big things of life and those other things of the moment that may seem all important today and yet are forgotten by the world in a month. That means that if today the fellow next to you catches a bigger fish than you do, or vice versa (as sometimes happens), you don't lie awake at night thinking about it.

Yes, you recapture your philosophy. But in so doing you do not "sit down" mentally and become a fatalist. You still seek peace of mind and peace of spirit — but you come to realize that you have to work overtime nowadays, and work harder than ever before in your life to make that peace *kind of* possible later on. It is a fact that I think we all recognize that if we sit down now, we may get run over later. And if our kind of civilization gets run over, the kind of peace that we seek will become a mere unattainable dream.

And so that is why, in the comparative quiet of this week, I have become more than ever clear that the time calls for courage and more courage — calls for action and more action.

That is why it is appropriate today to honor the name of Andrew Jackson — because he was first and foremost a great American, who placed his devotion to his country above adherence to party, and provided an ever-living symbol of the rugged, courageous spirit of our people.

Responsibility lay heavily on the shoulders of Andrew Jackson.

In his day the threat to the Federal Union came from within. It was a sectional threat. More than that, it was a threat that came from some of Jackson's own people — indeed, from some members of his own party. It was inspired by refusal to recognize the sovereign authority of the United States. And by his actions Jackson placed himself far above both section and party.

In our own day the threat to our Union and to our democracy is not a sectional one. Far from it; it comes from a great part of the world that surrounds us, that draws more tightly around us, day by day.

Again, to do this job, we Americans — nearly all of us — have risen above any considerations of party politics. *To it had shown its value*

Long before Jackson became President, the two-party system of government had become firmly entrenched as a basic principle of American political life. It had shown its value, as a method of obtaining free and open discussion of public issues, formulating new policies to meet new conditions, fixing responsibility in affairs of government as an indispensable part of our conception of free elections.

Now the dictators of some lands cannot seem to realize that here in America our people can maintain two parties, and at the same time maintain an inviolate and indivisible nation. The totalitarian mentality is too narrow to comprehend the greatness of a people who can be divided in party allegiance at election time, but remain united in devotion to their country and to the ideals of democracy at all times.

In dictatorships there can be no party divisions. For all men must think as they are told, speak as they are told, write as they are told, live — and die as they are told. In those countries the nation is not above the party, as with us; the party is above the nation; the party is the nation.

Every common man and woman is forced to walk the straight and narrow path of the party line, not strictly, not strictly speaking a party line, but rather a line drawn by the dictator himself, who owns the party.

In our country, disagreements among us are expressed in the polling place. In the dictatorships, disagreements are suppressed in the concentration camp.

Last year we held an American election, in which the people — Democrats, Republicans, Independents and others — by secret ballot, and without prodding by the bayonets of storm troopers, voted for their public officers — local, and state, and national.

And we are determined so to act that Americans will go on year after year, holding free elections. /

For all of the great freedoms that form the basis of our American democracy are a part and a parcel of that concept of free elections, with free expression of political choice between candidates of political parties. For such elections guarantee that there can be no possibility of stifling freedom of speech, or freedom of the press, or freedom of the air, or freedom of worship.

These are the eternal principles that are now being threatened by the alliance of dictator nations.

Ours is the responsibility of defending these principles that have come to us as our national heritage. Ours is the responsibility of passing them on — not only intact today, but stronger than ever, to all of the generations yet to come.

We Americans realize how tenuous would be the existence of our party system, our freedom of elections, our freedom of living, if the doctrines of dictatorship were to prevail. For if they were to prevail, it would not be in Europe alone.

The history of nations betrayed during the past year, the history of nations conquered during the past year, should show us and should show the rest of the world what it means to live in a world organized and ruled by the Gestapo.

Let us ask ourselves, frankly and fearlessly: How long could we maintain our ancient liberties under these terrible conditions? How soon would we have to accept the doctrine that one must fight fire with fire?

How long would it be possible to maintain a semblance of our two-party system, with free elections, in a Nazi-dominated world?

How soon would we decide to imitate Nazism and abandon our two-party system, and regiment our people into one party — which would certainly be neither Democratic nor Republican?

Should that evil time come, we would no longer hold these friendly gatherings, either on Jackson Day or on Lincoln Day.

We Americans have already weighed these questions carefully and thoughtfully. We Americans have announced our determination that, with all our resources and all our power, we shall help those who block the dictators in their march toward domination of the world.

The decision we have reached is not a partisan decision. The leader of the Republican party himself — Mr. Wendell Willkie — in word and in action, is showing what patriotic Americans mean by rising above partisanship and rallying to the common cause. And now that the plain people of America have spoken their determination, Republicans and Democrats in the Congress and out of the Congress are patriotically cooperating to make that determination take positive forms.

propaganda

The enemies of democracy are now trying, by every means, to destroy our unity. The chief weapon they now use against us is propaganda — propaganda that appeals to selfishness, that comes in ever increasing quantities, with ever increasing violence, from across the seas. And it is disseminated within our own borders by agents or, equally menacing, by innocent dupes of foreign powers.

It is directed against all Americans — Republican and Democratic — farmers and bankers — employers and employees.

Propagandists, defeatists and dupes, protected as they are by our fundamental civil liberties, have been preaching, and are still preaching, the ungodly gospel of fear. They use insinuation and falsehood. They have tried to shatter the confidence of Americans in their government and in one another.

We have seen what has happened to the great industrialists of Germany for example, industrialists who supported the Nazi movement, and then received their reward in Nazi concentration camps or in death.

We have seen how the workers of France were betrayed by their so-called champions, the Communists. For no matter what Communist lips have said, their actions have proved that in their hearts they care nothing for the real rights of free labor.

The agents of Nazism and those who unwittingly help them are still trying to play both ends against the middle. They have attempted to exploit the natural love of our people for peace. They have represented themselves as pacifists, when actually they are serving the most brutal warmongers of all time. They have preached "Peace - Peace!" in the same way that the devil can speciously quote the Scriptures.

Of course, the purpose of all this has been to spread terror among us. But the effect of it has been only to fortify our determination.

When Abraham Lincoln became President, he had to face the awful reality of a war between the states. On July 4th, 1861, in his first message to the Congress, he presented this vital question:

"Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

Lincoln answered that question as Jackson had answered it before — not by words, but by deeds. And America still marches on.

We of today have been presented with that same question. We too are answering it by deeds. Our well considered philosophy for the attainment of peace comes not from weakness but — everlasting — from the courage of America.

X-22-N-22 Manuscript Notes

Jackson Day Speech 3/29/41

Delivered by FDR on boat while en
trip. This is copy of speech by R.E.S. & me
mailed to his boat.

Done

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FROM THE PAPERS OF
Samuel I. Rosenman

hosted by
White House Party
& was on USS Potomac
Duluth 3/29/41

The immediate occasion for these Jackson Day dinners being held tonight throughout the United States is a celebration, by a political party, in honor of one of the really great leaders of that party. But every Democrat honors the name of Andrew Jackson because he was first and foremost a great American, who placed his devotion to country above adherence to party, and provided an ever-living symbol of the rugged, courageous spirit of our people.

Long before Jackson became President the two party system of government had become firmly entrenched as a basic principle of American political life. It had shown its value as a method of obtaining free and open discussion of public issues, ~~and~~ ^{and} of formulating new policies to meet new conditions, and ~~as a method for~~ fixing responsibility in affairs of government.

Since Jackson's time that two party system of government has become ever more deeply imbedded in our political life; today it is an indispensable part of our conception of free elections.

The dictators cannot seem to realize that here in America our people can maintain two or more political parties and at the same time maintain an inviolate and indivisible nation. The totalitarian mentality is too rigidly limited to comprehend the greatness of a people, who can be divided in party allegiance at election time, but remain united in devotion to their country and to the ideals of democracy at all times.

In dictatorships there can be no party divisions. For all men must think as they are told, speak as they



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General L. S. Stevenson
President of the People's Republic

are told, write as they are told, worship as they are told, live - and die as they are told. In those countries the nation is not above the party, as with us; the party is above the nation; the party is the nation.

Every common man and woman is forced to walk the straight and narrow path of the party line, as drawn by the dictator himself.

In our country, disagreements among us are expressed in the polling place. In the dictatorships, disagreements are suppressed in the concentration camps.

Last year we held an American election, in which the people - the Democrats and the Republicans - by secret ballot, and without prodding by the bayonets of storm troopers, voted for their public officers - local, state, and national.

And next year we shall have another American free election, another contest between two parties, each with its own candidates arguing against each other, pointing with pride, viewing with alarm, and perhaps even calling names. And then again, in 1944 we shall have another free election, in which a new President will be chosen, and Senators, and Congressmen; Governors and Mayors, Sheriffs and Constables.

And we are determined so to act that Americans will go on year after year, holding such free elections in the same old way - "come hell or high water!"

All of the great freedoms which form the basis of our American democracy are part and parcel of that concept of free elections, with free expression of political choice between candidates of political parties. For such elections guarantees that there can be no possibility



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of stifling freedom of speech, freedom of the press and
the air, freedom of worship.

[These are the eternal principles which America
is now arming itself to defend.] These are the eternal
principles which are now being threatened by the alliance
of dictator nations. Ours is the responsibility of defend-
ing these principles which have come to us as our national
heritage. Ours is the responsibility of passing them on -
not only intact, but stronger than ever, to all the
generations yet to come.

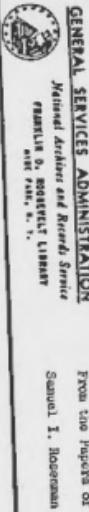
That same sense of responsibility lay heavily
upon the shoulders of Andrew Jackson.

In his day the threat to the Federal Union came
from within. It was a sectional threat. More than that,
it was a threat which came from Jackson's own people -
indeed, from some members of his own party. It was
inspired by refusal to recognize the sovereign authority of
the United States. And by his actions Jackson placed
himself far above both section and party. He did the job
which had to be done - the preservation of the Union.

In our own day the threat to our Union and to
our democracy is not a sectional one. It comes from the
whole world which surrounds us, and which draws more tightly
around us, day by day. [The great job of our generation is
to protect our democracy from this danger, which presses
upon us from across the Atlantic and the Pacific.

To do this job, we Americans have all risen above
any considerations of party politics.]

We Americans realize how tenuous would be the
existence of our party system, our freedom of elections,



our freedom of living, if the doctrines of dictatorship were to prevail. For if they were to prevail, it would not be in Europe alone. There would be an immediate domination of every continent on earth except our own.

The history of European nations betrayed during the past year, the history of European nations conquered during the past year, has shown us and the rest of the world what it means to live in a world organized and ruled by the Gestapo.

Let us form in our minds a clear picture of what such a world would be like.

We are now mobilizing the entire strength of our nation for what we recognize as a temporary emergency. But - in the event of Nazi victory - this emergency would not be temporary; it would be permanent.

We should be required permanently to organize our entire industry for war.

We should be engaged permanently in armament races with the hostile powers, who would control and dominate every continent but our own.

To defend this hemisphere from invasion, we should have to patrol continuously the Atlantic and Pacific with our fleet - all the way from the Arctic to the Antarctic. We should have to keep huge armies constantly under arms, constantly on the alert, constantly ready for action along far-flung lines of battle.

Let us ask ourselves, frankly and fearlessly: For how long could we maintain our ancient liberties under these terrible conditions? For how long could we maintain our civil liberties when, in all the rest of the world,



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From the Pages of
Samuel I. Rosenman



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ALBANY, N.Y.

From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

civil liberties were dead? How soon would we have to accept the doctrine that one must fight fire with fire - and that one nation, fighting alone, cannot successfully endure, in a completely totalitarian world, without surrendering its own freedom and becoming totalitarian itself?

How long would it be possible to maintain a semblance of our two party system, with free elections, in a Nazi-dominated world?

How soon would we decide to imitate our triumphant opponents, and abandon our two party system, and regiment our people into one party - which would certainly be neither Democratic nor Republican?

Should that evil time come, we would no longer hold these friendly gatherings, either on Jackson Day or on Lincoln Day.

We Americans have already weighed these questions carefully and thoughtfully. We Americans have announced our determination that, with all our resources and all our power, we shall help those who block the dictators in their march toward domination of the world.

The decision we have reached is not a partisan decision. The leader of the Republican party himself - Mr. Wendell Willkie - in word and in action, has shown what patriotic Americans mean; by forgetting partisanship and rallying to the common cause. And now that the plain people of America have spoken their determination, Republicans and Democrats, in the Congress and out of the Congress, are patriotically cooperating to make that determination take positive form.



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1941

From the papers of
Samuel I. Horsman

Last November, on the evening before Election Day, speaking to the nation from my home, I said:

"After the ballots are counted, the real rulers of this country will have had their say, as they have had it every two years or every four years during our whole national existence.

"After the ballots are counted, the United States of America will still be united."

That was no expression of mere pious hope.

It was a statement of the faith that is the mind and heart of every one of us. It was the plain truth. And today, the whole world knows that it is the truth.

The enemies of democracy are now trying, by every means, to destroy our unity. The weapons they use against us are propaganda and sabotage.

The propaganda comes in every increasing quantities, with ever increasing violence, from across the seas. And it is disseminated within our own borders by agents or innocent dupes of foreign powers.

It is directed against all Americans - Republicans and Democratic - farmers and bankers - employers and employees.

We have witnessed a terrible, tragic demonstration of the power of propaganda and sabotage in the defeat of the French Republic.

In France the agents of both Fascism and Communism collaborated in working to divide a great people and destroy their powers of resistance.

The Fascists sowed their seeds of discord among the wealthier classes. The Communists spread their own

brand of poison among the workers.

The Fascists and the Communists in our own
midst are ^{very} few in number - but they and their dupes are
still capable of making a ^{great} deal of noise.

Protected as they are - and as all men in our
democracy always will be - by our fundamental civil liber-
ties, they have been preaching, and are still preaching,
the ungodly gospel of fear. They have tried to shatter
the confidence of Americans in their government and in one
another.

The Fascists have told the business men and
financiers that our government is Communistic - and under
the domination of labor ^{reactionary}.

The Communists have told the workers that our
government is Fascist - and under the domination of inter-
national bankers.

We have seen what has happened to the great
Fascist-minded industrialists of Germany who supported the
Nazi movement, and then received their reward in Nazi
concentration camps or in death.

We have seen how the workers of France were
betrayed by their so-called champions, the Communists.
For no matter what Communist lips have said, their actions
have proved that in their hearts they care nothing for the
real rights of free labor.

The Unholy Alliance of Fascism and Communism is
still trying to play both ends against the middle. They
have attempted to exploit the natural love of our people
for peace. They have represented themselves as pacifists,
when actually they are ^{agents} of the most brutal war-



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From the files of
Samuel I. Rosenman

mongers of all time. They have preached "Peace - Peace!" in the same way the devil can quote Scripture.

These foreign agents have committed physical sabotage in many parts of our great defense structure.

When I say physical sabotage, I mean dynamiting of defense plants, wrecking of trains, endangering the very lives of the men in our armed forces. And, even worse than this, are the attempts of these foreign agents and their dupes to commit spiritual sabotage on our national will.

Of course, the purpose of all this indirect war was to spread terror among us. The effect of it has been only to fortify our determination.

When Abraham Lincoln became President, he had to face the awful reality of war between the states. On July 4th, 1861, in his first message to the Congress, he presented this vital question:

"Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

Lincoln answered that question as Jackson had ~~answered~~
~~it~~ done - not by words, but by deeds.

We Americans of today have been presented with that same question. We too are answering it by deeds.
I believe that it is within our power to answer it once and for all time.

(5) *Jackson Day Speech - 3/29/41*

One Draft sent by S.I.R. & R.E.S. to President on boat.
(See Memo on it.) Corrections by S.I.R. & R.E.S.



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