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A State of National Emergency

Reprints of:

President Roosevelt's Speech of May 27, 1941

The Proclamation of National Emergency

Editorial Comment by The Washington Post

Reactions of Washington Post Columnists

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AN ADDRESS TO THE NATION

By FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

President of the United States

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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In September, 1940, an agreement was completed with Great Britain for the trade of 50 destroyers for eight important offshore bases.

In March, 1941, the Congress passed the lend-lease bill and an appropriation of \$7,000,000,000 to implement it. This law realistically provided for material aid "for the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To the people of the Americas, a triumphant Hitler would say, as he said after the seizure of Austria, and after Munich, and after the seizure of 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."

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

Those in the New World who were seeking profits were 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 government 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Nazis have taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. In Africa they have occupied Tripoli and Libya, and

they are threatening Egypt, the Suez Canal, and the Near East. But their plans do not stop there, for the Indian Ocean is the gateway to the East.

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

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 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 sea by ships and aircraft.

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

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

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

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

We do not forget the silenced peoples. The masters of Germany—those, at least, who have not been assassinated or escaped

to free soil—have marked these peoples and their children's children for slavery. But those people—spiritually unconquered: Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, southern Slavs—yes, even those Italians and Germans, who, themselves, have been enslaved—will prove to be a powerful force in disrupting the Nazi system.

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

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

During the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers, gunboats and destroyers; and this type of convoy was effective against submarines. In this second World War, however, the problem is greater, because the attack on the freedom of the seas is now fourfold: first—the improved submarine; second—the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or hit-and-run battleship; third—the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships 700 or 800 miles from its nearest base, and fourth—the destruction of merchant ships in those ports of the world which are accessible to bombing attack.

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

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

We can answer this peril by two simultaneous measures: first, by speeding up and increasing our great shipbuilding program;

and second, by helping to cut down the losses on the high seas.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Anyone with an atlas and a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war knows that it is stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to

attack. Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy which will prevent such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place.

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

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

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

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

Our national policy today, therefore, is this:

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

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

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

To the other American nations—20 Republics and the Dominion of Canada—I say this: the United States does not merely propose these purposes, but is actively engaged today in carrying them out.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We choose human freedom—which is the Christian ideal.

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

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

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

Is such a world impossible of attainment?

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

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

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

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

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

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

We reassert the solidarity of the 21 American Republics and the Dominion of Canada in the preservation of the independence of the hemisphere.

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

We in the Americas will decide for ourselves whether, and

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

We are placing our armed forces in strategic military position.

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

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

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

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

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

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas on September 8, 1939, because of the outbreak of war in Europe a proclamation was issued declaring a limited national emergency and directing measures "for the purpose of strengthening our national defense within the limits of peacetime authorizations."

Whereas a succession of events makes plain that the objectives of the Axis belligerents in such war are not confined to those avowed at its commencement, but include overthrow throughout the world of existing democratic order, and a world-wide domination of peoples and economies through its destruction of all resistance on land and sea and in the air, and

Whereas indifference on the part of the United States to the increasing menace would be perilous, and common prudence requires that for the security of this Nation and of this hemisphere we should pass from peacetime authorizations of military strength to such a basis as will enable us to cope instantly and decisively with any attempt at hostile encroachment of this hemisphere, or the establishment of any base for aggression against it, as well as to repel the threat of predatory incursion by foreign agents into our territory and society.

Now, therefore, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do proclaim that an unlimited national emergency confronts this country, which requires that its military, naval, air and civilian defenses be put on the basis of readiness to repel any and all acts or threats of aggression directed toward any part of the Western Hemisphere.

I call upon all the loyal citizens engaged in production for defense to give precedence to the needs of the Nation to the end that a system of government that makes private enterprise possible may survive.

I call upon all our loyal workmen as well as employers to merge their lesser differences in the larger effort to insure the survival of the only kind of government which recognizes the rights of labor or of capital.

I call upon loyal State and local leaders and officials to cooperate with the civilian defense agencies of the United States to assure our internal security against foreign directed subversion and to put every community in order for maximum productive effort and minimum of waste and unnecessary frictions.

I call upon all loyal citizens to place the Nation's need first in mind and in action to the end that we may mobilize and have ready for instant defensive use all of the physical powers, all of the moral strength and all of the material resources of this Nation.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this twenty-seventh day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-one and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty-fifth.

(Seal)

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

By the President: CORDELL HULL, Secretary of State.

HITTING HARD

AN EDITORIAL IN THE WASHINGTON POST

May 28, 1941

At long last the remaining vestige of business as usual was swept into the discard when our President last night declared an unlimited national emergency. The reason came sun-clear out of Mr. Roosevelt's fireside chat. Hitlerism is no longer the enemy only of our friends, our sister democracies, the fighters for freedom elsewhere. Hitler is our enemy as well as theirs. It was the logical course, after such a clarion recognition of our enemy, for the President to announce a disposition for our country which will enable our people to assume a fighting responsibility.

The crisis into which our country has thus been thrust is not of our making. It is Hitler's. From the beginning it has been obvious that the conflict for which he prepared for seven years and then forced upon the world was an international civil war. His successive agreements with Stalin proved conclusively that he intended to mobilize the antilibertarian forces against the free countries. And, since the United States is the very citadel of freedom, there could be no question that Hitler had marked out this country as his prime enemy. America itself must be conquered. How else could he accustom his enslaved peoples to their chains without first uprooting the hope of deliverance and the standard of liberty which would still remain for them in the United States?

Such a view at first seemed fantastic to many millions of our people on this side of the ocean. They could not envisage a war on such a pattern. But of late months the menace of Hitlerism to our country, if not to our free institutions, has been borne in upon Americans. The menace became apparent when the war ceased to be limited to the continent of Europe. In Africa and in Asia, Hitler's mechanized legions continued to roll till they got athwart our trade lanes and began hammering at the approaches to our hemisphere. Then they began to spread over the high seas. It was then that many people who had not hitherto felt any danger from Hitlerism came to realize in their bones that the ultimate object of the Hitler juggernaut was the main-spring in the United States of what the Nazi leader is pleased to call the Pluto-democratic world.

The President took up much of his time in explaining the manner in which Hitler has thus thrust this war upon the United States. He showed that distances are deceptive in estimating the proximity of attack. In terms of modern warfare and communications an attack, as he said, begins when the enemy captures the bases commanding the approaches to his prospective victim's territory. In our case those approaches happen to be at Dakar, the Azores, Cape Verde, and Greenland. In the Pres-

dent's words, "our Bunker Hill of tomorrow may be several thousand miles from Boston." With a full recognition of the "sudden striking force of modern war," therefore, the President last night turned Commander in Chief. He was in the role of a general who has discovered the enemy and must destroy him lest the general himself be destroyed.

The measures that will be taken at home in the name of unlimited emergency were not named. But several obvious moves spring to the eyes: Some method whereby we can prevent the stoppages in our industrial output which in the recent past have severely curbed our all-out effort; the revamping of all our defense policies to the end that priority is given to the war-winning measures; the erasure of all aid and comfort to the enemy in those financial and economic means which have flowed from the maintenance of our formal neutrality. Of measures abroad there is an equal lack of definiteness. But, if convoys are not mentioned specifically, the delivery of our supplies to Britain is pledged specifically and with unmistakable emphasis. Our rights on the high seas to effect such deliveries are asserted with equal firmness.

Perhaps the vaguest but the most significant statement of policy in the entire speech is the declaration that our armed forces will be put in strategic military position. The world will couple this declaration with the preamble that our national security is dependent upon the prevention of enemy occupation of the advance bases to this continent. It may be that our Commander in Chief will order our naval forces to undertake the protection of all these continental approaches. Certainly nothing less than naval action which will preempt these springboards to our hemisphere would justify the President's identification of Hitler as America's enemy. For it would be fatal after such a speech to hit either soft or late when an enemy of Hitler's dimensions is already bestriding whole continents like a colossus.

AFTER THE SPEECH

By ALSOP & KINTNER

May 29, 1941

In his historic message to the Nation, the President left some things unsaid. He did not tell the people, "I am ready to order the Atlantic fleet into action to clear the sea lanes to Britain." He did not tell the people, "I am ready, if necessary, to order preventive occupation of the Atlantic Islands and Dakar." And he did not tell the people, "By every practical test, we are now at war."

Yet although he did not say these things in so many words, there is no room for doubt that he meant them. Events with their remorseless logic have called on him to take the great decision. His speech was the solemn utterance of a man who had accepted the logic of events and faced the consequences. And the men close to him, who have seen him groping towards his choice, are unanimous in believing that the great decision has been taken, once and for all, for better or for worse.

The great decision was not taken easily or lightly. It could not be. Even the Roosevelt of eight years ago who so gallily rode the tempest in the spring of 1933, would hardly have reached such a decision without much pain and heart-searching. The Roosevelt of today is a much mellowed, wiser and more cautious man, worn by a gruelling term of office, and taught by harsh experience to consider risks the Roosevelt of 1933 would scarcely have imagined. Before he could settle his own and his country's fate, the President naturally passed through a period of agonizing uncertainty.

The whole story will not be told for many years, but even now some details are known, that give an inkling of the atmosphere of the White House in his last month. It is known, for example, that a fortnight ago, when the speech was first scheduled, he had not made up his mind. Despite the widespread assertions to the contrary, he then planned merely to "clarify" the national situation without indicating lines of action to be followed. It is known also that only a week ago, when he first tackled the task of drafting his speech, he was so hesitant to commit himself that Secretary of State Cordell Hull warned him he had better not speak at all than say too little.

Three influences appear to have helped the President reach his decision in the end. First, the progress of the war plainly dictated prompt American intervention. Second, when the President's speech was deferred, it somehow crystallized public feeling. He received word from all over the United States of a desperate impatience to hear what he had to say. This was interpreted for him by men who have been traveling through the country, studying opinion, as meaning that the great majority of the people were anxious to take their lead from him. And third, and most important, the wisest and ablest men in State, War and Navy

departments daily told him, in the strongest terms, that he must act now or not at all.

His advisers' argument brought him face to face with his dilemma. If he acted, he could not avoid the risk of opposition from an intensely vocal, unrelentingly busy minority. But if he failed to act, he ran the far greater risk of seeing his policy frustrated, his own career crowned with tragic failure, and the country overwhelmed by a terrible catastrophe. He had only one possible choice when the alternatives were presented in these terms.

Few speeches have been more the President's own than the message telling of the choice he made. Of course, there were the usual palace controversies over what the President was to say. The most serious was between the few remaining exponents of caution and the faction led by the chief officials of the War and Navy Departments, who would have liked to hear the President make even more explicit the things he left to be partly inferred. There was also a minor tug of war over the labor paragraphs of his speech. Firm and clear as his declaration of labor policy was, it would have been even tougher in tone if he had not made certain trivial concessions to satisfy representatives of the New Deal and the labor groups.

Of course, there were also the usual amanuenses. Harry L. Hopkins unquestionably worked on the speech. The playwright, Robert Sherwood, is reported to have concocted certain purple passages. The oldest of the President's literary collaborators, Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, was admittedly on hand to help, as he always is when there is something important to be said. But the President himself settled the controversies in his own way and wrote the final draft of his speech in his own language. On Tuesday night it was he who spoke, and no one else.

While he was revising his final draft, he told the men working with him he considered it "an act of Providence" that his illness had forced him to wait two weeks to make up his mind. Now, unless appearances deceive, unless his mind is not really made up, the time of words is over and the time of action is at hand.

THERE IS NO OTHER COURSE

BY WALTER LIPPMANN

May 29, 1941

In the five days preceding the President's address the Nazi high command itself provided the overwhelming proof that the American policy, now clearly and irrevocably declared, is the only sound policy open to this country. The President announced, in an address which will rank in history with the Declaration of the Monroe Doctrine that the Western Hemisphere is to be defended by measures which will prevent an attack before an attack can be organized and launched from the shores of Europe and Africa. The story of the Bismarck that remove the last lingering doubt in any thoughtful mind that there is in fact no reasonable alternative and that the American policy is dictated by necessity.

On Thursday of last week the Bismarck was at Bergen in Norway, and before she was finally caught and sunk she made a run of 1,750 miles on a course which took her last Sunday morning well into the Western Hemisphere and about as near to Newfoundland as Newfoundland is to Boston. Yet all of that time she was being hunted by the most powerful navy in the Atlantic Ocean. The hunt was conducted by a navy based on the British Isles and, therefore, able by means of scouting planes to observe the departure of the Bismarck from the Norwegian port. Yet the Nazi ship ran past the great British naval base at Scapa Flow in northern Scotland, past the Shetland and Faroe Islands, past British-occupied Iceland, before she was finally brought down south of Ireland.

Imagine our position in defending the Western Hemisphere if all Europe, including the British Isles, and of Africa as well, were as available to Hitler as is Norway. Imagine our position if it were impossible for our scouting planes to get near enough to Europe to know whether a Nazi fleet was assembling at Bergen in Norway or at an Irish port or at Lisbon or at Gibraltar or at Dakar. The British, because they have flying bases, knew about the Bismarck as soon as she sailed. We should have no means of knowing where the Axis fleet was. Our commanders would be like blindfolded men trying to catch a bandit in an open field. Imagine our positions, furthermore, with the British navy sunk or captured, when we tried to repel an attack which we could not foresee, launched from any one of 50 good harbors against the 15,000-mile sea frontier of the Western Hemisphere. With a powerful navy, with nearby bases for scouts, in the narrow waters of Scotland, Iceland and Greenland, it nevertheless took the British five days of concentrated pursuit to find the Bismarck and run her down. Imagine our position if, with no

British navy in existence, no advance base in Europe, the whole vast Atlantic to patrol, we had to stand blindly on the defensive.

If measures, any measures necessary, to prevent this happening are not measures for the defense of the Western Hemisphere, then the word defense has no meaning. In recognizing this fact the President has done his plain and inescapable duty in the defense of the United States and of the Western Hemisphere, which the United States are bound by their vital interests and their solemn pledges to defend. Had he failed to take the position he has taken, he would by his inaction have made it impossible to defend a very large part of the Western Hemisphere and immensely difficult and dangerous to defend any of it. A commander-in-chief who willfully let his country be put in such a position would have failed to do his duty.

Nor would he have done his duty had he hesitated any longer to recognize that the situation which has made necessary this declaration of policy is one of such gravity that this Nation must now place itself materially and morally on a war footing. There will be some who cry out that in doing this we are abandoning our democracy. They are mistaken. We are defending our democracy. Our democracy will not be destroyed if we mobilize our power, discipline ourselves, and win the security which is our objective. But our democracy can and will be destroyed if we are weak, if we let ourselves be encircled by overwhelming forces, if we allow ourselves to become divided and confused and demoralized by endless debate.

What has destroyed democracy and freedom in Europe is ruthless force victorious over the weak and confused democracies. Only defeat will destroy our democracy and deprive us of our freedom. Only the whole power of this Nation, aroused from its lethargy and concentrated to one end, can surely preserve democracy and insure the perpetuation of its liberties.

We shall not fail and we cannot retreat. For if we tried to retreat, our peril would grow stronger. If we failed to resist, our defense would become weaker. For we should be like a man who, having failed to call the police and resist the burglar before he entered his house, was then compelled all alone to resist him inside the house.

A CLEAR AND COLD-BLOODED TALK

BY ERNEST LINDLEY

May 30, 1941

In comparing the President's latest fireside chat with his earlier speeches on foreign affairs, three points stand out:

1. On Tuesday night he spoke more clearly and coldly in terms of American security than on any previous public occasion.
2. His view of the strategy of the war, and of our part in it, has not changed significantly in many months.
3. There is no real conflict between doing what is necessary to protect the Western Hemisphere and looking forward to the destruction of the Nazi system.

Point No. 1 reflects the influence of hard-headed advisers who understand the hard-headed side of the American character. For several years Roosevelt's foreign policy has been planned and executed better than it has been explained. For several years denunciation and moralizing were the main ingredients of Administration speeches on foreign policy. The language of Wilson, the international lawyers, the League of Nations group of the post-war period, and those who hated nazism most violently because of its vicious internal policies, was the standard language of Administration speakers. This language appealed to a minority of American voters, but not to those who had declared their independence of Europe.

The President was more hardheaded than were many other spokesmen for his Administration, but when he spoke he tended to adopt their verbiage.

This explains, in part, why the President and his entire Administration actually fell behind public opinion in the summer of 1940 after the fall of France. Many Americans, who wanted nothing more to do with wars on the continent of Europe, suddenly felt that their own security was menaced.

Over a year the President gradually has talked more and more in terms of American self-defense. This is due partly to the course of the war, which has come close to us, creating a clearer menace to our security. But it is due partly to the fact that in formulating his pronouncements he has listened less to extremists such as Felix Frankfurter and William C. Bullitt, who have little knowledge of American psychology. Bit by bit the President has moved away from exhortation and denunciation to the kind of practical analysis which appeals to American citizens who long ago wrote off most of Europe as a mess which their forefathers had the good sense and courage to escape from, and are chiefly interested in the preservation of the United States and its way of life.

The President's Tuesday night speech went farther than he

has ever gone before in interpreting the war in terms of American security. It was designed to crystallize a maximum of support in this country and Latin America. It was intended to enlist the enthusiastic support of all except Fifth Columnists, conscientious objectors to war, and those who refuse to recognize the first lessons of either modern war or the old defensive principle of the balance of power.

The President's speech did not satisfy the "war party." It revealed that his conception of our part in the struggle has not changed in recent months. Our part is twofold: to be the arsenal and to share the risk of seeing that the products of the arsenal are delivered where they can be used. This, as he sees it, has become chiefly a naval and air war. The immediate stakes are not control of the continents of Europe and Asia, but control of the seas leading to other continents. The two continents of our primary concern are North and South America. Our first objective—which is purely defensive—is to keep the Nazis and their allies bottled up in Eurasia. To do this we must, in collaboration with the British, keep control of the seas.

Tuesday night the President reconciled this purely defensive objective with the destruction of Nazi power:

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

"Both they and their people know this—and they and their people are afraid."

In short, the President believes the Axis system can be beaten without invasion of Europe or Asia. He believes that if it fails to break through the cordon of sea power it will know it is beaten. When it knows that it will begin to crack. And when it begins to crack it will crumble.

This is a logical analysis. It explains why the President can talk of defense of the Western Hemisphere and freedom of the seas in one breath, and the destruction of nazism and the four freedoms in the next breath. For the Axis, as he sees it, the alternatives are to win all or lose all. And he has no doubt which it will be.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE MODERNIZED

BY BARNET NOVER

May 30, 1941

On December 2, 1823, President James Monroe addressed a message to Congress which has been the sheet anchor of American foreign policy ever since.

Last Tuesday—May 27, 1941—President Franklin D. Roosevelt, addressing a visible audience consisting of representatives of the 20 Latin-American Republics and the Dominion of Canada, and an invisible audience extending clear around the globe, charted what some regard as a wholly new course of action for the United States in its relations with Europe.

That is not the case. The President's pronouncement of May 27 did no violence either to the letter or the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine. On the contrary, for all its immediate urgency and its intensely dramatic overtones. Mr. Roosevelt's speech was in essence nothing more than a restatement of the Monroe Doctrine in modern terms, a Monroe Doctrine adjusted to a world of vastly foreshortened distances and blitz war.

The men responsible for the Monroe Doctrine never assumed, as some isolationists assume, that the water barrier dividing Europe from the Americas is impassable. The opposite is true. The Monroe Doctrine arose from the acute realization that the Atlantic is a highway over which conquering armies had repeatedly traveled from the Old World to the New, and would do so again. The real barrier, they realized, was not the ocean, but sea power, and sea power in the hands of a nation or combination of nations hostile to such conquests and determined to prevent them.

That is why Thomas Jefferson, whom the isolationists have appropriated as one of their patron saints, was so quick to grasp the far-reaching implications of the offer made by George Canning to Richard Rush, our Minister to London in 1823, and so eager to have that offer acted on by the United States.

Canning had proposed the formulation of a joint policy, something in the nature of an Anglo-American alliance, which would be operative in the event that the Holy Alliance sought to restore the status quo in Spanish America.

The offer was a tempting one. It was obviously to this Nation's interest no less than to the interest of Great Britain to prevent Old World interference in New World affairs. But possessing as it did only limited sea power the United States was not then in a position to render effective opposition to any attempt by European powers to interfere in the affairs of this hemisphere.

"By acceding to her (Great Britain's) proposition," Jefferson wrote to Monroe, "we detach her from the bands, bring her

mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipate a continent at one stroke, which might otherwise linger long in doubt and difficulty. Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one or all on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause. Not that I would purchase even her amity at a price of taking part in her wars. But the war in which the present proposition might engage us, should that be its consequence, is not her war, but ours. Its object is to introduce and establish the American system, of keeping out of our land all foreign powers, of never permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nations. It is to maintain our principle, not to depart from it. . . . With Great Britain withdrawn from their scale and shifted into that of our two continents, all Europe combined would not undertake such a war. For how would they propose to get at either enemy without superior fleets?"

The relationship between sea power and the defense of this hemisphere which Jefferson so clearly understood is the same today as it was in the time of Monroe. But the setting has undergone a revolutionary transformation during recent years.

Britain's "mighty weight" is again being thrown into the "scale of free government." But it has been sapped by the defeat or defection of her continental allies, by the multiplication of burdens which her brave people and her far-flung fleet have been called upon to bear and, last but by no means least, by the new factor of air power which Germany has employed with such devastating effectiveness. Furthermore, the menace to the safety of this hemisphere which President Monroe perceived in the plans and stratagems and philosophy of the Holy Alliance is as nothing compared with the menace represented by Adolf Hitler.

Despite Jefferson's enthusiastic approval of Canning's offer, the United States did not, in 1823, ally itself with Great Britain. We did not do so because it was not really necessary to do so. Since the British government, as Canning made clear to the French Ambassador, M. de Polignac, was prepared to defend the Spanish American republics against the Holy Alliance anyway, the United States could derive all the benefits of such an alliance without any of its obligations. From this circumstance arose the belief, which has no basis in history, that it was the Monroe Doctrine alone that kept European powers from interfering in the affairs of the New World. The actual fact is that the defense of the Americas was first made possible by the British stand and later, as we grew in power, resulted from parallel action by the United States and Great Britain.

As long as British sea power remained what it was, therefore, the defense of the Monroe Doctrine could be considered without reference to the outermost limits of the oceans which wash the shores of this hemisphere. That is no longer possible now.

Because of Britain's multiplying difficulties and because of the air factor the defense of the Americas must begin at every point from which an assault on this hemisphere can be launched.

In emphasizing this circumstance the President has brought the Monroe Doctrine up to date. We cannot safely repeat the mistake of Great Britain which, by refusing to defend the bastion that was Czecho-Slovakia, brought the front line of the war into every British home. So far as Europe is concerned the Atlantic is our bastion. And the Atlantic does not begin at the 3-mile limit or along the western coast of Greenland or at the bulge of Brazil.

A SPECIAL CONFERENCE IS CALLED

BY MARK SULLIVAN

May 30, 1941

The sum of President Roosevelt's positions about the war this week has left Washington puzzled. Certainly this is true of 218 newspaper correspondents, the unprecedented number who attended a special press conference the President called.

He had delivered his fireside talk Tuesday night. Wednesday forenoon there was a buzz of estimate about its effects. At noon Wednesday, Presidential Secretary Early sent out word that there would be a special press conference at 4 in the afternoon. That stirred the newspaper fraternity to alertness, for special press conferences are exceedingly rare (other than the regular ones on Tuesdays and Fridays.) The purpose of the special conferences—so the newspaper men understood Mr. Early to say—would be to clarify what the President had said about convoys in his speech the night before.

When the newspapermen crowded into Mr. Roosevelt's office, they found in him no sign of their own alertness. Neither in manner nor words, at any time during the conference, did Mr. Roosevelt show any sign that he had any particular reason for calling a special conference. Indeed, the conference began like one of those occasional regular ones when Mr. Roosevelt has nothing special to say and goes through the performance perfunctorily.

He began by saying, as is sometimes his formula for opening, that he had one or two matters to give out. His first was about a not very important control of exports to the Philippine Islands. The other was a report on steel manufacturing capacity, important but not exciting—certainly nothing to justify a special press conference.

That, apparently, was all Mr. Roosevelt had to say; so far as he initiated anything, the conference could have ended there. Only when a newspaperman introduced a question was there any allusion to Mr. Roosevelt's speech the night before. The question was about convoying. Mr. Roosevelt's answer was listless, merely a brief repetition of what he had said in the speech—there would not be any convoying; convoying is an outmoded technique anyhow. There were other questions about the speech, and several equally listless. To several questions, Mr. Roosevelt's answer was that that is something Hitler would like to know. Upon a question about the allusion to labor and strikes in his speech, he became momentarily alert. But his alertness took the form of wariness—he had the manner of a man tip-toeing on eggs, and was careful to say nothing.

In the entire conference, there were but two points which gave the newspapermen anything to bite into, and both were brought out by persistent questioning. One was, Mr. Roosevelt does not intend to ask Congress to repeal the neutrality law. After Mr. Roosevelt had been led to say this, other questions brought up a dilemma. If the neutrality law is not to be repealed, and if there is to be no convoying—then how is Mr. Roosevelt going to insure our supplies getting to Britain, as he had said in his speech he would. To this, Mr. Roosevelt fell back on his stock reply—that is something Hitler would like to know.

The other fairly important point was about the "complete national emergency," which Mr. Roosevelt had proclaimed in his speech the night before. About this, the tenor of Mr. Roosevelt's replies to questions was to calm any excitement his announcement might have given rise to. He said that his proclamation, as such, has no immediate or concrete effect whatever. Nothing happens because of it, and nothing immediate is contemplated under it. The proclamation merely gives him authority, if he later chooses, to take steps under certain statutes. No such steps are now contemplated. All that Mr. Roosevelt said about complete emergency was of a piece with what he said about everything else—all had the effect of mere matter-of-factness.

As the newspapermen had come to the press conference in extreme expectancy, so did they leave in a spirit of let-down. In conversation with each other they tried to arrive at explanation of why Mr. Roosevelt had called the press conference; whether at first he had had an impulse to say something important, and then thought better of it. These speculations arrived at no answer. If you wished to attribute to Mr. Roosevelt great subtlety, you might surmise that his speech Tuesday night had created an atmosphere of excitement and that the following day he wished to create an atmosphere of calm.

Yet in such a time as this, no week passes without progress toward a predestined end. Of the incidents of this week, it is Mr. Roosevelt's speech that is important—the speech is a document and a landmark. In the speech he notified Germany that our supplies to Great Britain will be delivered, by aid from the United States of a nature which Mr. Roosevelt does not choose to reveal. Also he notified Germany that in defending ourselves against attack we will give a broad interpretation to the word "attack." We will oppose any attempt by Germany to occupy points from which attack upon the western continent might later be launched. This is on our part, a portentous declaration.

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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 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, and it is appropriate that I do this because the other American Republics are in the same boat with the



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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.

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

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

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



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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 fulfilled.

Soon after the horrors of the overrunning of Poland and the partition of that free nation, I held in my office a meeting of experts of the State, War and Navy Departments, and at that meeting one of several possibilities stands out in my mind because, though not yet accepted as a 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, 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 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.



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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 control of all of the shores of the Mediterranean, including the actual occupation of North Africa.



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From the Papers of
Franklin D. Roosevelt

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 bulward 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 because the fall of any one of the Americas would seriously jeopardize the safety of all of the other Americas. And the second step was the launching, a year ago, of the largest armament production program ever undertaken in our history.

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



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

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

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



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

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 accomplishments. The nearer parts of the Continent of Asia are already involved in actual combat. The Continent of Africa, with relatively small defensive strength within itself, is an expanding



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

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



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

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

Since 1799, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Carribean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships; since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the deprivation 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 Hemispheres.



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On the contrary, the Americas have known, as a plain military dictum, that with the existence of an independent Britain and a friendly British Fleet there would be no act of aggression against 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 rounded up eventually in distant oceans. Today, however, the attack on the freedom of the seas is fourfold:

1. The improved submarine
2. The much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or battleship.
3. The bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base.
4. The destruction of merchant ships 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 convoy merchant ships by the use of small cruisers, gunboats and destroyers and they were effective against submarines. Today, however, merchant ships must be protected, in addition, while at sea against heavily armed raiders and against bombing planes. You will see, therefore, that the problem of defense is vastly enlarged from that earlier day.

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



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

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

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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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
Franklin D. Roosevelt
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 America 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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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 then 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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Samuel T. Rosenman

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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 Samuel I. Rosenman

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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From the Papers of
 SENATOR I. ROSENMAN

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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 General I. E. Brown

And I think that it will give you more encouragement to know that several leaders responsible for production during the World War believe 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 ^{at any moment} 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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General I. Eisenhower

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 Carribean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the deprivation 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 parts 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: "Git thar fustest with the mostest men", and to that we have to add today, "men adequately equipped with the weapons of modern war".

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



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the same people who told you two years ago that there would be no war and that the Americans 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 flames made a point of sinking merchant ships engaged in maintaining the life-line to Britain. I would even, if the necessity arose, use every weapon of terrorism in my German "bag of tricks" to make the Americas believe that I was in fact invincible.

In the same way the Cape Verde Islands would give to Germany a base for attack against all shipping entering the south Atlantic, against all shipping bound north to the British Isles 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 ~~xxxxxxx~~ 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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From the Papers of
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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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wholming 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 opportunies or time serving. That choice was made between right and wrong. And in the long run we are here today in great part because right was victorious and mere might lost.

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

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



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From the Papers of
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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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From the papers of
Samuel I. Roseman

DRAFT #8

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

MAY 27, 1961

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

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

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

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



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From the papers of
General I. Eisenhower

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

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

Two years ago -- in the Spring of 1938 -- it became clear to those in your Administration who are in charge of foreign affairs, first, that well-intentioned efforts on the part of the democracies, after the Munich Pact, to maintain European peace through appeasement, were bound to fail; and, second, that the leader of the German nation intended them to fail by prosecuting his carefully planned campaign of terrorism to dominate, first Europe, and then the world.

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

Soon after the horrors of the overturning 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.



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From the Papers of
General T. Roosevelt

DRAFT #8

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

I now come to the unpleasant facts of today. Upon these facts and upon the probabilities of the future, the action of the United States and the other American Republics must be based.

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



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DRAFT #8

- 6 -

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

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

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

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



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

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



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DRAFT #8

- 8 -

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

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

Since 1799, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depredations of the Barbary corsairs; since the War of 1812, which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since our control of the seas compelled the French Army to evacuate Mexico in 1808, 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 independence of the Republics of the Western Hemisphere. On the contrary, the Americans have known, as a plain military dictum, that with the existence of an independent



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

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

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

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



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

Here are the facts affecting shipping in the north and south Atlantic Ocean. Beginning at the south, it is a fact that there have been many sinkings of merchant ships -- some of them carrying neutral flags. These sinkings have been caused by German raiding cruisers or submarines. There have been increasing sinkings of merchant ships off West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands -- many of them in the waters of the Western Hemisphere. Further north, there have been other sinkings by raiders and submarines between the Azores and the islands off the American coast. Proceeding still farther north and well within the waters of the Western Hemisphere, German submarines and raiders have taken far too heavy a toll for the British or for us to stand for long.

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



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DRAFT #8

PROPOSED INSERT I

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



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sea from ports which were formerly French or Norwegian.

The losses of ships are dangerously high.

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

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

(PROPOSED INSERT I)

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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DRAFT #8

PROPOSED INSERT II

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

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

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

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



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

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

(PROPOSED INSERT II)

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

Simultaneously, a greatly enlarged air force, preponderant in long range transport and bombing planes, would be constructed. And all the while, while the voices of those in the New World who were seeking "fat profits" were urging that all that the dictatorships desired was peace, and that consequently there was not the slightest justification for a continuation of the crushing burden of taxes which our own armament program in the Western Hemisphere makes necessary, the autarchies would, by one devious method or another,



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

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

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

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

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

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



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 General I. Roosevelt
 Stewart

Let us consider the prospect of a United States alone in a world with all its peoples, all its trade, its ships, its resources and raw materials under Nazi domination. Let us see clearly what this will mean to our people -- 150,000,000 of them -- farmers, laborers, miners, housewives, shopkeepers -- and their children.

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

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



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

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



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 Samuel I. Rosenman

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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We cannot accept this Nazi shape of things to come.

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

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

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

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

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



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From the Papers of
Suzanne I. Rosenberg

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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

DRAFT FOUR

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

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

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

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

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



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From the Papers of
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DRAFT FOUR

- 3 -

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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1933-1945, 1950-1954

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

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

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

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



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From the Papers of
General I. Robertson

DRAFT FOUR

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

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

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



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Franklin D. Roosevelt

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

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

All of American history -- North, Central and South American history -- has been inevitably tied up with these 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 1806 and 1808 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 our control of the seas compelled the French Army to evacuate Mexico in 1868, 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.



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

The losses of ships are dangerously high.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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any price.

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

The human heritage is the proclamation of the continued independence and integrity of each of the twenty-one American Republics of the continent of Canada, and the ocean surrounding them. If you believe in the independence and integrity of the nations, you must be willing to fight for it just as much as you would to fight for the safety of your own home.

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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DRAFT FOUR

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

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

Under these terms, Germany would literally parcel out the world — hoisting the swastika itself over vast territories and populations, and setting up puppet government of its own choosing,

under a theoretical independence, wholly subject to the will and the policy of a conqueror. It is idle to assert that that kind of a

world could never last. Just so long as the German war machine maintained military, naval, air, industrial and economic superiority, no minority nation, or group of nations, could take it away.

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

To the people of the Americas the triumphant Nazis would

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

Under such conditions, our democracy, our traditional liberties,

I see how you see the small, (none.)
 will be of no more value to us than the then useless gold buried at Fort

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



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

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

We cannot accept this Nazi shape of things to come.

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

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



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

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

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

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



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The people's minds today are very much concerned with the
 labor situation and the strikes which are delaying the progress
 of labor. Yet you do not say a word in the shape of an appeal to the
 strikers. Such an appeal would do more to improve matters with the
 government of the foreign danger than anything you could say.
 The index would say "it must be left to the courts for salaries from labor"
 but as a matter of fact labor should sacrifice its internal policies to do good
 did 20 years ago.



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From the Papers of
 General I. Rosenbaum

1. Answer the Luntens' Wheeler argument that if
we go to war we lose our liberties - By saying
"Our liberties so tenuous, and ill founded,
that ^{they} will perish if we make a sacrifice to defend
them"?

2 Appeal to labor to give up internal strife in
the Country's interest — just as Somers did
23 years ago.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rogerson

WHITE HOUSE

Important

The President

Sam - Ba

~~The Honorable
The Secretary of War
3000 Cathedral Avenue,
Washington, D.C.~~

Road —

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From the Bureau of

~~By Land~~

Content's
Draft with
Stamps
Corrections

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 this Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics who are now accredited to the United States. It is appropriate that I do this because now as never before the unity of the American Republics is of supreme importance to each and every one of us and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. Our future independence, in the historic sense of that splendid term, is wrapped up with the future independence of each and every one of our sister Republics.

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

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



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From the Papers of
General I. Rossmann

DRAFT FOUR

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

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

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

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

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



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DRAFT FOUR

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

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

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

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

(A)



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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For because of the new implements of warfare which now exist, distances which once lent security ^{with} no longer afford security. []



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From the Papers of
SHERMAN T. ROOSEVELT

(A)

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

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

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



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

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

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

Since 1709, 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 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.



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

The losses of ships are dangerously high. (B)

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

Nearly a century ago a famous Confederate General laid down a cardinal principle of all strategy when he said: "Go there fastest with the weakest man," and to that we have to add today, "and be adequately equipped with the weapons of modern war."

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

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



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any price.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

To the people of the Americas the triumphant Nazis would



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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

It is planned that this strangulation will be accomplished ^{without}
without direct military attacks

Let us consider the prospect of a United States alone
in a world with all ^{the rest of} its peoples, all its trade, its ships, its
resources and raw materials under Nazi orders and decrees. Let us
see clearly what this will mean to our people — 130,000,000 of them —
farmers, laborers, miners, housewives, shopkeepers — and their
children — *even if the lumber and the timber were*
were able to come.

What happens to the farmer who cannot sell any of his
products abroad? What happens to his surpluses? How can he get
a decent price for his crops? How is he going to buy anything for
himself and his family from the factories which employ workers?
The American farmer can only face a disaster a hundred fold more
destructive than the disaster of 1933.



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

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

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



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From the papers of
Samuel I. Rosenthal

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

We cannot accept this Nazi shape of things to come.

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

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



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAY 1960, 10:11

From the papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

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

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

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

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



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You, 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.

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

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

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

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



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DRAFT NO. 5

ADDRESS 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 wrapped up with the future independence of each and every one of our sister Republics.

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

This information comes from trained American observers



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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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



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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 include military domination of 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 Islands of the Atlantic, such as the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. But 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 close home to us. And occupation by Nazi forces of any of the islands



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

If the Axis Powers can obtain control of the seas, they can win. They would then have power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere in which we live. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, and no false pledges like those given at Munich can deceive the American people on that.

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



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

We do not forget these silenced peoples. The present masters of Germany -- those, at least, who have so far survived their own internal plots against each other -- have marked these peoples and their childrens' children for slavery. Our measures will call them back to freedom: Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Greeks, -- yes, even 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



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

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

Today, the problem is greater because the attack on the freedom of the seas is fourfold: first -- the improved submarine; second -- the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or hit-and-run battleship; third -- the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base; and fourth -- the destruction of



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

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

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

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



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

As ships bearing food and munitions approach Britain they are subjected to a new form of attack, bombing from planes flying far out to sea from captured French or Norwegian ports. The losses are dangerously high.

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

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



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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.

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: "Get thar fustest with the mostest men," and to that we have to add today, "men adequately equipped with the weapons of modern war."

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



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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 know if the Axis Powers send expeditions to establish bases closer to our Hemisphere.

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

The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple self-preservation, to make stern choices. It does not make sense, for instance, to say "I believe in the Monroe Doctrine," and in the next breath to say "I will not fight to preserve the Monroe Doctrine." 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.

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

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

Clearly, therefore, the safety of our institutions, our forms of Government, and perhaps our independence, *as looked into*

turns on 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.

Our national policy today is therefore this:

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

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



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now is.]

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

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

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

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



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Does not merely propose, but is actively engaged today in carrying out the twofold mission I have described. We have in hand adequate force to do both these things. I say to them further: you may disregard those few citizens of the United States who pretend that we cannot act, or that we are divided. Every nation has its minority group; this one makes much noise, but has no substance.

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

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

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



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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. But you had best know what is planned for you if we are 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 your right of worship, and the privilege of rearing your children would be threatened. The Nazi world does not recognize any God except Hitler; for Nazism denies God as completely as Communism. What place has religion which preaches the dignity of the human being, of the majesty of the human soul in a world where moral standards are measured by treachery and bribery and Fifth Columnists?

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

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



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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. Hundreds of thousands of you have been writing to Washington asking, "What shall I do?" You will find that question answered by your own local and chosen leaders who in turn will report to the defense authorities.

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



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whether in labor or in business. It means learning to give to the America of the future the opportunity which America has already given you. It means rolling up a flood of organization and resources, and materials, and production, and transportation, and scientific progress, and military strength, so strong and so vital that it moves like a tidal wave towards the forces of destruction and slavery and intimidation and greed; so vast that it will engulf these temporary tyrants with their toy religions.

As this, the true wave of the future, makes itself felt, we shall establish the great objectives: freedom of speech; freedom from everlasting fear; freedom to conduct the interchange of culture and free commerce; freedom from slavery and want for each man and his family.

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

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



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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 in which all are welcome; from it no free and peaceful people is excluded. Its resources are at the service of any who need them; and the skill of each is used for the benefit of all. Its freedoms permit every nation to realize the best of itself; these nations act together, not because a master has enslaved them, but because in a common purpose these nations have learned to work together.

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



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independence, overthrowing great empires, and standing off tyrants, powerful in their day, who are now lost in historical rubbish.

The challenge now is the same as the challenge then. 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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