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. 1368 - A

1941 May 27

Pan American Union Address Proclaiming an Unlimited National Emergency (2 parts)

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

PAN-AMERICAN UNION

MAY 27, 1941

My Fellow Americans of all the Americas — my friends

I am speaking tonight from the White House in the presence of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, the Canadian Minister, and their families. The members of this Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics in Washington. It is appropriate that I do this. Now, as never before, the unity of the American Republics is of supreme importance to each and every one of us and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. Our future independence is bound up with the future independence of all of our sister Republics.

The pressing problems that confront us are military + naval problems. We cannot afford to approach them from the point of view of wishful thinkers or sentimentalists. What we face is cold, hard fact.

The first and fundamental fact is that what started as a European war has developed, as the Nazis always intended it should develop, into a world war for world domination.

Adolf Hitler never considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. European conquest was but a step toward ultimate goals in all the other continents. It is unmistakably apparent to all of us that, unless the advance of Hitlerism is forcibly checked now, the Western Hemisphere will be within range of the Nazi weapons of destruction.

For our own defense we have accordingly undertaken certain obviously necessary measures:

First, we joined in concluding a series of agreements with all the other American Republics. This further solidified our hemisphere against the common danger.

And then, a year ago, we launched, and are successfully carrying out, the largest armament production program we have ever undertaken.

We have added substantially to our splendid Navy, and we have mustered our manpower to build up a new Army which is already worthy of the highest traditions of our military service.

We instituted a policy of aid for the democracies -- the nations which have fought for the continuation of human liberties.

This policy had its origin in the first month of the war, when I urged upon the Congress repeal of the arms embargo provisions in the Neutrality Law. In that message of September, 1939, I said, "I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead".

In the subsequent months, the shadows deepened and lengthened. And the night spread over Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, and France.

In June, 1940, Britain stood alone, faced by the same machine of terror which had overwhelmed her allies. Our Government rushed arms to meet her desperate needs.

In September, 1940, an agreement was completed with Great Britain for the trade of fifty destroyers for eight important off-shore bases.

9.35

In March, 1941, the Congress passed the Lend-Lease Bill and an appropriation of seven billion dollars to implement it. This law realistically provided for material aid "for the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States".

Our whole program of aid for the democracies has been based on hard-headed concern for our own security and for the kind of safe and civilized world in which we wish to live. Every dollar of material we send helps to keep the dictators away from our own hemisphere. Every day that they are held off gives us time to build more guns and tanks and planes and ships.

We have made no pretense about our own self-interest in this aid. Great Britain understands it -- and so does Nazi Germany.

And now -- after a year -- Britain still fights gallantly, on a "far-flung battle line". We have doubled and redoubled our vast production, increasing, month by month, our material supply of tools of war for ourselves and Britain and China -- and eventually for all the democracies.

The supply of these tools will not fail -- it will increase.

With greatly augmented strength, the United States and the other American Republics now chart their course in the situation of today.

Your Government knows what terms Hitler, if victorious, would impose. They are, indeed, the only terms on which he would accept a so-called "negotiated" peace.

Under those terms, Germany would literally parcel out the world -- hoisting the swastika itself over vast territories and populations, and setting up puppet governments of its own choosing, wholly subject to the will and the policy of a conqueror.

To the people of the Americas, a triumphant Hitler would say, as he said after the seizure of Austria, and after Munich, and after the seizure of Czechoslovakia: "I am now completely satisfied. This is the last territorial readjustment I will seek". And he would of course add: "All we want is peace, friendship, and profitable trade relations with you in the New World".

And were any of us in the Americas so incredibly simple and forgetful as to accept those honeyed words, what would then happen?

Those in the New World who were seeking profits would be urging that all that the dictatorships desired was "peace". They would oppose toil and taxes for more American armament. Meanwhile, the dictatorships would be forcing the enslaved peoples of their Old World conquests into a system they are even now organizing -- to build a naval and air force intended to gain and hold and be master of the Atlantic and the Pacific as well.

They would fasten an economic stranglehold upon our several nations. Quislings would be found to subvert the governments in our Republics; and the Nazis would back their fifth columns with invasion, if necessary.

9.40

I am not speculating about all this. I merely repeat what is already in the Nazi book of world conquest. They plan to treat the Latin American nations as they are now treating the Balkans. They plan then to strangle the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada.

The American laborer would have to compete with slave labor in the rest of the world. Minimum wages, maximum hours? Nonsense! Wages and hours would be fixed by Hitler. The dignity and power and standard of living of the American worker and farmer would be gone. Trade unions would become historical relics, and collective bargaining a joke.

Farm income? What happens to all farm surpluses without any foreign trade? The American farmer would get for his products exactly what Hitler wanted to give. He would face obvious disaster and complete regimentation.

Tariff walls -- Chinese walls of isolation -- would be futile. Freedom to trade is essential to our economic life. We do not eat all the food we can produce; we do not burn all the oil we can pump; we do not use all the goods we can manufacture. It would not be an American wall to keep Nazi goods out; it would be a Nazi wall to keep us in.

The whole fabric of working life as we know it -- business, manufacturing, mining, agriculture -- all would be mangled and crippled under such a system. Yet to maintain even that crippled independence would require permanent conscription of our manpower; it would curtail the funds we could spend on education, on housing, on public works, on flood control, on health. Instead, we should be permanently pouring our resources into armaments; and, year in and year out, standing day and night watch against the destruction of our cities.

Even our right of worship would be threatened. The Nazi world does not recognize any God except Hitler; for the Nazis are as ruthless as the Communists in the denial of God. What place has religion which preaches the dignity of the human being, of the majesty of the human soul, in a world where moral standards are measured by treachery and bribery and Fifth Columnists? Will our children, too, wander off, goose-stepping in search of new gods?

We do not accept, and will not permit, this Nazi "shape of things to come". It will never be forced upon us, if we act in this present crisis with the wisdom and the courage which have distinguished our country in all the crises of the past.

The Nazis have taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. In Africa they have occupied Tripoli, and Libya, and they are threatening Egypt, the Suez Canal, and the Near East. But their plans do not stop there, for the Indian Ocean is the gateway to the East.

They also have the armed power at any moment to occupy Spain and Portugal; and that threat extends not only to French North Africa and the western end of the Mediterranean, but also to the Atlantic fortress of Dakar, and to the island outposts of the New World -- the Azores and Cape Verde Islands.

9.45

The Cape Verde Islands are only seven hours distance from Brazil by bomber or troop-carrying planes. They dominate shipping routes to and from the South Atlantic.

The war is approaching the brink of the Western Hemisphere itself. It is coming very close to home.

Control or occupation by Nazi forces of any of the islands of the Atlantic would jeopardize the immediate safety of portions of North and South America, and of the island possessions of the United States, and of the ultimate safety of the continental United States itself.

Hitler's plan of world domination would be near its accomplishment today, were it not for two factors: One is the epic resistance of Britain, her colonies, and the great Dominions, fighting not only to maintain the existence of the Island of Britain, but also to hold the Near East and Africa. The other is the magnificent defense of China, which will, I have reason to believe, increase in strength.

All of these, together, prevent the Axis from winning control of the seas by ships and aircraft.

The Axis Powers can never achieve their objective of world domination unless they first obtain control of the seas. This is their supreme purpose today; and to achieve it, they must capture Great Britain.

They could then have the power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, and no false pledges like those given by Hitler at Munich, can deceive the American people into believing that he and his Axis partners would not, with Britain defeated, close in relentlessly on this hemisphere.

But if the Axis Powers fail to gain control of the seas, they are certainly defeated. Their dreams of world domination will then go by the board; and the criminal leaders who started this war will suffer inevitable disaster.

Both they and their people know this -- and they are afraid. That is why they are risking everything they have, conducting desperate attempts to break through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed peoples on the Continent of Europe; and in the end, their whole structure will break into little pieces. And the wider the Nazi land effort, the greater the danger.

We do not forget the silenced peoples. The masters of Germany -- those, at least, who have not been assassinated or escaped to free soil -- have marked these peoples and their children's children for slavery. But those people -- spiritually unconquered: Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, Southern Slavs -- yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been enslaved -- will prove to be a powerful force in disrupting the Nazi system.

Yes, all freedom -- meaning freedom to live, and not freedom to conquer and subjugate other peoples -- depends on freedom of the seas. All of American history -- North, Central and South American history -- has been inevitably tied up with those words, "freedom of the seas".

9.50

Since 1799, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depredations of the Barbary pirates; since the War of 1812, which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since 1867, when our sea power made it possible for the Mexicans to expel the French Army of Louis Napoleon, we have striven and fought in defense of freedom of the seas -- for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister Republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of world trade -- and for our own safety.

During the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers, gunboats and destroyers; and this type of convoy was effective against submarines. In this second World War, however, the problem is greater, because the attack on the freedom of the seas is now fourfold: first -- the improved submarine; second -- the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or hit-and-run battleship; third, -- the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base; and fourth -- the destruction of merchant ships in those ports of the world which are accessible to bombing attack.

The battle of the Atlantic now extends from the icy waters of the North Pole to the frozen continent of the Antarctic. Throughout this huge area, there have been sinkings of merchant ships in alarming and increasing numbers by Nazi raiders or submarines. There have been sinkings

even of ships carrying neutral flags. There have been sinkings in the South Atlantic, off West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands; between the Azores and the islands off the American coast; and between Greenland and Iceland. Great numbers of these sinkings have been actually within the waters of the Western Hemisphere.

The blunt truth is this -- and I reveal this with the full knowledge of the British government: the present rate of Nazi sinkings of merchant ships is more than three times as high as the capacity of British shipyards to replace them; it is more than twice the combined British and American output of merchant ships today.

We can answer this peril by two simultaneous measures: first, by speeding up and increasing our great shipbuilding program; and second, by helping to cut down the losses on the high seas.

Attacks on shipping off the very shores of land which we are determined to protect, present an actual military danger to the Americas. And that danger has recently been heavily underlined by the presence in Western Hemisphere waters of Nazi battleships of great striking power.

Most of the supplies for Britain go by a northerly route, which comes close to Greenland and the nearby island of Iceland. Germany's heaviest attack is on that route. Nazi occupation of Iceland or bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our continental shores; because they are stepping-stones to Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the northern United States, including the great industrial centers of the north, east and the middle west.

9.575

Equally, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, if occupied or controlled by Germany, would directly endanger the freedom of the Atlantic and our own physical safety.

Under German domination they would become bases for submarines, warships, and airplanes raiding the waters which lie immediately off our own coasts and attacking the shipping in the South Atlantic. They would provide a springboard for actual attack against the integrity and independence of Brazil and her neighboring Republics.

I have said on many occasions that the United States is mustering its men and its resources only for purposes of defense -- only to repel attack. I repeat that statement now. But we must be realistic when we use the word "attack"; we have to relate it to the lightning speed of modern warfare.

Some people seem to think that we are not attacked until bombs actually drop on New York or San Francisco or New Orleans or Chicago. But they are simply shutting their eyes to the lesson we must learn from the fate of every nation that the Nazis have conquered.

The attack on Czechoslovakia began with the conquest of Austria. The attack on Norway began with the occupation of Denmark. The attack on Greece began with occupation of Albania and Bulgaria. The attack on the Suez Canal began with the invasion of the Balkans and North Africa. The attack on the United States can begin with the domination of any base which menaces our security -- north or south.

Nobody can foretell tonight just when the acts of the dictators will ripen into attack on this hemisphere and us. But we know enough by now to realize that it would be suicide to wait until they are in our front yard.

When your enemy comes at you in a tank or a bombing plane, if you hold your fire until you see the whites of his eyes, you will never know what hit you. Our Bunker Hill of tomorrow may be several thousand miles from Boston.

Anyone with an Atlas and a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war, knows that it is stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack. Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy which will prevent such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place.

We have, accordingly, extended our patrol in north and south Atlantic waters. We are steadily adding more and more ships and planes to that patrol. It is well known that the strength of the Atlantic Fleet has been greatly increased during the past year, and is constantly being built up.

These ships and planes warn of the presence of attacking raiders, on the sea, under the sea, and above the sea. The danger from these raiders is greatly lessened if their location is definitely known. We are thus being forewarned; and we shall be on our guard against efforts to establish Nazi bases closer to our Hemisphere.

10 pm.

The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple self-preservation, to make stern choices. It does not make sense, for instance, to say, "I believe in the defense of all the Western Hemisphere", and in the next breath to say, "I will not fight for that defense until the enemy has landed on our shores". And if we believe in the independence and integrity of the Americas, we must be willing to fight to defend them just as much as we would to fight for the safety of our own homes.

It is time for us to realize that the safety of American homes even in the center of our country has a definite relationship to the continued safety of homes in Nova Scotia or Trinidad or Brazil.

Our national policy today, therefore, is this:

First, we shall actively resist wherever necessary, and with all our resources, every attempt by Hitler to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere,

or to threaten it. We shall actively resist his every attempt to gain control of the seas. We insist upon the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used and would be used as a base of attack against the Americas.

Second, from the point of view of strict naval and military necessity, we shall give every possible assistance to Britain and to all who, with Britain, are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent with force of arms. Our patrols are helping now to insure delivery of the needed supplies to Britain. All additional measures necessary to deliver the goods will be taken. Any and all further methods or combination of methods, which can or should be utilized, are being devised by our military and naval technicians, who, with me, will work out and put into effect such new and additional safeguards as may be needed.

The delivery of needed supplies to Britain is imperative. This can be done; it must be done; it will be done.

To the other American nations -- twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada -- I say this: the United States does not merely propose these purposes, but is actively engaged today in carrying them out.

I say to them further: you may disregard those few citizens of the United States who contend that we are disunited and cannot act.

There are some timid ones among us who say that we must preserve peace at any price -- lest we lose our liberties forever. To them I say: never in the history of the world has a nation lost its democracy by a successful struggle to defend its democracy. We must not be defeated by the fear of the very danger which we are preparing to resist. Our freedom has shown its ability to survive war, but it would never survive surrender. "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself".

There is, of course, a small group of sincere, patriotic men and women whose real passion for peace has shut their eyes to the ugly realities of international banditry and to the need to resist it at all costs. I am sure they are embarrassed by the sinister support they are receiving from the enemies of democracy in our midst -- the Bundists, and Fascists, and Communists, and every group devoted to bigotry and racial and religious intolerance. It is no mere coincidence that all the arguments put forward by these enemies of democracy -- all their attempts to confuse and divide our people and to destroy public confidence in our Government -- all their defeatist forebodings that Britain and democracy are already beaten -- all their selfish promises that we can "do business" with Hitler -- all of these are but echoes of the words that have been poured out from the Axis bureaus of propaganda. Those same words have been used before in other countries -- to scare them, to divide them, to soften them up. Invariably, those same words have formed the advance guard of physical attack.

10.05

Your Government has the right to expect of all citizens that they take loyal part in the common work of our common defense -- take loyal part from this moment forward.

I have recently set up the machinery for civilian defense. It will rapidly organize, locality by locality. It will depend on the organized effort of men and women everywhere. All will have responsibilities to fulfill.

Defense today means more than merely fighting. It means morale, civilian as well as military; it means using every available resource; it means enlarging every useful plant. It means the use of a greater American common sense in discarding rumor and distorted statement. It means recognizing, for what they are, racketeers and fifth columnists, who are the incendiary bombs of the moment.

All of us know that we have made very great social progress in recent years. We propose to maintain that progress and strengthen it. When the nation is threatened from without, however, as it is today, the actual production

and transportation of the machinery of defense must not be interrupted by disputes between capital and capital, labor and labor, or capital and labor. The future of all free enterprise -- of capital and labor alike -- is at stake.

This is no time for capital to make, or be allowed to retain, excess profits. Articles of defense must have undisputed right of way in every industrial plant in the country.

A nation-wide machinery for conciliation and mediation of industrial disputes has been set up. That machinery must be used promptly -- and without stoppage of work. Collective bargaining will be retained, but the American people expect that impartial recommendations of our Government services will be followed both by capital and by labor.

The overwhelming majority of our citizens expect their Government to see that the tools of defense are built; and for the very purpose of preserving the democratic safeguards of both labor and management, this Government is determined to use all of its power to express the will

of its people, and to prevent interference with the production of materials essential to our nation's security.

Today the whole world is divided between human slavery and human freedom -- between pagan brutality and the Christian ideal.

We choose human freedom -- which is the Christian ideal.

No one of us can waver for a moment in his courage or his faith.

We will not accept a Hitler dominated world. And we will not accept a world, like the post-war world of the 1920's, in which the seeds of Hitlerism can again be planted and allowed to grow.

10.10

We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression -- freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- freedom from want -- and freedom from terrorism.

Is such a world impossible of attainment?

Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation and every other milestone in human progress -- all were ideals which seemed impossible of attainment -- yet they were attained.

As a military force, we were weak when we established our independence, but we successfully stood off tyrants, powerful in their day, who are now lost in the dust of history.

Odds meant nothing to us then. Shall we now, with all our potential strength, hesitate to take every single measure necessary to maintain our American liberties?

Our people and our Government will not hesitate to meet that challenge.

As the President of a united and determined people, I say solemnly:

We reassert the ancient American doctrine of freedom of the seas.

We reassert the solidarity of the twenty-one American Republics and the Dominion of Canada in the preservation of the independence of the hemisphere.

We have pledged material support to the other democracies of the world -- and we will fulfill that pledge.

We in the Americas will decide for ourselves whether, and when, and where, our American interests are attacked or our security threatened.

We are placing our armed forces in strategic military position.

We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel attack.

We reassert our abiding faith in the vitality of our constitutional republic as a perpetual home of freedom, of tolerance, and of devotion to the word of God.

Therefore, with profound consciousness of my responsibilities to my countrymen and to my country's cause, I have tonight issued a proclamation that an unlimited national emergency exists and requires the strengthening of our defense to the extreme limit of our national power and authority.

The nation will expect all individuals and all groups to play their full parts, without stint, and without selfishness, and without doubt that our democracy will triumphantly survive.

I repeat the words of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence -- that little band of patriots, fighting long ago against overwhelming odds, but certain, as are we, of ultimate victory: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor".

Franklin D. Roosevelt

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Big. reading copy - Fast Speaker

#1368

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the East Room of the White House
May 27, 1941, 9.30 P.M.,E.S.T.
Proclaiming an Unlimited National Emergency

MY FELLOW AMERICANS OF ALL THE AMERICAS; MY FRIENDS:

I am speaking tonight from the White House in the presence of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, the Canadian Minister, and their families. The members of this Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics in Washington. It is appropriate that I do this for now, as never before, the unity of the American Republics is of supreme importance to each and every one of us and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. Our future -- our future independence is bound up with the future independence of all of our sister Republics.

The pressing problems that confront us are military and naval problems. We cannot afford to approach them from the point of view of wishful thinkers or sentimentalists. What we face is cold, hard fact.

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Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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(And) Were any of us in the Americas so incredibly simple and forgetful as to accept those honeyed words, what would then happen?

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They also have the armed power at any moment to occupy Spain and Portugal; and that threat extends not only to French North Africa and the western end of the Mediterranean Sea, (but) it extends also to the Atlantic fortress of Dakar, and to the island outposts of the New World -- the Azores and Cape Verde Islands.

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Hitler's plan of world domination would be near its accomplishment today, were it not for two factors: One is the epic resistance of Britain, her colonies, and the great Dominions, fighting not only to maintain the existence of the Island of Britain, but also to hold the Near East and Africa. The other is the magnificent defense of China, which will, I have reason to believe, increase in strength. And all of these, together, (prevent) are preventing the Axis from winning control of the seas by ships and aircraft.

The Axis Powers can never achieve their objective of world domination unless they first obtain control of the seas. (This) That is their supreme purpose today; and to achieve it, they must capture Great Britain.

They could then have the power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, (and) no false pledges like those given by Hitler at Munich, can deceive the American people into believing that he and his Axis partners would not, with Britain defeated, close in relentlessly on this hempsphere of ours.

But if the Axis Powers fail to gain control of the seas, then they are certainly defeated. Their dreams of world domination will then go by the board; and the criminal leaders who started this

war will suffer inevitable disaster.

Both they and their people know this -- and they and their people are afraid. That is why they are risking everything they have, conducting desperate attempts to break through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed peoples on the Continent of Europe; and in the end, their whole structure will break into little pieces. And let us remember, the wider the Nazi land effort, the greater (the danger) is their ultimate danger.

We do not forget the silenced peoples. The masters of Germany -- those, at least, who have not been assassinated or escaped to free soil -- have marked these silenced peoples and their children's children for slavery. But those people -- spiritually unconquered: Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, Southern Slavs -- yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been enslaved -- will prove to be a powerful force in (disrupting) the final disruption of the Nazi system.

(Yes,) All freedom -- meaning freedom to live, and not freedom to conquer and subjugate other peoples -- depends on freedom of the seas. All of American history -- North, Central and South American history -- has been inevitably tied up with those words, "freedom of the seas."

Since 1799, 142 years ago, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depredations of the Barbary pirates; since the War of 1812,

which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since 1867, when our sea power made it possible for the Mexicans to expel the French Army of Louis Napoleon, we have striven and fought in defense of freedom of the seas -- freedom of the seas for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister Republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of world trade -- and for our own safety.

During the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers and gunboats and destroyers; and (this) that type, (of) called a convoy, was effective against submarines. In this second World War, however, the problem is greater. It is different because the attack on the freedom of the seas is now fourfold: first -- the improved submarine; second -- the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or the hit-and-run battleship; third, -- the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base; and fourth -- the destruction of merchant ships in those ports of the world (which) that are accessible to bombing attack.

The battle of the Atlantic now extends from the icy waters of the North Pole to the frozen continent of the Antarctic. Throughout this huge area, there have been sinkings of merchant ships in alarming and increasing numbers by Nazi raiders or submarines. There have been sinkings even of ships carrying neutral flags. There have been sinkings in the South Atlantic, off West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands; between the Azores and the islands off the American coast; and between Greenland and Iceland. Great numbers of these sinkings have been actually within the waters of the Western Hemisphere itself.

The blunt truth (is) of this seems to be this -- and I reveal this with the full knowledge of the British Government: the present rate of Nazi sinkings of merchant ships is more than three times as high as the capacity of British shipyards to replace them; it is more than twice the combined British and American output of merchant ships today.

We can answer this peril by two simultaneous measures: first, by speeding up and increasing our own great shipbuilding program; and second, by helping to cut down the losses on the high seas.

Attacks on shipping off the very shores of land which we are determined to protect, present an actual military danger to the Americas. And that danger has recently been heavily underlined by the presence in Western Hemisphere waters of a Nazi battleship of great striking power.

You remember that most of the supplies for Britain go by a northerly route, which comes close to Greenland and the nearby island of Iceland. Germany's heaviest attack is on that route. Nazi occupation of Iceland or bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our own continental shores; because those places (they) are stepping-stones to Labrador and Newfoundland, to Nova Scotia, (and) yes, to the northern United States itself, including the great industrial centers of the north, the east and the middle west.

Equally, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, if occupied or controlled by Germany, would directly endanger the freedom of the Atlantic and our own American physical safety. Under German domination those islands (they) would become bases for submarines, warships, and airplanes raiding the waters (which) that lie immediately off our

own coasts and attacking the shipping in the South Atlantic. They would provide a springboard for actual attack against the integrity and the independence of Brazil and her neighboring Republics.

I have said on many occasions that the United States is mustering its men and its resources only for purposes of defense -- only to repel attack. I repeat that statement now. But we must be realistic when we use the word "attack"; we have to relate it to the lightning speed of modern warfare.

Some people seem to think that we are not attacked until bombs actually drop in the streets of (on) New York or San Francisco or New Orleans or Chicago. But they are simply shutting their eyes to the lesson that we must learn from the fate of every nation that the Nazis have conquered.

The attack on Czechoslovakia began with the conquest of Austria. The attack on Norway began with the occupation of Denmark. The attack on Greece began with occupation of Albania and Bulgaria. The attack on the Suez Canal began with the invasion of the Balkans and North Africa and the attack on the United States can begin with the domination of any base which menaces our security -- north or south.

Nobody can foretell tonight just when the acts of the dictators will ripen into attack on this hemisphere and us. But we know enough by now to realize that it would be suicide to wait until they are in our front yard.

When your enemy comes at you in a tank or a bombing plane, if you hold your fire until you see the whites of his eyes, you will never know what hit you. Our Bunker Hill of tomorrow may be several

thousand miles from Boston, Massachusetts.

Anyone with an Atlas, (and) anyone with a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war, knows that it is stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack. Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy (which) that will prevent such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place.

We have, accordingly, extended our patrol in north and south Atlantic waters. We are steadily adding more and more ships and planes to that patrol. It is well known that the strength of the Atlantic Fleet has been greatly increased during the past year, and that it is constantly being built up.

These ships and planes warn of the presence of attacking raiders, on the sea, under the sea, and above the sea. The danger from these raiders is, of course, greatly lessened if their location is definitely known. We are thus being forewarned. (and) We shall be on our guard against efforts to establish Nazi bases closer to our Hemisphere.

The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple (self-) preservation, to make stern choices. It does not make sense, for instance, to say, "I believe in the defense of all the Western Hemisphere," and in the next breath to say, "I will not fight for that defense until the enemy has landed on our shores." (And) If we believe in the independence and the integrity of the Americas, we must be willing to fight, to fight to defend them just as much as we would (to) fight for the safety of our own homes.

It is time for us to realize that the safety of American homes even in the center of this our own country has a very definite relationship to the continued safety of homes in Nova Scotia or Trinidad or Brazil.

Our national policy today, therefore, is this:

First, we shall actively resist wherever necessary, and with all our resources, every attempt by Hitler to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere, or to threaten it. We shall actively resist his every attempt to gain control of the seas. We insist upon the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used (and) or would be used as a base of attack against the Americas.

(Second) Secondly, from the point of view of strict naval and military necessity, we shall give every possible assistance to Britain and to all who, with Britain, are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent with force of arms. Our patrols are helping now to insure delivery of the needed supplies to Britain. All additional measures necessary to deliver the goods will be taken. Any and all further methods or combination of methods, which can or should be utilized, are being devised by our military and naval technicians, who, with me, will work out and put into effect such new and additional safeguards as may be needed.

I say that the delivery of needed supplies to Britain is imperative. I say that this can be done; it must be done; and it will be done.

To the other American nations -- twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada -- I say this: the United States does not merely

propose these purposes, but is actively engaged today in carrying them out.

And I say to them further: you may disregard those few citizens of the United States who contend that we are disunited and cannot act.

There are some timid ones among us who say that we must preserve peace at any price -- lest we lose our liberties forever. To them I say this: never in the history of the world has a nation lost its democracy by a successful struggle to defend its democracy. We must not be defeated by the fear of the very danger which we are preparing to resist. Our freedom has shown its ability to survive war, but (it) our freedom would never survive surrender. "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

There is, of course, a small group of sincere, patriotic men and women whose real passion for peace has shut their eyes to the ugly realities of international banditry and to the need to resist it at all costs. I am sure they are embarrassed by the sinister support they are receiving from the enemies of democracy in our midst -- the Bundists, (and) the Fascists, and Communists, and every group devoted to bigotry and racial and religious intolerance. It is no mere coincidence that all the arguments put forward by these enemies of democracy -- all their attempts to confuse and divide our people and to destroy public confidence in (our) Government -- all their defeatist forebodings that Britain and democracy are already beaten -- all their selfish promises that we can "do business" with Hitler -- all of these are but echoes of the words that have been poured out from the Axis bureaus of propaganda. Those same words have been used before in other

countries -- to scare them, to divide them, to soften them up. Invariably, those same words have formed the advance guard of physical attack.

Your Government has the right to expect of all citizens that they take (loyal) part in the common work of our common defense -- take loyal part from this moment forward.

I have recently set up the machinery for civilian defense. It will rapidly organize, locality by locality. It will depend on the organized effort of men and women everywhere. All will have opportunities and responsibilities to fulfill.

Defense today means more than merely fighting. It means morale, civilian as well as military; it means using every available resource; it means enlarging every useful plant. It means the use of a greater American common sense in discarding rumor and distorted statement. It means recognizing, for what they are, racketeers and fifth columnists, (who are) the incendiary bombs in this country of the moment.

All of us know that we have made very great social progress in recent years. We propose to maintain that progress and strengthen it. When the nation is threatened from without, however, as it is today, the actual production and transportation of the machinery of defense must not be interrupted by disputes between capital and capital, labor and labor, or capital and labor. The future of all free enterprise -- of capital and labor alike -- is at stake.

This is no time for capital to make, or be allowed to retain, excess profits. Articles of defense must have undisputed right of way

in every industrial plant in the country.

A nationwide machinery for conciliation and mediation of industrial disputes has been set up. That machinery must be used promptly -- and without stoppage of work. Collective bargaining will be retained, but the American people expect that impartial recommendations of our Government conciliation and mediation services will be followed both by capital and by labor.

The overwhelming majority of our citizens expect their Government to see that the tools of defense are built; and for the very purpose of preserving the democratic safeguards of both labor and management, this Government is determined to use all of its power to express the will of its people, and to prevent interference with the production of materials essential to our nation's security.

Today the whole world is divided, divided between human slavery and human freedom -- between pagan brutality and the Christian ideal.

We choose human freedom -- which is the Christian ideal.

No one of us can waver for a moment in his courage or his faith.

We will not accept a Hitler dominated world. And we will not accept a world, like the post-war world of the 1920's, in which the seeds of Hitlerism can again be planted and allowed to grow.

We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression -- freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- freedom from want -- and freedom from (terrorism) terror.

Is such a world impossible of attainment?

Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation and every other milestone in human progress -- all were ideals which seemed impossible of attainment -- and yet they were attained.

As a military force, we were weak when we established our independence, but we successfully stood off tyrants, powerful in their day, tyrants who are now lost in the dust of history.

Odds meant nothing to us then. Shall we now, with all our potential strength, hesitate to take every single measure necessary to maintain our American liberties?

Our people and our Government will not hesitate to meet that challenge.

As the President of a united and determined people, I say solemnly:

We reassert the ancient American doctrine of freedom of the seas.

We reassert the solidarity of the twenty-one American Republics and the Dominion of Canada in the preservation of the independence of the hemisphere.

We have pledged material support to the other democracies of the world -- and we will fulfill that pledge.

We in the Americas will decide for ourselves whether, and when, and where, our American interests are attacked or our security threatened.

We are placing our armed forces in strategic military position.

We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel attack.

We reassert our abiding faith in the vitality of our constitutional republic as a perpetual home of freedom, of tolerance, and of devotion to the word of God.

Therefore, with profound consciousness of my responsibilities to my countrymen and to my country's cause, I have tonight issued a proclamation that an unlimited national emergency exists and requires the strengthening of our defense to the extreme limit of our national power and authority.

The nation will expect all individuals and all groups to play their full parts, without stint, and without selfishness, and without doubt that our democracy will triumphantly survive.

I repeat the words of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence -- that little band of patriots, fighting long ago against overwhelming odds, but certain, as (are we) we are now, of ultimate victory: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." (Warm applause)

United States and our future independence, in the historic sense of that splendid term, is wrapped up with the future independence of each and every one of our sister Republics.

(A) Finally, in these introductory paragraphs, I make it clear that I am speaking as the leader of the National policy of America first. Let that statement sink in. By virtue of my position, and by virtue of my personal integrity, I am more greatly concerned with the protection of America first than any other American.

I now take you back two years -- to the Spring of 1939 -- when it became clear to those in your Administration, who are in charge of foreign affairs, first, that well-intentioned efforts on the part of the democracies, after the Munich Pact, to maintain European peace through appeasement, were bound to fail; and, second, that the leader of the German nation intended them to fail through his carrying through of the carefully planned campaign of terrorism to dominate, first Europe, and then the world.

Thousands of Americans in high places openly stated, at that time, first, that they did not believe this forecast, and, second, that there would be no war, and, third, if there were a war it would be no business or concern of the United States.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A - Page 2

If we go down it is a fact that can be demonstrated that they will go down too. If they go down it is a fact that can be demonstrated that we will go down too.

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WASHINGTON

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By virtue of my oath and by every personal desire, I am at least as greatly concerned with the protection of the Americas first as any other American.

I take you now to a date in September, 1939. The war was on. Poland had been overrun. Whether the pledge of Great Britain and France to come to the assistance of Poland had been a wise pledge in the giving is not an issue today. The fact remains that the pledge was given and as a matter of honesty and decency was honored.

Soon after the horrors of the overrunning of Poland and the partition of that free nation, I held in my office a meeting of experts of the State, War and Navy Departments, and at that meeting one of several possibilities stands out in my mind to this day because, though not yet accepted as a clear probability, it was accepted by us as a definite possibility. Today it seems to have come to pass.

That possibility was widely discussed throughout the world and throughout the United States at that time. (C) But I am sorry to say that most Americans put it down in their own minds as one of those unpleasant nightmares which need not be given serious consideration.

It was to the effect that the plans -- definite plans -- of Adolf Hitler and of his satellite, Benito Mussolini, were not confined to the European Continent but that, on the contrary, these plans definitely visualized world conquest.

(D)

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INSERT C - Page 3

In the messages to the Congress and in statement to the American nation, I and many others in your Government, and outside of your Government, tried to bring it home to the nation.

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Never have they considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. Always that conquest was but a jumping off place toward the ultimate goal of the world itself.

That as a part of these plans an agreement had been made with the Soviet Union to keep its hands off the immediate European struggle, to share ultimately in the spoils which would follow a world conquest, and that an agreement would be worked out with the Japanese Empire by which that Empire would indirectly aid the Axis and receive recognition of an important place in the domination of the world.

It is well for us to remember today, on the 27th of May, 1941, that all of these German-led objectives were foreseen as definite possibilities many long months before Denmark and Norway were overrun in April, 1940; before Belgium and France were invaded in May, 1940, and before France was compelled to ask for an Armistice in June, 1940.

In that conference, in September, 1939, followed by many similar conferences in later months, the penetration of Hungary, of Roumania, and of Bulgaria was visualized; the resistance of Yugoslavia and of Greece and, last, but by no means least, we understood the very definite possibility that the Axis would seek military and naval control of all of the shores of the Mediterranean, including the actual occupation of North Africa.

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Those beliefs, those fears were made clear on many occasions to the whole of the population of this nation.

We believed then, and let this fact be noted too, that the Island of Britain would not only resist, but resist successfully, and become in effect the principal bulwark and spearhead against German-led world domination.

In the light of the unfolding of the successive events of the year 1940, the increasing danger to the United States and to the twenty other Republics and the Dominion of Canada -- the physical danger -- we undertook two obvious and necessary steps for the protection of America first. The initial step lay in a series of conferences which solidified all the Americas, for the very practical reason that the fall of any one of the Americas would seriously jeopardize the safety of all of the other Americas. And the second step was the launching, a year ago, of the largest armament production program ever undertaken in our history.

During the first year and a half of the war, which was spreading geographically throughout the world, we sold to England, and up to last June to France, all of the armament which, under a slowly expanding production, we could possibly spare. Since last March, with greatly increased production, and with full Congressional approval, we have stepped up, and month by month are increasing, our material efforts to

keep those nations, which are fighting for the continuation of human liberties, supplied, ~~as best we can~~, with what Winston Churchill has rightly called "the tools of war".

Our efforts in this direction and our efforts in arming and training ourselves, and in helping the other American Republics to arm themselves, are proceeding well on the whole. That does not mean that the Government or I are satisfied with the speed that is being made. It does mean that the Government and I, and I believe the nation as a whole, have long since abandoned any thought of "business as usual". It does mean that we are using the best brains we can find. And I think that it will give you more encouragement to know that several leaders responsible for production during the World war tell me that in their judgment the speed and effectiveness of our present production effort is definitely ahead, by several months as a matter of relative time, of our actual production during the World War.

I now come to the facts of today which I will follow with an outline of the probabilities of the future, based on the present and future action of the United States and the other American Republics.

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I repeat the forecast of the definite possibilities made in the Autumn of 1939. The Axis Powers have physically taken military position of the greater part of Europe. Without question they have the armed power to occupy Spain and Portugal. They occupy Tripoli, and Lybia, and are threatening Egypt, the Suez Canal and the Near East at one end of the Mediterranean - and French North Africa, including Tunis, Algiers and Morroco at the other end of the Mediterranean.

The threat in the Near East extends to the military domination of Turkey, Iraq, Arabia, the Persian Gulf and Persia itself. The threat in Spain and Portugal and Morroco extends not only to Spanish and French Colonies in West Africa, including Dakar but also to the Islands of the Atlantic, such as the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, which come pretty close home to the actual physical safety of the Western Hemisphere itself. (F)

Thus you will see that the plan of the Axis Powers, which your Government visualized in 1939, is expanding in the direction of its full accomplishment. The nearer parts of the Continent of Asia are already involved in actual combat. The Continent of Africa, with relatively small defensive strength within itself, is an expanding

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I do not hesitate to tell you two simple military facts -- not guesses. The occupation by Germany or its Axis partner of any of the Islands of the Atlantic would constitute a clear and actual threat to the immediate safety of portions of North or South America, and the ultimate safety of the Island possessions of the United States and, therefore, the ultimate safety of the continental United States itself.

theatre of war. Events in the Far East are not out of step with the Axis plan. Russia and Japan have signed a non-aggression pact. Japan has signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. China is heroically defending its very existence and will, I believe, continue to do so with increasing strength. But in the whole area of the Western Pacific, the principles and purposes of military domination give concern to the whole world -- that is to say, that portion of the world's population which still believes in self-government and the true independence of homogenous nations.

Britain and her Colonies and the great Dominions are fighting in many theatres of war against the effort at world domination which today is so clear. It is a war to maintain the existence of the Island of Britain against German invasion, and it is a war to hold the lines of the Mediterranean in the Near East, and in Africa. It is a war which, more and more, is taking on the aspect of the ultimate control of the seas because it is clear that the Axis Powers cannot win in the long run unless and until they acquire the control of the seas. Equally it is true that if the Axis Powers fail to control the seas, their

dream of world domination goes out of the window. And when that dream evaporates, it seems clear that they will be unable to keep their iron heel on the necks of the millions of conquered peoples in Europe itself.

Again, I go back for a moment to American history, because American history -- North, Central and South American history -- is inevitably tied up with those words "control of the seas".

Since 1799, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Carribean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships; since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depridation of the Barbary corsairs; since the War of 1812, which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since our control of the seas compelled the French Army to evacuate Mexico in 1865, we have striven and fought for freedom of the seas -- for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister Republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of world trade.

It is a simple historic fact that since 1815, the other great Naval power of the world, Great Britain, has never, in all that century and a quarter, threatened the integrity or the independence of the Western Hemisphere.

On the contrary, the Americas have known, as a plain military dictum, that with the existence of an independent Britain and a friendly British Fleet there would be no act of aggression against the independence of any of us, and that that British Fleet in being was an insurance policy toward the independence of the American Republics.

The fact of today is that that British Navy is operating in almost every part of the world, because the Hitler-led war is seeking conquest or domination or attack in almost every part of the world.

The peaceful commerce of the world was threatened in 1917 and 1918, principally by one form of attack -- the torpedo carrying submarine -- and to a much less extent by a handful of German raiders, which were soon rounded up ~~eventually~~ in distant oceans. Today, however, the attack on the freedom of the seas is fourfold:

1. The improved submarine
2. The much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or battleship.
3. The bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base.
4. The destruction of merchant ships at the conclusion of safe voyage in those ports of the world which are accessible to German bombing attack.

For example, during the World War we were able to ~~escort~~ escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers, gunboats and destroyers and ~~these types~~ this type of convoy was effective against submarines. Today, however, merchant ships must be protected, in addition, ~~while~~ ~~they are~~ against heavily armed raiders and against bombing planes. You will see, therefore, that the problem of defense is vastly enlarged from that earlier day.

I come now to the factual problem of danger to the Americas. I state it on the assumption that Britain holds out, which I believe Britain will, and on the assumption that Germany will obviously seek to strengthen her efforts to dominate the seas. Most of the supplies for Britain use a northerly route to that Island. Germany is concentrating her attack on that route, and that route comes close to the ~~Western Hemisphere's~~ great Island which we know as Greenland, and to the neighboring Island of Iceland. German occupation of Iceland or of bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our own continental shores, because they are but a stepping-stone to Labrador, to Newfoundland, to Nova Scotia and to the Northern United States themselves,

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including the great productive centers of New England

OR

including great productive centers such as Boston and other communities of the Northeastern part of our country. Once any foothold were to be gained in the prosecution of such an attack, the scope of the attack automatically extends to the industries and the populations which are working day and night in our great Middle West.

Any high school student with an atlas and a reasonable knowledge of the striking force

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INSERT G - continued

of modern war will tell us grown-ups that it is stupid strategy to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack, and that old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy which will keep such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place.

Nearly a century ago a famoue Confederate General laid down a cardinal principle of all strategy when he said: "Git thar fustest with the mostest men", and to that we have to add today, "men adequately equipped with the weapons of modern war".

Those who tell you that an attack via the Northern Route is an impossibility, or is so highly improbable that we need not worry about it, are either wishful thinkers or are the same people who told you two years ago that there would be no war and that the Americas have nothing to fear. (H)

Further south in the Atlantic lie a series of Islands which if occupied by Germany would constitute an immediate and a direct further threat to the freedom of the seas and our own physical safety. The Azores, for example, would, in German hands, become a submarine, a raider and an airplane attacking base against the waters ~~of the Islands~~ which lie immediately off our own coasts. (I)

In the same way the Cape Verde Islands would give to Germany a base for attack against all shipping entering the south Atlantic, against all shipping bound north to the British Isles from the east coast of South America and South Africa and India and the Far East, and against the integrity and independence of Brazil and her neighboring Republics themselves.

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and that even if there were a war, Hitler had given them his solemn assurance that he would never, never head our way.

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H-1

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All through South America, as well as in Germany and Italy, the speeches and the writings of those in this country, who are preaching the inevitability of German victory, are being used in all of those media of information -- newspapers, broadcasts, etc. - to make people believe (a) the inevitability of German victory, and (b) that the United States is split squarely across the middle, and even that the majority of people in this country are not behind their Administration and their Government, but are in favor of peace at any price. Such is the effect of what goes on in our midst almost day and night.

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H-1 (continued)

If they are not concerned with this Hemisphere in any way and they have no desire to interfere in this Hemisphere, why are they spending so much money for propaganda purposes in every one of the American Republics in an effort to create diversions, to create disagreement, and to advocate even resistance to the established policy of independence of the Americas?

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INSERT I

If I were in charge of the German war machine in such an event, I would see to it that German submarines were again operating off Sandy Hook. I would see to it that raiders and flames made a point of sinking merchant ships engaged in maintaining the lifeline to Britain. I would even, if the necessity arose, use every weapon of terrorism in my German "bag of tricks" to make the Americas believe that I was in fact invincible.

DRAFT #2 SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

MAY 27, 1941

- -

I am speaking tonight to the people of the United States, to the people of the twenty other free and independent Republics of the American Hemisphere, and to many other people throughout the world who are rightly concerned at the thought that human liberties are seriously threatened with extinction.

I make this a factual report -- based on factual information.

This information comes from trained American observers in every country and every region; it comes from friendly and hostile sources; it comes from the type of military and naval knowledge which must be regarded as more valuable and more probably correct than that possessed by any amateur strategist anywhere.

What I am about to tell you is not based on sentiment; it is not based on wishful thinking. It is founded on cold, hard, unpleasant fact.

I am speaking from the White House in the presence of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union and their families.

(cont. next page)

~~Many of~~ The members of this Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics who are now accredited to the United States. It is appropriate that I do this because the other American Republics are in the same boat with the United States. And our future independence, in the historic sense of that splendid term, is wrapped up with the future independence of each and every one of our sister Republics.

If we go down it is a fact that can be demonstrated that they will go down too. If they go down it is a fact that can be demonstrated that we will go down too.

Finally, in these introductory paragraphs, I make it clear that I am speaking as the leader of the national policy of "the Americas first". Let that statement sink in. By virtue of my oath and by every personal desire, I am at least as greatly concerned with the protection of the Americas first as is any other American.

I now take you back two years ago -- to the Spring of 1939 -- when it became clear to those in your Administration, who are in charge of foreign affairs, first, that well-intentioned

efforts on the part of the democracies, after the Munich Pact, to maintain European peace through appeasement, were bound to fail; and, second, that the leader of the German nation intended them to fail ~~through his carrying through of the~~ by prosecuting his carefully planned campaign of terrorism to dominate, first Europe, and then the world.

Thousands of Americans in high places openly stated at that time, ~~that,~~ that they did not believe this forecast; ~~and, second~~ or, that there would be no war; ~~and, third~~ or that, if there were a war it would be no business or concern of the United States.

[I take you now to a date in September, 1939. The war was on. Poland had been overrun. Whether the pledge of Great Britain and France to come to the assistance of Poland had been a wise pledge in the giving is not an issue today. The fact remains that the pledge was given and as a matter of honesty and decency was honored.]

Soon after the horrors of the overrunning of Poland and the partition of that free nation, I held in my office a meeting of experts of the State, War and Navy Departments. [and

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INSERT A

At those meetings in the Autumn of 1939 the objectives we then visualized and gave warning of have proved abundantly true. Frankly, we did not believe that the task of the military occupation would be carried through by the Axis powers as quickly as subsequent events have shown. The point I am making is solely that we guessed right on the Axis purpose of conquering the world -- that Adolf Hitler etc.

at that meeting one of several possibilities stands out in my mind to this day because, though not yet accepted as a clear probability, it was accepted by us as a definite possibility. Today it seems to have come to pass.

That possibility was widely discussed throughout the world and throughout the United States at that time. In messages to the Congress and in statements to the American nation, I and many others in your government, and outside of your government, tried to bring it home to the nation. But I am sorry to say that most Americans put it down in their own minds as one of those unpleasant nightmares which need not be given serious consideration.

(A) ~~It was to the effect that the plans definitely plans of~~ Adolf Hitler and his satellite, Benito Mussolini, had definite plans not confined to the European Continent but on the contrary, which plans definitely visualized world conquest. Never have they considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. Always that conquest was but a jumping off place toward the ultimate goals of the world itself in other continents.

with the understanding

~~Mat~~ As a part of these plans an agreement had been made with the Soviet Union to keep its hands off the immediate European struggle, ~~to~~ that Russia would share ultimately in the spoils which would follow a world conquest, and that an agreement would be worked out with the Japanese Empire by which that Empire would indirectly aid the Axis and receive recognition of an important place in the domination of the world.

This was nothing more nor less than a Japanese conquest.

It is well for us to remember today, ~~on the 27th, of May, 1941~~, that all of these German-led objectives were foreseen ~~as definite possibilities~~ many long months before Denmark and Norway were overrun in April, 1940; before Belgium and France were invaded in May, 1940, and before France was compelled to ask for an Armistice in June, 1940.

~~In that conference, in September, 1940, followed by many similar conferences in later months,~~ We foresaw that the plan to conquer this world included the penetration of Hungary, of Roumania, ~~and~~ of Bulgaria ~~was virtually the resistance~~ of Yugoslavia and of Greece. And, last, but by no means least, we ~~understood the very definite possibility that~~ believed that the Axis would seek military and naval control of all of the shores of the Mediterranean, including the actual occupation of North Africa. ~~These left no, I believe, room~~ But of this new menace were made clear to the whole of civilization.

on many occasions to the whole of the population of this nation.

We believed then, and let this fact be noted too, that the Island of Britain would not only resist, but resist successfully, and become in effect the principal bulwark and spearhead against German-led world domination.

In the light of the unfolding of the successive events of the year 1940, the increasing danger to the United States and to the twenty other Republics and the Dominion of Canada -- the physical danger -- we undertook two obvious and necessary steps for the protection of the Americas first. The initial step lay in a series of conferences which solidified all the Americas against the common danger for the very practical reason that the fall of any one of the Americas would seriously jeopardize the safety of all of the other Americas. And the second step was the launching, a year ago, of the largest armament production program ever undertaken in our history.

(6) The problems that confront us are military problems. We cannot afford to approach them from the point of view of the wishful thinkers or the sentimentalists. What we face now is cold hard, unpleasant fact.

During the first year and a half of the war, which was spreading geographically throughout the world, we sold to England, and up to last June to France, all of the armament which, under a slowly expanding production, we could possibly spare. Since last March, with greatly increased production, and with full Congressional approval, in the lend lease bill we have stepped up, and month by month are increasing, our material efforts to keep those nations, which are fighting for the continuation of human liberties, supplied, with what Winston Churchill has rightly called "the tools of war".

Our efforts in this direction and our efforts in arming and training ourselves, and in helping the other American Republics to arm themselves, are proceeding well on the whole. That does not mean that the Government or I are satisfied with the speed that is being made. It does mean that the Government and I, and I believe the nation as a whole, have long since abandoned any thought of "business as usual". It does mean that we are using the best brains we can find.

(A)

~~Because there are military problems, I cannot~~

~~we shall continue the delivery of these~~

~~The British have proved that they know how to use these Tools and we assume that that~~ The supply of these tools will not fail, but will ~~become~~ greater and greater in quantity and in power, as our vast production speeds up day by day.

All have all been irked by the necessary ~~delay~~ period of preparation for this unprecedented production of arms; but now the period of preparation is over and the needed equipment of war material is beginning to roll from the assembly lines of America to the battle lines of democracy.

And I think that it will give you more encouragement to know that several leaders responsible for production during the World War tell me that in their judgment the speed and effectiveness of our present production effort is definitely ahead, by several months as a matter of relative time, of our actual production during the war days of 1917 and 1918. ~~the World War~~.

I now come to the facts of today which I will follow with an outline of the probabilities of the future, based on the present and future action of the United States and the other American Republics.

I repeat the forecast ~~of [illegible]~~ made in the Autumn of 1939. The Axis Powers have physically taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. Without question they have the armed power at any moment to occupy Spain and Portugal. In Africa they have occupied They occupy Tripoli, and Lybia, and they are threatening Egypt, the Suez Canal and the Near East at one end of the Mediterranean - and French North Africa, including Tunis, Algiers and Morroco at the other Western end of the Mediterranean.

The threat in the Near East extends to include the military domination of Turkey, Iraq, Arabia, the Persian Gulf and Persia itself. The threat in Spain and Portugal and Morroco extends

(A)

~~These places are on the very fringe of the Western Hemisphere itself — and~~

The war is approaching the brink of the western hemisphere itself; it is coming pretty close home to us.

(B)

For because of the new implements of warfare which now exist, distances which once lent security no longer afford ~~such~~ security.

not only to Spanish and French Colonies in West Africa, including Dakar but also to the Islands of the Atlantic, such as the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, which come pretty close home to the actual physical safety of the Western Hemisphere itself.

I do not hesitate to tell you two simple military facts -- not guesses. The occupation by Germany or its Axis partner Nazi forces of any of the Islands of the Atlantic would ~~constitute a close and actual threat to~~ raise the question of the immediate safety of portions of North ~~or~~ and South America, and the ultimate safety of the island possessions of the United States and, therfore, the ultimate safety of the continental United States itself.

Thus you will see that the plan of the Axis Powers, which your Government visualized in 1939, world domination by is expanding in the direction of its full accomplishment. The nearer parts of the Continent of Asia are already involved in actual combat. The Continent of Africa, with relatively small defensive strength within itself, is an expanding theatre of war. Events in the Far East are not out of step with the Axis plan. Russia and Japan have signed a non-aggression pact. Japan has signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and

Italy. China is heroically defending its very existence and will, I believe, continue to do so with increasing strength. In the whole area of the Western Pacific, [illegible] Siberia [illegible] Sahara of military domination give concern to the whole world -- that is to say, that portion of the world's population which still believes in self-government and the true independence of homogenous nations.

Britain and her Colonies and the great Dominions are fighting in many theatres of war against the effort at world domination which today is so clear. They are fighting not only It is a war to maintain the existence of the Island of Britain against German invasion, but also and it is a war to hold the lines of the Mediterranean in the Near East, and in Africa, and to keep open and free the sea-ways of the world It is a war which, more and more, is taking on the aspect of The issues of this war involve more and more the ultimate control of the seas and because it is clear that the Axis Powers cannot win in the long run unless and until they acquire the control of the seas. Equally it is true that if the Axis Powers fail to control the seas, their dream of world domination goes out of the window. And when that dream evaporates, it seems clear that they will be unable to keep their iron heel on the necks of the millions of conquered peoples in Europe itself.

Again, I go back for a moment to American history, because American history -- North, Central and South American history -- is inevitably tied up with those words "control of the seas". (15)

Since 1799, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Carribean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depridations of the Barbary corsairs; since the War of 1812, which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since our control of the seas compelled the French Army to evacuate Mexico in 1865, we have striven and fought for freedom of the seas -- for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister Republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of world trade.

It is a simple historic fact that since 1815, the other great Naval power of the world, Great Britain, has never, in all that century and a quarter, threatened the ~~integrity~~ ~~the~~ independence of the Republics of the Western Hemisphere. On the contrary, the Americas have known, as a plain military dictum, that with the existence of an independent Britain and a friendly British

Fleet there would be no act of aggression against the independence of any of us, and that that British Fleet "in being" was an insurance policy ~~toward~~ for the independence of the American Republics.

The fact of today is that that British Navy is operating, have to operate in almost every part of the world, because the Hitler-led war is seeking conquest or domination or attack in, spreading to almost every part of the world.

The peaceful commerce of the world, depends upon undisputed control of the seas. This control was threatened in 1917 and 1918, principally by one form of attack -- the torpedo carrying submarine -- and to a much less extent by a handful of German raiders, which were soon rounded up in distant oceans. Today, however, the attack on the freedom of the seas is fourfold: first —

1. The improved submarine; second —

2. The much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or ~~battleship~~ hit-and-run battleship; third —

3. The bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base; and fourth —

4. The destruction of merchant ships at the conclusion of safe voyages in those ports of the world which are accessible to German bombing attack.

(and it should be remembered that the range of these planes is already vastly more than the distance from Southern Africa to Brazil!)

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INSERT C

In two or three sentences, I can outline to you certain facts affecting shipping in the north and south Atlantic Ocean. Beginning at the south, it is a fact that there have been many sinkings of merchant ships -- some of them carrying neutral flags. These sinkings have been caused by German raiding cruisers or submarines. Coming into the north Atlantic, there have been increasing sinkings of merchant ships off West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands, many of them in the waters of the Western Hemisphere. ~~Coming still~~ Farther north, there have been other sinkings by raiders and submarines between the Azores ~~Islands~~ and the Islands off the American coast. Proceeding still further north and well within the waters of the

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2

Western Hemisphere, German submarines and raiders have taken far too heavy a toll for the British or for us to stand for long through a period of years. As the merchant ships bearing food and munitions to Britain get nearer that Island they are being increasingly subjected to the third form of attack -- the bombing airplane which flies far out to sea from ports which were formerly French or Norwegian.

Figures showing relatively small losses of merchant ships and tending to minimize the danger to them are not based on fact. They were based on newspaper clippings. Actually, the losses of ships are dangerously high.

Today, the U.S. has greatly extended its patrol in north and south Atlantic waters. More and more ships and planes are being added to that

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INSERT C

patrol every week. It is increasingly effective, for it notifies the world of the presence of ~~pirating~~ raiders, on or under or above submarines or raiders or planes, which are obviously attacking and not merely defending, which are obviously endangering the freedom of the sea.

The danger of a submarine or a surface ship ~~raider~~ or a bombing ~~[illegible]~~ plane is obviously greatly lessened if its location is definitely known to all the world. In this patrol, the U.S. is using many types of ships and many types of aviation. And incidentally, this patrol will help to inform us ~~give us some advance information~~ if the Axis powers are sending out any expeditions to establish bases closer to our own Hemisphere.

(Proposed insert I)

For example, during the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers, gunboats and destroyers and this type of convoy was effective against submarines. Today, however, merchant ships must be protected, in addition, against heavily armed raiders and against bombing planes. You will see, therefore, that the problem of defense is vastly enlarged from that earlier day.

Insert C → I come now to the factual problem of military danger to the Americas. I state it on the assumption that Britain holds out, which I believe Britain will, and on the assumption that Germany will obviously seek to strengthen her efforts to dominate the seas. Most of the supplies for Britain use a northerly route to that Island. Germany is concentrating her attack on that route, and that route comes close to the great Island which we know as Greenland, and to the neighboring Island of Iceland. German occupation of Iceland or of bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our own continental shores, because they are but a stepping-stone to Labrador, to Newfoundland, to Nova Scotia and to the Northern United States themselves, including the great industrial productive centers of the Northeast and the Middle West New England (or including great productive centers such as Boston and other

DRAFT #2 ~~16~~ 14

Further south in the Atlantic lie a series of islands which, if occupied by Germany, would constitute an immediate and a direct further danger to the freedom of the seas and our own physical safety. The Azores, for example, would, in German hands, become a base for submarines, raiders and airplane attacking base against the waters which lie immediately off our own coasts.

If I were in charge of the German war machine in such an event, I would see to it that German submarines were again operating off Sandy Hook. I would see to it that raiders and planes made a point of sinking merchant ships engaged in maintaining the life-line to Britain. I would even, if the necessity arose, use every weapon of terrorism in my German "bag of tricks" to make the Americas believe that I was in fact invincible.

In the same way the Cape Verde Islands would give to Germany a base for attack against all shipping entering the south Atlantic, against all shipping bound north to the British Isles or the United States, from the east coast of South America and South Africa and India and the Far East. They would provide a base for attack against the integrity and independence of Brazil and her neighboring Republics themselves.

communities of the Northeastern part of our country.) Once any foothold were to be gained in the prosecution of such an attack, the scope of the attack automatically extends to the industries and the populations which are working day and night in our great Middle West.

Any high school student with an Atlas and a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war will tell us grown-ups that it is stupid strategy to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack. ~~and that~~ Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy which will keep such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place.

Nearly a century ago a famous Confederate General laid down a cardinal principle of all strategy when he said: "Git thar fustest with the mostest men", and to that we have to add today, "men adequately equipped with the weapons of modern war".

~~Those~~ Who tell you that a military attack via the Northern Route is an impossibility, or is so highly improbable that we need not worry about it, are either wishful thinkers or are

There are a few wishful thinkers

the same people who told you two years ago that there would be no war and the Americans have nothing to fear because that even if there were a war, Hitler had given them his solemn assurance that he would never, never head our way.

All through South America, as well as in Germany and Italy, the speeches and the writings of those in this country who are preaching the inevitability of German victory, are being used in all of those media of information -- newspapers and broadcasts, etc - to make people believe (a) the inevitability of German victory, and (b) that the United States is split squarely across the middle, and even that the majority of people in this country are not behind their Administration and their Government, but are in favor of peace at any price. Such is the effect abroad of what goes on in our midst almost day and night.

If they are not concerned with this Hemisphere in any way and they have no desire to interfere in this Hemisphere, why are they spending so much money for propaganda purposes in every one of the American Republics in an effort to create diversions, to create disagreement, and to advocate even resistance to the established policy of independence of the Americas?

Even in time of peace it is a somewhat difficult feat to eat your cake and keep it too. In time of war, the horrible facts of war compel nations, for the simple purposes of self-preservation, to make a definite choice. I use this example: It does not make sense to say "I believe in the Monroe Doctrine" out of one side of your mouth, and say at the same time "I will not fight to preserve the Monroe Doctrine." When I speak of the Monroe Doctrine I mean the continued independence and integrity of each of the twenty-one American Republics, of the Dominion of Canada, and the prevention of the transfer to any other non-American nation of those small colonial possessions which now fly the flag of Great Britain, or France, or the Netherlands or Denmark. If you believe in the independence and integrity of the Americas, you must be willing to fight for it just as much as you would to fight for the safety of your own seaboard.

That independent integrity of the Americas is in the process of being seriously threatened today and I solemnly state to you that if it were not for the magnificent resistance against the Axis Powers that is now being put up in the Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, in Europe, in

Africa, and the nearer parts of Asia, we would be engaged today in active war for the protection of the Americas.

We would in such a case be fighting against immense odds with the probability, in terms of odds, of the loss of the independence of the Americas. I state this in terms of odds for the very simple reason that all of the resources and all of the population of all of the Americas, North Central and South, are infinitely inferior to the population and resources of the Axis if it held complete military and naval domination over Europe, Africa, and the Near East, and the Orient, together with the seas which surround them. The truth is evident. Work it out for yourselves in terms of man-power, in terms of machine power, in terms of ship-yards, and in terms of raw materials.

And every one of us knows that if things came to that sorry pass in the Northern and South Atlantic and the Mediterranean, there would be little hope in the Far East that China could continue its splendid resistance.

It is obvious, therefore, that Thinking, therefore, in terms of the Americas first, because such thinking is in direct alignment with American policy for the past one hundred and eighteen years, this safety, the physical safety of the Americas and the safety of our institutions and our forms of Government, so greatly,

almost overwhelmingly, dependent at this moment on the successful defense of Britain and the maintenance of the opposition which Britain and her friends are putting up today on the ocean, and on the land, and in the air against the German-led war machine. (Proposed Insert II)

People who talk about "aid to Britain" have, I think, made the psychological mistake of not giving you the whole sentence. The whole sentence is this: "Save the Americas by giving aid to Britain". That is another thought which I will let sink in.

That is the fact of the moment in defining the best current method of putting the Americas first. Those who define America first by advocating a Chinese Wall around our continental borders should be reminded of two facts: The Chinese Wall as a military defense ceased to be a military defense one thousand years ago. Second, before modern warfare, as we know it, came into being, New York City and Charleston, South Carolina, and San Francisco, were adequately defended by guns set up in a brick fort at the mouth of each of those harbors.

The defense of this Hemisphere consists, therefore, at this moment, of two objectives which the overwhelming majority of this nation understands and which the overwhelming majority of this nation, because it understands, approves. The first, from the strict point of view of military and naval necessity, lies in our giving every possible assistance to Britain and to all those who, with Britain, are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent by force of arms. And, second, that we ourselves must acknowledge the vital importance of simultaneously keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used and would be used by Hitlerism as a base of attack against the Americas.

My message to the other American nations - twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada -- and to the people of the Islands under the British flag and the French flag and the Dutch flag, I say this: is that the United States does not merely propose, but is actively engaged today in carrying out the twofold mission I have described. I say to them My message to them further: is that it is their duty to pay a little no heed to those citizens of the United States who are telling them that the United States is disunited; that the United States will not help can not take adequate measures to defend the Americas; that the United

States is torn by internal dissension and strife. Every nation has its minority group. Some minority groups make a great deal of smoke with very little fire.

It is true, as I have been told by tens of thousands of my fellow citizens, that the United States has in its midst some millions of citizens who are waiting to have the situation explained to them. I am giving them that explanation tonight. I ask them not to read into what I have said misinterpretations of fact or prophecies of just what is going to happen next week, or next month, or next year.

~~DRAFT~~

We know the terms that a victorious Hitler will impose. They are, indeed, the only terms on which he ~~will~~ would accept a so-called "negotiated" peace.

These "peace" terms involve, of course, complete disruption and demobilization of the British Commonwealth.

For the people of India, their hope of achieving independence will be ended. The eloquent voices of such leaders as Gandhi and Nehru will be silenced, in the concentration camps or in death. And this will be true also of Ireland. In every land under Nazi rule no mention of the word "freedom" will ever be permitted.

Under ~~Hitler's "peace"~~ these terms, Germany will take all of Africa and the Near East as well as Europe. Japan's share will be all of the Orient, including China, Indo-China, Australia, New Zealand, the Phillippines and all American, British, French and ~~Irish~~ Dutch island possessions west of Hawaii.

There may be a few small bones tossed to Hitler's jackal partners, Stalin and Mussolini, but we can be sure that none of these free gifts will be of any great importance.

Insert X

Should the governments which are now seeking to create an overlordship throughout the entire world be able to establish their sway over the three continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, no man or woman in the Americas should be so blind as not to see, and to see clearly, what the pattern of the conduct of the dictatorships will be immediately thereafter. They would immediately say, "We have now achieved our purpose. We are now completely satisfied." As Hitler has said more than once, he would say again: "This is the last territorial readjustment I will seek. All we want is peace, friendship, and profitable trade relations with you in the New World. We have not — we never have had — any thought of touching the Western Hemisphere. Be friends with us and fat profits will immediately be awaiting you."

And were the peoples of the Americas in that event to be so incredibly ~~ingenuous~~ naive as to accept these honeyed words, what would then happen? Within a few months the dictatorships would have driven all of the peoples of the countries they had conquered into that kind of a regimented slave order which has already long since been blueprinted, and this time, that slave labor would not only be directed towards keeping the war machine operating, but

would likewise be directed towards building up in the shortest time possible, through the utilization of the shipyards thus made available, as large a naval force as might be necessary in order to dispute the present mastery of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

Simultaneously, a greatly enlarged air force, preponderant in long range transport and bombing planes, would be constructed. And all the while, while the voices of those in the New World who were seeking "fat profits" were urging that all that the dictatorships desired was peace, and that consequently there was not the slightest justification for a continuation of the crushing burden of taxes which our own armament program in the Western Hemisphere makes necessary, the autarchies would, by one devious method or another, by direction or by indirection, be fastening an economic stranglehold upon our several nations, and particularly upon those whose export market has been preponderantly in Europe.

Then, when the time came, through force, intimidation, or corruption, individuals would be found in all of our nations to act as agents for the dictatorships to lead subversive movements against the constituted authorities in our Republics. As soon as one of these efforts proved successful and the focal point was thus pre-

pared, the effort at invasion would be undertaken.

Let no one delude himself, who has lived the history of the past two years, that this is not the pattern which has already been planned in the utmost detail.

~~pared, the effort at invasion would be undertaken.~~

~~Let no one delude himself, who has lived the history of the past two years, that this is not the pattern which has already been planned in the utmost detail.~~

I am not indulging in speculation about this pattern. I am merely repeating what is already written in the book of Nazi world conquest. The fate of the Latin American nations, as prepared, is precisely the same as the fate already imposed upon the Balkans.

For the United States of America, and the Dominion of Canada, Hitler's "peace" terms provide for an effective process of strangulation.

It is planned that this strangulation ~~can~~ will be accomplished without direct military attack.

Let us consider what this means

~~Try to bear in mind what all this means~~ to our people ~~in the United States~~ -- 130,000,000 of them -- farmers, laborers, miners, housewives, shopkeepers -- and their children. ~~I am not talking about physical attack. I am not talking about conquest of arms. I am trying to envisage a state of affairs where the war is over, where Germany and Japan and Italy, have won and are in control of all the world,~~ Let us consider the prospect of a blacked State alone in a world with all its peoples, all its trade, its ships, its resources and raw materials ~~except only in the Western Hemisphere.~~ under Nazi domination.

What happens to the farmer who cannot sell any of his products abroad? What happens to his surpluses? How can he get a decent price for his crops? How is he going to buy anything for himself and his family from the factories which employ workers? The American farmer can only face a disaster a hundred fold more destructive than the disaster of 1932.

And what happens to the American laborer who has to compete with slave labor in the rest of the world. How can he expect to get a decent day's wage for his work, when in every other place

in the world, people are working in a state of serfdom at the point of a gun? Would it be possible to continue for a moment any semblance of the status of dignity and power which American labor has won for itself. Labor unions would be an anachronism as would any idea of collective bargaining. Minimum wages and maximum hours! Nonsense! Wages and hours would be fixed by the decree of dictators abroad.

Tariff walls - Chinese walls of isolation - won't help. Foreign trade is essential to our economic life. We do not eat all we produce; we do not burn all the oil we pump; we do not use all the goods we manufacture. If we tried to cut all these down only to our own requirements, there will be even less employment; and the whole economic ladder will crash go into a tailspin. Make no mistake about it - it will not be so much a question of our building a wall to keep Nazi goods out; it will be a question of the Nazis building a wall around us to keep our goods in.

I am thinking not only in terms of the United States but rather in terms of the whole Western Hemisphere with which our own fate is so closely tied. They will, each of them, be forced to the same low level.

Can you picture the whole fabric of our life as we know it today and how mangled it would be under such a system. Business, finance, manufacturing, mining - none of these could operate as they do today. They would ~~simply~~ have to operate in the United States, the way they do in Germany today - at the dictation of government, which fixes prices, fixes wages, fixes working conditions, fixes distribution and transportation, ~~fixes the extent of business~~ and converts the individual business man, as well as the worker, into the slave of the state.

On the military side of the picture, as Hitler has painted it, there is the supreme problem for us of maintaining our sea communications with South America and the Far East. There is even the problem of maintaining our life-line through the Panama Canal.

Certain it is that we shall have to submit to increasingly heavy burdens of taxation. Our whole national effort will be war effort. Every one of us will live in a permanent state of emergency, constantly in danger of attack.

Does anyone think for a moment that the American way of living that we have come to know and love can endure in such a militaristic environment— when all our energies and thoughts and taxes and resources are concentrated on armies and navies and planes? The farmers' dollar, the laborers' dollar, the business man's dollar all shrink as our armament increases. Think of perpetual military training for our boys and girls, think of all our funds withdrawn from education, from health, from flood control, from decent housing, from conservation, from planning and construction of public works -- to be poured into ships and guns and planes.

Under such conditions, our democracy, our traditional liberties, will be of no more value to us than the obsolete gold which is buried at Fort Knox.

You do not have to be a prophet to see what would happen to the ancient liberties of American citizens even if the Nazis never fired a shot our way or dropped a bomb on our homes and churches.

And above all, what becomes of a world without religion, without God? The Nazi mentality really recognizes only one god — Hitler; and it acknowledges only one Bible — Hitler's book. Religion exists in Nazidom only so far as it serves the state and serves its masters. Religion, as God-fearing men and women know it, is just as non-existent in Nazism as in Communism. Religion which preaches the dignity of the human being, the majesty of the human soul, the reward for good and the punishment for evil — what place has such a philosophy in a world where moral standards are measured by bombs and tanks and treachery and bribery and fifth columns?

Think of the infiltration of this new creed of ancient

vintage and the danger it presents to the teachings and ethics of religion in our own land. Will our children always follow the Book in such a world surrounding this Hemisphere, or will they too wander off in search of new gods in brown uniforms?

We cannot accept this Nazi shape of things to come.

Speaking - not as the President of the United States, but as an American citizen - I say that we will not accept it.

It will never be forced upon us, if we act in this present crisis with the wisdom and the courage which have ~~made our birthright~~ distinguished our country in all the crises of the past. ~~And we will so act.~~

I give you my

~~I cannot read the future, but I will give you my~~ considered judgment that Hitlerism can be defeated on this earth and will be defeated. It will be outlawed for a century to come by those men and women of good-will who, in increasing numbers, are coming to realize the enormity and the horror of its possible success. This contest against an evil thing in the history of mankind must be successful. And this nation, when it has been a question of right or wrong, has never hesitated to fight against odds. We won our own independence against overwhelming odds. We maintained the freedom of the seas against over-

~~U~~ (A) on p.

Nor have all our victories been on the field of battle.

We settled and developed and unified this Continent ~~under~~ against overwhelming odds.

whelming odds. We maintained the Union itself against what the defeatists of 1863 insisted was a losing fight.

A

The Holy Writ is filled with instances of choice -- choice between good and evil -- and nowhere in Holy Writ will you find that choice made on the doctrine that one side might win and the other side might lose. That choice is not made on opportunism or time serving. That choice was made between right and wrong. And in the long run we are here today in great part because right was victorious and mere might lost.

Yes, we are fighting for right in terms of great objectives -- freedom of speech, freedom from everlasting fear, freedom to conduct the interchange of culture and free commerce, and, finally, freedom from want for the individual and the individual's family.

~~That is the case of our side. What does the other side offer? World supremacy for one out of hundreds of races. Government by decree and bomb and bayonet. Complete control of world culture and world trade by a handful of autocrats. The enslavement of labor. The dishing out of food. The suppression of individual thought and the subjugation of religion to the whims of civilian autocracy.~~

Proposed insert I

These patrols are helping to ensure the delivery of the goods to Britain. If further measures are necessary to deliver the goods, they will be taken.

Proposed insert II

~~Insert A~~

That we will actively support the British cause, no matter what the risks.

The government of this constitutional republic, these United States of America, will never recognize Hitler's right to rule the world.

We shall actively resist with all our resources his every attempt to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere.

We shall actively resist with all our resources his every attempt to gain control of the seas.

And when we speak of all our resources -- industrial and military and spiritual -- we know that we are speaking of the most powerful force on earth.

DRAFT #5 SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

MAY 27, 1941

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

I am speaking tonight to the people of the United States, to the people of the twenty other free and independent Republics of the American Hemisphere, and to many other people throughout the world who are rightly concerned at the thought that human liberties are seriously threatened with extinction.

I am speaking from the White House in the presence of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union and their families. The members of this Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics who are now accredited to the United States. It is appropriate that I do this because the other American Republics are in the same boat with the United States. and our future independence, in the historic sense of that splendid term, is wrapped up with the future independence of each and every one of our sister Republics.

If we go down it is a fact that can be demonstrated that they will go down too. If they go down it is a fact that can be demonstrated that we will go down too.

I make this a factual report -- based on factual information.

This information comes from trained American observers in every country and every region; it comes from friendly and hostile sources; it comes from the type of military and naval knowledge which must be regarded as more valuable and more probably correct than that possessed by any amateur strategist anywhere.

The problems that confront us are military problems. We cannot afford to approach them from the point of view of the wishful thinkers or the sentimentalists. What we face now is cold, hard, unpleasant fact.

Two years ago — in the Spring of 1939 — it became clear to those in your Administration who are in charge of foreign affairs, first, that well-intentioned efforts on the part of the democracies, after the Munich Pact, ~~the~~ to maintain European peace through appeasement, were bound to fail; and, second, that the leader of the German nation intended them to fail by prosecuting his carefully planned campaign of terrorism to dominate, first Europe, and then the entire world.

Thousands of some Americans in high places openly stated at that time, that they did not believe this forecast; ~~or~~ They expressed the conviction that there would be no war; ~~or~~ or that if there were a war it would be no business or concern of the United States.

Soon after the horrors of the overrunning of Poland and the systematic partition destruction of that free nation, I held in my office a meeting of experts of the State, War and Navy Departments.

At those meetings in the Autumn of 1939 the objectives we then visualized and gave warning of have proved abundantly true. The point I am making is solely that we guessed right on the Axis purpose of conquering the world -- that Adolf Hitler and his satellite, Benito Mussolini, had definite plans not confined to the European Continent but on the contrary, plans which definitely visualized world conquest. Never have they considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. Always that conquest was but a jumping off place toward the ultimate goals in other continents. As a part of these plans an agreement had been made with the Soviet Union to keep its hands off the immediate European struggle, with the understanding that Russia would share ultimately in the spoils which would follow a world conquest. This was nothing more nor less than a gangsters' compact.

It is well for us to remember today, that all of these German-led objectives were foreseen many long months before Denmark and Norway were overrun in April, 1940; before Belgium and France were invaded in May, 1940, and before France was compelled to ask for an Armistice in June, 1940.

We foresaw that the plan to conquer the world covers the penetration of Hungary, of Roumania, of Bulgaria, of Yugoslavia and

of Greece. And, last, but by no means least, we believed that the Axis would seek military and naval control of all of the shores of the Mediterranean, including the actual occupation of North Africa. Our fears of this new menace to the whole of civilization were made clear on many occasions to the population of this nation.

We believed then, and let this fact be noted too, that the Island of Britain would not only resist, but resist successfully, and become in effect the principal bulwark and spearhead against German-led world domination.

In the light of the unfolding of the successive events of the year 1940, the increasing physical danger to the United States and to the twenty other Republics and the Dominion of Canada ~~—the physical danger—~~ we undertook two obvious and necessary steps for the protection of the Americas first. The initial step lay in a series of ~~conferences~~ agreements which solidified all the Americas against the common danger. The second step was the launching, a year ago, of the largest armament production program ever undertaken in our history.

During the first year and a half of the war which was spreading geographically throughout the world, we sold to England, and up to last June to France, all of the armament

which, under a slowly expanding production, we could possibly spare. Since last March, with greatly increased production, and with full Congressional approval in the lend-lease bill, we have stepped up, and month by month are increasing, our material efforts to keep those nations, which are fighting for the continuation of human liberties, supplied with ~~what Winston Churchill has rightly called~~ "the tools of war."

The supply of these tools will not fail, but will become greater and greater in quantity and in power, as our vast production continues to speed up day by day.

We have all been irked by the necessary period of preparation for this unprecedented production of arms; but now ~~the period of preparation is over and~~ the needed equipment of war material is beginning to roll in force from the assembly lines of America to the battle lines of democracy.

With greatly increased strength we face the ~~I now come to the unpleasant~~ facts of today. Upon these facts and upon the probabilities of the future, the action of the United States and the other American Republics must be based.

The Axis Powers have taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. Without question they have the armed power

at any moment to occupy Spain and Portugal. In Africa they have occupied Tripoli and Lybia. They are threatening Egypt, the Suez Canal and the Near East at one end of the Mediterranean - and French North Africa, including Tunis, Algiers and Morocco at the Western end of the Mediterranean.

The threat in the Near East includes the military domination of Turkey, Iraq, Arabia, the Persian Gulf and Persia itself. The threat in Spain and Portugal and Morocco extends not only to Spanish and French Colonies in West Africa, including Dakar but also to the Islands of the Atlantic, such as the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands. The Cape Verde Islands are only 7 hours by bombing planes from Brazil. The war is approaching the brink of the western hemisphere itself; it is coming close home to us.

I tell you two simple military facts -- not guesses. The occupation by Nazi forces of any of the islands of the Atlantic would jeopardize the immediate safety of portions of North and South America, and the ultimate safety of the island possessions of the United States and, therefore, the ultimate safety of the continental United States itself.

For because of the new implements of warfare which now exist, distances which once lent security no longer afford security.

The plan of world domination by the Axis Powers, is expanding in the direction of its full accomplishment. The Western parts of the Continent of Asia are already involved in actual combat. The Continent of Africa, with relatively small defensive strength within itself, is an expanding theatre of war. Events in the Far East are not out of step with the Axis plan. Russia and Japan have signed a non-aggression pact. Japan has signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy, and now has signed a non-aggression pact with Russia. China is heroically defending its very existence and will, I believe, continue to do so with increasing strength. In the whole vast area of the Far East, echoes of military domination give concern to the whole democratic world. That is to say, that portion of the world's population which still believes in self-government and the true independence of homogenous nations.

Britain and her Colonies and the great Dominions are fighting in many theatres of war against the effort at world domination which today is so clear. They are fighting not only to maintain the existence of the Island of Britain against German invasion, but also to hold the lines of the Mediterranean in the Near East and in Africa and to keep open and free the seaways of the world.

The issues of this war involve more and more the ultimate control of the seas - and it is clear that the Axis Powers cannot win in the long run unless and until they acquire the control of the seas.

A

All of American history -- North, Central and South American history -- has been inevitably tied up with those words "control of the seas".

Since 1799, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depridations of the Barbary corsairs; since the War of 1812, which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since our control of the seas compelled the French Army to evacuate Mexico in 1865, we have striven and fought for freedom of the seas -- for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister Republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of world trade.

B

It is a simple historic fact that since 1815, the other great naval power of the world, Great Britain, has never, in all that century and a quarter, threatened the independence of the Republics of the Western Hemisphere. On the contrary, the Americas have known, as a plain military dictum, that with the existence of an independent

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INSERT A - PAGE 8

This war and its outcome involve more and more the ultimate control of the seas by ships and aircraft. The Axis Powers can win if they obtain that control of the seas, and it would be accompanied by the power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere in which we live. No spurious argument or appeal to sentiment can deceive the American people on that.

Equally it is true that if the Axis Powers fail to gain that control of the seas, their dreams of world domination go out of the window. And when those dreams evaporate in the course of a continuing war, it is clear that their cruel forces of occupation will be

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INSERT A - PAGE 8 (continued)

unable to keep their iron heel on the necks of the millions of conquered peoples on the Continent of Europe itself.

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INSERT B - PAGE 3

For more than a century and a quarter, the other great Naval power of the world, Great Britain, has never attacked the independence of the Republics of the Western Hemisphere. On the contrary, the British Fleet "in being" has, as an historical fact, prevented attack against this Hemisphere by any other European nation.

Britain and a friendly British Fleet there would be no act of aggression against the independence of any of us, and that that British Fleet "in being" was an insurance policy for the independence of the American Republics.

Transport to A on p. 10

The fact of today is that that British Navy has to operate in almost every part of the world, because the Hitler-led war is spreading to almost every part of the world.

The peaceful commerce of the world depends upon civilized control of the seas. This control was threatened in 1917 and 1918, principally by one form of attack — the torpedo-carrying submarine — and to a much less extent by a handful of German raiders, which were soon rounded up in distant oceans.

Today, however, the attack on the freedom of the seas is fourfold: first—the improved submarine; second—the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or hit-and-run battleship; third—the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base (~~and it should be remembered that the range of these plane is already greater than the distance from Africa to Brazil~~); and fourth—the destruction of merchant ships at the conclusion of safe voyages in those ports of the world which are accessible to German bombing attack.

During the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers, gunboats and destroyers; and this type of convoy was effective against submarines. Today, however, merchant ships must be protected, in addition, against heavily armed raiders and against bombing planes. Therefore, the problem of defense is vastly enlarged from that earlier day.

A from P9

~~Here are the facts affecting shipping in the north and south Atlantic Ocean. Beginning at the south, it is a fact that~~

L

there have been many sinkings of merchant ships -- some of them carrying neutral flags. These sinkings have been caused by German raiding cruisers or submarines. There have been increasing sinkings of merchant ships off West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands -- many of them in the waters of the Western Hemisphere. Further north, there have been other sinkings by raiders and submarines between the Azores and the islands off the American coast. Proceeding still further north and well within the waters of the Western Hemisphere, German submarines and raiders ~~have taken~~ continues to take far too heavy a toll. ~~for the British or for us to stand for long.~~

As the merchant ships bearing food and munitions to Britain get nearer that Island they are being increasingly subjected to the third form of attack -- the bombing airplane which flies far out to

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INSERT C - PAGE 10

The Battle of the Atlantic extends today from the icy regions of the North Pole to the icy continent of the South Pole. More important, it is being increasingly waged in the actual waters of the Western Hemisphere. The events of the past few days are familiar to you. The Axis Powers will seek to repeat them even closer to the shores of the Americas.

In the South Atlantic etc.

DRAFT #3 PROPOSED INSERT I

These patrols are helping to ensure the delivery of the goods to Britain. If further measures are necessary to deliver the goods, they will be taken.

sea from ports which were formerly French or Norwegian.

The losses of ships are dangerously high.

Today, the U. S. has greatly extended its patrol in north and south Atlantic waters. More and more ships and planes are being added to that patrol every week. ~~It is increasingly effective, for it notifies the world~~ of the presence of attacking raiders, on or under or above the sea.

The danger of a submarine or a surface ship or a bombing plane is obviously greatly lessened if its location is definitely known ~~to all the world~~. In this patrol, the U. S. is using many types of ships and many types of aviation. And incidentally, this patrol will help to inform us if the Axis powers are sending out any expeditions to establish bases closer to our own Hemisphere.

(PROPOSED INSERT I)

I come now to the factual problem of military danger to the Americas. Most of the supplies for Britain use a northerly route to that Island. Germany is concentrating her attack on that route, and that route comes close to Greenland, and to the neighboring island of Iceland. German occupation of Iceland or of bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our own continental shores, because they are but a stepping-stone to Labrador, to Newfoundland, to Nova Scotia and to the

Northern United States including the great industrial centers of the Northeast and the Middle West.

Further south in the Atlantic lie other islands which, if occupied by Germany, would constitute an immediate and a direct danger to the freedom of the seas and our own physical safety. The Azores, for example, would, in German hands, become a base for submarines, raiders and airplanes attacking the waters which lie immediately off our own coasts.

In the same way the Cape Verde Islands would give to Germany a base for attack against all shipping entering the south Atlantic, against all shipping bound north to the British Isles or the United States from the east coast of South America and South Africa and India and the Far East. They would provide a base for attack against the integrity and independence of Brazil and her neighboring Republics themselves.

Any high school student with an Atlas and a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war knows that it is stupid strategy to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack. Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy which will keep such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place.

Nearly a century ago a famous Confederate General laid down a cardinal principle of all strategy when he said: "Git thar fustest with the mostest men," and to that we have to add today, "men adequately equipped with the weapons of modern war."

There are a few wishful thinkers who tell you that a military attack is an impossibility, or is so highly improbable that we need not worry about it. These are the same people who told you two years ago that there would be no war and that even if there were a war, the Americas have nothing to fear because Hitler had given them his solemn assurance that he would never, never head our way.

All through South America, as well as in Germany and Italy, the speeches and the writings of those in this country who are preaching the inevitability of German victory, are being used in newspapers and broadcasts to spread the lie that the American people are disunited and the majority of us are in favor of peace at any price.

The horrible facts of war compel nations, for the simple purposes of self-preservation, to make a definite choice. It does not make sense, for instance, to say in one breath "I believe in the Monroe Doctrine," and in the next breath to say "I will not fight to preserve the Monroe Doctrine."

The Monroe Doctrine is the proclamation of the continued independence and integrity of each of the twenty-one American Republics, of the Dominion of Canada, and the oceans surrounding them. It means also the prevention of the transfer to any other non-American nation of the sovereignty of those small colonial possessions which now fly the flag of Great Britain, or France, or the Netherlands or ~~Denmark.~~ If you believe in the independence and integrity of the Americas, you must be willing to fight for it just as much as you would to fight for the safety of your own home.

That independent integrity of the Americas is in the process of being seriously threatened today. I solemnly state to you that if it were not for the magnificent resistance against the Axis Powers that is now being put up in the Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, in Europe, in Africa, and the nearer parts of Asia, we would be engaged today in active war for the physical protection of the Americas themselves.

We would in such a case be fighting against immense odds with the probability, in terms of odds, of the loss of the independence of the Americas. I state this in terms of odds for the very simple reason that all of the resources and all of the population of all of

DRAFT #3 PROPOSED INSERT II

That is why we actively support the British defense no matter what the risks — for it is our defense too.

The government of this constitutional republic, these United States of America, will never recognize Hitler's right to rule the world.

We shall actively resist with all our resources his every attempt to extend his Nazy domination to the Western Hemisphere.

We shall actively resist with all our resources his every attempt to gain control of the seas.

the Americas, North, Central and South, are infinitely ~~[illegible]~~ larger than the population and resources of the Axis if it held complete military and naval domination over Europe, Africa, the Near East, and the Orient, together with the seas which surround them. The truth is evident in terms of man-power, in terms of machine power, in terms of ship-yards, and in terms of raw materials.

It is obvious, therefore, that the safety of our institutions and our forms of Government is almost overwhelmingly dependent at this moment on the successful defense of Britain and the maintenance of the opposition which Britain and her friends are putting up today on the ocean, and on the land, and in the air against the German-led war machine.

(PROPOSED INSERT II)

The defense of the Hemisphere consists at this moment, of two objectives which the overwhelming majority of this nation, because it understands, approves.

The first, from the strict point of view of military and naval necessity, lies in our giving every possible assistance to Britain and to all those who, with Britain, are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent by force of arms.

And second -- we acknowledge the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used and would be used as a base of attack against the Americas.

To the other American nations - twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada -- and to the people of the Islands under the British flag and the French flag and the Dutch flag; I say this: the United States does not merely propose, but is actively engaged today in carrying out the twofold mission I have described. I say to them further: to pay no heed to those citizens of the United States who assert that the United States cannot take adequate measure to defend the Americas; that the United States is torn by internal dissension and strife. Every nation has its minority group. Some minority groups make a great deal of smoke with very little fire.

We know the terms that a victorious Hitler will impose. They are, indeed, the only terms on which he would accept a so-called "negotiated" peace.

Under these terms, Germany will take all of Africa and the Near East as well as Europe. Japan's share will be all of the Orient, including China, Indo-China, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and all American, British, French and Dutch island possessions west of Hawaii.

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Under these terms, Germany would literally parcel out the world -- hoisting the swastika itself over vast territories and populations, and setting up puppet government of its own choosing, under a theoretical independence, wholly subject to the will and the policy of a conqueror. It is idle to assert that that kind of a world could never last. Just so long as the German war machine maintained military, naval, and air, industrial and economic superiority, no minority nation, or group of nations, could take it away.

There may be a few small bones tossed to Hitler's jackal partners, ~~Stalin and Mussolini~~, but we can be sure that none of these free gifts ~~will be of any great importance.~~ would jeopardize German overlordship.

These "peace terms" involve, of course, complete disruption and demobilization of the British Commonwealth.

For the people of India, their hope of achieving independence will be ended. The eloquent voices of such leaders as Gandhi and Nehru will be silenced, in the concentration camps or in death. And this will be true also of Ireland. In every land under Nazi rule no mention of the word "freedom" will ever be permitted.

To the people of the Americas the triumphant Nazis would immediately say, "We have now achieved our purpose. We are now completely satisfied." As Hitler has said more than once, he would say again: "This is the last territorial readjustment I will seek. All we want is peace, friendship, and profitable trade relations with you in the New World. We have not -- we never have had -- any thought of touching the Western Hemisphere. Be friends with us and fat profits will immediately be awaiting you."

And were the peoples of the Americas in that event to be so incredibly simple as to accept these honeyed words, what would then happen? Within a few months the dictatorships would have driven all of the peoples of the countries they had conquered into that kind of a regimented slave order which has already long since been blueprinted, this time, that slave labor would not only be directed towards keeping the war machine operating, but would likewise be directed towards building up in the shortest time possible, through the utilization of the shipyards thus made available, as large a naval force as might be necessary in order to gain and hold the mastery of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. This would include a greatly enlarged air force, preponderant over all the world in long range transport and bombing planes.

And all the whole, while the voices of those in the New World who were seeking "fat profits" were urging that all that the dictatorships desired was peace, and that consequently there was not the slightest justification for a continuation of the crushing burden of taxes which our own armament program in the Western Hemisphere makes necessary, the dictatorships would, by one devious method or another,

by direction or by indirection, be fastening an economic stranglehold upon our several nations, and particularly upon those whose export market has been preponderantly in Europe.

Then, when the time came, through force, intimidation, or corruption, individuals would be found in all of our nations to act as agents for the dictatorships to lead subversive movements against the constituted authorities in our Republics. As soon as one of these efforts proved successful and the focal point was thus prepared, the effort at invasion itself would be undertaken.

Let no one delude himself, who has lived the history of the past two years, that this is not the pattern which has already been planned in the utmost detail.

I am not indulging in speculation about this pattern. I am merely repeating what is already written in the book of Nazi world conquest. The fate of the Latin American nations, as prepared, is precisely the same as the fate already imposed upon the Balkans.

For the United States of America, and the Dominion of Canada, Hitler's "peace" terms provide for an effective process of strangulation.

It is planned that this strangulation will be accomplished without direct military attack.

Let us consider the prospect of a United States alone in a world with all its peoples, all its trade, its ships, its resources and raw materials under Nazi ~~domination~~ orders and forces. Let us see clearly what this will mean to our people -- 130,000,000 of them -- farmers, laborers, miners, housewives, shopkeepers -- and their children.

What happens to the farmer who cannot sell any of his products abroad? What happens to his surpluses? How can he get a decent price for his crops? How is he going to buy anything for himself and his family from the factories which employ workers? The American farmer can only face a disaster a hundred fold more destructive than the disaster of 1932.

And what happens to the American laborer who has to compete with slave labor in the rest of the world. How can he expect to get a decent day's wage for his work, when in every other place in the world, people are working in a state of serfdom at the point of a gun? Would it be possible to continue for a moment any semblance of the status of dignity and power which American labor has won for itself. ~~Labor~~ Trade unions would be an anachronism as would any idea of collective bargaining. Minimum wages and maximum hours! Nonsense! Wages and hours would be fixed by the decree of dictators abroad.

Tariff walls - Chinese walls of isolation - won't help. Foreign trade is essential to our economic life. We do not eat all we produce; we do not burn all the oil we pump; we do not use all the goods we manufacture. If we tried to cut all these down only to our own requirements, there will be even less employment; and the whole economic ladder will crash. Make no mistake about it - it will not be so much a question of our building a wall to keep Nazi goods out; it will be a question of the Nazis building a wall around us to keep us in.

Can you picture the whole fabric of our life as we know it today and how mangled and crippled it would be under such a system. Business, finance, manufacturing, mining - none of these could operate as they do today. They would have to operate in the United States, the way they do in Germany today - and that is the the

Direct road to a dictatorship — a dictator owned in turn by Hitler Himself.

On the military side of the picture, as Hitler has painted it, there is the supreme problem for us of maintaining our sea communications with South America and the Far East. There is even the problem of maintaining our life-line through the Panama Canal.

~~Certain it is that we shall have to submit to increasingly heavy burdens of taxation. Our whole national effort will be war effort.~~ If we do nothing now

Every one of us will live in a permanent state of emergency, constantly in danger of attack.

Does anyone think for a moment that the American way of living that we have come to know and love can endure in such a militaristic environment -- when all our energies and thoughts and taxes and resources are concentrated on armies and navies and planes? The farmers' dollar, the laborers' dollar, the business man's dollar all shrink as our armament increases. Think of perpetual military training for our boys and girls, think of all our funds withdrawn from education, from health, from flood control, from decent housing, from conservation, from planning and construction of public works -- to be poured forever into ships and guns and planes.

Under such conditions, our democracy, our traditional liberties, will be of no more value to us than the ~~[illegible]~~ gold ~~[illegible]~~ buried at Fort Knox.

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INSERT E - PAGE 22

Do you Americans want to live in a permanent state of emergency? Do you want the farmer's dollar, the laborer's dollar, the business man's dollar to shrink with each succeeding year? Do you want us, through years to come, to maintain a vast standing army, to withdraw our funds from education, from health, from flood control, from decent housing, from needed public works, to be poured into ships, and guns, and planes, in a day and night watch against the destruction of our cities within our actual borders? Do you want to lose the Panama Canal?

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INSERT E - PAGE 22 (continued)

Do you want a constant armed threat from a German-controlled Mexico and Central America and South America, and even Canada itself?

You do not have to be a prophet to see what would happen to ~~the~~ our ancient liberties, ~~of American citizens even if the Nazis never fired a shot our way or dropped a bomb on our homes and churches.~~

~~What~~ Above all, what becomes of a world without religion, without God? The Nazi mentality really recognizes only one god -- Hitler; and it acknowledges only one Bible -- Hitler's book. Religion exists in Nazidom only so far as ~~it serves~~ the state ~~and serves its masters~~ demands at any given moment. Religion, as God-fearing men and women know it, is just as non-existent in Nazism as in Communism. Religion which preaches the dignity of the human being, the majesty of the human soul, ~~the reward for good and the punishment for evil~~ -- what place has such a philosophy in a world where moral standards are measured by bombs and tanks and treachery and bribery and fifth columns?

Think of the infiltration of this new creed of ancient vintage and the danger it presents to the teachings and ethics of religion in our own land. Will our children always follow the Book in such a world surrounding this Hemisphere, or will they too wander off in search of new gods in brown uniforms?

We cannot accept this Nazi shape of things to come.

Speaking -- not only as the President of the United States, but as an American citizen -- I say that we will not accept it.

It will never be forced upon us, if we act in this present crisis with the wisdom and the courage which have distinguished our country in all the crises of the past.

I give you my considered judgment that Hitlerism can be defeated on this earth and will be defeated. It will be outlawed by those men and women of good-will who, in increasing numbers, are coming to realize the enormity and the horror of its possible success.

This contest against an evil thing in the history of mankind must be successful. And this nation, when it has been a question of right or wrong, has never hesitated to fight against odds. We won our own independence against overwhelming odds. We maintained the freedom of the seas against overwhelming odds. We maintained the Union itself against what the defeatists of 1863 insisted was a losing fight.

Nor have all our victories been on the field of battle. We settled and developed and unified this Continent against overwhelming odds.

The Holy Writ is filled with instances of choice -- choice between good and evil -- and nowhere in Holy Writ will you find that choice made on the doctrine that one side might win and the other side might lose. That choice is not made on opportunism or time serving. That choice was made between right and wrong. And in the long run we are here today in great part because right was victorious and more might lost.

Yes, we are fighting for right in terms of great objectives -- freedom of speech, freedom from everlasting fear, freedom to conduct the interchange of culture and free commerce, and, finally, freedom from want for the individual and the individual's family.

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The whole world is divided into two camps. They are separated by fundamental principles -- by the difference between human slavery and human freedom. I choose human freedom. You do too.

The Americas are choosing between evil and good. Their choice will not be based on which side looks to be winning now. That thought which abandons faith and abandons hope is abhorrent to every honored principle of the independence and the democracy of the Americas.

The challenge must be met. The challenge is being met.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT F - PAGE 25 (continued)

We repeat the words of a band of patriots, fighting against overwhelming odds: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we xxx mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor".

DRAFT NO. 4 SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

May 27, 1941

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I am speaking tonight to the people of the United States, to the people of the twenty other free and independent Republics of the American Hemisphere, and to many other people throughout the world who know that human liberties are seriously threatened with extinction.

I am speaking from the White House in the presence of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union and their families. The members of this Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics who are now accredited to the United States. It is appropriate that I do this because now as never before the unity of the American Republics is of supreme importance to each and every one of us and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. Our future independence, in the historic sense of that splendid term, is wrapped up with the future independence of each and every one of our sister Republics

If we go down it is a fact that can be demonstrated that they will go down too. If they go down it is a fact that can be demonstrated that we will go down too.

I make this a factual report — based on factual information.

DRAFT FOUR

This information comes from trained American observers in every country and every region; it comes from both friendly and hostile sources; it comes from the best military and naval knowledge which must be regarded as more valuable and more probably correct than that possessed by any amateur strategist anywhere.

The problems that confront us are military problems. We cannot afford to approach them from the point of view of the wishful thinkers or the sentimentalists. What we face now is cold, hard, unpleasant fact.

Two years ago — in the Spring of 1939 — it became clear to those in your Administration who are in charge of foreign affairs, first, that well-intentioned efforts on the part of the democracies, after the Munich Pact, to maintain European peace through appeasement, were bound to fail; and, second, that the leader of the German nation intended them to fail by prosecuting his carefully planned campaign of terrorism to dominate, first Europe, and then the entire world.

Some Americans in high places openly stated at that time, that they did not believe this forecast. They expressed the conviction that there would be no war or that if there were a war it would be no business or concern of the United States.

Soon after the horrors of the overrunning of Poland and the systematic destruction of that free nation, I held in my office a meeting of experts of the State, War and Navy Departments.

We foresaw then the Axis purpose of conquering the world -- that Adolf Hitler and his satellite, Benito Mussolini, had definite plans not confined to the European Continent but on the contrary, plans which definitely visualized world conquest. Never have they considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. Always that conquest was but a jumping off place toward the ultimate goals in other continents. As a part of these plans an agreement had been made with the Soviet Union to keep its hands off the immediate European struggle, with the understanding that Russia would share ultimately in the spoils which would follow a world conquest. This was nothing more nor less than a gangsters' compact.

In the light of the unfolding of the successive events of the year 1940, the increasing physical danger to the United States and to the twenty other Republics and the Dominion of Canada, we undertook two obvious and necessary steps for the protection of the Americas first.

The initial step lay in a series of agreements which solidified all the Americas against the common danger. The second step was the launching, a year ago, of the largest armament production program every undertaken in our history.

During the first year and a half of the war which was spreading geographically throughout the world, we sold to England,

and up to last June to France, all of the armament which, under a slowly expanding production, we could possibly spare. Since last March, with greatly increased production, and with full Congressional approval in the lend-lease bill, we have stepped up, and month by month are increasing, our material efforts to keep those nations, which are fighting for the continuation of human liberties, supplied with the tools of war.

The supply of these tools will not fail, but will become greater and greater in quantity and in power, as our vast production continues to speed up day by day.

We have all been irked by the necessary period of preparation for this unprecedented production of arms, but now the needed equipment of war material is beginning to roll in force from the assembly lines of America to the battle lines of democracy.

With greatly increased strength we face the facts of today. Upon these facts and upon the probabilities of the future, the action of the United States and the other American Republics must be based.

The Axis Powers have taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. Without question they have the armed power at any moment to occupy Spain and Portugal. In Africa they have occupied Tripoli and Lybia. They are threatening Egypt, the Suez

Canal and the Near East at one end of the Mediterranean - and French North Africa, including Tunis, Algiers and Morocco at the western end of the Mediterranean.

The threat in the Near East includes the military domination of Turkey, Iraq, Arabia, the Persian Gulf and Persia itself. The threat in Spain and Portugal and Morocco extends not only to Spanish and French Colonies in West Africa, including Dakar but also th the Islands of the Atlantic, such as the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands. The Caps Verde Islands are only seven hours by bomber or troop carrying planes from Brazil. The war is approaching the brink of the western hemisphere itself; it is coming close home to us.

I tell you two simple military facts -- not guesses. The occupation by Nazi forces of any of the islands of the Atlantic would jeopardize the immediate safety of portions of North and South America, and the ultimate safety of the island possessions of the United States and, therefore, the ultimate safety of the continental United States itself.

For because of the new implements of warfare which now exist, distances which once lent security no longer afford security.

The plan of world domination by the Axis Powers, is expanding in the direction of its full accomplishment. The Western parts of the Continent of Asia are already involved in actual combat. The Continent of Africa, with relatively small defensive strength within itself, is an expanding theatre of war. Events in the Far East are not out of step with the Axis plan. Japan signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy and now has signed a non-aggression pact with Russia. China is heroically defending its very existence and will, I believe, continue to do so with increasing strength. In the wide area of the Far East, echoes of military domination give concern to the whole democratic world.

Britain and her Colonies and the great Dominions are fighting in many theatres of war against the effort at world domination which today is so clear. They are fighting not only to maintain the existence of the Island of Britain against German invasion, but also to hold the lines of the Mediterranean in the Near East and in Africa, and to keep open and free the seaways of the world.

This war and its outcome involve more and more the ultimate control of the seas by ships and aircraft. The Axis Powers can win if they obtain that control of the seas, and it would be accompanied

by the power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere in which we live. No spurious argument or appeal to sentiment can deceive the American people on that.

Equally it is true that if the Axis Powers fail to gain that control of the seas, their dreams of world domination go out of the window. And when those dreams evaporate in the course of a continuing war, it is clear that their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their iron heel on the necks of the millions of conquered peoples on the Continent of Europe itself.

All of American history -- North, Central and South American history -- has been inevitably tied up with those words "control of the seas".

Since 1799, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depridations of the Barbary corsairs; since the War of 1812, which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since our control of the seas compelled the French Army to evacuate Mexico in 1865, we have striven and fought for freedom of the seas -- for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister Republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of world trade.

For more than a century and a quarter, the other great Naval power of the world, Great Britain, has never attacked the independence of the Republics of the Western Hemisphere. On the contrary, the British Fleet "in being" has, as an historical fact, prevented attack against this Hemisphere by any other European nation.

The peaceful commerce of the world depends upon civilized control of the seas. This control was threatened in 1917 and 1918, but principally only by one form of attack -- the torpedo-carrying submarine -- and to a much less extent by a handful of German raiders, which were soon rounded up in distant oceans.

Today, however, the attack on the freedom of the seas is fourfold: first -- the improved submarine; second -- the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or hit-and-run battleship; third -- the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base; and fourth -- the destruction of merchant ships at the conclusion of safe voyages in those ports of the world which are accessible to German bombing attack.

During the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers, gunboats and destroyers; and this type of convoy was effective against submarines. Today, however,

merchant ships must be protected, in addition, against heavily armed raiders and against bombing planes. Therefore, the problem of defense is vastly enlarged from that earlier day.

The fact of today is that that British Navy has to operate in all of the seven seas, because the Hitler-led war is spreading to almost every part of the world. It has to fight not only in naval battles but also in conjunction with land forces in various theatres of war.

The Battle of the Atlantic extends today from the icy regions of the North Pole to the icy continent of the South Pole. More important, it is being increasingly waged in the actual waters of the Western Hemisphere. The events of the past few days are familiar to you. The Axis Powers will seek to repeat them even closer to the shores of the Americas.

In the South Atlantic there have been many sinkings of merchant ships -- some of them carrying neutral flags. These sinkings have been caused by German raiding cruisers or submarines. There have been increasing sinkings of merchant ships off West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands -- many of them in the waters of the Western Hemisphere. Further north, there have been other sinkings by raiders and submarines between the Azores and the islands

off the American coast. Proceeding still further north and well within the waters of the Western Hemisphere, German submarines and raiders continue to take far too heavy a toll.

As the merchant ships bearing food and munitions get nearer to Britain they are being increasingly subjected to the third form of attack -- the bombing airplane which flies far out to sea from ports which were formerly French or Norwegian.

The losses of ships are dangerously high.

Today, the U. S. has greatly extended its patrol in north and south Atlantic waters. More and more ships and planes are being added to that patrol every week to give warning of the presence of attacking raiders, on, or under, or above, the sea.

The danger of a submarine or a surface ship or a bombing plane is obviously greatly lessened if its location is definitely known. In this patrol, the U. S. is using many types of ships and many types of aviation. And incidentally, this patrol will help to inform us if the Axis powers are sending out any expeditions to establish bases closer to our own Hemisphere.

Those patrols are helping to ensure the delivery of the goods to Britain. If further measures are necessary to deliver the goods, they will be taken.

I come now to the factual problem of military danger to the Americas. Most of the supplies for Britain use a northerly route to that Island. Germany is concentrating her attack on that route, and that route comes close to Greenland, and to the neighboring island of Iceland. German occupation of Iceland or of bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our own continental shores, because they are but a stepping-stone to Labrador, to Newfoundland, to Nova Scotia and to the Northern United States including the great industrial centers of the Northeast and the Middle West.

Further south in the Atlantic lie other islands which, if occupied by Germany, would constitute an immediate and a direct danger to the freedom of the seas and our own physical safety. The Azores, for example, would, in German hands, become a base for submarines, raiders and airplanes attacking the waters which lie immediately off our own coasts.

In the same way the Cape Verde Islands would give to Germany a base for attack against all shipping entering the south Atlantic, against all shipping bound north to the British Isles or the United States from the east coast of South America and South Africa and India and the Far East. They would provide a base for attack against the integrity and independence of Brazil and her neighboring Republics themselves.

Any high school student with an Atlas and a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war knows that it is stupid strategy to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack. Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy which will keep such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place.

Nearly a century ago a famous Confederate General laid down a cardinal principle of all strategy when he said: "Git thar fustest with the mostest men," and to that we have to add today, "men adequately equipped with the weapons of modern war."

There are a few wishful thinkers who tell you that a military attack is an impossibility, or is so highly improbable that we need not worry about it. These are the same people who told you two years ago that there would be no war and that even if there were a war, the Americas have nothing to fear because Hitler had given them his solemn assurance that he would never, never head our way.

All through South America, as well as in Germany and Italy, the speeches and the writings of those in this country who are preaching the inevitability of German victory, are being used in newspapers and broadcasts to spread the lie that the American people are disunited and that the majority of us are in favor of peace at

any price.

The horrible facts of war compel nations, for the simple purposes of self-preservation, to make a definite choice. It does not make sense, for instance, to say in one breath "I believe in the Monroe Dictrine," and in the next breath to say "I will not fight to preserve the Monroe Doctrine."

The Monroe Doctrine is the proclamation of the continued independence and integrity of each of the twenty-one American Republics, of the Dominion of Canada, and the oceans surrounding them. If you believe in the independence and integrity of the Americas, you must be willing to fight for it just as much as you would to fight for the safety of your own home.

That independent integrity of the Americas is in the process of being seriously threatened today. I solemnly state to you that if it were not for the magnificent resistance against the Axis Powers that is now being put up in the Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, in Europe, in Africa, and the nearer parts of Asia, we would be engaged today in active war for the physical protection of the Americas themselves.

We would in such a case be fighting against immense odds with the probability, in terms of odds, of the loss of the independence of the Americas. I state this in terms of odds for the very simple reason that all of the resources and all of the population of all of the Americas, North, Central and South, are infinitely weaker than the population and resources of the Axis if it held complete military and naval domination over Europe, Africa, the Near East, and the Orient, together with the seas which surround them. The truth is evident in terms of man-power, in terms of machine power, in terms of shipyards, and in terms of raw materials.

It is obvious, therefore, that the safety of our institutions and our forms of Government is almost overwhelmingly dependent at this moment on the successful defense of Britain and the maintenance of the opposition which Britain and her friends are putting up today on the ocean, and on the land, and in the air against the German-led war machine.

That is why we actively support the British defense no matter what the risks for it is our defense too.

The government of this constitutional republic, these United States of America, will never recognize Hitler's right to rule the world.

We shall actively resist with all our resources his every attempt to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere.

We shall actively resist with all our resources his every attempt to gain control of the seas.

The defense of the Hemisphere consists at this moment, of two objectives which the overwhelming majority of this Nation, because it understands, approves.

The first, from the strict point of view of military and naval necessity, lies in our giving every possible assistance to Britain and to all those who, with Britain, are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent by force of arms.

And second -- we acknowledge the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used and would be used as a base of attack against the Americas.

To the other American nations - twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada - and to the people of the islands under the British flag and the French flag and the Dutch flag; I say this: The United States does not merely propose, but is actively engaged today in carrying out the twofold mission I have described. I say to them further: to pay no heed to those citizens of the United

States who assert that the United States cannot take adequate measure to defend the Americas; that the United States is torn by internal dissension and strife. Every nation has its minority group. Some minority groups make a great deal of smoke with very little fire.

We know the terms that a victorious Hitler will impose. They are, indeed, the only terms on which he would accept a so-called "negotiated" peace.

Under these terms, Germany would literally parcel out the world — hoisting the swastika itself over vast territories and populations, and setting up puppet government of its own choosing, under a theoretical independence, wholly subject to the will and the policy of a conqueror. It is idle to assert that that kind of a world could never last. Just so long as the German war machine maintained military, naval, air, industrial and economic superiority, no minority nation, or group of nations, could take it away.

Go back

There may be a few small bones tossed to Hitler's jackal partners, but we can be sure that none of these free gifts would jeopardize German over-lordship.

To the people of the Americas the triumphant Nazis would

immediately say, "We have now achieved our purpose. We are now completely satisfied". As Hitler has said more than once, he would say again: "This is the last territorial readjustment I will seek. All we want is peace, friendship, and profitable trade relations with you in the New World. We have not -- we never have had -- any thought of touching the Western Hemisphere. Be friends with us and fat profits will immediately be awaiting you."

And were the peoples of the Americas in that event to be so incredibly simple as to accept these honeyed words, what would then happen? Within a few months the dictatorships would have driven all of the peoples of the countries they had conquered into that kind of a regimented slave order which has already long since been blueprinted. This time, that slave labor would not only be directed towards keeping the war machine operating, but would likewise be directed towards building up in the shortest time possible, through the utilization of the shipyards thus made available, as large a naval force as might be necessary in order to gain and hold the mastery of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

This would include a greatly enlarged air force, preponderant over all the world in long range transport and bombing planes.

And all the whole, while the voices of those in the New World who were seeking "fat profits" were urging that all that the dictatorships desired was peace, and that consequently there was not the slightest justification for a continuation of the crushing burden of taxes which our own armament program in the Western Hemisphere makes necessary, the dictatorships would, by one devious method or another, by direction or by indirection, be fastening an economic stranglehold upon our several nations, and particularly upon those whose export market has been preponderantly in Europe.

Then, when the time came, through force, intimidation, or corruption, individuals would be found in all of our nations to act as agents for the dictatorships to lead subversive movements against the constituted authorities in our Republics. As soon as one of these efforts proved successful and the focal point was thus prepared, the effort at invasion itself would be undertaken.

Let no one delude himself, who has lived the history of the past two years, that this is not the pattern which has already been planned in the utmost detail.

I am not indulging in speculation about this pattern. I am merely repeating what is already written in the book of Nazi world conquest. The fate of the Latin American nations, as prepared, is precisely the same as the fate already imposed upon the Balkans.

For the United States of America, and the Dominion of Canada, Hitler's "peace" terms provide for an effective process of strangulation.

It is planned that this strangulation will be accomplished without direct military attack.

Let us consider the prospect of a United States alone in a world with all its peoples, all its trade, its ships, its resources and raw materials under Nazi orders and decrees. Let us see clearly what this will mean to our people -- 130,000,000 of them -- farmers, laborers, miners, housewives, shopkeepers -- and their children.

What happens to the farmer who cannot sell any of his products abroad? What happens to his surpluses? How can he get a decent price for his crops? How is he going to buy anything for himself and his family from the factories which employ workers? The American farmer can only face a disaster a hundred fold more destructive than the disaster of 1932.

And what happens to the American laborer who has to compete with slave labor in the rest of the world. How can he expect to get a decent day's wage for his work, when in every other place in the world, people are working in a state of serfdom at the point of a gun? Would it be possible to continue for a moment any semblance of the status of dignity and power which American labor has won for itself. Trade unions would be an anachronism as would any idea of collective bargaining. Minimum wages and maximum hours! Nonsense! Wages and hours would be fixed by the decree of dictators abroad.

Tariff walls -- Chinese walls of isolation -- won't help. Freedom to trade is essential to our economic life. We do not eat all we produce; we do not burn all the oil we pump; we do not use all the goods we manufacture. If we tried to cut all these down only to our own requirements, there will be even less employment; and the whole economic ladder will crash. Make no mistake about it -- it will not be so much a question of our building a wall to keep Nazi goods out; it will be a question of the Nazis building a wall around us to keep us in.

Can you picture the whole fabric of our life as we know it today and how mangled and crippled it would be under such a system. Business, finance, manufacturing, mining -- none of these could operate as they do today. They would have to operate in the

United States, the way they do in Germany today, and that is the surest road to an American dictatorship -- a dictator owned in turn by Hitler himself.

If we do nothing now every one of us will live in a permanent state of emergency, constantly in danger of attack.

Do you Americans want to live in a permanent state of emergency? Do you want the farmer's dollar, the laborer's dollar, the business man's dollar to shrink with each succeeding year? Do you want us, through years to come, to maintain a vast standing army, to withdraw our funds from education, from health, from flood control, from decent housing, from needed public works, to be poured into ships, and guns, and planes, in a day and night watch against the destruction of our cities within our actual borders? Do you want to lose the Panama Canal? Do you want a constant armed threat from a German-controlled Mexico and Central America and South America, and even Canada itself?

Under such conditions, our democracy, our traditional liberties, will be of no more value to us than the then useless gold buried at Fort Knox.

You do not have to be a prophet to see what would happen to our ancient liberties.

Above all, what becomes of a world without religion, without God? The Nazi mentality really recognizes only one god -- Hitler; and it acknowledges only one Bible -- Hitler's book. Religion exists in Nazidom only so far as the state permits at any given moment. Religion, as God-fearnig men and women know it, is just as non-existent in the theory of Nazism as in Communism. Religion which preaches the dignity of the human being, the majesty of the human soul, -- what place has such a philosphy in a world where moral standards are measured by bombs and tanks and treachery and bribery and fifth columns?

Think of the infiltration of this new creed of ancient vintage and the danger it presents to the teachings and ethics of religion in our own land. Will our children always follow the Book in such a world surrounding this Hemisphere, or will they too wander off in search of new gods in brown uniforms?

We cannot accept this Nazi shape of things to come.

Speaking -- not only as the President of the United States, but as an American citizen -- I say that we will not accept it.

It will never be forced upon us, if we act in this present crisis with the wisdom and the courage which have distinguished our country in all the crises of the past.

I give you my considered judgment that Hitlerism can be defeated on this earth and will be defeated. It will be outlawed by those men and women of good-will who, in increasing numbers, are coming to realize the enormity and the horror of its possible success.

This contest against an evil thing in the history of mankind must be successful. And this nation, when it has been a question of right or wrong, has never hesitated to fight against odds. We won our own independence against overwhelming odds. We maintained the freedom of the seas against overwhelming odds. We maintained the Union itself against what the defeatists of 1863 insisted was a losing fight.

Nor have all our victories been on the field of battle. We settled and developed and unified this Continent against overwhelming odds.

The Holy Writ is filled with instances of choice -- choice between good and evil -- and nowhere in Holy Writ will you find that choice made on the doctrine that one side might win and the other side might lose. That choice is not made on opportunism or time serving. That choice was made between right and wrong. And in the long run we are here today in great part because right was victorious and were might lost.

Yes, we are fighting for right in terms of great objectives-- freedom of speech, freedom from everlasting fear, freedom to conduct the interchange of culture and free commerce, and, finally, freedom from want for the indivudual and the individual's family.

The whole world is divided into two camps. They are separated by fundamental principles -- by the difference between human slavery and human freedom. I choose human freedom. You do too.

The Americas are choosing between evil and good. Their choice will not be based on which side looks to be winning now. That thought which abandons faith and abandons hope is abhorrent to every honored principle of the independence and the democracy of the Americas.

The challenge must be met. The challenge is being met.

We repeat the words of a band of patriots, fighting against overwhelming odds: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor".

DRAFT NO. 5 SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

May 27, 1941

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I am speaking tonight to the people of the United States, to the people of the twenty other free and independent Republics of the American Hemisphere, and to many other people throughout the world who know that human liberties are seriously threatened with extinction.

I am speaking from the White House in the presence of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union and their families. The members of the Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics who are now accredited to the United States. It is appropriate that I do this. Now as never before the unity of the American Republics is of supreme importance to each and every one of us and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. Our future independence, in the historic sense of that splendid term, is wrapped up with the future independence of each and every one of our sister Republics.

I make this a factual report -- based on factual information.

This information comes from trained American observers

in every country and every region. It comes from both friendly and hostile sources. It comes from the best military and naval technicians. The conclusions are more dependable than those of any amateur strategist. The pressing problems that confront us are military problems. We cannot afford to approach them from the point of view of wishful thinkers or sentimentalists. We are facing cold, hard, unpleasant fact.

Two years ago - in the Spring of 1939 - it became clear to those in your Administration who are in charge of foreign affairs, first, that well-intentioned efforts on the part of the democracies, after the Munich Pact, to maintain European peace through appeasement, were bound to fail; and, second, that the leader of the German nation intended to cause them to fail by prosecuting his carefully planned campaign of terrorism to dominate, first Europe, and then the entire world.

Some Americans in high places openly stated at that time, that they did not believe this forecast. They expressed the conviction that there would be no war; that

if war did come it would be no business or concern of the United States.

Soon after the horrors of the overrunning of Poland and the systematic destruction of that free nation, I held in my office a meeting of experts of the State, War and Navy Departments. We foresaw then the Axis purpose of conquering the world -- that Adolf Hitler ~~and his associates, Benito Mussolini~~, had definite plans for which visualized world conquest. ~~They~~ He never considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. European conquest was but a step toward ultimate goals in other continents. As a part of these plans, an insincere agreement ~~was then being~~ had been negotiated with the Soviet Union to make it possible to begin an immediate European struggle.

The successive events of the year 1940 unfolded an increasing physical danger to the United States, to the twenty other American Republics, and to the Dominion of Canada. We accordingly undertook certain obvious and necessary measures for the protection of the Americas.

~~DRAFT NO. 4~~ (Insert A - part of Page 4)

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The third step was the policy of aid for the democracies - the nations which have fought for the continuation of human liberties.

In September, 1939, I urged upon the Congress repeal of the arms embargo provisions in the Neutrality Law. At that time I said, "I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead."

In the subsequent months, the shadows deepened and lengthened. They spread over Poland, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France and Greece, ~~blocking~~ blotting out the light of liberty.

Early in June, 1940, when the panzer divisions were roaring toward Paris, we instituted the policy of turning over to Britain and France all the materiel we could possibly spare.

In the case of France, our aid was too late.

In the case of Britain, we were happily in time. In June 1940 she faced destruction. Our government studied arms to meet her desperate needs.

In September, 1940, I completed an agreement with Great Britain for the trade of fifty destroyers for eight important bases in British territory.

In March, 1941, the Congress passed the Lend-Lease Bill and an appropriation of seven and a half billions to implement it.

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Every action that we have taken for aid, and still more aid, for the democracies, has been violently opposed by the isolationist minority -- and enthusiastically approved by the people.

And what has been the result of this policy?

In June, 1940, Britain faced destruction. She was virtually unarmed. Our government rushed arms to Britain, and the American people of their own free will poured across the ocean all ~~the personal help and~~ that they could offer in the way of help and heartfelt confidence. all the heartfelt sympathy that they could offer. That meant much to the beleagured people of Britain. It helped to sustain them through the dreadful days and nights of the aerial Blitzkrieg.

And now -- after a year -- Britain still stands firm, and we have been given that incredibly precious time to arm ourselves against aggression.

Our policy has been successful, and will be continued.

The supply of tools that we send overseas will not fail, but will become

We have stepped up and are, month by month, increasing our

What was the basis of this program of aid to Great Britain and the other democracies? ~~We were very clear and realistic about it from the very start, more than a year ago; and as time went on our own role became even clearer.~~

Our ~~primary interest is not in the British Empire.~~ Our primary interest is in the United States and in its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere. ~~Our primary interest is not in any one of the other democratic nations.~~ Our

Our program of aid has been based on hard-headed concern for ourselves and for the kind of ~~free~~ safe and democratic world in which we wish to live. ~~government which we enjoy~~. Every dollar of material we have sent has helped to keep the dictators away from our own hemisphere. Every day that they have been held off has given us just so many more guns and tanks and planes, ~~with which to hold them off forever.~~

(3) ~~destruction.~~ Every nation we have tried to protect from enslavement has had its part in helping to keep the world free. ~~We know that a world three-quarters slave and one-quarter free cannot long endure.~~

We make no pretense about this. Great Britain understands it -- and so does Nazi Germany. The only ones who profess not to understand it are the small group of our own citizens who urge that we withdraw our aid to Britain and thereby hand over the conquest of the world to Adolf Hitler with our compliments.

We concluded a series of agreements which further solidified ~~all the Americas~~ against the common danger.

We launched, a year ago, the largest armament production program ever undertaken in history. ~~And we sold, during the first year and a half of the war, all the armament which, under a slowly expanding production, we could spare to England, and until last June, to France. Since last March, with greatly increased production, and with full Congressional approval in the lend-lease bill, we have stepped up, and month by month are increasing, our material supply of tools of war to those nations which are fighting for the continuation of human liberties.~~

~~The supply of these tools will not fail.~~ It will rapidly become greater and still greater in quantity and in power. Our production is now large, and it continues to speed up day by day. We have all been irked by the necessary period of preparation for this unprecedented manufacture of arms, but the needed equipment of war material is now beginning to roll in force from the assembly lines of America to the battle lines of free countries.

Stet

~~No one today says it is too little; and all will presently learn that it is not too late.~~

With greatly increased strength, the United States and the other American Republics chart their course in the new situation.

The Axis Powers have taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. In Africa they have occupied Tripoli and Libya, and they are threatening Egypt, the Suez Canal, and the Near East. Axis success there would threaten military domination over Turkey, Iraq, Arabia, Persia and the Persian Gulf.

They also have the armed power at any moment to occupy Spain and Portugal, and that threat extends not only to French North Africa and the Western end of the Mediterranean, but also to the Atlantic fortress of Dakar, and to the outposts of the New World — the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. The Cape Verde Islands are only seven hours distance by bomber or troop-carrying planes from Brazil. The war is approaching the brink of the western hemisphere itself; it is coming very close to home. Because of new implements of war, distances which once lent security no longer afford security. Occupation by Nazi forces of any of the islands

of the Atlantic would jeopardize the immediate safety of portions of North and South America, and of the island possessions of the United States, and the ultimate safety of the continental United States itself. The plan of world domination by the Axis Powers would be near its accomplishment, were it not for two factors. One is the brilliant resistance of Britain, her colonies, and the great Dominions. These are fighting not only to maintain the existence of the Island of Britain, but also to hold the Near East and Africa. The other is the magnificent defense of China, which will, I have reason to believe, increase in strength. All of these, together, prevent the Axis from winning control of the seas by ships and aircraft.

~~If the~~ The Axis Powers ~~can~~ cannot achieve their objective of world domination unless they first obtain control of the seas. ~~they can win.~~ Should they gain that they could then have power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere [in which we live]. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, and no false pledges like those given by Hitler at Munich can deceive the American people on that.

But if the Axis Powers fail ~~to~~ gain control of the seas, they are ~~almost~~ certainly defeated. Their dreams of

world domination must go by the board; and the criminal leaders who have misled and deceived their peoples into starting this war [are headed for] will suffer inevitable disaster. Both they and their people know this, and they are afraid. That is why they are ~~slaughtering their own men in~~ conducting desperate attempts to break through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed peoples on the continent of Europe, and at the end, their whole structure will break to pieces.

We do not forget these silenced peoples. The present masters of Germany -- those, at least, who have ~~[illegible]~~ not been assassinated or [illegible] for free speech -- ~~[illegible] their own internal plots against each other~~ -- have marked these peoples and their childrens' children for slavery. [Our measures will call] What we do will call them back to freedom: Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, of Yugo-Slavia ~~Greeks~~, -- yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been as much enslaved as any.

Freedom -- meaning freedom to live, and not freedom to conquer and enslave other peoples - has often depended on

control of the seas. In our case, all of American history -- North, Central and South American history -- has been inevitably tied up with those words, "control of the seas".

Since 1799, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depredations of the Barbary corsairs; since the War of 1812, which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since 1867, when our sea power made it possible for the Mexicans to expel ~~compelled~~ the French Army ~~to evacuate~~ from Mexico, we have striven and fought in defence of freedom of the seas -- for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister Republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of world trade.

~~Today~~, To-day, as it was in 1917 and 1918, the problem is greater because the attack on the freedom of the seas is not fourfold: first -- the improved submarine; second -- the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or hit-and-run battleship; third -- the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base; and fourth -- the destruction of

merchant ships at the conclusion of safe voyages in those ports of the world which are accessible to Nazi bombing attack.

During the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers, gunboats and destroyers; and this type of convoy was effective against submarines. In this second World War, merchant ships must also be protected against heavily armed raiders and bombing planes. The problem of defense is thus vastly larger than it was in that earlier day.

The fact of today is that the British Navy has to operate in many seas as the Hitler-led war spreads throughout the world. It must fight not only naval battles but must also act in conjunction with land forces in ~~various~~ widely-separated theatres of war.

The battle of the Atlantic now extends from the icy waters of the North Pole to the icy continent of the South Pole. There have been many sinkings of merchant ships ~~in the South Atlantic~~ by German raiders or submarines. There have been sinkings off West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands; and between the Azores and the

islands off the American coast; and between Greenland and Iceland. Great numbers of these sinkings are actually within the waters of the Western Hemisphere. Many are dangerously close to us.

As ships, bearing food and munitions approach Britain they are subjected to a new form of attack, bombing from planes flying far out to sea from captured French or Norwegian ports. The losses of merchant ships are dangerously high. The blunt fact is that the Nazis are now sinking ships faster than they can be replaced.

This presents a factual military danger to the Americas. Most of the supplies for Britain go by a northerly route. Germany is concentrating her attack on that route, which comes close to Greenland and the nearby island of Iceland. German occupation of Iceland or bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our continental shores, because they are stepping-stones to Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the northern United States, including the great industrial centers of the north east and the middle west.

Equally, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, if occupied by Germany, would directly endanger the freedom

(1) p 10

~~How dangerously~~

~~The [illegible]~~

~~prot foodstuffs~~

¶ How dangerously close has been shown by the presence in the waters of this hemisphere of a Nazi battleship of great striking power.

of the mid-Atlantic and our own physical safety. In German hands they would become bases for submarines, warships, and airplanes raiding the waters which lie immediately off our own coasts or shipping entering the South Atlantic. They would provide a springboard for attack against the integrity and independence of Brazil and her neighboring republics. Insert A

Now any high school student with an Atlas and a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war knows that it is stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack. Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy which will keep such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place. Nearly a century ago a famous Confederate General laid down a cardinal principle of all strategy when he said: "Git thar fustest with the mostest men," and to that we have to add today, "men adequately equipped with the weapons of modern war."

We have, accordingly, extended our patrol in north and south Atlantic waters. We are ~~weekly~~ steadily adding more

RAFT NO. 4

INSERT A - PAGE ~~2~~ (11)

A p. 11

I have said on many occasions that the United States is mustering its men and its resources only for purposes of defense -- only to repel attack. I repeat that statement now. But we must be realistic when we use the word "attack"; we have to relate it to the modern lightning speed of warfare. Some people seem to think that we are not attacked until bombs actually drop on New York or San Francisco or New Orleans or Minneapolis. But they are simply shutting their eyes to the lesson which has been provided by every nation that the Nazis have conquered.

The attack on Czechoslovakia began with the conquest of Austria. The attack on Norway began with the occupation of Denmark. The attack on Greece was begun with occupation of Albania and Bulgaria. The attack on the Suez Canal was begun with the invasion of the Balkans and North Africa. The attack on the United States will begin with the occupation of any base which menaces our security.

Nobody can foretell tonight just when the acts of the dictators will ripen into attack on us. But we know enough by now to realize that it would be suicide to wait until they are in our front yard.

DRAFT NO. 4

INSERT A - PAGE 5 (continued)

When your enemy comes at you in a tank or a bombing plane -- if you hold your fire until you see the whites of his eyes, you will never know what hit you.

DRAFT FIVE

and more ships and planes to that patrol. They warn of the presence of attacking raiders, on, under and above the sea; and the danger of these raiders is greatly lessened if their location is definitely known. We shall be better on our guard if the Axis Powers send expeditions to establish bases closer to our Hemisphere. Insert (A)

(~~Insert the President's paragraph about the fleet.~~)

The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple self-preservation, to make stern choices. It does not make sense, for instance, to say "I believe in the defense of all the Western Hemisphere and in the next breath to say "I will not fight for that defense." And if you believe in the independence and integrity of the Americas, you must be willing to fight to defend it just as much as you would to fight for the safety of your own home. (B)

The independence and integrity of the Americas is seriously threatened today. I solemnly state to you that if it were not for the magnificent resistance against the Axis Powers that is now being put up in the Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, in Europe, in Africa, and in Asia, we would today be engaged in active

A p. 12

~~Sam Ray Boys~~

~~Will you give this to us in the morning with a suggestion as to where it should go in?~~

~~I am convinced it is~~

~~It~~ is probably no secret to ~~certain~~ some foreign nations, that certain units of the American Navy have been recently transferred from the Pacific to the Atlantic and that other units are in process of being transferred. These units are not considered vital to the maintenance of our operations in the Pacific Ocean, but will ~~be of great assistance~~, in the Atlantic helpful during now essential

I am now ready to announce what

B p. 12

It is time for us to realize that the safety of American homes even in the centre of ~~the~~ our country has a definite relationship to the continued safety of homes in Nova Scotia or Trinidad ~~or~~ Brazil.

war for the physical protection of the Americas themselves. And, if Germany were able to organize the resources and the population of Europe, Africa, the Near East, the Orient, and the surrounding seas against the Americas, the odds would be against us in terms of man-power, machine-power, shipyards, and raw materials.

Clearly, therefore, the safety of our institutions, our forms of Government, and perhaps our independence, is linked with the successful defense of Britain and the fight which she and other nations are putting up on sea, on land and in the air against a Nazi-led war machine. That defense is also our defense.

A

Our national policy today is therefore this:

We shall actively resist, wherever necessary, and with all our resources, his every attempt to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere. We shall actively resist with all our resources his every attempt to gain control of the seas.

In time, this will make possible a liberation of Europe, including Germany, from the bondage in which she

INSERT A - page 13.

The defense of the Americas requires accepting two objectives which the overwhelming majority of this nation, because it understands, approves.

Our national policy today is therefore this: First, we shall actively resist wherever necessary with all our resources Hitler's every attempt to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere. We shall actively resist with all our resources his every attempt to gain control of the seas. We insist upon the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used and would be used as a base of attack against the Americas. Second, from strict naval and military necessity, we shall give every possible assistance to Britain and to all who with Britain are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent with forces of arms. I should say our patrol is helping now to insure delivery of the needed supplies to Britain. All additional measures necessary to deliver these supplies will be taken. Should additional methods be needed, we will devise them with the aid of experts who will have my full authority to work out and put into effect such new and additional safeguards as may be needed.

now is.

The defense of the Americas requires accepting two objectives which the overwhelming majority of this nation, because it understands, approves.

The first, from the strict point of view of military and naval necessity, lies in our giving every possible assistance to Britain and to all those who, with Britain, are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent by force of arms. Our patrols help now to insure delivery of goods to Britain. ~~If~~ Whatever further measures are necessary to deliver the goods, ~~they~~ will be devised and taken.

And second -- we acknowledge the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used and would be used as a base of attack against the Americas.

To the other American nations -- twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada -- and to the people of the new-world islands under the British flag and the French flag and the Dutch flag, I say this: The United States

DRAFT FIVE

does not merely propose, but is actively engaged today in carrying out the twofold mission I have described. We have adequate force to do these things. I say to them further: you may disregard those few citizens of the United States who pretend that we cannot act, or that we are divided. Every nation has its minority group; this one makes much noise, but has little substance.

~~Indeed, we have no choice. If Hitler were victorious in Europe, we know what he would do.~~

To the people of the Americas the triumphant Nazis would say, "We have achieved our purpose. We are now completely satisfied". Hitler would say again as he has before, "This is the last territorial readjustment I will seek." To us in the Americas he would of course add: "All we want is peace, friendship, and profitable trade relations with you in the New World. We have not -- we never have had -- any thought of touching the Western Hemisphere. Be friends with us and fat profits will immediately be awaiting you."

And if any of us in the peoples of the Americas so incredibly simple as to accept those honeyed words, what would then happen?

~~DRAFT No. 4~~ - ~~(Insert A - p. 14)~~ A p 15

There are those timid ones who say that we must preserve peace at any price lest we lose our liberties forever. Never in the history of the world has a nation lost its liberties by a successful struggle to defend them. And we arm ourselves and we help Britain stand off the aggressor so that we will be able to defend those liberties whenever and wherever we have to defend them. We must not be ~~deterred~~ defeated by the fear of the very danger which we are preparing to resist. Our freedom has shown its ability to survive war but it cannot survive surrender.

Insert (B) p15

States who assert that the United States cannot take adequate measure to defend the Americas; that the United States is torn by internal dissension and strife. Every nation has its minority group. Some minority groups make a great deal of smoke with very little fire.

We know the terms that a victorious Hitler will impose. They are, indeed, the only terms on which he would accept a so-called "negotiated" peace.

Under these terms, Germany would literally parcel out the world -- hoisting the swastika itself over vast territories and populations, and setting up puppet government of its own choosing, wholly subject to the will and the policy of the conqueror. It is idle to assert that that kind of a world could never last. Just so long as the German war machine maintained military, naval, air, industrial and economic superiority, no minority nation, or group of nations, could take it away.

There may be a few small bones tossed to Hitler's jackal partners, but we can be sure that none of these free gifts would jeopardize German over-lordship.

To the people of the Americas the triumphant Nazis would

Those in the new world who were seeking fat profits would be urging that all that the dictatorships desired was "peace". They would oppose the burdens of toil and taxes for armament. Meanwhile, the dictatorships would be forcing the enslaved peoples of their Old World conquests into a system they are even now organizing. With this they would be building a naval and air force large enough to gain and hold and be master of the Atlantic and the Pacific as well.

They would fasten an economic stranglehold upon our several nations; and when by intimidation or corruption, Quislings could be found, they would attempt to subvert the Governments in our Republics, and they would back their fifth columns with invasion if need be.

I am not speculating about this. I merely repeat what is already in the Nazi book of world conquest -- if they can get it. They plan to treat the Latin American nations as they are now treating the Balkans. They plan to strangle the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada.

We shall not permit this to happen, because we know ~~But you had best know~~ what is planned for ~~you~~ the if we ~~are~~ were weak enough to falter. The American laborer would have to compete with slave labor in the rest of the world. Minimum wages, maximum hours? Nonsense. Wages and hours would be fixed by the decrees of dictators abroad. Trade unions would become historical relics and collective bargaining a joke. How can a laborer expect to get a decent day's wage for his work, when in every other place in the world, peoples are working in a state of serfdom at the point of a gun?

Farm prices? The American farmer would get exactly what some foreign dictator decided he wanted to give. Quite likely he would get nothing. He would face disaster a hundredfold more destructive than the disaster of 1932. Who is there, either here or abroad, who could buy from him?

The whole fabric of life as we know it would be mangled and crippled under such a system; yet to maintain even that crippled independence would require a vast standing army; would curtail the funds we spend on education, on health,

on housing, on public works, on flood control. Instead, we should be pouring what resources we had to ships and guns and planes, and standing the day watch and the night watch against destruction of our cities.

Even ~~your~~ their right of worship, and the privilege of rearing ~~your~~ their children would be threatened. The Nazi world does not recognize any God except Hitler; for the Nazis are as ruthless as the Communists in the denial of God. Nazism denies God as completely as Communism. What place has religion which preaches the dignity of the human being, of the majesty of the human soul in a world where moral standards are measured by treachery and bribery and Fifth Columnists?

I say that we cannot accept, and will not permit, this Nazi shape of things to come. That is why our planes and our fleets and our forces stand on guard. To those who say our freedom cannot stand the test of war, I say, "Our freedom has survived many wars. What it cannot survive is surrender". That is the surest way to an American dictatorship -- a dictator named abroad.

I have the right to ~~require~~ expect of all of my fellow citizens that you take part in the common work of our common defense.

Insert (A)

~~Labor~~ ~~A~~ (A) p 18

Definitely it is a get-back to the defense of freedom for business to put on the head-in form of excess profits; and for labor to use this opportunity to urge jurisdictional rights, to call workers off the job at the will of individual leaders or to refuse mediation by their own government.

I have recently set up the machinery for civilian defense. It will rapidly organize locality by locality. It will call for certain technical services, but it will also depend on the organized effort of men and women, state by state, county by county, city by city, town by town, and even block by block. You will have responsibilities to fulfill. ~~Hundreds of thousands of you have been writing to Washington asking, "What shall I do?" You will find that question answered by your own local and chosen leaders who in turn will report to the defense authorities.~~

You will find that defense today means more than merely fighting. It means supporting morale; it means building better health; it means developing every natural resource; it means enlarging every useful plant; it means resistance of will to any who seek to undermine or interrupt the machinery of production and distribution and defense. It means ~~watching out against incendiary bombs,~~ ~~and~~ watching out against racketeers and fifth columnists, who are the incendiary leaders of the moment.

whether in labor or in business. It means, learning to give to the America of the future the opportunity which America has already given ~~you~~ us. It means rolling up a flood of organization and resources, and materials, and production, and transportation, and scientific progress, and military strength, so strong and so vital that it moves like a tidal wave towards the forces of destruction and slavery and intimidation and greed, so vast that it will engulf these temporary tyrants with their toy religions. This is the true, invincible force. As it ~~As this, the true wave of the future,~~ makes itself felt, we shall establish the great objectives: freedom of ~~speech~~ information; freedom from everlasting fear; freedom to conduct the interchange of culture and free commerce; freedom from slavery and want for each man and his family.

Already, forged in the crucible of this war, the new institutions for liberating the peoples, are being made.

Already we are sending our huge production to free peoples everywhere -- not in search of profit, but to satisfy need: weapons for those who defend themselves;

food for those who are hungry; healing for those who are sick. We strike no bargain with conquerors. We ask no reward, save a world in which men can live in happiness and peace.

There is arising a vast new family of nations; our own American family; Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, China, the islands of the seas. (A) It is a family in which all are welcome; from it no free and peaceful people is excluded. (B) Its resources are at the service of any who need them; and the skill of each is used for the benefit of all. Its freedoms permit every nation to realize the best of itself; to trade freely with each other. These ~~these~~ nations act together, not because a master has enslaved them, but because in a common purpose these nations have learned to work together.

Change

The whole world is now divided into two camps. They are separated by the simple difference between human slavery and human freedom. We ~~I~~ choose human freedom. [You do too.] ~~Then let~~ No one can waver for a moment in his hope or in his faith. We were weak when we established our

(A) p (21)

It is a formula most restricted to the American republics not to the peoples of the British Commonwealth.

(B) p. 21

It was a formula already recognized by the Congress of the United States when the lend-lease law authorized the ~~[illegible]~~ giving of assistance to all the defenders against aggression

DRAFT NO. 6

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

May 27, 1941

- - - - - - - - - - - -

I am speaking tonight to the people of the United States, to the people of the twenty other free and independent Republics of the American Hemisphere, and to many other people throughout the world who know that human liberties are seriously threatened with extinction.

I am speaking tonight from the White House in the presence of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union and their families. The members of the Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics who are now accredited to the United States. It is appropriate that I do this. Now as never before the unity of the American Republics is of supreme importance to each and every one of us and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. Our future independence, in the historic sense of that splendid term, is bound up with the future independence of each and every one of our sister Republics.

I make this a factual report -- based on factual information. This information comes from trained American observers in every

country and every region. It comes from both friendly and hostile sources. It comes from the best military and naval technicians, and not from any amateur strategist. The pressing problems that confront us are military problems. We cannot afford to approach them from the point of view of wishful thinkers or sentimentalists. What we face is cold, hard fact.

Two years ago - in the Spring of 1939 - it became clear to those in your Administration who are in charge of foreign affairs, first, that well-intentioned efforts on the part of the democracies, after the Munich Pact, to maintain European peace through appeasement, were bound to fail; and, second, that the leader of the German nation intended to cause them to fail by prosecuting his carefully planned campaign of terrorism to dominate, first Europe, and then the entire world.

Some Americans in high places openly stated at that time, that they did not believe this forecast. They expressed the conviction that there would be no war; that if war did come, it would be no business or concern of the United States.

Soon after the horrors of the overrunning of Poland and the systematic destruction of that free nation, I held in my office a meeting of experts of the State, War and Navy Departments. We, ~~reason then the same~~ [illegible] purpose of conquering the world, -- that Adolf Hitler had definite plans for world conquest. He never considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. European conquest was but a step toward ultimate goals in other continents. As a part of these plans, an insincere agreement had been negotiated with the Soviet Union to make it possible to begin an immediate European struggle.

The successive events of the year 1940 unfolded an increasing physical danger to the United States, to the twenty other American Republics, and to the Dominion of Canada. ~~We~~ For our own defense, we accordingly ~~undertook~~ undertaken certain obvious necessary measures for the protection of the Americas.

First, ~~We~~ joined in concluding a series of agreements with all the other American Republics, ~~which~~ This further solidified ~~this~~ our hemisphere against the common danger.

(A) p.3

The first and fundamental fact is that ~~world war and world revolution have become inter-continental. They have spread to the oceans. The Western Hemisphere~~ what started as a European war has developed, as the Nazis always intended it should develop, into a world war for world ~~revolution~~ domination.

It is unmistakably apparent to all us that, unless ~~[illegible]~~ the advance of Hitlerism is forcibly checked, not, the Western Hemisphere will be within range of the huge weapons of destruction.

~~We launched~~, a year ago, and are successfully carrying out the largest armament production program ever undertaken in the history of the world.

~~The third step was the~~ policy of aid for the democracies -- the nations which have fought for the continuation of human liberties. This policy had its origin in the first month of the war, when

In September, 1939, I urged upon the Congress repeal of the arms embargo provisions in the Neutrality Law. ~~At that time~~ I said, "I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead."

In the subsequent months, the shadows deepened and lengthened. They spread over Poland, ~~Denmark~~, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France ~~and Greece, blacking out~~ the light of liberty was blacked out.

Early in June, 1940, when the panzer divisions were roaring toward Paris, we instituted the policy of turning over to Britain and France all the materiel we could possibly spare.

~~In the case of France, our aid was too late.~~

~~In the case of Britain, we were happily in time.~~ In June, 1940 Britain ~~she~~ stood alone, with the same faced ~~destruction~~. Our government rushed arms to meet her desperate needs.

terror which had overwhelmed her allies

In September, 1940, ~~I completed~~ an agreement was completed with Great Britain for the trade of fifty destroyers for eight important offshore bases.

~~[illegible] territory.~~

In March, 1941, the Congress passed the Lend-Lease Bill and an appropriation of seven ~~[illegible]~~ billions to implement it.

What was the basis of this program of aid to Great Britain and the other democracies?

Our primary interest is in the United States and in its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere.

Our wide program of aid to Britain has been based frankly on hard-headed concern for ~~ourselves~~ our own security and for the kind of safe and ~~democratic~~ civilized world in which we wish to live. Every dollar of material we have sent has helped to keep the dictators away from our own hemisphere. Every day that they have been held off has given us the time to build ~~just [illegible]~~ more guns and tanks and planes.

Every nation ~~we have [illegible] from~~ that has fought to protect itself from enslavement has ~~helped [illegible] in helping~~ helped in some measure to keep the world free.

We ~~make~~ have made no pretense about our own self-interest in this aid. ~~[illegible]~~ ~~this.~~ Great Britain understands it -- and so does Nazi Germany. The only ones who profess not to understand it are ~~the~~ a small group of our own citizens. ~~who urge that we withdraw our aid to Britain~~ (A) and thereby hand over the conquest of the world to Adolf Hitler with our compliments.

In September, 1940, ~~[illegible]~~ an agreement was completed with Great Britain for the trade of fifty destroyers for eight important base-sites.

~~in British territory.~~

In March, 1941, the Congress passed the Land-Lease Bill and an appropriation of seven ~~and-a-half~~ billions to implement it.

~~What was the basis of this program of aid to Great Britain and the other democracies?~~

~~Our primary interest is in the United States and in its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere.~~

Our program of aid has been based primarily on hard-headed concern for our own security and for the kind of safe and civilized world in which we wish to live. Every dollar of material we have sent has helped to keep the dictators away from our own hemisphere. Every day that they have been held off has given us the time to build more guns and tanks and planes and ships.

~~[illegible] we have tried to protect from enslavement has had its part in helping to keep the world free.~~

We have made ~~it~~ our own self-interest in this aid. ~~No~~ no pretense ~~about this~~. Great Britain understands it -- and so does Nazi Germany. ~~The only ones who profess not to understand it are the small group of our own citizens, who urge that we withdraw our aid to Britain and thereby hand over the conquest of the world to Adolf Hitler with our compliments.~~

This has provided material aid for the government of any country where defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States.

And now -- after a year -- Britain still ~~stands fast, and we have been given that incredibly precious time to arm ourselves against aggression. We have stepped up and up, month by month, increasing~~ fighting gallantly — in a "far-flung battle line" We have doubled and redoubled our war production, increasing month by month, our material supply of tools of war ~~to those nations which are~~ fighting for the continuation of human liberties.

The supply of these tools will not fail.

We have all been irked by the necessary period of preparation for this unprecedented manufacture of arms, but the needed equipment of war material is now beginning to roll in force from the assembly lines of America to the battle lines of free countries. No one today ~~dare say our effort is too great.~~ We must do still more — and all ~~Hitler's minions, and all~~ will presently learn that it is not too late. We intend to take further serious steps to prevent delays in the speed of our production.

With greatly increased strength, the United States and the other American Republics now chart their course in the new situation.

The ~~Axis Powers~~ Nazis have taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. In Africa they have occupied Tripoli and Libya, and they are threatening Egypt, the Suez Canal, and the Near East. ~~Axis~~ Nazi success there would threaten military domination over Turkey, Iraq, Arabia, Persia and the Persian Gulf.

They also have the armed power at any moment to occupy Spain and Portugal, and that threat extends not only to French North

Africa and the western end of the Mediterranean, but also to the Atlantic fortress of Dakar, and to the outposts of the New World - the Azores and Cape Verde Islands.

The Cape Verde Islands are only seven hours distance by bomber or troop-carrying planes from Brazil.

The war is approaching the brink of the western hemisphere itself; it is coming very close to home. Because of new implements of war, distances which once lent security no longer afford security.

Occupation by Nazi forces of any of the islands of the Atlantic would jeopardize the immediate safety of portions of North and South America, and of the island possessions of the United States, and the ultimate safety of the continental United States itself.

Hitler's ~~The~~ plan of world domination by the Axis Powers would be near its accomplishment, were it not for two factors. One is the magnificent ~~brilliant~~ resistance of Britain, her colonies, and the great Dominions. These are fighting not only to maintain the existence of the Island

of Britain, but also to hold the Near East and Africa. The other is the magnificent defense of China, which will, I have reason to believe, increase in strength. All of these, together, prevent the Axis from winning control of the seas by ships and aircraft.

The Axis Powers can never achieve their objective of world domination unless they first obtain control of the seas. ~~Should they gain that,~~ They could then have power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, and no false pledges like those given by Hitler at Munich can deceive the American people on that.

This is their purpose for attack today, and to achieve it they [illegible] Great Britain.

But if the Axis Powers fail to gain control of the seas, they are certainly defeated. Their dreams of world domination ~~would~~ will then go by the board; and the criminal leaders who have misled and deceived their peoples into starting this war ~~would~~ will suffer inevitable disaster. Both they and their people know this, and they are afraid. That is why they are risking everything they have conducting desperate attempts to break through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed

peoples on the continent of Europe, and ~~at~~ the end, their whole structure will break to pieces.

We do not forget these silenced peoples. The present masters of Germany -- those, at least, who have not been assassinated or escaped to free soil -- have marked these peoples and their childrens' children for slavery. What we do will call them back to freedom: Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes of Jugo-Slavia -- yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been as much enslaved as any.

They look to us as their hope for

Freedom -- meaning freedom to live, and not freedom to conquer and enslave other peoples - has often depended on this control of the seas. In our case, all of American history -- North, Central and South American history -- has been inevitably tied up with those words, "control of the seas".

depends

Since 1799, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since

1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depredations of the Barbary ~~corsairs~~ pirates; since the War of 1812, which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since 1867, when our sea power made it possible for the Mexicans to expel the French Army from Mexico, we have striven and fought in defence of freedom of the seas -- for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of world trade. -- and for our own safety.

The problem is greater today than it was in 1917 and 1918, because the attack on the freedom of the seas is now fourfold: first -- the improved submarine; second -- the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or hit-and-run battleship; third -- the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base; and fourth -- the destruction of merchant ships, their warehoused cargoes and harbor facilities in those ports of the world which are accessible to ~~Nazi~~ bombing attack.

During the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers, gunboats and destroyers; and this type of convoy was effective against submarines. In this second World War, ~~merchant ships must also be protected against heavily armed raiders~~ and ~~bombing planes~~.

Today the British Navy has to operate in all the seas as the Hitler-led war spreads throughout the world. It must fight not only naval battles but must also act in conjunction with land forces in widely-separated theatres of war.

The battle of the Atlantic now extends from the icy waters of the North Pole to the Antarctic continent. There have been ~~many~~ sinkings of merchant ships ~~by German~~ raiders or submarines -- some of these ships carrying neutral flags. There have been sinkings, ~~off~~ West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands, ~~and~~ between the Azores and the islands off the American coast, and between Greenland and Iceland. Great numbers of these sinkings ~~are~~ have been actually within the waters of the Western Hemisphere. Many are dangerously close to us.

How dangerously close has been shown by the presence in the waters of this hemisphere of a Nazi battleship of great striking power. The losses of merchant ships are dangerously high. The blunt fact is that the Nazis are now sinking ships faster than they ~~can~~ are ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ now being ~~[illegible]~~ replaced.

This presents an actual military danger to the Americas. Regular vessels have been recently sunk by the fire of an Western Hemisphere nation in a raid by a task force of great striking power.

Most of the supplies for Britain go by a northerly route, Germany is concentrating her attack on that route, which comes close to Greenland and the nearby island of Iceland. German occupation of Iceland or bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our continental shores; because they are stepping-stones to Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the northern United States, including the great industrial centers of the north east and the middle west.

Equally, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, if occupied by Germany, would directly endanger the freedom of the mid-Atlantic and our own physical safety. In German hands they would become bases for submarines, warships, and airplanes raiding the waters which lie immediately off our own coasts and attacking the shipping entering the South Atlantic. They would provide a springboard for actual attack against the integrity and independence of Brazil and her neighboring republics.

I have said on many occasions that the United States is mustering its men and its resources only for purposes of defense --

only to repel attack. I repeat that statement now. But we must be realistic when we use the word "attack"; we have to relate it to the lightning speed of modern warfare. Some people seem to think that we are not attacked until bombs actually drop on New York or San Francisco or New Orleans or Chicago or Minneapolis. But they are simply shutting their eyes to the lesson we should learn from the fate of which has been provided by every nation that the Nazis have conquered.

The attack on Czechoslovakia began with the conquest of Austria. The attack on Norway began with the occupation of Denmark. The attack on Greece was begun with occupation of Albania and Bulgaria. The attack on the Suez Canal was begun with the invasion of the Balkans and North Africa. The attack on the United States will begin with the occupation of any base which menaces our security — North or South.

Nobody can foretell tonight just when the acts of the dictators will ripen into attack on this hemisphere and us. But we know enough by now to realize that it would be suicide to wait until they are in our front yard.

When your enemy comes at you in a tank or a bombing plane -- if you hold your fire until you see the whites of his eyes, you will never know what hit you. Over Bunker Hill of to-morrow may be several thousand miles from Boston.

~~Now~~ Any high school student with an Atlas and a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war knows that it is stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack. Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy which will keep such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place. Nearly a century ago a famous Confederate General laid down a cardinal principle of all strategy when he said: "Git thar fustest with the mostest".

We have, accordingly, extended our patrol in north and south Atlantic waters. We are steadily adding more and more ships and planes to that patrol. They warn of the presence of attacking raiders, on the sea, under the sea and above the sea. ~~and~~ The danger ~~of~~ from these raiders is greatly lessened if their location is definitely known. We ~~should~~ are thus be warned, and we shall be ~~better~~ on our guard against ~~if the Axis Powers send~~ expeditions to establish bases closer to our Hemisphere.

I am now ready to announce what is probably no secret to some foreign nations, that certain units of the American Navy have been recently transferred from the Pacific to the Atlantic and that other units are in process of being transferred. These units are not considered vital to the maintenance of our operations in the Pacific Ocean, but will in the Atlantic perform duties now essential.

The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple self-preservation, to make stern choices. It does not make sense, for instance, to say "I believe in the defense of all the Western Hemisphere" and in the next breath to say "I will not fight for that defense, until the enemy has landed on our shores." And if you believe in the independence and integrity of the Americas, you must be willing to fight to defend it just as much as you would to fight for the safety of your own home.

It is time for us to realise that the safety of American homes even in the centre of our country has a definite relationship to the continued safety of homes in Nova Scotia or Trinidad or Brazil.

The independence and integrity of the Americas is seriously threatened today. I solemnly state to you that if it were not for the magnificent resistance against the Axis Powers that is now being put up in the Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, in Europe, in Africa, and in Asia, we would today be engaged in active war for the physical

protection of the Americas themselves. And, if Germany were able to organize the resources and the population of Europe, Africa, the Near East, the Orient, and on the surrounding seas against the Americas, the odds would be against us in terms of man-power, machine-power, shipyards, and raw materials.

Clearly, therefore, the safety of our institutions, and ~~of~~ our form of government and perhaps of our independence itself is linked with the successful defense of Britain and the fight which she and other nations are now putting up on sea, on land and in the air against a Nazi-led war machine. ~~That~~ Britain's defense is also our defense. That, it is recognized and understood by our government and by ~~The defense of the Americas requires accepting two objectives~~ ~~which~~ the overwhelming majority of the American people, this nation, because it understands, approves.

Our national policy today is therefore this: First, we shall actively resist wherever necessary with all our resources Hitler's every attempt by Hitler to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere. We shall actively resist with all our resources his every attempt to gain control of the seas. We insist upon the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used and would be used as a base of attack against the Americas. Second, from the point of view of strict naval and military necessity, we shall give every possible assistance

to Britain and to all who with Britain are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent with forces of arms. [redacted] Our patrol[illegible] are helping now to insure delivery of the needed supplies to Britain. All additional measures necessary to deliver ~~these supplies~~ the goods will be taken. [Should additional methods be needed, we will devise them with the aid of our naval and military Technicians who with us will [redacted] work out and put into effect such new and additional safeguards to defence as may be needed.]

To the other American nations -- twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada -- and to the people of the new-world islands under the British flag and the French flag and the Dutch flag and the Danish flag, I say this: The United States does not merely propose these purposes, but is actively engaged today in carrying them out. ~~the objectives I have described~~. We have and are creating adequate force to do these things. I say to them further: you may disregard those few citizens of the United States who pretend that we cannot act, or that we are divided. Every nation has its minority group; this one makes much noise, but has little substance.

There are those timid ones who say that we must preserve peace at any price lest we lose our liberties forever. Never in the history of the world has a nation lost its liberties by a successful struggle to defend them. And we arm ourselves and we help Britain stand off the aggressor so that we will be able to defend those

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

A

Page 17 - the last sentence of the top paragraph

Change to read as follows:

"Any and all further methods, or combination of methods, which can or should be utilized are being devised by our military and naval technicians, who, with me, will work out and put into effect such new and additional safeguards as may be needed. The delivery of needed supplies to Britain is imperative. This can be done; it must be done; it will be done".

liberties whenever and wherever we have to defend them. We must not be defeated by the fear of the very danger which we are preparing to resist. Our freedom has shown its ability to survive war but it could never survive surrender.

Insert X

We know the terms that a victorious Hitler will impose. They are, indeed, the only terms on which he would accept a so-called "negotiated" peace.

Under those terms, Germany would literally parcel out the world -- hoisting the swastika itself over vast territories and populations, and setting up puppet government of its own choosing, wholly subject to the will and the policy of a conqueror.

To the people of the Americas the triumphant Nazis at first would say, "We have achieved our purpose. We are now completely satisfied". Hitler would say again as he said after the seizure of Austria, and after Munich and after the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia: "This is the last territorial readjustment I will seek." To us in the Americas he would of course add: "All we want is peace, friendship, and profitable trade relations with you in the New World. We have not -- we never have had -- any thought of touching the Western Hemisphere. Be friends with us and fat profits will immediately be awaiting you."

And were any of us in the Americas so incredibly simple as to accept those honeyed words, what would then happen?

Those in the new world who were seeking fat profits would be urging that all that the dictatorships desired was "peace". They would oppose the burdens of toil and taxes for armament. Meanwhile, the dictatorships would be forcing the enslaved peoples of their Old World conquests into a system they are even now organizing. With this they would be building a naval and air force large enough to gain and hold and be master of the Atlantic and the Pacific as well.

They would fasten an economic stranglehold upon our several nations; and when by intimidation or corruption, Quislings could be found, they would attempt to subvert the governments in our Republics, and they would back their fifth columns with invasion if need be.

I am not speculating about this. I merely repeat what is already in the Nazi book of world conquest -- if they can get it. They plan to treat the Latin American nations as they are now treating the Balkans. They plan to strangle the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada.

We shall not permit this to happen, because we know what is planned for us if we were weak enough to falter. The American laborer would have to compete with slave labor in the rest of the world. Minimum wages, maximum hours? Nonsense. Wages and hours would be fixed by the decrees of dictators abroad. His dignity and power and standard of living would be gone. Trade unions would become historical relics and collective bargaining a joke. How can a laborer expect to get a decent day's wage for his work, when in every other place in the world, peoples are working in a state of serfdom at the point of a gun?

Farm prices? What happens to all farm surpluses without any foreign trade. The American farmer would get exactly what some foreign dictator decided he wanted to give. Quite likely he would get nothing. He would face disaster a hundredfold more destructive than the disaster of 1932. ~~Who is there, either here or abroad, who could buy from him~~ His purchasing power would shrink as that the factories which employ workers will lose him as a market.

(A) The whole fabric of life as we know it — business, finance, manufacturing, mining — would be mangled and crippled under such a system; yet to maintain even that crippled independence would require a vast standing army; would curtail the funds we spend on education, on health,

Insert (X) page 4

on housing, on public works, on flood control. Instead, we should be pouring what resources we had to ships and guns and planes, and standing the day watch and the night watch against destruction of our cities.

Even our right of worship, and the privilege of rearing our children would be threatened. The Nazi world does not recognize any God except Hitler; for the Nazis are as ruthless as the Communists in the denial of God. What place has religion which preaches the dignity of the human being, of the majesty of the human soul in a world where moral standards are measured by treachery and bribery and Fifth Columnists? Will our children, too, wander off in search of new gods in brown uniforms

I say that we cannot accept, and will not permit, this Nazi shape of things to come. ~~That is why our planes and our fleets and our forces stand on guard. That is the surest way to an American dictatorship or a dictator based abroad.~~ It will never be forced upon us, if we act in this present crisis with the wisdom and the courage which have distinguished our country in all the crises of the past.

End of Insert X

(Here take up regular speech order.)

Your government has the right to expect of all citizens that they take part in the common work of our ~~our~~ common defense.

(A) in mark X

Tariff walls -- Chinese walls of isolation -- won't help. Freedom to trade is essential to our economic life. We do not eat all we produce; we do not burn all the oil we pump; we do not use all the goods we manufacture. If we tried to cut all these down only to our own requirements, there will be even less employment; and the whole economic ladder will crash. ~~Make no mistake about it.~~ It will not be so much a question of our building a wall to keep Nazi goods out; it will be a question of the Nazis building a wall around us to keep us in.

I have recently set up the machinery for civilian defense. It will rapidly organize locality by locality. It will call for certain technical services, but it will also depend on the organized effort of men and women, state by state, county by county, city by city, town by town, and even block by block. You will have responsibilities to fulfill.

You will find that defense today means more than merely fighting. It means morale; it means building better health; it means using every available natural resource; it means enlarging every useful plant; it means resistance of will to any who seek to undermine or interrupt the machinery of production and distribution and defense. A It means watching out against racketeers and fifth columnists who are the incendiary bombs of the moment. It means that we must give to the America of the future an even better than that which America has already given us. It means rolling up a flood of organization and resources, and materials, and production, and transportation, and scientific progress, and military strength, so strong and so vital that it moves like a tidal wave towards the forces of destruction and slavery and intimidation and greed -- so vast that it will engulf these temporary tyrants.

(Here section on labor and capital to come.)

INSERT A p. 2.

It means the use of a greater American common sense in discarding rumor and distorted statement.

INSERT B - PAGE 22

This is no time for capital to retreat, when the future of all free enterprise is at stake. This is no time for labor to abuse its right to strike, in the face of foreign forces which are determined to destroy that very right and all other human rights throughout the world.

This is the true, invincible force. As it makes itself felt, we shall establish the great objectives: freedom of information; freedom from everlasting fear; freedom to conduct the interchange of culture and free commerce; freedom from slavery and want for each man and his family.

Already, forged in the crucible of this war, the new institutions for liberating the peoples, are being made.

Already we are sending our huge production to free peoples everywhere -- not in search of profit, but to satisfy needs: weapons for those who defend themselves; food for those who are hungry; healing for those who are sick. ~~We strike no bargain with our enemies.~~ We ask no reward, save a world in which men can live in happiness and peace.

There is arising a vast new family of nations; ~~our American family~~, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, China, ~~the islands of the seas~~. It is a family not restricted to the American republics nor to the peoples of the British Commonwealth. It is a family in which all are welcome ~~from~~ from every continent and every island of the sea. From ~~from~~ it no free and peaceful people is excluded. It is a family already recognized by the Congress of the United States when

Check

23 1/2

The whole world is now divided into two camps. They are separated by the simple difference between human slavery and human freedom – between pagan ~~barbarism~~ brutality and the Christian ideal.

We choose human freedom, which is the Christian ideal.

No one of us can waver for a moment in his hope or his faith.

We will not accept a Hitler dominated world. And we ~~shall~~ will not accept a world, like the postwar world of the 1920s, in which the seeds of Hitlerism can be planted and allowed to grow.

We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression – freedom of every person to worship God in his own way – freedom from want – and freedom from fear.

Is such a world impossible of attainment?

Then so was the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation and every other milestone in human progress.

the lend-lease law authorized the giving of assistance to all the defenders against aggression. Its resources are at the service of all ~~any who need them;~~ and the skill of each is used for the benefit of all. Its freedoms permit every nation to realize the best of itself; to trade freely with each other. These nations act together, not because a master has enslaved them, but because in a common purpose these nations have learned to work together.

Check

The whole world is now divided into two camps. They are separated by the simple difference between human slavery and human freedom. We choose human freedom. No one of us can waver for a ~~moment in his hope or in his faith.~~ We were weak when we established our independence, but we successfully stood off tyrants, powerful in their day, who are now lost in the dust of history.

Odds meant nothing to us then. Shall we, now, with all our ~~the most powerful nation on the face of the earth,~~ potential strength hesitate to take every single measure necessary to maintain our American liberties?

Our people and our government will not hesitate to meet that challenge.

With profound consciousness of my responsibilities to my countrymen and to my country's cause, I shall issue tomorrow a

We repeat the words of a band of patriots fighting long ago against overwhelming odds, but certain, as are we, of ultimate victory: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor".

proclamation that total national emergency exists and requires the strengthening of our defenses to the extreme limit of our power and authority. By virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, I shall authorize and direct that each and every necessary measure be taken in furtherance of ~~the total~~ defense ~~of the Western Hemisphere~~ and in the sustenance and perpetuation of the spirit of liberty throughout the world.

In meeting this state of total emergency, the nation will expect all individuals and all groups to play their full parts, without stint, and without selfishness, and without doubt that our democracy will triumphantly survive. This is no time for capital to retreat, when the future of all free enterprise is at stake. This is no time for labor to abuse its right to strike, in the face of foreign forces which are determined to destroy that very right and all other human rights throughout the world.

Insert X (1)

We are guided in reaching our decisions ~~[illegible]~~ by the military circumstances ~~which~~ ~~[illegible]~~ of this war and by consideration of all that prospects for the achievement of peace.

Your government knows what terms Hitler, if victorious, would impose.

DRAFT NO. 8

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

May 27, 1941

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I am speaking tonight from the White House in the presence of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, the Governing Ministers, and their families. The members of this Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics ~~who are now accredited to the United States.~~ in Washington. It is appropriate that I do this. Now as never before the unity of the American Republics is of supreme importance to each and every one of us and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. Our future independence, ~~in the historic sense of that expression,~~ is bound up with the future independence of each and every one of our sister Republics.

The pressing problems that confront us are military problems. We cannot afford to approach them from the point of view of wishful thinkers or sentimentalists. What we face is cold, hard fact.

The first and fundamental fact is that what started as a European war has developed, as the Nazis always intended it should develop, into a world war for world domination.

The successive events of the second World War have unfolded an increasing physical danger to the United States, to the twenty other American Republics, and to the Dominion of Canada. Adolf Hitler never considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. European conquest was but a step toward ultimate goals in all the other continents. It is unmistakably apparent to all of us that, unless the advance of Hitlerism is forcibly checked now, the Western Hemisphere will be within range of the Nazi weapons of destruction. For our own defense we have accordingly undertaken certain obviously necessary measures:

First, we joined in concluding a series of agreements with all the other American Republics. This further solidified our hemisphere against the common danger.

And then, a year ago, we launched and are successfully carrying out the largest armament production program ever undertaken, ~~in the history of the world~~.

We have added substantially to our splendid Navy and we have mustered our manpower to build up a new Army which, ~~from conditions~~ is already worthy of the highest traditions of our military service.

We instituted a policy of aid for the democracies — the nations which have fought for the continuation of human liberties.

This policy had its origin in the first month of the war, when I urged upon the Congress, repeal of the arms embargo provisions in the Neutrality Law. In that message of September, 1939, I said, "I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead."

In the subsequent months, the shadows deepened and lengthened. And the night spread over Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, and France. [redacted].

In June, 1940, Britain stood alone, faced [redacted] by the same machine of terror which had overwhelmed her allies. Our Government rushed arms to meet her desperate needs.

In September, 1940, an agreement was completed with Great Britain for the trade of fifty destroyers for eight important off-shore bases.

In March, 1941, the Congress passed the Lend-Lease Bill and an appropriation of seven billions to implement it. This law realistically provided for material aid "for the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States."

DRAFT NO. 8

Our whole program of aid for the democracies has been based on hard-headed concern for our own security and for the kind of safe and civilized world in which we wish to live. Every dollar of material we [illegible] to keep the dictators away from our own hemisphere. Every day that they [illegible] held off [illegible] us [illegible] time to build more guns and tanks and planes and ships.

We have made no pretense about our own self-interest in this aid. Great Britain understands it — and so does Nazi Germany.

And now — after a year — Britain [illegible] still fighting gallantly — on a "far-flung battle line." We have doubled and redoubled our vast production, increasing, month by month, our material supply of tools of war for ourselves and Britain and China — and eventually all the democracies.

The supply of these tools will not fail — it will increase.

We have all been irked by the necessary period of preparation for this unprecedented manufacture of arms, but the needed equipment of war material is now beginning to roll in force from the assembly lines of America to the battle lines of free countries.

We intend to take further serious steps to prevent delays in the speed of our production.

With greatly increased strength, the United States and the other American Republics now chart their course in the [illegible] situation of today.

Your government knows what terms Hitler, if victorious, would impose. They are, indeed, the only terms on which he would accept a so-called "negotiated" peace.

Under those terms, Germany would literally parcel out the world -- hoisting the swastika itself over vast territories and populations, and setting up puppet governments of its own choosing, wholly subject to the will and the policy of a conqueror.

To the people of the Americas a triumphant Hitler would say as he said after the seizure of Austria, and after Munich and after the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia: "I am now completely satisfied. This is the last territorial readjustment I will seek." And he would of course add: "All we want is peace, friendship, and profitable trade relations with you in the New World. ~~Be friends with us and make some sub-profits~~"

And were any of us in the Americas so incredibly simple and forgetful as to accept those honeyed words, what would then happen?

Those in the new world who were seeking ~~the~~ profits would be urging that all that the dictatorships desired was "peace". They would oppose toil and taxes for more American armament. Meanwhile, the dictatorships would be forcing the enslaved peoples of their Old World conquests into a system they are even now organizing. With this

they would be building a naval and air force [illegible] intended to gain and hold and be master of the Atlantic and the Pacific as well.

They would fasten an economic stranglehold upon our several nations. Quislings could be found to subvert the governments in our Republics; and the Nazis would back their fifth columns with invasion if need be.

I am not speculating about this. I merely repeat what is already in the Nazi book of world conquest. They plan to treat the Latin American nations as they are now treating the Balkans. They plan to strangle the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada.

The American laborer would have to compete with slave labor in the rest of the world. Minimum wages, maximum hours? Nonsense! Wages and hours would be fixed by [illegible]. Hitler. The dignity and power and standard of living of the American worker and farmer would be gone. Trade unions would become historical relics, and collective bargaining a joke.

Farm income? What happens to all farm surpluses without any foreign trade? The American farmer would get exactly what [illegible] Hitler wanted to give. He would face obvious disaster and complete regimentation, [illegible].

Tariff walls -- Chinese walls of isolation -- would [redacted] Freedom to trade is essential to our economic life. We do not eat all we produce; we do not burn all the oil we pump; we do not use all the goods we manufacture. It would not be [redacted] wall to keep Nazi goods out; it would be a [redacted] wall [redacted] to keep us in.

The whole fabric of life as we know it -- business, [redacted] manufacturing, mining, agriculture -- all would be mangled and crippled under such a system. Yet to maintain even that crippled independence would require [redacted]; would curtail the funds we [redacted] spend on education, on housing, on public works, on flood control, on health. Instead, we should be permanently pouring our resources into armaments; and year in and year out standing [redacted] day and night watch against the destruction of our cities.

Even our right of worship, [redacted] would be threatened. The Nazi world does not recognize any God except Hitler; for the Nazis are as ruthless as the Communists in the denial of God. What place has religion which preaches the dignity of the human being, of the majesty of the human soul, in a world where moral standards are measured by treachery and bribery and Fifth Columnists? Will our children, too, wander off in search of new gods in brown uniforms?

We do not accept, and will not permit, this Nazi "shape of things to come." It will never be forced upon us, if we act in this present crisis with the wisdom and the courage which have distinguished our country in all the crises of the past.

The Nazis have taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. In Africa they have occupied Tripoli and Libya, and they are threatening Egypt, the Suez Canal, and the Near East. ~~Hitler's purpose~~ But their plans do not stop there, for the Indian Ocean ~~where would threaten military domination over Turkey, Iraq, Arabia, Persia and the Persian Gulf.~~ is the gateway to the East.

These places may seem very remote to many Americans, but remember that they constitute the gateway to Eastern Africa, to all of Southern Asia, to the East Indies, and to Australia, New Zealand and the Islands of the Pacific.

They also have the armed power at any moment to occupy Spain and Portugal, and that threat extends not only to French North Africa and the western end of the Mediterranean, but also to the Atlantic fortress of Dakar, and to the island outposts of the New World -- the Azores and Cape Verde Islands.

The Cape Verde Islands are only seven hours distance from Brazil by bomber or troop-carrying planes. They dominate shipping routes to and from the South Atlantic.

The war is approaching the brink of the western hemisphere itself. It is coming very close to home.

Control or occupation by Nazi forces of any of the islands of the Atlantic would jeopardize the immediate safety of portions of North and South America, and of the island possessions of the United States, and the ultimate safety of the continental United States itself.

Hitler's plan of world domination would be near its accomplishment today, were it not for two factors: One is the epic resistance of Britain, her colonies, and the great Dominions, fighting not only to maintain the existence of the Island of Britain, but also to hold the Near East and Africa. The other is the magnificent defense of China, which will, I have reason to believe, increase in strength. All of these, together, prevent the Axis from winning control of the seas by ships and aircraft.

The Axis Powers can never achieve their objective of world domination unless they first obtain control of the seas. This is their supreme purpose today; and to achieve it, they must capture Great Britain. They could then have power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, and no false pledges like those given by Hitler at Munich can deceive the American people ~~[illegible]~~ into believing that he and his Axis partners would not with Britain defeated, close in Atlantic and this hemisphere.

But if the Axis Powers fail to gain control of the seas, they are certainly defeated. Their dreams of world domination will then go by the board; and the criminal leaders who started this war will suffer inevitable disaster.

Both they and their people know this — and they are afraid. That is why they are risking everything they have, conducting desperate attempts to break through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed peoples on the continent of Europe, and in the end, their whole structure will break into little pieces.

We do not forget the silenced peoples. The masters of Germany — those, at least, who have not been assassinated or escaped to free soil — have marked these peoples and their children's children for slavery. But these peoples, spiritually, unvanquished! Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, the Southern Slavs — yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been enslaved — will prove to be a powerful force in crushing Nazi might.

Yes, freedom -- meaning freedom to live, and not freedom to conquer and subjugate other peoples -- depends on freedom of the seas. All of American history -- North, Central and South American history -- has been inevitably tied up with those words, "freedom of the seas."

Since 1799, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depredations of the Barbary pirates; since the War of 1812, which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since 1867, when our sea power made it possible for the Mexicans to expel the French Army of Louis Napoleon, we have striven and fought in defense of freedom of the seas -- for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of worldtrade -- and for our own safety.

During the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers, gunboats and destroyers; and this type of convoy was effective against submarines. In this second World War, however, the problem is greater, because the attack on the freedom of the seas is now fourfold: first -- the improved submarine; second -- the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or

hit-and-run battleship; third -- the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base; and fourth -- the destruction of merchant ships, in those ports of the world which are accessible to bombing attack.

The battle of the Atlantic now extends from the icy waters of the North Pole to the frozen continent of the Antarctic. Throughout this huge area, there have been sinkings of merchant ships in alarming and increasing numbers by Nazi raiders or submarines. There have been sinkings even of ships carrying neutral flags. There have been sinkings in the South Atlantic, off West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands; between the Azores and the islands off the American coast; and between Greenland and Iceland. Great numbers of these sinkings have been actually within the waters of the Western Hemisphere.

The blunt truth is this -- and I reveal this with the full knowledge of the British government: the present rate of Nazi sinkings of merchant ships is more than three times as high as the capacity of British shipyards to replace them; it is more than twice the output of merchant ships today. We can answer the peril by two simultaneous measures: first by speeding up and increasing our great shipbuilding program; and second, by helping to cut down the losses on the high seas.

British and American combined

attacks on shipping off the very shores of land we are determined to defend

~~does~~ present an actual military danger to the Americas.

And that danger has recently been heavily underlined by the presence in Western Hemisphere waters of a Nazi battleship of great striking power.

Most of the supplies for Britain go by a northerly route, which comes close to Greenland and the nearby island of Iceland. Germany's heaviest attack is on that route. Nazi occupation of Iceland or bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our continental shores; because they are stepping-stones to Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the northern United States, including the great industrial centers of the north, east and the middle west.

Equally, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, if occupied or controlled by Germany, would directly endanger the freedom of the mid-Atlantic and our own physical safety. ~~In~~ German ~~hands~~ under domination they would become bases for submarines, warships, and airplanes raiding the waters which lie immediately off our own coasts and attacking the shipping in the South Atlantic. They would provide a springboard for actual attack against the integrity and independence of Brazil and her neighboring republics.

I have said on many occasions that the United States is mustering its men and its resources only for purposes of defense — only to repel attack. I repeat that statement now. But we must be realistic when we use the word "attack"; we have to relate it to the lightning speed of modern warfare.

Some people seem to think that we are not attacked until bombs actually drop on New York or San Francisco or New Orleans or Chicago. But they are simply shutting their eyes to the lesson we must learn from the fate of every nation that the Nazis have conquered.

The attack on Czechoslovakia began with the conquest of Austria. The attack on Norway began with the occupation of Denmark. The attack on Greece ~~was begun~~ began with occupation of Albania and Bulgaria. The attack on the Suez Canal ~~was begun~~ began with the invasion of the Balkans and North Africa. The attack on the United States ~~will~~ can begin with the ~~occupation of any~~ domination of some base which menaces our security -- north or south.

Nobody can foretell tonight just when the acts of the dictators will ripen into attack on this hemisphere and us. But we know enough by now to realize that it would be suicide to wait until they are in our front yard.

When your enemy comes at you in a tank or a bombing plane -- if you hold your fire until you see the whites of his eyes, you will never know what hit you. Our Bunker Hill of tomorrow may be several thousand miles from Boston.

Any ~~high school student~~ child with an Atlas and a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war knows that it is stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack.

Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy which will keep such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place. Nearly a century ago a famous Confederate General laid down a cardinal principle of all strategy when he said: "Git thar fustest with the mostest."

We have, accordingly, extended our patrol in north and south Atlantic waters. We are steadily adding more and more ships and planes to that patrol. It is well known that the strength of the Atlantic Fleet has been greatly increased during the past year, and is constantly being built up.

These ships warn of the presence of attacking raiders, on the sea, under the sea and above the sea. The danger from these raiders is greatly lessened if their location is definitely known. We are thus being forewarned, and we shall be on our guard against efforts to establish Nazi bases closer to our Hemisphere.

The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple self-preservation, to make stern choices. It does not make sense, for instance, to say "I believe in the defense of all the Western Hemisphere" and in the next breath to say "I will not fight for that defense until the enemy has landed on our shores." And if we believe in the independence and integrity of the Americas, we must be willing to fight to defend it just as much as we would to fight for the safety of our own homes.

It is time for us to realize that the safety of American homes even in the centre of our country has a definite relationship to the continued safety of homes in Nova Scotia or Trinidad or Brazil.

Our national policy today is therefore this:

First, we shall actively resist wherever necessary and with all our resources every attempt by Hitler to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere, or to threaten it. We shall actively resist ~~with all our resources~~ his every attempt to gain control of the seas. We insist upon the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used and would be used as a base of attack against the Americas.

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The delivery of needed supplies to Britain is imperative. This can be done; it must be done; it will be done.

To the other American nations -- twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada ~~-- and to the people of the new world friends under the British flag and the French flag and the Dutch flag and the Danish flag~~, I say this: The United States does not merely propose these purposes, but is actively engaged today in carrying them out. ~~We have and are creating adequate force to do these things.~~

I say to them further: you may disregard those few citizens of the United States who ~~pretend~~ control that we cannot act, or that we are divided. ~~Every nation has its minority group; this one makes much noise, but has little substance.~~

There are those timid ones who say that we must preserve peace at any price lest we lose our liberties forever. To them I say! Never in the history of the world has a nation lost its democracy by a successful struggle to defend its democracy. ~~And we are ourselves, and we help Britain stand off the aggressor, so that we will be strong enough to defend those liberties whenever and wherever we have to defend them.~~ We must not be defeated by the fear of the very danger which we are preparing to resist. Our freedom has shown its ability to survive war but it would never survive surrender. "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself"

~~On this minority~~ There is, of course, a small group of sincere, patriotic, men and women whose real passion for peace has shut their eyes to the ugly realities of international banditry and the need to resist it at all costs. I am sure they are embarrassed by the sinister support they are receiving from the enemies of democracy in our midst — the pundists, and Fascists, and Communists, and every group devoted to bigotry and racial and religious intolerance. It is no mere coincidence that all the arguments put forward by these enemies of democracy — all their attempts to confuse and divide our people and to destroy public confidence in our government — all their defeatist forebodings that Britain and democracy are already beaten — all their selfish promises that we can "do business" with Hitler — all of these are but echoes of the words that have been poured out from the Axis bureaus of propaganda. Those same words have been used before in other countries — to scare them, to divide them, to soften them up. Invariably, those same words have formed the advance guard of physical attack.

Your government has the right to expect of all citizens that they take loyal part in the common work of our common defense — take loyal part from this moment forward.

I have recently set up the machinery for civilian defense. It will rapidly organize, locality by locality. ~~It will call for~~

~~[illegible]~~ It will also depend on the organized effort of men and women, ~~[illegible]~~. All will have responsibilities to fulfill.

~~[illegible]~~ Defense today means more than merely fighting. It means morale; civilian as well as military; it means using every available resource; it means enlarging every useful plant. It means the use of a greater American common sense in discarding rumor and distorted statement. It means watching out against racketeers and fifth columnists, who are the incendiary bombs of the moment. It means that we must give to the America of the future an even better break than that which America has already given us. It means rolling up a flood of materials, and production, and transportation, and scientific progress, and military strength — so strong and so vital that it moves like a tidal wave towards the forces of destruction and slavery and intimidation and greed — so vast that it will engulf these temporary threats of world tyranny.

All of us know that we have made very great social progress in recent years. We propose to maintain that progress and strengthen it. When the nation is threatened from without, however, as it is today, the actual production and transportation of the machinery of

defense must not be interrupted by disputes between capital and capital, labor and labor, or capital and labor. The future of all free enterprise — of capital and labor alike — is at stake.

This is no time for capital to make, or be allowed to retain, excess profits. ~~The industrial plants of the country must forego their privilege of making larger gains by manufacturing private articles of national defense.~~ All plants must accept their fair share of defense production so that, when peace is restored, none of them will have fallen relatively behind in their own particular line.

A nation-wide machinery for mediation of industrial disputes has been set up. The American people expect it to be used promptly, and whenever the Defense Mediation Board thinks it necessary — and without stoppage of work. They expect that its impartial recommendations will be followed both by capital and by labor. In this national emergency, it is abundantly clear that the nation as a whole cannot, in simple self-interest, allow the output of essential war weapons to lag or stop.

This is a Government by majority rule; and there is no reasonable question but the overwhelming majority of our citizens expect their Government to see that the tools of

defense are built; and your Government is determined to use all of its power to express that will of its people and prevent interference with the production of materials essential to our nation's defense and security.

Today, the whole world is divided between human slavery and human freedom - between pagan brutality and the christian ideal.

We choose human freedom -- which is the christian ideal.

No one of us can waver for a moment in his courage or his faith.

We will not accept a Hitler dominated world. And we will not accept a world, like the post-war world of the 1920's, in which the seeds of Hitlerism can again be planted and allowed to grow.

We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression -- freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- freedom from want -- and freedom from fear.

Is such a world impossible of attainment?

Then so were Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation and every other milestone in human progress -- yet they were attained.

We were weak when we established our independence, but we successfully stood off tyrants, powerful in their day, who are now lost in the dust of history.

Odds meant nothing to us then. Shall we now, with all our potential strength, hesitate to take every single measure necessary to maintain our American liberties?

Our people and our government will not hesitate to meet that challenge.

As the President of a united and determined people, I say solemnly:

We will decide for ourselves in the Americas whether, and when, and where, our American interests are attacked, or our security threatened.

We are placing our armed forces in strategic military positions.

We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel ~~[illegible]~~ attack.

We have pledged material support to the other democracies of the world -- and we will fulfill that pledge.

We reassert the ancient American doctrine of freedom of the seas.

We reassert the solidarity of the twenty-one American Republics and the Dominion of Canada in the preservation of the independence of the Hemisphere.

~~We will for work, for sacrifice, and for unity.~~

We assert our abiding faith in the viability of our Constitutional republic as a perpetual home of freedom, of tolerance, and of devotion to the word of God.

Therefore, with profound consciousness of my responsibilities to my countrymen and to my country's cause, I ~~shall issue tomorrow~~ a

have tonight issued a proclamation that a total national emergency exists and requires the strengthening of our defense to the extreme limit of our national power and authority.

~~By virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, I shall authorize and direct that each and every necessary measure be taken in furtherance of defense and in the maintenance and perpetuation of the spirit of liberty throughout the world.~~

The nation will expect all individuals and all groups to play their full parts, without stint, and without selfishness, and without doubt that our democracy will triumphantly survive.

I repeat the words of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the little band of patriots, fighting long ago against overwhelming odds, but certain, as are we, of ultimate victory: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor".

DRAFT NO. 9

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

MAY 27, 1941

I am speaking tonight from the White House in the presence of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, the Canadian Minister, and their families. The members of this Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics in Washington. It is appropriate that I do this. Now, as never before, the unity of the American Republics is of supreme importance to each and every one of us and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. Our future independence is bound up with the future independence of each and every one all of our sister Republics.

The pressing problems that confront us are military problems. We cannot afford to approach them from the point of view of wishful thinkers or sentimentalists. What we face is cold, hard fact.

The first and fundamental fact is that what started as a European war has developed, as the Nazis always intended it should develop, into a world war for world domination.

Adolf Hitler never considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. European conquest was but a step toward ultimate goals in all the other continents. It is unmistakably apparent to all of us that, unless the advance of Hitlerism is forcibly checked now, the Western Hemisphere will be within range of the Nazi weapons of destruction.

For our own defense we have accordingly undertaken certain obviously necessary measures:

First, we joined in concluding a series of agreements with all the other American Republics. This further solidified our hemisphere against the common danger.

And then, a year ago, we launched and are successfully carrying out the largest armament production program we have ever undertaken.

We have added substantially to our splendid Navy, and we have mustered our manpower to build up a new Army which is already worthy of the highest traditions of our military service.

We instituted a policy of aid for the democracies -- the nations which have fought for the continuation of human liberties.

This policy had its origin in the first month of the war, when I urged upon the Congress repeal of the arms embargo provisions in the Neutrality Law. In that message of September, 1939, I said, "I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead."

In the subsequent months, the shadows deepened and lengthened. And the night spread over Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, and France.

In June, 1940, Britain stood alone, faced by the same machine of terror which had overwhelmed her allies. Our Government rushed arms to meet her desperate needs.

In September, 1940, an agreement was completed with Great Britain for the trade of fifty destroyers for eight important off-shore bases.

In March, 1941, the Congress passed the Lend-Lease Bill and an appropriation of seven billion dollars to implement it. This law realistically provided for material aid "for the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States."

Our whole program of aid for the democracies has been based on hard-headed concern for our own security and for the kind of safe and civilized world in which we wish to live. Every dollar of material we send helps to keep the dictators away from our own hemisphere. Every day that they are held off gives us time to build more guns and tanks and planes and ships.

We have made no pretense about our own self-interest in this aid. Great Britain understands it -- and so does Nazi Germany.

And now -- after a year -- Britain still fights gallantly, on a "far-flung battle line". We have doubled and redoubled our vast production, increasing, month by month, our material supply of tools of war for ourselves and Britain and China -- and eventually for all the democracies.

The supply of these tools will not fail -- it will increase.

With greatly ~~increased~~ augmented strength, the United States and the other American Republics now chart their course in the situation of today.

Your government knows what terms Hitler, if victorious, would impose. They are, indeed, the only terms on which he would accept a so-called "negotiated" peace.

Under those terms, Germany would literally parcel out the world -- hoisting the swastika itself over vast territories and populations, and setting up puppet governments of its own choosing, wholly subject to the will and the policy of a conqueror.

To the people of the Americas, a triumphant Hitler would say, as he said after the seizure of Austria, and after Munich, and after the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia: "I am now ~~c~~completely satisfied. This is the last territorial readjustment I will seek". And he would of course add: "All we want is peace, friendship, and profitable trade relations with you in the New World".

And were any of us in the Americas so incredibly simple and forgetful as to accept those honeyed words, what would then happen?

Those in the new world who were seeking profits would be urging that all that the dictatorships desired was "peace". They would oppose toil and taxes for more American armament. Meanwhile, the dictatorships would be forcing the enslaved peoples of their Old World conquests into a system they are even ~~set~~ now organizing. With this they would be building to build a naval and air force intended to gain and hold and be master of the Atlantic and the Pacific as well.

They would fasten an economic stranglehold upon our several nations. Quislings would be found to subvert the governments in our Republics; and the Nazis would back their fifth columns with invasion, if need be necessary.

I am not speculating about all this. I merely repeat what is already in the Nazi book of world conquest. They plan to treat the Latin American nations as they are now treating the Balkans. They plan then to strangle the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada.

The American laborer would have to compete with slave labor in the rest of the world. Minimum wages, maximum hours? Nonsense! Wages and hours would be fixed by Hitler. The

dignity and power and standard of living of the American worker and farmer would be gone. Trade unions would become historical relics, and collective bargaining a joke.

Farm income? What happens to all farm surpluses without any foreign trade? The American farmer would get for his products exactly what Hitler wanted to give. He would face obvious disaster and complete regimentation.

Tariff walls -- Chinese walls of isolation -- would be futile. Freedom to trade is essential to our economic life. We do not eat all the food we can produce; we do not burn all the oil we can pump; we do not use all the goods we can manufacture. ~~It~~ Any tariff wall would not be an American wall to keep Nazi goods out ; it would be a Nazi wall to keep us in.

The whole fabric of working life as we know it -- business, manufacturing, mining, agriculture -- all would be mangled and crippled under such a system. Yet to maintain even that crippled independence would require permanent conscription of our manpower; it would curtail the funds we could spend on education, on housing, on public works, on flood control, on health. Instead, we should be permanently pouring our resources into armaments; and, year in and year out, standing day and night watch

against the destruction of our cities.

Even our right of worship would be threatened. The Nazi world does not recognize any God except Hitler; for the Nazis are as ruthless as the Communists in the denial of God. What place has religion which preaches the dignity of the human being, of the majesty of the human soul, in a world where moral standards are measured by treachery and bribery and Fifth Columnists? Will our children, too, wander off, tense-stepping in search of new gods, in brown uniforms?

We do not accept, and will not permit, this Nazi "shape of things to come." It will never be forced upon us, if we act in this present crisis with the wisdom and the courage which have distinguished our country in all the crises of the past.

The Nazis have taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. In Africa they have occupied Tripoli and Libya, and they are threatening Egypt, the Suez Canal, and the Near East. But their plans do not stop there, for the Indian Ocean is the gateway to the East.

They also have the armed power at any moment to occupy Spain and Portugal; and that threat extends not only to French North Africa and the western end of the Mediterranean, but also to the Atlantic fortress of Dakar, and to the island outposts of the New World -- the Azores and Cape Verde Islands.

The Cape Verde Islands are only seven hours distance from Brazil by bomber or troop-carrying planes. They dominate shipping routes to and from the South Atlantic.

The war is approaching the brink of the Western Hemisphere itself. It is coming very close to home.

Control or occupation by Nazi forces of any of the islands of the Atlantic would jeopardize the immediate safety of portions of North and South America, and of the island possessions of the United States, and of the ultimate safety of the continental United States itself.

Hitler's plan of world domination would be near its accomplishment today, were it not for two factors: One is the epic resistance of Britain, her colonies, and the great Dominions, fighting not only to maintain the existence of the Island of Britain, but also to hold the Near East and Africa. The other is the magnificent defense of China,

which will, I have reason to believe, increase in strength. All of these, together, prevent the Axis from winning control of the seas by ships and aircraft.

The Axis Powers can never achieve their objective of world domination unless they first obtain control of the seas. This is their supreme purpose today; and to achieve it, they must capture Great Britain.

They could then have the power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, and no false pledges like those given by Hitler at Munich, can deceive the American people into believing that he and his Axis partners would not, with Britain defeated, close in relentlessly on this hemisphere.

But if the Axis Powers fail to gain control of the seas, they are certainly defeated. Their dreams of world domination will then go by the board; and the criminal leaders who started this war will suffer inevitable disaster.

Both they and their people know this -- and they are afraid. That is why they are risking everything they have, conducting desperate attempts to break through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed peoples on the continent of Europe; and in the end, their whole structure will break into little pieces.

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To the other American nations -- twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada -- I say this: The United States does not merely propose these purposes, but is actively engaged today in carrying them out.

I say to them further: you may disregard those few citizens of the United States who contend that we are disunited and cannot act. ~~or that we are divided~~.

There are ~~those~~ some timid ones among us who say that we must preserve peace at any price -- lest we lose our liberties forever. To them I say: never in the history of the world has a nation lost its democracy by a successful struggle to defend its democracy. We must not be defeated by the fear of the very danger which we are preparing to resist. Our freedom has shown its ability to survive war, but it would never survive surrender. "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself".

There is, of course, a small group of sincere, patriotic men and women whose real passion for peace has shut their eyes to the ugly realities of international banditry and to the need to resist it at all costs. I am sure they are

embarrassed by the sinister support they are receiving from the enemies of democracy in our midst -- the Bundists, and Fascists, and Communists, and every group devoted to bigotry and racial and religious intolerance. It is no mere coincidence that all the arguments put forward by these enemies of democracy -- all their attempts to confuse and divide our people and to destroy public confidence in our government -- all their defeatist forebodings that Britain and democracy are already beaten -- all their selfish promises that we can "do business" with Hitler -- all of these are but echoes of the words that have been poured out from the Axis bureaus of propaganda. Those same words have been used before in other countries -- to scare them, to divide them, to soften them up. Invariably, those same words have formed the advance guard of physical attack.

Your government has the right to expect of all citizens that they take loyal part in the common work of our common defense -- take loyal part from this moment forward.

I have recently set up the machinery for civilian defense. It will rapidly organize, locality by locality. It will depend on the organized effort of men and women everywhere. All will have responsibilities to fulfill.

Defense today means more than merely fighting. It means morale, civilian as well as military; it means using every available resource; it means enlarging every useful plant. It means the use of a greater American common sense in discarding rumor and distorted statement. It means recognizing, for what they are, racketeers and fifth columnists, who are the incendiary bombs of the moment.

All of us know that we have made very great social progress in recent years. We propose to maintain that progress and strengthen it. When the nation is threatened from without, however, as it is today, the actual production and transportation of the machinery of defense must not be interrupted by disputes between capital and capital, labor and labor, or capital and labor. The future of all free enterprise -- of capital and labor alike -- is at stake.

This is no time for capital to make, or be allowed to retain, excess profits. Articles of defense must have undisputed right of way in every industrial plant in the country.

A nation-wide machinery for conciliation and mediation of industrial disputes has been set up. That machinery must be used promptly -- and without stoppage of work. Collective bargaining will be retained, but the American people expect that impartial recommendations of ~~these~~ our government services will be followed both by capital and by labor.

The overwhelming majority of our citizens expect their government to see that the tools of defense are built; and for the very purpose of preserving the democratic safeguards of both labor and management, ~~your~~ this government is determined to use all of its power to express ~~that~~ the will of its people, and to prevent interference with the production of materials essential to our nation's ~~defense and~~ security.

Today the whole world is divided between human slavery and human freedom -- between pagan brutality and the Christian ideal.

We choose human freedom -- which is the Christian ideal.

No one of us can waver for a moment in his courage or his faith.

We will not accept a Hitler dominated world. And we will not accept a world, like the post-war world of the 1920's, in which the seeds of Hitlerism can again be planted and allowed to grow.

We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression -- freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- freedom from want -- and freedom from fear.

Is such a world impossible of attainment?

~~Then as were~~ Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation and every other milestone in human progress, -- all were ideals which seemed impossible of attainment — yet they were attained.

As a military force, We were weak when we established our independence, but we successfully stood off tyrants, powerful in their day, who are now lost in the dust of history.

Odds meant nothing to us then. Shall we now, with all our potential strength, hesitate to take every single measure necessary to maintain our American liberties?

Our people and our government will not hesitate to meet that challenge.

As the President of a united and determined people, I say solemnly:

We have pledged material support to the other democracies of the world -- and we will fulfill that pledge.

We reassert the ancient American doctrine of freedom of the seas.

We reassert the solidarity of the twenty-one American Republics and the Dominion of Canada in the preservation of the independence of the Hemisphere.

We in the Americas will decide for ourselves whether, and when, and where, our American interests are attacked or our security threatened.

We are placing our armed forces in strategic military position.

We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel attack.

We reassert our abiding faith in the vitality of our constitutional republic as a perpetual home of freedom,

of tolerance, and of devotion to the word of God.

Therefore, with profound consciousness of my responsibilities to my countrymen and to my country's cause, I have tonight issued a proclamation that an unlimited national emergency exists and requires the strengthening of our defense to the extreme limit of our national power and authority.

The nation will expect all individuals and all groups to play their full parts, without stint, and without selfishness, and without doubt that our democracy will triumphantly survive.

I repeat the words of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence -- that little band of patriots, fighting long ago against overwhelming odds, but certain, as are we, of ultimate victory: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor".

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STATEMENTS FILE

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MAY 27, 1941

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CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

My fellow Americans of all the Americas; my friends:

I am speaking tonight from the White House in the presence of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, the Canadian Minister, and their families. The members of this Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics in Washington. It is appropriate that I do this, for now, as never before, the unity of the American Republics is of supreme importance to each and every one of us and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. Our future independence is bound up with the future independence of all of our sister Republics. — our future

The pressing problems that confront us are military and naval problems. We cannot afford to approach them from the point of view of wishful thinkers or sentimentalists. That we face is cold, hard fact.

The first and fundamental fact is that what started as a European war has developed, as the Nazis always intended it should develop, into a world war for world domination.

Adolf Hitler never considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. European conquest was but a step toward ultimate goals in all the other continents. It is unmistakably apparent to all of us that, unless the advance of Hitlerism is forcibly checked now, the Western Hemisphere will be within range of the Nazi weapons of destruction.

For our own defense we have accordingly undertaken certain ~~obviously~~ obvious necessary measures:

First, we have joined in concluding a series of agreements with all the other American Republics. This further solidified our hemisphere against the common danger.

And then, a year ago, we launched, and are successfully carrying out, the largest armament production program we have ever undertaken.

We have added substantially to our splendid Navy, and we have mustered our manpower to build up a new Army which is already worthy of the highest traditions of our military service.

We instituted a policy of aid for the democracies -- the nations which have fought for the continuation of human liberties.

This policy had its origin in the first month of the war, when I urged upon the Congress repeal of the arms embargo provisions in the Neutrality Law. In that message of September, 1939, I said, "I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead".

In the subsequent months, the shadows ~~deepened~~ did deepen and ~~lengthened~~ lengthen. And the night spread over Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, and France.

In June, 1940, Britain stood alone, faced by the same machine of terror which had overwhelmed her allies. Our Government rushed arms to meet her desperate needs.

(no change) [redacted] In September, 1940, an agreement was completed with Great Britain for the trade of fifty destroyers for eight important off-shore bases.

And ~~in~~ in March, 1941, this year the Congress passed the Lend-Lease Bill and an appropriation of seven billion dollars to implement it. This law realistically provided for material aid "for the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States".

Our whole program of aid for the democracies has been based on hard-headed concern for our own security and for the kind of safe and civilized world in which we wish to live. Every dollar of material that we send helps to keep the dictators away from our own hemisphere. And every day that they are held off gives us time to build more guns and tanks and planes and ships.

We have made no pretense about our own self-interest in this aid. Great Britain understands it — and so does Nazi Germany.

And now -- after a year -- Britain still fights gallantly, on a "far-flung battle line". We have doubled and redoubled our vast production, increasing, month by month, our material supply of the tools of war for ourselves and Britain and China — and eventually for all the democracies.

The supply of these tools will not fail — it will increase.

With greatly augmented strength, the United States and the other American Republics now chart their course in the situation of today.

Your Government knows what terms Hitler, if victorious, would impose. They are, indeed, the only terms on which he would accept a so-called "negotiated" peace.

And, Under those terms, Germany would literally parcel out the world -- hoisting the swastika itself over vast territories and populations, and setting up puppet governments of its own choosing, wholly subject to the will and the policy of a conqueror.

To the people of the Americas, a triumphant Hitler would say, as he said after the seizure of Austria, and after Munich, and after the seizure of Czechoslovakia: "I am now completely satisfied. This is the last territorial readjustment I will seek". And he would of course add: "All we want is peace, and friendship, and profitable trade relations with you in the New World".

as he said

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~~And~~ Were any of us in the Americas so incredibly simple and forgetful as to accept these honeyed words, what would then happen?

Those in the New World who were seeking profits would be urging that all that the dictatorships desired was "peace". They would oppose toil and taxes for more American armament. And Meanwhile, the dictatorships would be forcing the enslaved peoples of their Old World conquests into a system they are ~~even now organizing~~ -- to build a naval and air force intended to gain and hold and be master of the Atlantic and the Pacific as well.

They would fasten an economic stranglehold upon our several nations. Quislings would be found to subvert the governments in our Republics; and the Nazis would back their fifth columns with invasion, if necessary.

No, I am not speculating about all this. I merely repeat what is already in the Nazi book of world conquest. They plan to treat the Latin American nations as they are now treating the Balkans. They plan then to strangle the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada.

The American laborer would have to compete with slave labor in the rest of the world. Minimum wages, maximum hours? Nonsense! Wages and hours ~~would be~~ fixed by Hitler. The dignity and power and standard of living of the American worker and farmer would be gone. Trade unions would become historic relics, and collective bargaining a joke.

Farm income? What happens to all farm surpluses without any foreign trade? The American farmer would get for his products exactly what Hitler wanted to give. ~~He would~~ The farmer would face obvious disaster and complete regimentation.

Tariff walls - Chinese walls of isolation -- would be futile. Freedom to trade is essential to our economic life. We do not eat all the food we ~~can~~ produce; and we do not burn all the oil we can pump; we do not use all the goods we can manufacture. It would not be an American wall to keep Nazi goods out; it would be a Nazi wall to keep us in.

The whole fabric of working life as we know it -- business and manufacturing, mining and agriculture -- all would be mangled and crippled under such a system. Yet to maintain even that crippled independence would require permanent conscription of our manpower; it would curtail the funds we could spend on education, on housing, on public works, on flood control, on health. Instead, we should be permanently pouring our resources into armaments; and, year in and year out, standing day and night watch against the destruction of our cities.

Yes, ~~Even~~ even our right of worship would be threatened. The Nazi world does not recognize any God except Hitler; for the Nazis are as ruthless as the Communists in the denial of God. What place has religion which preaches the dignity of the human being, of the majesty of the human soul, in a world where moral standards are measured by treachery and bribery and Fifth Columnists? Will our children, too, wander off, goose-stepping in search of new gods?

We do not accept, ~~and~~ nor will not permit, this Nazi "shape of things to come". It will never be forced upon us, if we act in this present crisis with the wisdom and the courage which have distinguished our country in all the crises of the past.

Today, the ~~The~~ Nazis have taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. In Africa they have occupied Tripoli and Libya, and they are threatening Egypt, the Suez Canal, and the Near East. But their plans do not stop there, for the Indian Ocean is the gateway to the ~~West~~. farther East.

They also have the armed power at any moment to occupy Spain and Portugal; and that threat extends not only to French North Africa and the western end of the Mediterranean Sea, it extends → ~~but~~ also to the Atlantic fortress of Dakar, and to the island outposts of the New World — the Azores and Cape Verde Islands.

Yes, these ~~The~~ Cape Verde Islands are only seven hours distance from Brazil by bomber or troop-carrying planes. They dominate shipping routes to and from the South Atlantic.

The war is approaching the brink of the Western Hemisphere itself. It is coming very close to home.

Control or occupation by Nazi forces of any of the islands of the Atlantic would jeopardize the immediate safety of portions of North and South America, and of the island possessions of the United States, and therefore of the ultimate safety of the continental United States itself.

Hitler's plan of world domination would be near its accomplishment today, were it not for two factors: One is the epic resistance of Britain, her colonies, and the great Dominions, fighting not only to maintain the existence of the Island of Britain, but also to hold the Near East and Africa. The other is the magnificent defense of China, which will, I have reason to believe, increase in strength. And all of these, together, are preventing ~~prevent~~ the Axis from winning control of the seas by ships and aircraft.

The Axis Powers can never achieve their objective of world domination unless they first obtain control of the seas. That ~~This~~ is their supreme purpose today; and to achieve it, they must capture Great Britain.

They could then have the power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, ~~and~~ no false pledges like those given by Hitler at Munich, can deceive the American people into believing that he and his Axis partners would not, with Britain defeated, close in relentlessly on this hemisphere of ours.

But if the Axis Powers fail to gain control of the seas, then they are certainly defeated. Their dreams of world domination will then go by the board; and the criminal leaders who started this war will suffer inevitable disaster.

Both they and their people know this — and they and their people are afraid. That is why they are risking everything they have, conducting desperate attempts to break through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed peoples on the Continent of Europe; and in the end, their whole structure will break into little pieces. And let us remember, the wider the Nazi land effort, the greater ~~the danger~~. is their ultimate danger.

We do not forget the silenced peoples. The masters of Germany -- those, at least, who have not been assassinated or escaped to free soil — have marked these silenced peoples and their children's children for slavery. But those people -- spiritually unconquered: Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, Southern Slavs — yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been enslaved — will prove to be a powerful force in ~~disrupting~~ disruption of the Nazi system. the final

~~Yes.~~ All freedom -- meaning freedom to live, and not freedom to conquer and subjugate other peoples -- depends on freedom of the seas. All of American history -- North, Central and South American history -- has been inevitably tied up with these words, "freedom of the seas".

Since 1799, 142 years ago, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depredations of the Barbary pirates; since the War of 1812, which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since 1867, when our sea power made it possible for the Mexicans to expel the French Army of Louis Napoleon, we have striven and fought in defense of freedom of the seas -- freedom of the seas for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister Republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of world trade -- and for our own safety.

During the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers, and gunboats and destroyers; and ~~this~~ that type, called a convoy, was effective against submarines. In this second World War, however, the problem It's different is greater, because the attack on the freedom of the seas is now fourfold: first -- the improved submarine; second -- the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or the hit-and-run battleship; third, -- the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base; and fourth -- the destruction of merchant ships in those ports of the world that ~~which~~ are accessible to bombing attack.

The battle of the Atlantic now extends from the icy waters of the North Pole to the frozen continent of the Antarctic. Throughout this huge area, there have been sinkings of merchant ships in alarming and increasing numbers by Nazi raiders or submarines. There have been sinkings even of ships carrying neutral flags. There have been sinkings in the South Atlantic, off West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands; between the Azores and the islands off the American coast; and between Greenland and Iceland. Great numbers of these sinkings have been actually within the waters of the Western Hemisphere itself.

The blunt truth ~~is~~ of this seems to be this -- and I reveal this with the full knowledge of the British government: the present rate of Nazi sinkings of merchant ships is more than three times as high as the capacity of British shipyards to replace them; it is more than twice the combined British and American output of merchant ships today.

We can answer this peril by two simultaneous measures: first, by speeding up and increasing our great shipbuilding program; and second, by helping to cut down the losses on the high seas.

Attacks on shipping off the very shores of land which we are determined to protect, present an actual military danger to the Americas. And that danger has recently been heavily underlined by the presence in Western Hemisphere waters of a Nazi battleship of great striking power.

You remember that ~~Most~~ of the supplies for Britain go by a northerly route, which comes close to Greenland and the nearby island of Iceland. Germany's heaviest attack is on that route. Nazi occupation of Iceland or bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our own continental shores; because ~~they~~ those places are stepping-stones to Labrador, and Newfoundland, or Nova Scotia, ~~and~~ yes, to the northern United States, including the great industrial centers of the north, the east and the middle west.

Equally, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, if occupied or controlled by Germany, would directly endanger the freedom of the Atlantic and our own physical safety. American Under German domination, these would become bases for submarines, warships, and airplanes raiding the waters that lie immediately off our own coasts and attacking the shipping in the South Atlantic. They would provide a springboard for actual attack against the integrity and the independence of Brazil and her neighboring Republics.

I have said on many occasions that the United States is austering its men and its resources only for purposes of defense -- only to repel attack. I repeat that statement now. But we must be realistic when we use the word "attack"; we have to relate it to the lightning speed of modern warfare.

Some people seem to think that we are not attacked until bombs actually drop in the streets of New York or San Francisco or New Orleans or Chicago. But they are simply shutting their eyes to the lesson that we must learn from the fate of every nation that the Nazis have conquered.

The attack on Czechoslovakia began with the conquest of Austria. The attack on Norway began with the occupation of Denmark. The attack on Greece began with occupation of Albania and Bulgaria. The attack on the Suez Canal began with the invasion of the Balkans and North Africa. The attack on the United States can begin with the domination of any base which menaces our security -- north or south.

Nobody can foretell tonight just when the acts of the dictators will ripen into attack on this hemisphere and us. But we know enough by now to realize that it would be suicide to wait until they are in our front yard.

When your enemy comes at you in a tank or a bombing plane, if you hold your fire until you see the whites of his eyes, you will never know what hit you. Our Bunker Hill of tomorrow may be several thousand miles from Boston, Massachusetts.

Anyone with an Atlas, and a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war, knows that it is stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack. Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy that will prevent such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place.

We have, accordingly, extended our patrol in north and south Atlantic waters. We are steadily adding more and more ships and planes to that patrol. It is well known that the strength of the Atlantic Fleet has been greatly increased during the past year, and that it is constantly being built up.

These ships and planes warn of the presence of attacking raiders, on the sea, under the sea, and above the sea. The danger from these raiders is greatly lessened if their location is definitely known. We are thus being forewarned, and we shall be on our guard against efforts to establish Nazi bases closer to our Hemisphere.

The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple (self) preservation, to make stern choices. It does not make sense, for instance, to say, "I believe in the defense of all the Western Hemisphere", and in the next breath to say, "I will not fight for that defense until the enemy has landed on our shores". If we believe in the independence and the integrity of the Americas, we must be willing to fight, to defend them just as much as we would fight for the safety of our own homes.

It is time for us to realize that the safety of American homes even in the center of our country has a very definite relationship to the continued safety of homes in Nova Scotia or Trinidad or Brazil.

Our national policy today, therefore, is this:

First, we shall actively resist wherever necessary, and with all our resources, every attempt by Hitler to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere, or to threaten it. We shall actively resist his every attempt to gain control of the seas. We insist upon the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used or ~~and~~ would be used as a base of attack against the Americas.

Secondly ~~Second~~, from the point of view of strict naval and military necessity, we shall give every possible assistance to Britain and to all who, with Britain, are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent with force of arms. Our patrols are helping now to insure delivery of the needed supplies to Britain. All additional measures necessary to deliver the goods will be taken. Any and all further methods or combination of methods, which can or should be utilized, are being devised by our military and naval technicians, who, with me, will work out and put into effect such new and additional safeguards as may be needed.

I say that the delivery of needed supplies to Britain is imperative. This can be done; it must be done; and it will be done.

I say that

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And I say to them further: you may disregard those few citizens of the United States who contend that we are disunited and cannot act.

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We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression -- freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- freedom from want -- and freedom from ~~terrorism~~ terror.

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Our people and our Government will not hesitate to meet that challenge.

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We reassert the ancient American doctrine of freedom of the seas.

We reassert the solidarity of the twenty-one American Republics and the Dominion of Canada in the preservation of the independence of the hemisphere.

We have pledged material support to the other democracies of the world -- and we will fulfill that pledge.

We in the Americas will decide for ourselves whether, and when, and where, our American interests are attacked or our security threatened.

We are placing our armed forces in strategic military position.

We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel attack.

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Therefore, with profound consciousness of my responsibilities to my countrymen and to my country's cause, I have tonight issued a proclamation that an unlimited national emergency exists and requires the strengthening of our defense to the extreme limit of our national power and authority.

The nation will expect all individuals and all groups to play their full parts, without stint, and without selfishness, and without doubt that our democracy will triumphantly survive.

I repeat the words of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence -- that little band of patriots, fighting long ago against overwhelming odds, but certain, as ~~are we~~, we are now, of ultimate victory: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor". (Warm applause)

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But if the Axis Powers fail to gain control of the seas, they are certainly defeated. Their dreams of world domination will then go by the board; and the criminal leaders who started this war will suffer inevitable disaster.

Both they and their people know this -- and they are afraid. That is why they are risking everything they have, conducting desperate attempts to break through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed peoples on the Continent of Europe; and in the end, their whole structure will break into little pieces. And the wider the Nazi land effort, the greater the danger.

We do not forget the silenced peoples. The masters of Germany -- those, at least, who have not been assassinated or escaped to free soil -- have marked these peoples and their children's children for slavery. But those people -- spiritually unconquered: Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, Southern Slavs -- yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been enslaved -- will prove to be a powerful force in disrupting the Nazi system.

~~Now~~ all freedom -- meaning freedom to live, and not freedom to conquer and subjugate other peoples -- depends on freedom of the seas. All of American history -- North, Central and South American history -- has been inevitably tied up with these words, "freedom of the seas".

Since 1799, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1815 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depredations of the Barbary pirates; since the War of 1812, which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since 1867, when our sea power made it possible for the Mexicans to expel the French Army of Louis Napoleon, we have striven and fought in defense of freedom of the seas -- for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister Republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of world trade -- and for our own safety.

During the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers, gunboats and destroyers; and ~~this~~ type of convoy was effective against submarines. In this second World War, however, the problem is greater, because the attack on the freedom of the seas is now fourfold: first -- the improved submarine; second -- the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or hit-and-run battleship; third, -- the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base; and fourth -- the destruction of merchant ships in those ports of the world ~~which~~ are accessible to bombing attack.

The battle of the Atlantic now extends from the icy waters of the North Pole to the frozen continent of the Antarctic. Throughout this huge area, there have been sinkings of merchant ships in alarming and increasing numbers by Nazi raiders or submarines. There have been sinkings even of ships carrying neutral flags. There have been sinkings in the South Atlantic, off West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands; between the Azores and the islands off the American coast; and between Greenland and Iceland. Great numbers of these sinkings have been actually within the waters of the Western Hemisphere.

The blunt truth ~~is~~ this -- and I reveal this with the full knowledge of the British government: the present rate of Nazi sinkings of merchant ships is more than three times as high as the capacity of British shipyards to replace them; it is more than twice the combined British and American output of merchant ships today.

We can answer this peril by two simultaneous measures: first, by speeding up and increasing our great shipbuilding program; and second, by helping to cut down the losses on the high seas.

Attacks on shipping off the very shores of land which we are determined to protect, present an actual military danger to the Americas. And that danger has recently been heavily underlined by the presence in Western Hemisphere waters of Nazi battleships of great striking power.

Most of the supplies for Britain go by a northerly route, which comes close to Greenland and the nearby island of Iceland. Germany's heaviest attack is on that route. Nazi occupation of Iceland or bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our continental shores; because ~~they~~ are stepping-stones to Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, ~~and~~ the northern United States, including the great industrial centers of the north, east and the middle west.

Equally, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, if occupied or controlled by Germany, would directly endanger the freedom of the Atlantic and our own physical safety. Under German domination, ~~they would~~ become bases for submarines, warships, and airplanes raiding the waters which lie immediately off our own coasts and attacking the shipping in the South Atlantic. They would provide a springboard for actual attack against the integrity and independence of Brazil and her neighboring Republics.

I have said on many occasions that the United States is mustering its men and its resources only for purposes of defense -- only to repel attack. I repeat that statement now. But we must be realistic when we use the word "attack"; we have to relate it to the lightning speed of modern warfare.

Some people seem to think that we are not attacked until bombs actually drop on New York or San Francisco or New Orleans or Chicago. But they are simply shutting their eyes to the lesson we must learn from the fate of every nation that the Nazis have conquered.

The attack on Czechoslovakia began with the conquest of Austria. The attack on Norway began with the occupation of Denmark. The attack on Greece began with occupation of Albania and Bulgaria. The attack on the Suez Canal began with the invasion of the Balkans and North Africa. The attack on the United States can begin with the domination of any base which menaces our security -- north or south.

Nobody can foretell tonight just when the acts of the dictators will ripen into attack on this hemisphere and us. But we know enough by now to realize that it would be suicide to wait until they are in our front yard.

When your enemy comes at you in a tank or a bombing plane, if you hold your fire until you see the whites of his eyes, you will never know what hit you. Our Bunker Hill of tomorrow may be several thousand miles from Boston.

Anyone with an Atlas ~~and~~ a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war, knows that it is stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack. Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy which will prevent such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place.

We have, accordingly, extended our patrol in north and south Atlantic waters. We are steadily adding more and more ships and planes to that patrol. It is well known that the strength of the Atlantic Fleet has been greatly increased during the past year, and is constantly being built up.

These ships and planes warn of the presence of attacking raiders, on the sea, under the sea, and above the sea. The danger from these raiders is greatly lessened if their location is definitely known. We are thus being forewarned; ~~and~~ we shall be on our guard against efforts to establish Nazi bases closer to our Hemisphere.

The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple ~~self~~-preservation, to make stern choices. It does not make sense, for instance, to say, "I believe in the defense of all the Western Hemisphere", and in the next breath to say, "I will not fight for that defense until the enemy has landed on our shores". ~~And~~ if we believe in the independence and integrity of the Americas, we must be willing to fight to defend them just as much as we would ~~to~~ fight for the safety of our own homes.

It is time for us to realize that the safety of American homes even in the center of our country has a definite relationship to the continued safety of homes in Nova Scotia or Trinidad or Brazil.

Our national policy today, therefore, is this:

First, we shall actively resist wherever necessary, and with all our resources, every attempt by Hitler to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere, or to threaten it. We shall actively resist his every attempt to gain control of the seas. We insist upon the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used ~~and~~ would be used as a base of attack against the Americas.

Second, from the point of view of strict naval and military necessity, we shall give every possible assistance to Britain and to all who, with Britain, are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent with force of arms. Our patrols are helping now to insure delivery of the needed supplies to Britain. All additional measures necessary to deliver the goods will be taken. Any and all further methods or combination of methods, which can or should be utilized, are being devised by our military and naval technicians, who, with me, will work out and put into effect such new and additional safeguards as may be needed.

The delivery of needed supplies to Britain is imperative. This can be done; it must be done; it will be done.

To the other American nations -- twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada — I say this: the United States does not merely propose these purposes, but is actively engaged today in carrying them out.

I say to them further: you may disregard those few citizens of the United States who contend that we are disunited and cannot act.

There are some timid ones among us who say that we must preserve peace at any price — lest we lose our liberties forever. To them I say: never in the history of the world has a nation lost its democracy by a successful struggle to defend its democracy. We must not be defeated by the fear of the very danger which we are preparing to resist. Our freedom has shown its ability to survive war, but it would never survive surrender. "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

There is, of course, a small group of sincere, patriotic men and women whose real passion for peace has shut their eyes to the ugly realities of international banditry and to the need to resist it at all costs. I am sure they are embarrassed by the sinister support they are receiving from the enemies of democracy in our midst -- the Bundists, ~~and~~ Fascists, and Communists, and every group devoted to bigotry and racial and religious intolerance. It is no mere coincidence that all the arguments put forward by these enemies of democracy -- all their attempts to confuse and divide our people and to destroy public confidence in ~~our~~ Government -- all their defeatist forebodings that Britain and democracy are already beaten -- all their selfish promises that we can "do business" with Hitler -- all of these are but echoes of the words that have been poured out from the Axis bureaus of propaganda. Those same words have been used before in other countries -- to scare them, to divide them, to soften them up. Invariably, those same words have formed the advance guard of physical attack.

Your Government has the right to expect of all citizens that they take ~~loyal~~ part in the common work of our common defense -- take loyal part from this moment forward.

I have recently set up the machinery for civilian defense. It will rapidly organize, locality by locality. It will depend on the organized effort of men and women everywhere. All will have ~~responsibilities~~ to fulfill.

Defense today means more than merely fighting. ~~It~~ means morale, civilian as well as military; it means using every available resource; it means enlarging every useful plant. It means the use of a greater American common sense in discarding rumor and distorted statement. It means recognizing, for what they are, racketeers ~~and~~ fifth columnists, ~~who are~~ the incendiary bombs of the moment.

All of us know that we have made very great social progress in recent years. We propose to maintain that progress and strengthen it. When the nation is threatened from without, however, as it is today, the actual production and transportation of the machinery of defense must not be interrupted by disputes between capital and capital, labor and labor, or capital and labor. The future of all free enterprise — of capital and labor alike — is at stake.

This is no time for capital to make, or be allowed to retain, excess profits. Articles of defense must have undisputed right of way in every industrial plant in the country.

A nation-wide machinery for conciliation and mediation of industrial disputes has been set up. That machinery must be used promptly — and without stoppage of work. Collective bargaining will be retained, but the American people expect that impartial recommendations of our Government services will be followed both by capital and by labor.

The overwhelming majority of our citizens expect their Government to see that the tools of defense are built; and for the very purpose of preserving the democratic safeguards of both labor and management, this Government is determined to use all of its powers to express the will of its people, and to prevent interference with the production of materials essential to our nation's security.

Today the whole world is divided between human slavery and human freedom — between pagan brutality and the Christian ideal.

We choose human freedom -- which is the Christian ideal.

No one of us can waver for a moment in his courage or his faith.

We will not accept a Hitler dominated world. And we will not accept a world, like the post-war world of the 1920's, in which the seeds of Hitlerism can again be planted and allowed to grow.

We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression — freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- freedom from want — and freedom from terror~~ism.~~

Is such a world impossible of attainment?

Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation and every other milestone in human progress — all were ideals which seemed impossible of attainment -- yet they were attained.

As a military force, we were weak when we established our independence, but we successfully stood off tyrants, powerful in their day, who are now lost in the dust of history.

Odds meant nothing to us then. Shall we now, with all our potential strength, hesitate to take every single measure necessary to maintain our American liberties?

Our people and our Government will not hesitate to meet that challenge.

As the President of a united and determined people, I say solemnly:

We reassert the ancient American doctrine of freedom of the seas.

We reassert the solidarity of the twenty-one American Republics and the Dominion of Canada in the preservation of the independence of the hemisphere.

We have pledged material support to the other democracies of the world -- and we will fulfill that pledge.

We in the Americas will decide for ourselves whether, and when, and where, our American interests are attacked or our security threatened.

We are placing our armed forces in strategic military position.

We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel attack.

We reassert our abiding faith in the vitality of our constitutional republic as a perpetual home of freedom, of tolerance, and of devotion to the word of God.

Therefore, with profound consciousness of my responsibilities to my countrymen and to my country's cause, I have tonight issued a proclamation that an unlimited national emergency exists and requires the strengthening of our defense to the extreme limit of our national power and authority.

The nation will expect all individuals and all groups to play their full parts, without stint, ~~and~~ without selfishness, and without doubt that our democracy will triumphantly survive.

I repeat the words of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence -- that little band of patriots, fighting long ago against overwhelming odds, but certain, as ~~are we,~~ of ultimate victory: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor". 2-6

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

ROUTING SLIP

TO	CO	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10

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- ☐ ALLOTMENT SYMBOL
- ☐ APPROVAL
- ☐ AS REQUESTED
- ☐ CONCURRENCE
- ☐ CORRECTION
- ☐ FILING
- ☐ FULL REPORT
- ☐ HANDLE DIRECT
- ☐ IMMEDIATE ACTION
- ☐ INITIALS
- ☐ NECESSARY ACTION
- ☐ NOTE AND RETURN
- ☐ PER OUR CONVERSATION
- ☐ PER TELEPHONE CONVERSATION
- ☐ READ AND DESTROY
- ☐ RECOMMENDATION
- ☐ SEE ME
- ☐ SIGNATURE
- ☐ YOUR COMMENT
- ☐ YOUR INFORMATION
- ☐ ANSWER OR ACKNOWLEDGE ON OR BEFORE _____
- ☐ PREPARE REPLY FOR THE SIGNATURE OF _____

REMARKS

I had this Xerox of FDR's May 27 speech and of some proposed follow-up action made for your use.

FROM	CO	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10

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* U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1969 O - 385-523 (4134)

GSA FORM JUN 67 14

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the East Room of the White House
May 27, 1941, 9.30 P.M.,E.S.T.
Proclaiming an Unlimited National Emergency

MY FELLOW AMERICANS OF ALL THE AMERICAS; MY FRIENDS:

I am speaking tonight from the White House in the presence of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, the Canadian Minister, and their families. The members of this Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics in Washington. It is appropriate that I do this for now, as never before, the unity of the American Republics is of supreme importance to each and every one of us and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. Our future -- our future independence is bound up with the future independence of all of our sister Republics.

The pressing problems that confront us are military and naval problems. We cannot afford to approach them from the point of view of wishful thinkers or sentimentalists. What we face is cold, hard fact.

The first and fundamental fact is that what started as a European war has developed, as the Nazis always intended it should develop, into a world war for world domination.

Adolf Hitler never considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. European conquest was but a step toward ultimate goals in all the other continents. It is unmistakably apparent to all of us that, unless the advance of Hitlerism is forcibly checked now, the Western Hemisphere will be within range of the Nazi weapons of destruction.

For our own defense we have accordingly undertaken certain (obviously) obvious necessary measures:

First, we have joined in concluding a series of agreements with all the other American Republics. This further solidified our hemisphere against the common danger.

And then, a year ago, we launched, and are successfully carrying out, the largest armament production program we have ever undertaken.

We have added substantially to our splendid Navy, and we have mustered our manpower to build up a new Army which is already worthy of the highest traditions of our military service.

We instituted a policy of aid for the democracies -- the nations which have fought for the continuation of human liberties.

This policy had its origin in the first month of the war, when I urged upon the Congress repeal of the arms embargo provisions in the old Neutrality Law, and in that Message of September, 1939, I said, "I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead."

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Today, the Nazis have taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. In Africa they have occupied Tripoli and Libya, and they are threatening Egypt, the Suez Canal, and the Near East. But their plans do not stop there, for the Indian Ocean is the gateway to the (East) farther East.

They also have the armed power at any moment to occupy Spain and Portugal; and that threat extends not only to French North Africa and the western end of the Mediterranean Sea, (but) it extends also to the Atlantic fortress of Dakar, and to the island outposts of the New World -- the Azores and Cape Verde Islands.

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But if the Axis Powers fail to gain control of the seas, then they are certainly defeated. Their dreams of world domination will then go by the board; and the criminal leaders who started this

war will suffer inevitable disaster.

Both they and their people know this -- and they and their people are afraid. That is why they are risking everything they have, conducting desperate attempts to break through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed peoples on the Continent of Europe; and in the end, their whole structure will break into little pieces. And let us remember, the wider the Nazi land effort, the greater (the danger) is their ultimate danger.

We do not forget the silenced peoples. The masters of Germany -- those, at least, who have not been assassinated or escaped to free soil -- have marked these silenced peoples and their children's children for slavery. But those people -- spiritually unconquered: Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, Southern Slavs -- yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been enslaved -- will prove to be a powerful force in (disrupting) the final disruption of the Nazi system.

(Yes,) All freedom -- meaning freedom to live, and not freedom to conquer and subjugate other peoples -- depends on freedom of the seas. All of American history -- North, Central and South American history -- has been inevitably tied up with those words, "freedom of the seas."

Since 1799, 142 years ago, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depredations of the Barbary pirates; since the War of 1812,

which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since 1867, when our sea power made it possible for the Mexicans to expel the French Army of Louis Napoleon, we have striven and fought in defense of freedom of the seas -- freedom of the seas for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister Republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of world trade -- and for our own safety.

During the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers and gunboats and destroyers; and (this) that type, (of) called a convoy, was effective against submarines. In this second World War, however, the problem is greater. It is different because the attack on the freedom of the seas is now fourfold: first -- the improved submarine; second -- the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or the hit-and-run battleship; third, -- the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base; and fourth -- the destruction of merchant ships in those ports of the world (which) that are accessible to bombing attack.

The battle of the Atlantic now extends from the icy waters of the North Pole to the frozen continent of the Antarctic. Throughout this huge area, there have been sinkings of merchant ships in alarming and increasing numbers by Nazi raiders or submarines. There have been sinkings even of ships carrying neutral flags. There have been sinkings in the South Atlantic, off West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands; between the Azores and the islands off the American coast; and between Greenland and Iceland. Great numbers of these sinkings have been actually within the waters of the Western Hemisphere itself.

The blunt truth (is) of this seems to be this -- and I reveal this with the full knowledge of the British Government: the present rate of Nazi sinkings of merchant ships is more than three times as high as the capacity of British shipyards to replace them; it is more than twice the combined British and American output of merchant ships today.

We can answer this peril by two simultaneous measures: first, by speeding up and increasing our own great shipbuilding program; and second, by helping to cut down the losses on the high seas.

Attacks on shipping off the very shores of land which we are determined to protect, present an actual military danger to the Americas. And that danger has recently been heavily underlined by the presence in Western Hemisphere waters of a Nazi battleship of great striking power.

You remember that most of the supplies for Britain go by a northerly route, which comes close to Greenland and the nearby island of Iceland. Germany's heaviest attack is on that route. Nazi occupation of Iceland or bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our own continental shores; because those places (they) are stepping-stones to Labrador and Newfoundland, to Nova Scotia, (and) yes, to the northern United States itself, including the great industrial centers of the north, the east and the middle west.

Equally, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, if occupied or controlled by Germany, would directly endanger the freedom of the Atlantic and our own American physical safety. Under German domination those islands (they) would become bases for submarines, warships, and airplanes raiding the waters (which) that lie immediately off our

own coasts and attacking the shipping in the South Atlantic. They would provide a springboard for actual attack against the integrity and the independence of Brazil and her neighboring Republics.

I have said on many occasions that the United States is mustering its men and its resources only for purposes of defense -- only to repel attack. I repeat that statement now. But we must be realistic when we use the word "attack"; we have to relate it to the lightning speed of modern warfare.

Some people seem to think that we are not attacked until bombs actually drop in the streets of (on) New York or San Francisco or New Orleans or Chicago. But they are simply shutting their eyes to the lesson that we must learn from the fate of every nation that the Nazis have conquered.

The attack on Czechoslovakia began with the conquest of Austria. The attack on Norway began with the occupation of Denmark. The attack on Greece began with occupation of Albania and Bulgaria. The attack on the Suez Canal began with the invasion of the Balkans and North Africa and the attack on the United States can begin with the domination of any base which menaces our security -- north or south.

Nobody can foretell tonight just when the acts of the dictators will ripen into attack on this hemisphere and us. But we know enough by now to realize that it would be suicide to wait until they are in our front yard.

When your enemy comes at you in a tank or a bombing plane, if you hold your fire until you see the whites of his eyes, you will never know what hit you. Our Bunker Hill of tomorrow may be several

thousand miles from Boston, Massachusetts.

Anyone with an Atlas, (and) anyone with a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war, knows that it is stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack. Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy (which) that will prevent such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place.

We have, accordingly, extended our patrol in north and south Atlantic waters. We are steadily adding more and more ships and planes to that patrol. It is well known that the strength of the Atlantic Fleet has been greatly increased during the past year, and that it is constantly being built up.

These ships and planes warn of the presence of attacking raiders, on the sea, under the sea, and above the sea. The danger from these raiders is, of course, greatly lessened if their location is definitely known. We are thus being forewarned. (and) We shall be on our guard against efforts to establish Nazi bases closer to our Hemisphere.

The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple (self-) preservation, to make stern choices. It does not make sense, for instance, to say, "I believe in the defense of all the Western Hemisphere," and in the next breath to say, "I will not fight for that defense until the enemy has landed on our shores." (And) If we believe in the independence and the integrity of the Americas, we must be willing to fight, to fight to defend them just as much as we would (to) fight for the safety of our own homes.

It is time for us to realize that the safety of American homes even in the center of this our own country has a very definite relationship to the continued safety of homes in Nova Scotia or Trinidad or Brazil.

Our national policy today, therefore, is this:

First, we shall actively resist wherever necessary, and with all our resources, every attempt by Hitler to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere, or to threaten it. We shall actively resist his every attempt to gain control of the seas. We insist upon the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used (and) or would be used as a base of attack against the Americas.

(Second) Secondly, from the point of view of strict naval and military necessity, we shall give every possible assistance to Britain and to all who, with Britain, are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent with force of arms. Our patrols are helping now to insure delivery of the needed supplies to Britain. All additional measures necessary to deliver the goods will be taken. Any and all further methods or combination of methods, which can or should be utilized, are being devised by our military and naval technicians, who, with me, will work out and put into effect such new and additional safeguards as may be needed.

I say that the delivery of needed supplies to Britain is imperative. I say that this can be done; it must be done; and it will be done.

To the other American nations -- twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada -- I say this: the United States does not merely

propose these purposes, but is actively engaged today in carrying them out.

And I say to them further: you may disregard those few citizens of the United States who contend that we are disunited and cannot act.

There are some timid ones among us who say that we must preserve peace at any price -- lest we lose our liberties forever. To them I say this: never in the history of the world has a nation lost its democracy by a successful struggle to defend its democracy. We must not be defeated by the fear of the very danger which we are preparing to resist. Our freedom has shown its ability to survive war, but (it) our freedom would never survive surrender. "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

There is, of course, a small group of sincere, patriotic men and women whose real passion for peace has shut their eyes to the ugly realities of international banditry and to the need to resist it at all costs. I am sure they are embarrassed by the sinister support they are receiving from the enemies of democracy in our midst -- the Bundists, (and) the Fascists, and Communists, and every group devoted to bigotry and racial and religious intolerance. It is no mere coincidence that all the arguments put forward by these enemies of democracy -- all their attempts to confuse and divide our people and to destroy public confidence in (our) Government -- all their defeatist forebodings that Britain and democracy are already beaten -- all their selfish promises that we can "do business" with Hitler -- all of these are but echoes of the words that have been poured out from the Axis bureaus of propaganda. Those same words have been used before in other

countries -- to scare them, to divide them, to soften them up. Invariably, those same words have formed the advance guard of physical attack.

Your Government has the right to expect of all citizens that they take (loyal) part in the common work of our common defense -- take loyal part from this moment forward.

I have recently set up the machinery for civilian defense. It will rapidly organize, locality by locality. It will depend on the organized effort of men and women everywhere. All will have opportunities and responsibilities to fulfill.

Defense today means more than merely fighting. It means morale, civilian as well as military; it means using every available resource; it means enlarging every useful plant. It means the use of a greater American common sense in discarding rumor and distorted statement. It means recognizing, for what they are, racketeers and fifth columnists, (who are) the incendiary bombs in this country of the moment.

All of us know that we have made very great social progress in recent years. We propose to maintain that progress and strengthen it. When the nation is threatened from without, however, as it is today, the actual production and transportation of the machinery of defense must not be interrupted by disputes between capital and capital, labor and labor, or capital and labor. The future of all free enterprise -- of capital and labor alike -- is at stake.

This is no time for capital to make, or be allowed to retain, excess profits. Articles of defense must have undisputed right of way

in every industrial plant in the country.

A nationwide machinery for conciliation and mediation of industrial disputes has been set up. That machinery must be used promptly -- and without stoppage of work. Collective bargaining will be retained, but the American people expect that impartial recommendations of our Government conciliation and mediation services will be followed both by capital and by labor.

The overwhelming majority of our citizens expect their Government to see that the tools of defense are built; and for the very purpose of preserving the democratic safeguards of both labor and management, this Government is determined to use all of its power to express the will of its people, and to prevent interference with the production of materials essential to our nation's security.

Today the whole world is divided, divided between human slavery and human freedom -- between pagan brutality and the Christian ideal.

We choose human freedom -- which is the Christian ideal.

No one of us can waver for a moment in his courage or his faith.

We will not accept a Hitler dominated world. And we will not accept a world, like the post-war world of the 1920's, in which the seeds of Hitlerism can again be planted and allowed to grow.

We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression -- freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- freedom from want -- and freedom from (terrorism) terror.

Is such a world impossible of attainment?

Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation and every other milestone in human progress -- all were ideals which seemed impossible of attainment -- and yet they were attained.

As a military force, we were weak when we established our independence, but we successfully stood off tyrants, powerful in their day, tyrants who are now lost in the dust of history.

Odds meant nothing to us then. Shall we now, with all our potential strength, hesitate to take every single measure necessary to maintain our American liberties?

Our people and our Government will not hesitate to meet that challenge.

As the President of a united and determined people, I say solemnly:

We reassert the ancient American doctrine of freedom of the seas.

We reassert the solidarity of the twenty-one American Republics and the Dominion of Canada in the preservation of the independence of the hemisphere.

We have pledged material support to the other democracies of the world -- and we will fulfill that pledge.

We in the Americas will decide for ourselves whether, and when, and where, our American interests are attacked or our security threatened.

We are placing our armed forces in strategic military position.

We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel attack.

We reassert our abiding faith in the vitality of our constitutional republic as a perpetual home of freedom, of tolerance, and of devotion to the word of God.

Therefore, with profound consciousness of my responsibilities to my countrymen and to my country's cause, I have tonight issued a proclamation that an unlimited national emergency exists and requires the strengthening of our defense to the extreme limit of our national power and authority.

The nation will expect all individuals and all groups to play their full parts, without stint, and without selfishness, and without doubt that our democracy will triumphantly survive.

I repeat the words of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence -- that little band of patriots, fighting long ago against overwhelming odds, but certain, as (are we) we are now, of ultimate victory: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." (Warm applause)

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE DIRECTIVES

It may be that the President's Proclamation of a "full emergency" alone will in and of itself have the desired psychological effect of bringing home the need for an immediate all-out defense effort. However, consideration might be given to following up the Proclamation with specific directives or other action on some of the following sample subjects, which, in addition to their intrinsic merit, might help to dramatize the urgent need for such an all-out effort:

1) A directive to the Secretaries of State, Treasury, War and Navy to report to the President as soon as possible their recommendations on what action should be taken with respect to Martinique, Guadaloupe, etc. and Dakar, in the interests of the defense of the United States and of the Western Hemisphere.

/In a "full emergency" the President as Commander-in-Chief would doubtless have the constitutional power to take whatever action he deemed reasonably appropriate to protect the United States./

2) A directive to the Secretaries of War and Navy to put their departments into continuous operation on a 24-hour, 7-days-a-week basis. Consideration should

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be given to such measures, among others, as the "staggering" of employees and the allowance of leave only to the extent necessary to maintain the health and morale of the staff.

[Although a proclamation of full emergency is probably not necessary legally to do this it would facilitate doing it.]

3) A directive to Knudsen and Hillman, the Secretaries of War and Navy, and the Chairman of the Maritime Commission to request all persons or organizations working on defense contracts to do so on a 24-hour, 7-days-a-week basis.

[A "full emergency" proclamation is not legally required to do this, but psychologically it might help.]

4) A directive to Knudsen and Hillman, the Secretaries of War and Navy, and the Chairman of the Maritime Commission to request all prime contractors to sub-contract as much of their work as possible, so that every person and every machine capable of being used for defense production be utilized to the fullest extent.

[Here again the Proclamation is not legally necessary, but it would be psychologically helpful.]

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5) A directive to the Secretaries of State, Treasury, War and Navy to take all necessary action to protect American aid to the democracies upon the seas.

[In a "full emergency" the President doubtless has the constitutional power to convoy with ships and aircraft.]

6) A directive to the Secretaries of War and Navy to utilize all statutory authority to bring the reserves of all types and classes into active service.

[There are many statutes empowering the calling up of reserves in the case of emergency. Thus, for example, 10 U.S.C. 343 provides that "In case of emergency declared by the President", members of the Regular Army Reserve may be ordered to active duty. Related statutes are 32 U.S.C. 81c; 34 U.S.C. 151; 34 U.S.C. 423; 34 U.S.C. 433; 34 U.S.C.A. 440a; 34 U.S.C. 753.]

7) A directive to the Surgeon General to increase the reserves of the Public Health Service as much as practicable and to bring as many reserves into active service as possible.

[42 U.S.C. 18 provides in substance that "In time of national emergency" the organization of a reserve of the Public Health Service for

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duty in that Service is authorized.]

8) A directive to O.P.M. to report to the President as soon as possible whether all available or potentially available capacity in the aircraft and automobile industries is being utilized in the manufacture of aircraft.

[The Proclamation is not legally necessary for this purpose.]

9) An executive order suspending the eight-hour law upon Government contracts in cases where additional labor is unavailable.

[40 U.S.C. 326 provides that in case of "national emergency" the President may suspend the eight-hour law. Time and a half is required by statute to be paid for work over eight hours.]

10) A directive to the Liaison Office for the Office of Emergency Management to report, after consultation with the Secretaries of Treasury, War, Navy and Commerce, upon the advisability of transferring the Coast Guard, the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the Lighthouse Service to the Navy Department, consideration to be given to the problems raised by the new bases.

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[In time of war or when the President shall so direct" the Coast Guard shall operate as part of the Navy (14 U.S.C. 1). 33 U.S.C. 758 provides that "Whenever in his judgment a sufficient national emergency exists" the President may transfer the Lighthouse Service to the War or Navy Departments. 33 U.S.C. 855 contains a similar provision for the turning over of the Coast and Geodetic Service to the War or Navy Departments.]

11) A directive to the Liaison Officer of the Office of Emergency Management to report to the President as soon as possible upon ways and means of reorganizing the agencies of the Government concerned with the national defense in the interest of expediting the defense program, consideration to be given to the question whether legislation is necessary to carry out such a reorganization.

[The Proclamation is not legally necessary for this purpose.]

12) A directive to all defense agencies asking them to make a report as soon as possible to the Office of Emergency Management setting forth any program or procedures which in their judgment would expedite the defense program.

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[Here again the Proclamation is not legally required.]

13) A directive to the Federal Power Commission to take every practicable step so that we may be assured of an adequate power supply for present and prospective defense production.

[16 U.S.C. 809 provides that "When in the opinion of the President of the United States, evidenced by a written order addressed to the holder of a license hereunder, the safety of the United States demands it," the United States may take over certain power houses, dams, conduits, and reservoirs for the purpose of manufacturing nitrates, explosives or munitions of war, or for any other purposes involving the safety of the United States. 16 U.S.C. 824a (c) (U.S.C. Sup. V) gives the Federal Power Commission in an emergency the power to require such generation of power as it deems necessary.]

14) A directive to the Office of Emergency Management to report as soon as possible the best way of coordinating the handling of all priorities—priorities of defense materials, priorities in shipping, transportation, power, etc.

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/The Proclamation is not legally necessary to do this./

15) A directive to the Secretary of War to have prepared immediately the legislation which is necessary to enable the Government to requisition property and materials for defense purposes.

/The Proclamation is not necessary for this, but might help to get the legislation through./

16) A directive to the Maritime Commission to report as soon as possible what steps should be taken further to speed up the building of cargo ships and tankers.

/The Proclamation is not legally necessary to do this./

These are only some of the subjects on which possible directives can be issued. If you wish, I can work up some more similar ideas.

gpc

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TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

CA1005 48 N.L.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., May 26, 1941

JUDGE SAMUEL ROSENMAN:

Urge President Roosevelt to give fighting and forthright speech. Give Jesse Jones or some other real executive powers comparable to those of Baruch in last war suggest labor legislation with teeth. Both American and British morale require that this speech be forthright as well as courageous.

E. D. McMahon.

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TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

52wuki 54/57 D.L.3 Ex.11:38 p.m.

WASHINGTON, D.C., VIA ALBANY, N.Y., May 26, 1941

JUDGE SAMUEL ROSENMAN: (Personal)

I must see you as soon as possible. When and where can that be arranged? This is an important matter and very definitely concerns national defense. It is impossible to divulge any information concerning this except personally to you. Please answer collect by Western Union if you wish to see me, 1179 Press Building in Washington.

Wilbert H. Seifert.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Speech material

May 17, 1941

Memorandum For The President.

Thomas Jefferson and the British Navy

You may already know this letter of Thomas Jefferson to Sir John Sinclair, written in 1803. If you do not, you may be interested in it, either for your speech or as a matter of academic interest.

Change "Bonaparte" to "Hitler" and Jefferson could be President today!

The correspondence from Archibald MacLeish shows that Jefferson's letter was much stronger than it now appears in print.

J+R

James Rowe, Jr.

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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

(COPY)

(From Volume 10 of the Monticello Edition
of The Writings of Thomas Jefferson)

To Sir John Sinclair.

Washington, June 30, 1803

Dear Sir, — . . . . . .

We are still uninformed here whether you are again at war. Bonaparte has produced such a state of things in Europe as it would seem difficult for him to relinquish in any sensible degree, and equally dangerous for Great Britain to suffer to go on, especially if accompanied by maritime preparations on his part. The events which have taken place in France have lessened in the American mind the motives of interest which it felt in that revolution, and its amity towards that country now rests on its love of peace and commerce. We see, at the same time, with great concern, the position in which Great Britain is placed, and should be sincerely afflicted were any disaster to deprive mankind of the benefit of such a bulwark against the torrent which has for some time been bearing down all before it. But her power and powers at sea seem to render everything safe in the end. Peace is our passion, and the wrongs might drive us from it. We prefer trying every other just principles, right and safety, before we would recur to war.

. . . . . .

(Note: Underlining mine.)

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b

THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS

Washington, D. C.

May 17, 1941

Dear Jim:

I hasten to reply to yours of the 16th which reached me this morning. I am sending you volume 10 of the Monticello Edition of The Writings of Thomas Jefferson in which you will find, on page 396, the letter to which you refer. I am sending you also a memorandum from the Chief of the Division of Manuscripts which indicates that the original of this letter, as it appears in Jefferson's letterpress books, ends with a considerably stronger last sentence than the printed edition.

As to whether or not the letter is well-known, Dr. Sioussat informs me that scholars of Jefferson are all familiar with it but that he doubts very much whether it is well-known to the general public.

Faithfully yours,

Archibald MacLeish
The Librarian of Congress

Enclosure

The Honorable
James Rowe, Jr.
Administrative Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

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MEMORANDUM

To the Librarian of Congress

From the Chief, Division of Manuscripts

May 17, 1941

Subject: letter of Thomas Jefferson, June 30, 1803, to Sir John Sinclair.

The letter of Thomas Jefferson to Sir John Sinclair, dated Washington, June 30, 1803, was printed in H. A. Washington's Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Washington, 1854), volume 4, pp. 490 ff. and in the Memorial Edition of the Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Washington, 1903), volume 10, pp. 396 ff. The letter does not appear in the Federal Edition of The Works of Thomas Jefferson (New York, 1904-1905).

We find the text of the letter in a letter press copy in volume 133 of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson, in this Division. Miss Vastine has transcribed the essential paragraph. It is to be observed that both printings give incorrectly the last sentence transcribed, for the reason that what was obviously intended to be "the" was printed as "the." The sentence is far stronger in the correct original.

Respectfully submitted,

St. George L. Sioussat

St. George L. Sioussat
Chief, Division of Manuscripts

Sth
Enc.

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[Transcript of second paragraph of letter of June 30, 1803, from Thomas Jefferson to Sir John Sinclair. Taken from a press copy of the letter in Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. 133.]

Washington June 30. 1803.

Dear Sir

. . . . . .

We are still uninformed here whether you are again at war. Buonapa[rt] has produced such a state of things in Europe as it would seem difficult for h[im] to relinquish in any sensible degree, and equally dangerous for Great Brita[in] to suffer to go on, especially if accompanied by maritime preparations, on h[is?] part. the events which have taken place in France have lessened in the American mind the motives of interest which it felt in that revolution, and its amity towards that country now rests on it's love of peace & commerce. we see at the same time with great concern the position in which Great Britain is placed, and should be sincerely afflicted were any disaster to deprive mankind of the benefit of such a bulwark against the torrent which has been for some time bearing down all before it. but her power & prowess [at] sea seem to render every thing safe in the end. peace is now our passion, & t[ho] wrongs might drive us from it, we prefer trying ever [sic] other just principle right & safety before we would recur to war.

. . . . . .

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MEMORANDUM

May 26, 1941

To: Judge Samuel Rosenman

From: Oscar Cox

Subject: Declaration of Emergency.

1. Harry Hopkins asked me this morning to give you all the dope I could--particularly the statutory material--on the "full emergency" proclamation.

2. Annexed is a draft of the proposed proclamation.

3. Annexed is a letter of the Attorney General which gives most of the statutory provisions which require a Presidential finding of "emergency" before they come into play.

4. Since the statutes often require interpretation by the executive agency which has the power, the Comptroller General and the Attorney General, it is easier to get the proper interpretation if a "full emergency" has been proclaimed. Thus, for example, the limited emergency proclaimed by the President on September 8, 1939 has been interpreted to be insufficient to authorize the Maritime Commission to requisition American vessels or vessels constructed in the United States under 46 U.S.C. 1242. This section provides that "Whenever the

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President shall proclaim that the security of the national defense makes it advisable or during any national emergency declared by proclamation of the President" the Maritime Commission may requisition such vessels.

5. Annexed is a sample list of possible directives which might be issued by the President following up the Proclamation. Each suggested directive has under it a short comment on the relationship of the Proclamation to it. Statutory references are given where they apply.

6. If you wish any more data, I will be glad to get it.

OSC

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