

May 27, 1941

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[Pan American Union]

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Final

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
PAN-AMERICAN UNION
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 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 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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From the Papers of
Sergeant I. Rosenbaum

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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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, Luxembourg, and France.



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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.



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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.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

Under these 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?



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REMARKS BY SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL
1938-1940, Vol. 1, 1

From the Papers of
SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

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.

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.



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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. Any tariff wall would not be an American wall to keep Nazi goods out; it would be a Nazi wall to keep us in.



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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?



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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.



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Samuel I. Rosenzweig

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.



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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.



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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 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.



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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, 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.



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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 parts 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



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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.



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Attacks on shipping off the very shores of land 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.



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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.



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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.



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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.



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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} ~~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 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,



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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.



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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 -- 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".



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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.



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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



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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



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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 this 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.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
SAMUEL I. ROOSEVELT

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 milestones 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:



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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.

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.



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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, 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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From the Papers of
SIRIAL I. ROSENBERG

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.



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From the Papers of

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Most of the Members of this Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republic 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 America 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 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



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From the Papers of
BARRY L. HOPKINS

DRAFT #2

- 3 -

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.

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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DRAFT #2

- 4 -

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 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. 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. 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.



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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. Those beliefs, those fears were made clear



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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.



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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, 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.



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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.

I repeat the forecast of the definite possibilities 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 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 Morocco 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 Morocco extends



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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 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.

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 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



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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.



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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 Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depredation 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



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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 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~~ hit and run 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.



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For example, during the 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.

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 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 productive centers of New England (or including great productive centers such as Boston and other



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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 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: "Hit thar fustest with the mostest man", 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



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the same people who told you two years ago that there would be no war and that the Americas have nothing to fear, and 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, 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.

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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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 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 Americans 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 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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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 ~~xxxxxx~~ of each of the twenty-one American Republics, of the Dominion of Canada, and of the prevention of the transfer of sovereignty 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



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

You 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 which holds complete military and naval domination over Europe, Africa and the Near East, together with the seas which surround them. Work it out for yourselves in terms of man-power, in terms of machine power and in terms of raw materials.

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

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, greatly,



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almost overwhelmingly, is dependent at this moment on the successful defensive 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.

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.



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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 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, is that the United States does not merely propose, but is actively engaged today in carrying out the twofold mission I have described. My message to them further is that it is their duty to pay a little 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 defend the Americas; that the United



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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.

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-



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

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 whim of civilian autocracy.



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

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



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DRAFT NO. 8

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 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



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country and every region. It comes from both friendly and hostile sources. It comes from ^{expert} [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.

Come 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.



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BARRY L. DOPKINS

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. He foresaw then the Axis 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. He accordingly undertook certain obvious necessary measures for the protection of the Americas.

He joined in concluding a series of agreements with all the other American Republics which further solidified this hemisphere against the common danger.



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

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 shadow deepened and lengthened. They spread over Poland, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France and Greece, blacking 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 happy in time. In June, 1940 she faced destruction. Our government rushed arms to meet her desperate needs.



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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.

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 on hard-headed concern for ourselves and for the kind of safe and democratic 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 just so many more guns and tanks and planes.

Every nation we have tried to protect from enslavement has had its part in helping to keep the world free.

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.



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

[We have all been lulled 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 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



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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



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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.

But if the Axis Powers fail to gain control of the seas, they are certainly defeated. Their dreams of world domination would then go by the board; and the criminal leaders who have misled and deceived their peoples into starting this war would suffer inevitable disaster. Both they and their people know this, and they are afraid. That is why they are 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



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From the papers of
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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 children's 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 Yugo-Slavia -- 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 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".

Since 1792, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since



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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 the French Army from Mexico, 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.

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 these 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.



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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 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 these losses* that the Nazis are now sinking ships faster than they can be at present replaced.



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This presents an actual 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 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.

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



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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 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.



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From the Papers of
 Harry L. Hopkins

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.

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: "Give them the fastest 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, under and above the sea; and the danger of these raiders is greatly lessened if their location is definitely known. We shall thus be forewarned and be better on our guard if the Axis Powers send expeditions to establish bases closer to our Hemisphere.



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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." 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 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.

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



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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, of our forms 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 putting up on sea, on land and in the air against a Nazi-led war machine. That defense is also our defense.

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



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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.

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 does not merely propose, but is actively engaged today in carrying 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. ^{or that we are afraid of going backward} 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



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*Do not want to lose that
the thing is to keep it well*

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.

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 ask." 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."



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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.



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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. 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,



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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?

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 -- a dictator named abroad.

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

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



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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 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 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.



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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 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. 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 it no free and peaceful people is excluded. It is a family already recognized by the Congress of the United States when



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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 rights throughout the world.



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DRAFT NO. 7

SPURCH 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 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. That we face is cold, hard fact.



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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.

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



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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 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 Ireland, ~~Finland~~, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France. The light of liberty was blacked out.

In June, 1940, Britain stood alone, faced with the same terror which had overrun 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 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



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 Henry L. Hopkins

frankly 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.

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 is 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 all the democracies.

The supply of these tools will not fail. *with assurance*

crit

We have all been lured 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 can say our effort is too great. We need still more. And all will presently learn that it is not too late.

W.E.

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 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. 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.

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.



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From the papers of
JERRY L. HOPKINS

Hitler's plan of world domination would be near its accomplishment, were it not for two factors. One is the magnificent 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 on that.

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 have misled and deceived their peoples into starting 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



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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 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 children's children for slavery. They look to us as their hope for freedom: Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, the Serbs, Croats, Slovanes of Jugoslavia — yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been enslaved.

Freedom — meaning freedom to live, and not freedom to conquer and enslave other peoples — depends on this control of the seas. 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



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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 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.

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, 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, their warehoused cargoes and harbor facilities in those ports of the world which are accessible to bombing attack.

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



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naval battles but must also act in conjunction with land forces in widely-extended theatres of war.

The battle of the Atlantic now extends from the icy waters of the North Pole to the Antarctic continent. 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 fact is that the Nazis are now sinking ships faster than they are now being replaced.

This presents 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 is concentrating her attack on that route. Nazi occupation



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Harry L. Hopkins

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 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 mastering 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.



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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

From the papers of

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

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 fustell 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 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



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
HARRY L. HOPKINS

a cardinal principle of all strategy when he said: "Gilt 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. 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 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



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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 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.

The independence and integrity of the Americas is seriously threatened today.

The safety of our institutions and our form of government is linked with the successful defense of Britain and with 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. Britain's defense is also our defense. That fact is recognized and understood by our government and by the overwhelming majority of the American people.

Our national policy today is therefore this:

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



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From the Papers of
Herbert L. Hopkins

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 -- 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. We have and



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are creating adequate force to do these things. I say to them further you say disregard those few citizens of the United States who pretend that we cannot act, or that we are divided. Every nation has its minority groups; 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 are 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. To 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.

In 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 have been embarrassed by the sinister support they have received from the enemies of democracy in our midst — the Bandits, Fascists, and Communists, and every divisive group devoted



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

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. 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



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PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
1945, P. 17

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

an even better break 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.

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.

The whole world is now divided into two camps. They are separated by the simple difference 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 hope 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, in which the seeds of Hitlerism can be planted and allowed to grow.



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JERRY L. HOPLINS

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.

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.

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



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such and every necessary measure be taken in furtherance of defense 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.

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".



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DRAFT NO. 8

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 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. 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.

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.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
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[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, I am confidently sure, 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.



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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, Luxembourg, and France. The light of liberty was blacked out.

In June, 1940, Britain stood alone, faced with the same 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."



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Our whole program of aid for the democracies has been based frankly 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.

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 is 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 thru 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 new situation.



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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 fat 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 fat 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



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JERRY L. HOPKINS

they would be building a naval and air force large enough -- and 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 Axis 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 the decrees of dictators abroad. 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 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. He would face disaster a hundredfold more destructive than the disaster of 1932.



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Tariff walls -- Chinese walls of isolation -- would not 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. It would not be so much a question of our building a wall to keep Nazi goods out; it would be a question of the Nazis building a wall around us to keep us in.

The whole fabric of life as we know it -- business, finance, manufacturing, mining, agriculture -- all would be tangled and crippled under such a system. Yet to maintain even that crippled independence would require a vast standing army; would curtail the funds we should 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 the day and night watch against the destruction of our cities.

Even our right of worship, and the privilege of rearing our own 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 Columnism?

[Kill our children, too, wander off in search of new gods in brown uniforms]



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From the Papers of
HARRY L. HOPKINS

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. Nazi success there would threaten military domination over Turkey, Iraq, Arabia, Persia and the Persian Gulf.

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 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.



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The war is approaching the brink of the western hemisphere itself. It is coming very close to home.

Enter: ^{to their enslaved collaborators} 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, 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 ^{into believing that he and his Axis partners will thereby be defeated} ^{and thus an obediently on this hemisphere} ^{as that,}



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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 have misled and deceived their peoples into starting 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 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 children's children for slavery. *but in the end these children people* They look to us as their hope for freedom. *]* Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes of Yugo-Slavia — yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been enslaved. *]* — will prove to be one of the powerful forces in crushing Nazi power.



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Barry L. Dargatzis

Freedom -- meaning freedom to live, and not freedom to conquer and subjugate other peoples -- depends on this control of the seas. 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 1806 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



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hit-and-run battleships; 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 these parts 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 Antarctic continent. 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 *about four* 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* *present* *output of merchant ships of present* British and American *shipbuilding* *capacity* and it will be a considerable time before American shipbuilding *has been stepped up sufficiently to* *one month's delay we can* meet the tremendous need for more and more *and more* ships.



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HARRY L. HOPKINS

about four

DRAFT NO. 8

-18-

the attack on ships made off the coast of Brazil as are determined to
[This] presents an actual military danger to the Americans. *prohibit*

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 *Controlled* by Germany, would directly endanger the freedom of the mid-Atlantic and our own physical safety. *As under German domination*
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 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 mastering its arm 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.



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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 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 ^{or limited} 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 held your fire until you see the whites of his eyes, you will never know what hit you. Our Dunker Hill of tomorrow may be several thousand miles from Boston.

Any ^{one} [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.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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: "Hit 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 expeditions 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} [you] believe in the independence and integrity of the Americas, ^{we} [you] must be willing to fight to defend it just as much as ^{we} [you] would to fight for the safety of ^{our} your own home.



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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 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 Americans.

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.



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From the papers of

FRANK L. LUTHER

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 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. 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 ^{maintain} 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 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.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
BARRY L. BUCKLEY

In 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 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 call for



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From the Program of
Barry L. Hopkins

certain technical services, but ^{it} will ^{also} depend on the organized effort of men and women, state by state, city by city, and even block by block. All will have responsibilities to fulfill.

[You will find that] 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] (slander 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 ^{can} ~~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



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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,

[under] excess profits. [The industrial plants of the country must forgo their privilege of making larger gains by manufacturing private articles of national defense. *Articles of Defense must have an undisturbed right of way even in the industrial 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. *This machinery must be* [The American people expect it to] be used promptly ~~and~~ *from issuing instructions that - prevent the immediate action* whenever the Defense Mediation Board ~~thinks it necessary~~ *thinks it necessary* — and without *every potential stoppage of work* 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 possible question that the overwhelming majority of our citizens expect their Government to see that the tools of



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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.

The whole world today 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 was Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation and every other milestone in human progress.

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.



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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 whether and when and where our American interests are attacked, or our security threatened.

We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel that 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 call for work, for sacrifice, and for unity.]

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



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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 such 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 a 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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From the Papers of
Herbert L. Hopkins

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

PAN-AMERICAN UNION

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 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.



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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.



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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.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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.



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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.



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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?



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Those in the New World who were seeking profits would be urging that all that the dictatorships desired was "peace". They would oppose toll 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.

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.



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From the Papers of
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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. Any tariff wall would not be an American wall to keep Nazi goods out; it would be a Nazi wall to keep us in.



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Dwight L. Hopkins

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?



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
HENRY L. JACOBSON

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.



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From the Papers of
HENRY L. BOGGIN

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.



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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.



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From the Papers of
Dwight L. Dargatzis

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 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.



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From the Papers of

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

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, 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.



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ISATTY L. HOPKINS

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 parts 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



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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.



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From the Papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

Attacks on shipping off the very shores of land 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.



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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.



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From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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 ⁵can 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.



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✓ Anyone with an ^{or} 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.



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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 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,



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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.



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PARKER B. ROBERTS, Director
and Staff, N. I.
From the papers of
BARRY L. DODDING

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".



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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 Bandits, 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.



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JIMMY L. HOPKINS

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



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From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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

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From the Reports of
J. Edgar Hoover
January 1, 1961

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 this 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.



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WASHINGTON, D. C.

From the Papers of
HENRY L. JEFFERSON

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:



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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.

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.



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Therefore, with profound consciousness of my responsibilities to my country 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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Suggest that we invite
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and we should be pleased
to have that shall describe us
from his point of view

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

P 19 after word "Challenge"

insert short sentences
summarizing affirmations in
speech

I am to go with security but
with flexibility

We shall determine for ourselves
when and where we intend
to attack.

We will not hesitate a moment
from to repel the attack
We will certainly in first available place
Our own attack without regard
to give more and more
assistance to the economy. We
expect to that

We shall keep our understanding
of the economy to the limit
to defeat Hitler



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76TH CONGRESS
2d Session

SENATE

DOCUMENT
No. 133

EXECUTIVE POWERS
UNDER NATIONAL EMERGENCY

LETTER

FROM

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

TRANSMITTING

WITH REFERENCE TO SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 185,
INFORMATION AS TO EXTRAORDINARY POWERS
AVAILABLE TO THE PRESIDENT DURING
A NATIONAL EMERGENCY OR
STATE OF WAR



OCTOBER 5 (legislative day, OCTOBER 4), 1939.—Referred to the
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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

EXECUTIVE POWERS UNDER NATIONAL EMERGENCY

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., October 4, 1889.

The honorable the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Reference is made to Senate Resolution 185, agreed to September 28, 1939, which reads:

Resolved, That the Attorney General is requested to report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date what executive powers are made available to the President under his proclamation of national emergency, and what other extraordinary powers, if any, are made available to the executive under existing statutes in emergency or state of war.

To comply with this resolution would require me to give an opinion to the Senate on legal phases of the subject matter of the resolution. The historic position of the Attorneys General with respect to the rendering of opinions on legal questions to the Congress and to its committees and members was ably stated by Attorney General Mitchell in response to a resolution of the Senate, agreed to March 8, 1932, which recited certain asserted transactions of railroad companies engaged in interstate commerce and proceeded as follows:

Resolved, That the Attorney General of the United States be requested to inform the Senate as soon as practicable (1) whether such transactions constitute contracts, combinations, or conspiracies in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or attempts to monopolize or restrain such commerce, in violation of the act of Congress of July 2, 1890, as amended, commonly called the antitrust act; (2) in what respect, if any, such transactions differ from the operations condemned by the Supreme Court of the United States in the so-called Northern Securities case (193 U. S. 197); and (3) what steps, if any, have been taken or are contemplated by the Department of Justice for the enforcement in these instances of the antitrust law.

In a letter to the President of the Senate, dated April 25, 1932, declining to comply with the resolution, Mr. Mitchell said:

The first two subdivisions of this resolution request me to give an opinion to the Senate on legal phases of the subject matter of the resolution. I feel obliged to refrain from responding to this request.

The powers of the Attorney General in the matter of giving opinions on questions of law are defined in sections 354 and 356 of the Revised Statutes (title 5, sec. 383 and 391, U. S. C.). These statutes are:

"The Attorney General shall give his advice and opinion upon questions of law, whenever required by the President," and

"The head of any executive department may require the opinion of the Attorney General on any question of law arising in the administration of his department."

These statutes, in substantially this form, have been in effect since 1789. They do not authorize, empower, or require the Attorney General to give opinions to committees of Congress or to either House. For more than 100 years there has been an unbroken line of authority to that effect. As early as 1818 Attorney General Wirt held that under these statutes Attorneys General are not authorized to give official opinions on questions of law except upon call of the President or

at the request of one of the heads of the executive departments to enable him to decide a question pending in his own department for action.

In the following instances the Attorneys General have, for the reasons stated, declined to give official opinions on questions of law or on the constitutionality or construction of legislation either pending or enacted, to committees of the House or to committees of the Senate or in response to resolutions or requests from the Senate itself or from the House of Representatives: 1 Op. 335; 5 Op. 561; 10 Op. 164; 12 Op. 544; 14 Op. 17; 14 Op. 177; 17 Op. 357; 18 Op. 87; 18 Op. 107.

Under date of January 28, 1829, the House of Representatives entered an order requesting the opinion of Attorney General Wirt respecting a matter in which the House was interested. In declining to give the opinion the Attorney General among other things said:

"The Attorney General is sworn to discharge the duties of his office according to law. To be instrumental in enlarging the sphere of his official duties beyond that which is prescribed by law would, in my opinion, be a violation of this oath." (1 Op. 336.)

That opinion has stood unquestioned for 112 years, and has been repeatedly followed in later rulings. Under date of December 17, 1884, Attorney General Brewster felt obliged to decline compliance with a resolution passed by the House of Representatives requesting his opinion on the application of a section of the Revised Statutes (18 Op. 87). Having failed to obtain the opinion by direct request, the House of Representatives passed another resolution requesting the Postmaster General to ask for the Attorney General's opinion, and the Postmaster General transmitted the request to the Attorney General, who again refused to give the opinion on the ground that he had no authority to give it to the House of Representatives and the Postmaster General did not need it on any question pending in his Department.

Under date of February 14, 1923, my immediate predecessor declined the request of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments for an opinion, and on June 3, 1930, I felt obliged to decline an opinion requested by the Judiciary Committee of the Senate.

Congress has accepted this long-standing interpretation of the law and has never attempted by law to enlarge the powers or duties of the Attorney General so as to require him to give opinions to either House of Congress or to committees thereof. Having in mind the constitutional separation of the functions of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Government, there has always been a serious question whether the principle of the separation was violated by a statute attempting to make the Attorney General a legal adviser of the legislative branch, and as a matter of governmental policy the wisdom of constituting as legal adviser of either House of Congress an officer of the executive department, who sits in the President's Cabinet and acts as his legal adviser, has always been open to doubt.

When pending legislation affecting the Department of Justice has been referred to Attorneys General for comment or suggestion, it has been their practice to suggest such legal points as are pertinent and which ought to receive consideration by committees, but that practice has not, in my opinion, involved the formal legal opinions from Attorneys General and has no resemblance to a request for an opinion as to the effect of an existing statute.

With the stated defense for the request of the Senate, I am obliged to decline to give an opinion in this case.

The above letter to Attorney General Mitchell will be found in 36 Op. A. G. at page 533, et seq. Other precedents on this subject are listed in the Congressional Record of March 26, 1936 (vol. 80, p. 4370).

This time-honored position should not, in my opinion, be departed from. However, desiring to be of all possible assistance to the Senate, I have prepared and am transmitting herewith a list of statutes which, by their terms, grant to the executive branch of the Government powers which may be exercised "in emergency or state of war." It is not claimed that this list is complete—indeed, accuracy in this respect can be assured only by careful and painstaking search of the entire body of the Federal statutory law—statutes of this class having been enacted from time to time since the beginning of the Government.

You are aware, of course, that the Executive has powers not enumerated in the statutes—powers derived not from statutory grants

but from the Constitution. It is universally recognized that the constitutional duties of the Executive carry with them the constitutional powers necessary for their proper performance. These constitutional powers have never been specifically defined, and in fact cannot be, since their extent and limitations are largely dependent upon conditions and circumstances. In a measure this is true with respect to most of the powers of the Executive, both constitutional and statutory. The right to take specific action might not exist under one state of facts, while under another it might be the absolute duty of the Executive to take such action.

Respectfully,

FRANK MURPHY,
Attorney General.

STATUTES WHICH BY THEIR TERMS GRANT POWERS THAT MAY BE EXERCISED BY THE EXECUTIVE "IN EMERGENCY OR STATE OF WAR"

For convenience of persons desiring to examine them the statutes are listed in the order in which they appear in the United States Code, which results generally in grouping according to subject matter.

Title 7, U. S. C., "Agriculture."

Section 500, act of September 1, 1937, 50 Stat. 916 (U. S. C., title 7, sec. 1179), authorizing the President to suspend the operation of titles II and III of said act when he "finds and proclaims that a national economic or other emergency exists with respect to sugar or liquid sugar."

Title 10, U. S. C., "Army."

Section 2, act of July 2, 1926, 44 Stat. 780, as amended (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 291a), authorizing the President to suspend the operation of additional nonflying officers for the Air Corps "in time of war."

Act of July 2, 1926, 44 Stat. 781, as amended (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 291e), providing qualifications for flying officers of the Air Corps "in time of war."

Section 30, act of June 3, 1916, 39 Stat. 187, as amended (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 343), authorizing members of the Regular Army to be ordered to active duty "in case of emergency declared by the President."

Section 32, act of June 4, 1920, 41 Stat. 776 (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 369), authorizing the President to order Reserve officers of the Army to active duty for more than 15 days in a calendar year, without their consent, "in time of a national emergency expressly declared by Congress."

Section 35, act of June 4, 1920, 41 Stat. 780 (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 426), authorizing the President to place members of the enlisted Reserve Corps on active duty for a longer period than 15 days in a calendar year, without their consent, "in time of a national emergency expressly declared by Congress."

Section 51, act of June 4, 1920, 41 Stat. 785 (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 513), authorizing any officer of the Regular Army to be appointed to higher temporary grade without vacating his permanent commission "in time of war."



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Act of July 6, 1812 (R. S., sec. 1209), as amended (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 521), authorizing the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to confer commissions by brevet upon commissioned officers of the Army for distinguished conduct and public service in the presence of the enemy "in time of war."

Section 2, act of June 3, 1916, 39 Stat. 166, as amended (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 602), authorizing (by inference) increase in the number of enlisted men of the Regular Army beyond the peacetime limits of 250,000 "in time of war or similar emergency when the public safety demands it."

Act of April 26, 1808, 30 Stat. 365 (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 604), providing pay for officers exercising command in higher grade than troops operating against the enemy "in time of war."

Section 51, act of June 4, 1920, 41 Stat. 785 (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 992), authorizing the President to employ retired officers of the Army on active duty "in time of war."

Act of May 23, 1926, 44 Stat. 532 (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 1032), providing that retired nurses may be employed on active duty in the discretion of the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy "in time of war or national emergency."

Act of July 5, 1884, 23 Stat. 100, as amended (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 1200), authorizing certain discretion in the purchase of supplies for the Army "in cases of emergency."

Act of March 2, 1901, 31 Stat. 905 (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 1201), authorizing purchase of supplies for the Army without advertising "in cases of emergency."

Act of August 29, 1916, 39 Stat. 645 (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 1301), authorizing the President, through the Secretary of War, to take possession and assume control of any system or systems of transportation or any part thereof "in time of war."

Act of February 4, 1887, 24 Stat. 380, as amended (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 1302), providing for preference to shipments of troops and material of war upon demand of the President "in time of war or threatened war."

Act of July 5, 1884, 23 Stat. 110, as amended (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 1361), waiving the requirement of advertising in connection with purchase of transportation equipment by the Army "in cases of extreme emergency."

Act of June 4, 1920, 41 Stat. 811 (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 1500), providing for dismissals of officers of the Army in time of war.

Title 12, U. S. C., "Banks and Banking."

Section 4, act of March 9, 1933, 48 Stat. 2 (U. S. C., title 12, sec. 95), forbidding Federal Reserve banks to transact business except under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury with the approval of the President "during such emergency period as the President * * * by proclamation may prescribe."

Section 5 (b), act of October 6, 1917, 40 Stat. 415, as amended (U. S. C., title 12, sec. 95a), authorizing the President to investigate, regulate, or prohibit transactions in foreign exchange, and export, hoarding, melting, or earmarking of gold or silver coin, bullion, or currency "during time of war or during any other period of national emergency."

Title 14, U. S. C., "Coast Guard."

Section 1, act of January 28, 1915, 38 Stat. 800 (U. S. C., title 14, sec. 1), providing that the Coast Guard shall operate as a part of the Navy, subject to the orders of the Secretary of the Navy, "in time of war or when the President shall so direct."

Act of August 29, 1916, 39 Stat. 691 (U. S. C., title 14, sec. 95), authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to man Coast Guard stations "in time of war."

Act of July 1, 1918, 40 Stat. 717, as amended (U. S. C., title 14, secs. 164 and 165), providing that commissioned or warrant officers of the Coast Guard on the retired list may be called to active service and that any retired officer so recalled may be temporarily advanced in rank on the retired list, not above lieutenant commander, as the President may determine, "during the existence of war or of a national emergency declared by the President to exist."

Title 15, U. S. C., "Commerce and Trade."

Section 805, act of September 8, 1916, 39 Stat. 790 (U. S. C., title 15, sec. 76), providing that whenever "during the existence of a war in which the United States is not engaged" the President finds that any country restricts the importation of products of the United States contrary to the law and practice of nations, the President is authorized to prohibit or restrict the importation into the United States of articles from such country.

Section 808, act of September 8, 1916, 39 Stat. 790 (U. S. C., title 15, sec. 77), providing that "during the existence of a war in which the United States is not engaged" the President may direct that clearance be refused any vessel which, on account of the laws of a belligerent country, grants a preference to any person or company; that when the President finds that a belligerent country discriminates against vessels or citizens of the United States, he may withhold clearance from one or more vessels of the belligerent country until the practice has ceased, or he may deny to such vessels and citizens of the belligerent the rights usually accorded by the United States; and that the President is authorized to employ the land and naval forces of the United States to carry out the purposes of this section.

Section 19, act of June 6, 1934, 48 Stat. 808 (U. S. C., title 15, sec. 78a (a) (4)), authorizing the Securities and Exchange Commission summarily to suspend trading in any registered security on any national securities exchange for a period not exceeding 10 days or, with the approval of the President, to suspend all trading on any national securities exchange for a period not exceeding 90 days "if in its opinion the public interest so requires."

Title 16, U. S. C., "Conservation."

Section 16, act of June 10, 1920, 41 Stat. 1072 (U. S. C., title 16, sec. 809), providing that 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 purpose involving the safety of the United States "when in the opinion of the President * * * the safety of the United States demands it," paying just compensation for the use.

Act of June 10, 1920, as amended by section 213, act of August 26, 1935, 49 Stat. 848 (U. S. C., title 16, sec. 824a (c)), authorizing the Federal Power Commission to require such temporary connections of



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facilities and such generation, delivery, interchange, or transmission of electric energy as in its judgment will best meet the emergency and serve the public interest "during the continuance of any war in which the United States is engaged, or whenever the Commission determines that an emergency exists by reason of a sudden increase in the demand for electrical energy," etc.

Title 18, U. S. C., "Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure."

Section 14, act of March 4, 1909, 35 Stat. 1090 (U. S. C., title 18, sec. 26), authorizing the President to employ the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia thereof, for the purpose of taking possession of and detaining, in order to enforce execution of prescribed prohibitions and penalties, vessels which are fitted out and armed, etc., contrary to the provisions of the said act.

Section 15, act of March 4, 1909, 35 Stat. 1091, as amended (U. S. C., title 18, sec. 27), authorizing the President to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States, or the militia thereof, as he may deem necessary to compel any foreign vessel to depart from the United States or any of its possessions in all cases in which, by the law of nations or the treaties of the United States, it ought not to remain, and to detain or prevent any foreign vessel from so departing in all cases in which, by the law of nations or the treaties of the United States, it is not entitled to depart.

Section 17, act of March 4, 1909, 35 Stat. 1091 (U. S. C., title 18, sec. 29), providing that collectors of customs shall detain any vessel manifestly built for warlike purposes, and about to depart from the United States, the cargo of which principally consists of arms and munitions of war, when it appears probable that such vessel is intended to be employed by the owners to cruise or commit hostilities upon the subjects or property of foreign countries with whom the United States is at peace, until the decision of the President is had thereon, etc.

Section 1, title V, act of June 15, 1917, 40 Stat. 221 (U. S. C., title 18, sec. 31), providing that during a war in which the United States is neutral the President may withhold clearance from any vessel which is required by law to secure clearance before departing from the United States, etc., whenever there is reasonable cause to believe that such vessel is about to carry fuel, arms, etc., to any workshop of a foreign belligerent nation in violation of the laws, treaties, or obligations of the United States under the law of nations.

Section 2, title V, act of June 15, 1917, 40 Stat. 221 (U. S. C., title 18, sec. 32), providing that during a war in which the United States is neutral the President may detain armed vessels until the owners furnish proof that the vessels will not be employed to commit hostilities upon the subjects or property of foreign countries with which the United States is at peace, etc.

Section 3, title V, act of June 15, 1917, 40 Stat. 222 (U. S. C., title 18, sec. 33), providing that during a war in which the United States is neutral it shall be unlawful to send out of the jurisdiction of the United States any vessel built, armed, or equipped as a vessel of war, etc., with the intent that such vessel shall be delivered to a belligerent nation.

Section 4, title V, act of June 15, 1917, 40 Stat. 222 (U. S. C., title 18, sec. 34), providing that "during a war in which the United States is a neutral" any master or person having charge or command

of any vessel, domestic or foreign, shall deliver to the Collector of Customs a statement under oath concerning any intended transshipment or delivery of the cargo or any part thereof to other vessels in port or upon the high seas.

Section 5, title V, act of June 15, 1917, 40 Stat. 222 (U. S. C., title 18, sec. 35), authorizing the Collector of Customs, subject to review by the Secretary of Commerce, to refuse clearance to and forbid the departure of vessels not entitled to clearance or whenever there is reasonable cause to believe that the additional statements required by the preceding section (U. S. C., title 18, sec. 34, *supra*) are false.

Section 9, title V, act of June 15, 1917, 40 Stat. 223 (U. S. C., title 18, sec. 38), authorizing the President to employ the land or naval forces of the United States to carry out the purposes of several sections set forth above and others mentioned in the Code under the heading "Offenses against Neutrality" (6, *et seq.*, U. S. C., title 18, secs. 25, 27, and 31 to 37).

Title 19, U. S. C., "Customs Duties."

Section 318, title III, act of June 17, 1930, 46 Stat. 696 (U. S. C., title 19, sec. 1318), providing that whenever the President shall by proclamation declare an "emergency to exist by reason of a state of war," or otherwise, he may authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to extend during the continuance of such emergency the time prescribed in the said (tariff) law for the performance of any act, and may authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the importation free of duty of food, clothing, and medical, surgical, and other supplies for use in emergency relief work.

Title 22, U. S. C., "Foreign Relations and Intercourse."

Section 1, act of May 24, 1924, 43 Stat. 146, as amended (U. S. C., title 22, sec. 22), authorizing the President to recall any retired Foreign Service officer temporarily to active service in the event of "public emergency."

Section 1, act of May 22, 1918, 40 Stat. 559 (U. S. C., title 22, sec. 223), authorizing the President to impose additional restrictions and prohibitions upon the departure of persons from and their entry into the United States "when the United States is at war."

Section 1, act of January 31, 1922, 42 Stat. 361 (U. S. C., title 22, sec. 236), providing that whenever the President finds that in any American country, etc., conditions of domestic violence exist, which are or may be promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war procured from the United States, and makes proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful to export, except under such limitations and exceptions as the President prescribes, any arms or munitions of war from any place in the United States to such country until otherwise ordered by the President or by the Congress.

Section 1, title VI, act of June 15, 1917, 40 Stat. 223 (U. S. C., title 22, sec. 238), providing that under stated conditions certain classes of officers of the United States and every other person duly authorized by the President may seize and detain any articles and munitions of war about to be exported from the United States in violation of law, and the vessels or vehicles containing them.

Section 8, title VI, act of June 15, 1917, 40 Stat. 225 (U. S. C., title 22, sec. 245), providing that the President may employ such part of



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the land or naval forces of the United States as he may deem necessary to carry out the purposes of certain sections of the said act of June 15, 1917, including section 238, *supra*.

The joint resolution of May 1, 1937 ("Neutrality Act"), 50 Stat. 121 (U. S. C., title 22, secs. 245a et seq.), providing for an embargo upon the exportation of arms, etc., and making unlawful certain other acts, in the event of a finding and proclamation by the President of the existence of "a state of war between, or among, two or more foreign states."

Title 31, U. S. C., "Money and Finance"

Act of March 2, 1901, 31 Stat. 910, as amended (U. S. C., title 31, sec. 80), authorizing an extension of the time for examination of accounts covering expenditures for the Army "in time of war."

Act of July 12, 1870, 16 Stat. 251 (R. S., sec. 3679), as amended (U. S. C., title 31, sec. 605), authorizing the waiver or modification of the monthly apportionments of appropriations for governmental departments and agencies for expenses during the fiscal year, "upon the happening of some extraordinary emergency or unusual circumstance which could not be anticipated at the time of making such apportionment."

Section 43, act of May 12, 1933, 48 Stat. 51, as amended (U. S. C., title 31, sec. 821), authorizing the President to take certain action in respect of credit expansion when he finds "an economic emergency requires an expansion of credit."

Title 32, U. S. C., "National Guard"

Section 49, act of June 4, 1920, 41 Stat. 784, as amended (U. S. C., title 32, sec. 81), authorizing the President to order into the active military service of the United States all units and members of the National Guard of the United States, "when Congress shall have declared a national emergency and shall have authorized the use of armed land forces of the United States for any purpose requiring the use of troops in excess of those of the Regular Army."

Section 4, act of January 21, 1903, 32 Stat. 776, as amended (U. S. C., title 32, sec. 81a), authorizing the President to call forth such number of the militia of the States, Territories, or of the District of Columbia as may be necessary to repel invasion, suppress rebellion, or to enable the President to execute the laws of the Union.

Section 38, act of June 3, 1916, 39 Stat. 190, as amended (U. S. C., title 32, sec. 81c), authorizing the President to the extent provided for by appropriations for the specific purpose to order officers of the National Guard of the United States to active duty "in an emergency" at any time and for the period thereof, provided that except in time of a national emergency expressly declared by the Congress, no officer of the National Guard shall be employed on active duty for more than 15 days in any calendar year without his consent.

Title 33, U. S. C., "Navigation and Navigable Waters"

Act of March 3, 1819 (R. S., secs. 4293, 4294), 3 Stat. 510, 512, and act of August 5, 1861, 12 Stat. 316 (R. S., sec. 4298) (U. S. C., title 33, secs. 381, 382, and 386), authorizing the President to employ the public armed vessels to suppress piracy, etc.

Act of August 29, 1916, 39 Stat. 602 (U. S. C., title 33, sec. 768), authorizing the President to transfer to the War Department or the

Navy Department vessels, equipment, stations, and personnel of the Lighthouse Service (now a part of the Coast Guard) whenever in the judgment of the President "a sufficient national emergency exists."

Section 16, act of May 22, 1917, 40 Stat. 87 (U. S. C., title 33, sec. 855), authorizing the President to transfer to the War Department, or the Navy Department, vessels, equipment, stations, and personnel of the Coast and Geodetic Survey whenever in the judgment of the President "a sufficient national emergency exists."

Title 34, U. S. C., "Navy"

Act of February 15, 1870, 20 Stat. 205, as amended (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 21), authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to appoint assistant surgeons for temporary service "in time of war."

Act of July 1, 1918, 40 Stat. 714, as amended (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 154), authorizing the President to increase the authorized enlisted strength of the Navy "whenever in his judgment a sufficient emergency exists."

Act of August 29, 1916, 39 Stat. 581 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 191), providing that furloughed enlisted men of the Navy shall be subject to recall "in time of war or national emergency" to complete the unexpired portion of enlistment.

Act of May 22, 1917, 40 Stat. 89 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 213), authorizing the selection of officers for the command of fleets from the grade of captain in addition to that of rear admiral "in time of war."

Act of August 29, 1916, 39 Stat. 579, as amended (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 311), providing for suspension of the requirement of sea service in connection with the promotion of officers of the Navy in exceptional cases "during war or national emergency declared by the President or by the Secretary of the Navy."

Act of March 3, 1873, 17 Stat. 547 (R. S., sec. 1402) (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 421), providing that except as otherwise provided by law no officer on the retired list of the Navy shall be employed on active duty "except in time of war."

Act of July 1, 1918, 40 Stat. 717 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 423), providing that retired officers of the Navy or Marine Corps may be ordered to active duty "during the existence of war or a national emergency declared by the President."

Act of December 21, 1861, 12 Stat. 329 (R. S., sec. 1463), as amended (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 424), providing that the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, may detail officers on the retired list for the command of squadrons or ships "in time of war."

Act of March 3, 1915, 38 Stat. 941, as amended (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 433), authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to call retired enlisted men to active service "in time of war, or when a national emergency exists."

Section 4, act of May 13, 1926, 44 Stat. 532 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 440a), providing that retired nurses may be employed on active duty in the discretion of the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy "in time of war or national emergency."

Section 18, act of June 23, 1938, 52 Stat. 952 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 820a), limiting the number of general officers on the active list of the Marine Corps, "except in time of war."

Act of August 29, 1916, 39 Stat. 614 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 831), providing 6-weeks-per-year limitation upon Marine Corps Training



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Camps for the instruction of civilians "except in time of actual or threatened war."

Act of February 16, 1914, 38 Stat. 280 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 851), authorizing the President to commission in the Regular Navy civilians selected and certified as provided by law "upon the outbreak of war, or when, in his opinion, war is imminent."

Section 5, act of June 25, 1938, 52 Stat. 1170 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 853c), superseding section 9, act of February 28, 1925, 43 Stat. 1082 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 757), authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to order to active duty members of the Naval Reserve, including those retired, "in time of war or when in the opinion of the President a national emergency exists."

Section 302, act of June 25, 1938, 52 Stat. 1180 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 855a), authorizing an allowance to officers of the Naval Reserve for purchase of uniforms when reporting for active duty "in time of war or national emergency."

Section 303, act of June 25, 1938, 52 Stat. 1181 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 855b), superseding section 15, act of February 28, 1925, 43 Stat. 1083 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 761), providing for issuance of outfits, etc., for midshipmen, cadets, nurses, and enlisted men of the Naval Reserve when reporting for active duty "in time of war or national emergency."

Section 311, act of June 25, 1938, 52 Stat. 1183 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 855j), superseding section 16, act of February 28, 1925, 43 Stat. 1084 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 764), providing for precedence in rank of officers of the Naval Reserve when mobilized with the Regular Navy "for war or a national emergency."

Section 312, act of June 25, 1938, 52 Stat. 1183 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 855k), superseding section 17, act of February 28, 1925, 43 Stat. 1084 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 765), providing for advancement in rank of Naval Reserve and Marine Corps Reserve officers "in time of war or national emergency."

Section 401, act of June 25, 1938, 52 Stat. 1185 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 856), superseding section 28, act of February 28, 1925, 43 Stat. 1088 (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 841), providing that officers and men of the Naval Reserve who are members of the State Naval Militia shall stand relieved from service or duty with such militia when on active duty "in time of war or national emergency."

Section 1624, art. 36, R. S., as amended (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 1260, art. 36), providing for dismissals of officers of the Navy in time of war.

Title 35, U. S. C., "Patents."

Act of October 6, 1917, 40 Stat. 394 (U. S. C., title 35, sec. 42), authorizing the Commissioner of Patents to order certain inventions kept secret and to withhold patent therefor "when the United States is at war."

Title 36, U. S. C., "Patriotic Societies and Observances."

Act of April 24, 1912, 37 Stat. 96 (U. S. C., title 36, sec. 10), authorizing the President to utilize the services of the American Red Cross "in time of war, or when war is imminent."

Title 37, U. S. C., "Pay and Allowances."

Act of June 10, 1922, 42 Stat. 626 (U. S. C., title 37, sec. 2), authorizing increased pay for certain officers of the Army "during the existence of a state of war, formally recognized by Congress."

Title 40, U. S. C., "Public Buildings, Property, and Works."

Act of July 9, 1918, 40 Stat. 861 (U. S. C., title 40, sec. 37), authorizing the Secretary of War to rent or lease any building or part thereof in the District of Columbia that may be required for military purposes "in time of war, or when war is imminent."

Act of March 4, 1917, 39 Stat. 1192 (U. S. C., title 40, sec. 326), authorizing the President to suspend the provisions of law prohibiting more than 8 hours labor in any 1 day by persons engaged upon work covered by contracts with the United States "in case of national emergency."

Title 42, U. S. C., "The Public Health."

Act of July 1, 1902, 32 Stat. 713, as amended (U. S. C., title 42, sec. 8), authorizing the President to utilize the Public Health Service "in times of threatened or actual war."

Act of October 27, 1918, 40 Stat. 1017 (U. S. C., title 42, sec. 18), authorizing the creation of a Reserve for duty in the Public Health Service "in time of national emergency."

Title 46, U. S. C., "Shipping."

Sections 1 and 2, act of March 24, 1908, 35 Stat. 46 (U. S. C., title 46, secs. 133 and 134), providing that hospital ships in ports of the United States and the possessions thereof shall be exempt "in time of war" from all dues and taxes imposed on vessels by the laws of the United States, and authorizing the President to name the exempt hospital ships by proclamation and to indicate the time when the exemptions provided for shall begin and end.

Section 4, act of July 15, 1918, 40 Stat. 901 (U. S. C., title 46, sec. 835), making it unlawful to transfer vessels, shipping facilities, etc., to foreign registry or ownership "when the United States is at war or during any national emergency, the existence of which is declared by proclamation of the President."

Section 302, act of June 29, 1936, 49 Stat. 1992 (U. S. C., title 46, sec. 1132), authorizing the President to suspend the provisions relating to citizenship of officers and crews on vessels documented under the laws of the United States, etc., "during a national emergency as proclaimed by the President."

Section 712 (d), act of June 29, 1936, 49 Stat. 2010 (U. S. C., title 46, sec. 1202), authorizing the termination of charters of Maritime Commission vessels "in any national emergency as proclaimed by the President."

Section 902 (a), act of June 29, 1936, 49 Stat. 2015, as amended (U. S. C., title 46, sec. 1242), authorizing the Maritime Commission to requisition any vessel documented under the laws of the United States "during any national emergency declared by proclamation of the President."

Title 47, U. S. C., "Telegraphs, Telephones, and Radiotelegraphs."

Section 606, act of June 19, 1934, 48 Stat. 1104 (U. S. C., title 47, sec. 808), authorizing the President to suspend or amend rules and regulations applicable to transmission of communications by radio or wire, etc., "upon proclamation by the President that there exists war or a threat of war or a state of public peril or disaster or other national emergency, or in order to preserve the neutrality of the United States," also to require priority for communications essential to the national



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defense "during the continuance of war in which the United States is engaged."

Title 48, U. S. C., "Territories and Insular Possessions."

Section 13, act of August 24, 1912, 37 Stat. 560 (U. S. C., title 48, sec. 1306), authorizing the President to designate an officer of the Army to assume exclusive authority and jurisdiction over the operation of the Panama Canal in time of war or when, in his opinion, war is imminent.

Title 49, U. S. C., "Transportation."

Section 402, act of February 28, 1920, 41 Stat. 476-477 (U. S. C., title 49, sec. 1 (13)), authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to set different preferences and priorities upon certification by the President that such preferences and priorities are essential to the national defense and security "in time of war or threatened war."

Title 50, U. S. C., "War."

Act of July 6, 1798 (R. S., sec. 4007), as amended by act of April 16, 1918, 40 Stat. 531 (U. S. C., title 50, sec. 21), providing that "whenever there is a declared war between the United States and any foreign nation or government, or any invasion or predatory incursion is perpetrated, attempted, or threatened against the territory of the United States by any foreign nation or government, and the President makes public proclamation of the event," all nationals of the hostile nation of the age of fourteen years and upward, within the United States and not naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed as alien enemies, and authorizing the President by proclamation to direct the conduct to be observed by and toward such aliens, etc.

Section 6, act of June 15, 1917, 40 Stat. 219 (U. S. C., title 50, sec. 36), authorizing the President to designate prohibited places under the provisions relating to espionage "in time of war or in case of national emergency."

Act of June 3, 1916, 39 Stat. 213 (U. S. C., title 50, sec. 80), providing for the procurement of war materials "in time of war or when war is imminent," and authorizing the President to appoint a Board on Mobilization of Industries Essential to Military Preparedness.

Act of June 16, 1938, 52 Stat. 708 (U. S. C., title 50, sec. 93), providing that the limitation upon the placing of educational orders for the manufacture of munitions, etc., "shall not prohibit the awarding of any contract during any war in which the United States is engaged."

Act of October 6, 1917, 40 Stat. 385 (U. S. C., title 50, sec. 121, et seq.), dealing with manufacture, possession, licensing, etc., of explosives "when the United States is at war."

Act of July 2, 1917, 40 Stat. 241, as amended (U. S. C., title 50, sec. 171), providing for the acquisition of land for military purposes "in time of war or the imminence thereof."

Act of July 9, 1918, 40 Stat. 888, as amended (U. S. C., title 50, sec. 172), providing for the acquisition of property for production of lumber "in time of war or the imminence thereof."

Act of April 11, 1898, 30 Stat. 737 (U. S. C., title 50, sec. 178), authorizing the President to order the erection of any temporary fort or fortification upon the written consent of the owner of the land upon which such work is to be placed "in case of emergency."

Section 1, title II, act of June 15, 1917, 40 Stat. 220 (U. S. C., title 50, sec. 191), authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury, subject to the approval of the President, to make rules and regulations governing the anchorage and movement of vessels in the territorial waters of the United States whenever the President has by proclamation or Executive order declared a "national emergency to exist by reason of actual or threatened war, insurrection or invasion, or disturbance or threatened disturbance of the international relations of the United States."

U. S. C., title 50, secs. 201-226, conferring extraordinary powers upon the President to be exercised in case of insurrection.

Statutes not yet included in Code.

Title I, act of June 29, 1939 (Public. No. 156, 76th Cong., 1st sess.), known as the Department of State Appropriation Act, 1940, providing that whenever the President finds that a "state of national emergency" exists endangering the lives of American citizens in any foreign country, he may make available for expenditure for the protection of such citizens a sum, not to exceed \$500,000, from the various appropriations under the heading "Foreign intercourse."

Statutes imposing penalties for acts committed in time of war.

There are a number of statutory provisions imposing penalties or increased penalties for various offenses committed in time of war. Some of these appear in the "Articles of War" (U. S. C., title 16, ch. 36), the "Articles for the Government of the Navy" (U. S. C., title 34, ch. 21), the provisions of the Criminal Code dealing with "Offenses against existence of government," "Offenses against neutrality" (U. S. C., title 18, ch. 1 and 2), etc.



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WIDE PLANS, N. I.

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British Fa Back in Crete... Nazis Using Heavy Tanks

Churchill Announces Six Warships Sunk in Mediterranean... RAF Downs Six Transports

By SAULWY JAMES

Britain and Greece still hold the island of Crete, today. But the sixth day of the vicious land, sea and air fighting was ushered in with new reports of German successes and the ominous hint from Winston Churchill that the Allies may soon lose. The Prime Minister praised the "magnificent resistance" of the Greeks and the New Zealanders, and said that no matter what the outcome the battle would rank high in British history; and that the issue of the greatly intensified fighting "lances in the balance."

This had news from Crete dampened London's joy over the end of the Blitzkrieg. British defense positions on the outskirts of Candia were abandoned in the strength re-enforced Germans, and Cairo reported that the situation in that important sector was "serious."

"British dispatches indicated that the Nazis probably had landed more than 10,000 air-borne troops on the island, and had recently succeeded in flying in heavy tanks as well as the lighter wheeled models."

But not all the news was bad. The Anglo-Greek defenders showed no signs of giving up the struggle yet. The RAF was still in the air. The British Fleet still stood in the waters around Crete despite German boasts that it had been practically swept from the Eastern Mediterranean.

Churchill More Accurate

Mr. Churchill told Commons that Sixty dive-bombers had sunk only two destroyers and four destroyers and that British naval strength in the Mediterranean was relatively greater today than at any time before the first shots had been fired in Crete.

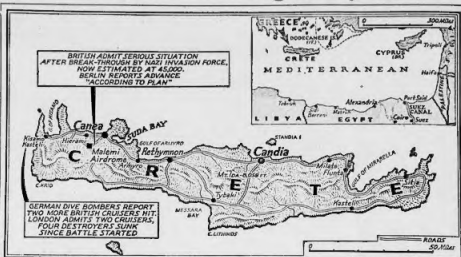
The Prime Minister said that British warships had for the present been kept busy by sea-borne Nazi expeditions. Two Greek fishing boats and two Nazi torpedo boats fought with German ships and apparently been sunk in addition to the two German convoys broken up last week with an estimated loss of 6000 Nazis.

Earlier, the German High Command announced that 11 British cruisers and eight destroyers had been sent to the bottom of the Leftefret. Mr. Churchill's version of British naval losses in Crete waters is probably the more accurate. Despite the fact that the German High Command usually tells the truth in its communications, traditional hatred and jealousy of Britain's naval power might have inspired exaggerated reports.

Quick RAF Action

News that heavy tanks were taking part in the Nazi drive was especially serious for Britain because they have little modern heavy or mechanized equipment on Crete. But the intensified German thrust brought quick action from the RAF, which shot down five troop-planes, German transports and damaged more than 100 others in attacks on the Nazi-held airfield at Malenti. The airfield was strewn with the wreckage of Nazi planes and churned up by British bombs.

Although small groups of Nazi paratroopers are holding out at Malenti and Retino areas, the main German attack eastward said likely to be in earnest until Anglo-Greek resistance around Candia and Suda Bay has been smashed.



British Slow Axis Thrust Into Egypt

BBC Welcomes FDR's Speech

British troops in Egypt have slowed down a sudden Axis thrust across the Egyptian frontier led by tanks and Nazi planes. Dispatches from Cairo today said the British still held the towns of Sollum inside the Egyptian frontier, but added that it was too early yet to tell whether the Axis advance was the beginning of the long-heralded German invasion of Egypt.

The Germans said that the push was merely a reconnaissance patrol which had advanced 20 miles along the Sollum escarpment and had returned with "good results." Berlin mentioned a British attack on the Egyptian defense positions west of Sollum which was repulsed with "heavy losses." There was no news from besieged Tobruk in Libya, where at least two Nazi divisions were still immobilized.

In Iraq, anti-British Premier Rashid Ali Beg Gullani was still apparently holding out against the British drive on Baghdad. An RAF communiqué said the German-held Mosul airfield had been bombed, setting buildings and hangars afire.

Vichy Promises U. S. To Keep Fleet, Empire

Vichy has given Washington written assurances that the French Fleet and Colonial Empire will not be turned over to Hitler. But Hitler controls all France was made by Ambassador Henry-Haye in a note to the State Department.

Counterpoint to the step was a Vichy dispatch announcing that Vice Premier Darlan had gone back to Paris for more conferences with the Axis on collaboration with Hitler's "New Order."

Other French news: a British warship captured the French freighter W. Williams and the south coast of Martinique. It was the second French ship taken recently; the British already had seized the tanker Scheraga.

Winant Returning For Report to FDR

Ambassador John G. Winant is coming home Friday to tell FDR how Britain's war is going and what are British needs. The United States reported from Washington that Mr. Winant, who went to London last February, was coming on his own initiative and had not been summoned by the White House.

Two days ago the Ambassador had another long talk with Prime Minister Churchill. He has been in close touch with other cabinet members and has talked at length with high Army and Navy officials.

With Mr. Winant when he arrives by Clipper from Lisbon Friday will be military counselor Ben Cohen, the New Dealer who accompanied him on his London mission. Some Washington sources say Mr. Cohen will not return to London but will become a member of the SEC administration.

Stay East of 180°, Japs Tell U. S. Navy

The Japanese foreign office memorandum, Japan Times and Advertiser, today told the U. S. A. exactly where it considers the U. S. Navy should stay east of the 180th meridian, between Hawaii and Wake Island. "Every navy that should venture beyond this line would undermine the balance of naval power in the Pacific," said the newspaper in an article adding that after the present war Japan's navy would be one of the two biggest in the world. Apparently the Japs are counting on destruction of either the American or British fleets.

FAR EAST FOOTNOTE: Bangkok dispatches report Britain has agreed to sell large quantities of oil to Siam, the Malaysian nation which traditionally has been a British dependency but which this year acted in concert with the Japanese attacking French Indo-China.

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FDR Underlines Nazi Threat To 'Atlantic Fortress, Dakar'

The President, in his speech last night, emphasized the strategic location of this French West African port as a potential base for Nazi operations against the Western Hemisphere by referring to it as an "Atlantic fortress." Ruled by Vichy, which in turn is ruled by Berlin, Dakar lies only 1800 miles from Brazil. Mr. Roosevelt listed it with positions which the Germans "have the armed power at any moment to occupy."

Photo by Three Lions

FDR: 'Anyone With an Atlas . . . Knows That It Is Stupid to Wait'

QUOTATIONS on this world map are from President Roosevelt's document the statement with which he began his analysis is that what started as a European war has developed, as the develop, into a war for world domination. Adolf Hitler ne Europe as an end in itself. European conquest was but a st



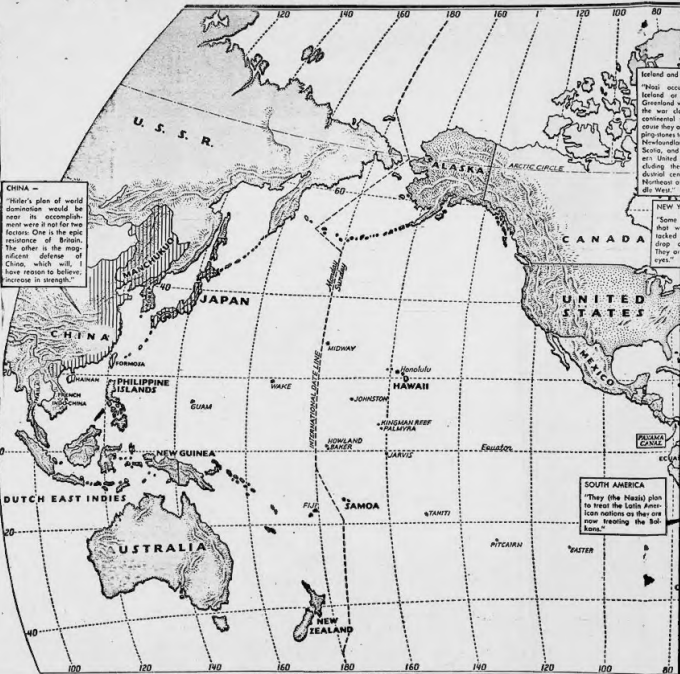
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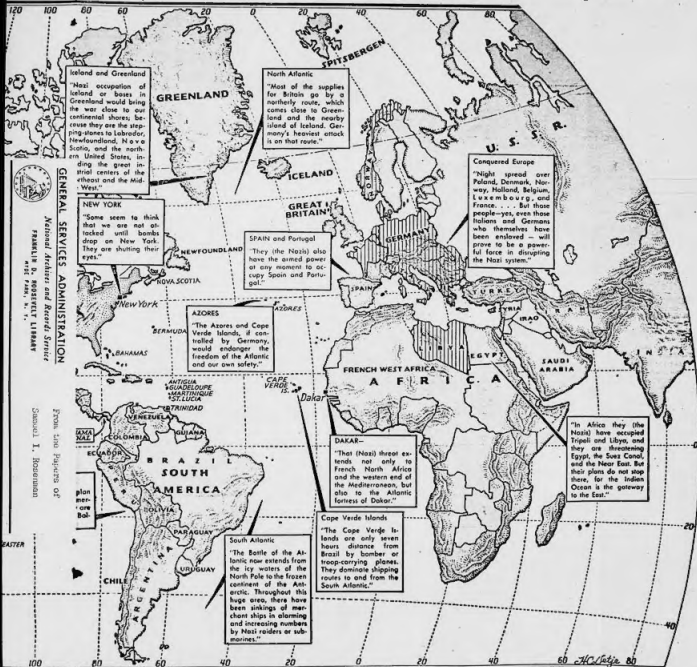
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...p are from President Roosevelt's radio talk last night. They which he began his analysis: "The first and fundamental fact war has developed, as the Nazis always intended it should ination. Adolf Hitler never considered the domination of the conquest was but a step toward ultimate goals in all the

other continents. It is apparent to all of us that, unless the advance of Hitlerism is forcibly checked now, the Western Hemisphere will be within range of Nazi destruction." Then he added: "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."

Map by Harold Dorje, FBI Staff



~~EXPLICITLY 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, Guadeloupe, 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.

[2 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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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

CA1005 48 W.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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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

52wuk1 54/57 D.L.3 Ex.11:36

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. Selfert.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 17, 1941

Speech material

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.

JHR

James Rowe, Jr.



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1035 PAB. B. 1.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

(COPY)

(From Volume 10 of the Fonticello 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 enmity 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 over other just principles, right and safety, before we would recur to war.

.

(Note: Underlining mine.)



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenberg

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 596, 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. Bloussat 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

Archibald MacLeish
The Librarian of Congress

Enclosure

The Honorable
James E. Folsom, Jr.
Administrative Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

MEMORANDUM

TO THE
LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS

FROM THE Chief, Division of Manuscripts

May 17, 1941

REPLYING TO 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 Vestine 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 "tho" 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

Sib
Enc.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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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MAY 28, 1941

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.

OK



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Samuel I. Rosenman