

May 27, 1941

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[Pan American Union]

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THE PRESIDENT

7, 1941

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

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

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



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From the Pages of
Samuel I. Rosenman

DRAFT NO. 6

*for presentation
to Congress
as soon as
possible*

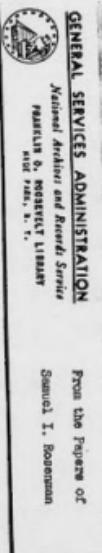
SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

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



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

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

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



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FEBRUARY 10, 1941

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 had definite plans for world conquest. He never considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. European conquest was but a step toward ultimate goals in other continents. As a part of these plans, an insincere agreement had been negotiated with the Soviet Union to make it possible to begin an immediate European struggle.

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

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



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For the Protection of
General J. Roosevelt

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the case of Britain, we were happily in time.

In June, 1940 she faced destruction. Our government rushed arms to meet her desperate needs.



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And now -- after a year -- Britain still stands firm, and we have been given that incredibly precious time to arm ourselves against aggression. We have stepped up and are, month by month, increasing our material supply of tools of war to those nations which are fighting for the continuation of human liberties.

The supply of these tools will not fail.

We have all been irked by the necessary period of preparation for this unprecedented manufacture of arms, but the needed equipment of war material is now beginning to roll in force from the assembly lines of America to the battle lines of free countries. No one today says it is too little; and all will presently learn that it is not too late.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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S. T. LEAVENS
From the President of
the Board of
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innocent, oppressed peoples on the continent of Europe, and at the end, their whole structure will break to pieces.

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

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

Since 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



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

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



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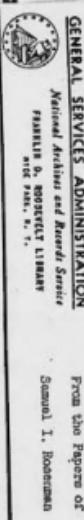
From the Office of
Samuel T. Rosenman

also be protected against heavily armed raiders and bombing planes.

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

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

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



From the Pages of
General I. Bookbinder

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

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

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



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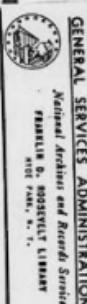
From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

word "attack"; we have to relate it to the lightning speed of modern warfare. Some people seem to think that we are not attacked until bombs actually drop on New York or San Francisco or New Orleans or Minneapolis. But they are simply shutting their eyes to the lesson which has been provided by every nation that the Nazis have conquered.

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

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

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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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

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

I am now ready to announce what is probably no secret to some foreign nations, that certain units of the American Navy have been recently transferred from the Pacific



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to the Atlantic and that other units are in process of being transferred. These units are not considered vital to the maintenance of our operations in the Pacific Ocean, but will in the Atlantic perform duties now essential.

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

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

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



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



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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

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

Our national policy today is therefore this: First, we shall actively resist wherever necessary with all our resources Hitler's every attempt to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere. We shall actively resist with all our resources his every attempt to gain control of the seas. We insist upon the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which

could be used and would be used as a base of attack against the Americas. Second, from strict naval and military necessity, we shall give every possible assistance to Britain and to all who with Britain are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent with forces of arms. I should say our patrol is helping now to insure delivery of the needed supplies to Britain. All additional measures necessary to deliver these supplies will be taken. Should additional methods be needed, we will devise them with the aid of experts who will have my full authority to work out and put into effect such new and additional safeguards as may be needed.

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



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



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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

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

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



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

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

I say that we cannot accept, and will not permit, this Nazi shape of things to come. That is why our planes and our fleets and our forces stand on guard. That is the surest way to an American dictatorship -- a dictator named abroad.

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



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



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

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



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

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

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

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



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the lend-lease law authorized the giving of assistance to all the defenders against aggression. Its resources are at the service of any who need them; and the skill of each is used for the benefit of all. Its freedoms permit every nation to realize the best of itself; to trade freely with each other. These 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. We choose human freedom. No one of us can waver for a moment in his hope or in his faith. We were weak when we established our independence, but we successfully stood off tyrants, powerful in their day, who are now lost in the dust of history.

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

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

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



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Samuel L. Bonsuwan

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

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



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DRAFT NO. 7

SPECH OF THE PRESIDENT

May 27, 1941

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

In the subsequent months, the shadows deepened and lengthened. And the night spread over Poland, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France. The light of liberty was blotted out.

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

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

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

Our whole program of aid for the democracies has been based



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



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united states

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

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

The supply of these tools will not fail.

We have all been irked by the necessary period of preparation for this unprecedented manufacture of arms, but the needed equipment of war material is now beginning to roll in force from the assembly lines of America to the battle lines of free countries. No one today can say our effort is too great. We need still more. And all will presently learn that it is not too late.

We intend to take further serious steps to prevent delays in the speed of our production.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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From the Papers of
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Jo 202

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

The Axis Powers can never achieve their objective of world domination unless they first obtain control of the seas. This is their supreme purpose today, and to achieve it, they must capture Great Britain. They could then have power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, and no false pledges like those given by Hitler at Munich can deceive the American people on that.

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



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through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed peoples on the continent of Europe, and in the end, their whole structure will break to pieces.

We do not forget these silenced peoples. The present masters of Germany — those, at least, who have not been assassinated or escaped to free soil — have marked these peoples and their children's children for slavery. They look to us as their hope for freedom: Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes of Jugo-Slavia — yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been enslaved.

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

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



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

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

Today the British Navy has to operate in all the seas as the Hitler-led war spreads throughout the world. It must fight not only



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

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

The blunt fact is that the Nazis are now sinking ships faster than they are now being replaced.

This presents an actual military danger to the Americans. And that danger has recently been heavily underlined by the presence in Western Hemisphere waters of a Nazi battleship of great striking power.

Most of the supplies for Britain go by a northerly route, which comes close to Greenland and the nearby island of Iceland. Germany is concentrating her attack on that route. Nazi occupation



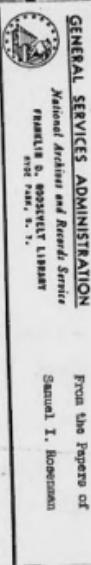
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of Iceland or bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our continental shores; because they are stepping-stones to Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the northern United States, including the great industrial centers of the north east and the middle west.



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

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

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

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

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

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



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a cardinal principle of all strategy when he said: "Git thar fustest
with the mostest."

We have, accordingly, extended our patrol in north and south
Atlantic waters. We are steadily adding more and more ships and
planes to that patrol. They warn of the presence of attacking raiders,
on the sea, under the sea and above the sea. 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 expe-
ditions to establish bases closer to our Hemisphere.

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

The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple self-
preservation, to make stern choices. It does not make sense, for
instance, to say "I believe in the defense of all the Western Hemisphere"
and in the next breath to say "I will not fight for that defense until



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the enemy has landed on our shores." And if you believe in the independence and integrity of the Americas, you must be willing to fight to defend it just as much as you would to fight for the safety of your own home.

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

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

The safety of our institutions and our form of government is linked with the successful defense of Britain and with the fight which she and other nations are now putting up on sea, on land and in the air against a Nazi-led war machine. Britain's defense is also our defense. That fact is recognized and understood by our government and by the overwhelming majority of the American people, and by our neighbors in North America.

Our national policy today is therefore this:

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



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

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

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

To the other American nations — twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada — and to the people of the new-world islands under the British flag and the French flag and the Dutch flag and the Danish flag, I say this: The United States does not merely propose these purposes, but is actively engaged today in carrying them out. We have and



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are creating adequate force to do those things. I say to them further you may disregard those few citizens of the United States who pretend that we cannot act, or that we are divided. Every nation has its minority group; this one makes much noise, but has little substance.

There are those timid ones who say that we must preserve peace at any price least we lose our liberties forever. Never in the history of the world has a nation lost its ~~liberties~~ by a successful struggle to defend ~~itself~~. And we arm ourselves and we help Britain stand off the aggressor so that we will be able to defend those liberties whenever and wherever we have to defend them. We must not be 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 ~~sur-~~ render.

In this minority there is, of course, a small group of sincere, patriotic, men and women whose real passion for peace has shut their eyes to the ugly realities of international banditry and the need to resist it at all costs. I am sure they have been embarrassed by the sinister support they have received from the enemies of democracy in our midst — the Bundists, Fascists, and Communists, and every ~~divisive~~ group devoted



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for the Defense of
the Republic

to bigotry and racial and religious intolerance. It is no mere coincidence that all arguments put forward by these enemies of democracy — all their attempts to confuse and divide our people and destroy public confidence in our government — all the defeatist forebodings that Britain and democracy are already licked; all the selfish promises that we can "do business" with Hitler — all of these are but echoes of 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, they have formed the advance guard of physical attack.



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Your government has the right to expect of all citizens
that they take part in the common work of our common defense. *Take part*
in form this comment forwarded.

I have recently set up the machinery for civilian defense.

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

You will find that defense today means more than merely fighting. It means morale; [it means building better health;]
it means using every available [natural] resource; it means enlarging every useful plant; it means resistance of will to any who seek to undermine or interrupt the machinery of production and distribution and defense. It means the use of a greater American common sense in discarding rumor and distorted statement. It means watching out against racketeers and fifth columnists who are the insidious bombs of the moment. It means that we must give to the America of the future



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JO SEWELL

an even better break than that which America has already given us.
It means rolling up a flood of organization and resources, and materials,
and production, and transportation, and scientific progress, and
military strength, so strong and so vital that it moves like a tidal
wave towards the forces of destruction and slavery and intimidation
and greed -- so vast that it will engulf these temporary tyrants.

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

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

We choose human freedom, which is the christian ideal.

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

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



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

Is such a world impossible of attainment?

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

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

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

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

With profound consciousness of my responsibilities to my
countrymen and to my country's cause, I shall issue tomorrow a
proclamation that until national emergency exists and requires the
strengthening of our defenses to the extreme limit of our power and
authority. By virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution
and the laws of the United States, I shall authorize and direct that



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From the People
Samuel J. Rosenman
for the People
John

such and every necessary measure be taken in furtherance of defense
and in the maintenance and perpetuation of the spirit of liberty throughout
the world.

In meeting this state of total emergency, the nation will
expect all individuals and all groups to play their full parts, without
stint, and without selfishness, and without doubt that our democracy will
triumphantly survive.

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



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We are guided in reaching our decisions by the military circumstances of this war and by consideration of all the prospects for the achievement of peace.

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 government of its own choosing, wholly subject to the will and the policy of a conqueror.

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



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From the Papers of
General T. Roosevelt

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

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

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

We shall not permit this to happen, because we know what is planned for us if we were weak enough to falter.

The American laborer would have to compete with slave labor in



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the rest of the world. Minimum wages, maximum hours? Nonsense. Wages and hours would be fixed by the decrees of dictators abroad. His dignity and power and standard of living would be gone. Trade unions would become historical relics and collective bargaining a joke. How can a laborer expect to get a decent day's wage for his work, when in every other place in the world, peoples are working in a state of servitude at the point of a gun?

Farm prices? What happens to all farm surpluses without any foreign trade? The American farmer would get exactly what some foreign dictator decided he wanted to give. Quite likely he would get nothing. He would face disaster a hundredfold more destructive than the disaster of 1932. His purchasing power would shrink so that the factories which employ workers will lose him as a market.

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. 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



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From the "Papers of
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means building a wall around us to keep us in.

The whole fabric of life as we know it -- business, finance, manufacturing, mining -- all would be mangled and crippled under such a system; yet to maintain even that crippled independence would require a vast standing army; would curtail the funds we spend on education, on health, on housing, on public works, on flood control. Instead, we should be pouring what resources we had to ships and guns and planes, and standing the day watch and the night watch against destruction of our cities.

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

I say that we cannot accept, and will not permit, this Nazi shape of things to come. 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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DRAFT NO. 7

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

May 27, 1941

I am speaking tonight from the White House in the presence of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union and their families. The members of the Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics who are now accredited to the United States.

It is appropriate that I do this. Now as never before the unity of the American Republics is of supreme importance to each and every one of us and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. Our future independence, in the historic sense of that splendid term, is bound up with the future independence of each and every one of our sister Republics.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Insert A

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



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(A) p. 2

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



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

In the subsequent months, the shadows深ened and lengthened. And the night spread over Poland, ~~YUGOSLAVIA~~, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France. The light of liberty was blotted out.

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

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

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

Our whole program of aid for the democracies has been based



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

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

And now -- after a year -- Britain is still fighting gallantly -- on a "far-flung battle line." We have doubled and redoubled our vast production, increasing, month by month, our material supply of tools of war for ourselves and ^{and this unprecedently} Britain ~~and~~ all the democracies.

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

We have all been irked by the necessary period of preparation for this unprecedented manufacture of arms, but the needed equipment of war material is now beginning to roll in force from the assembly lines of America to the battle lines of free countries. [No one today can say our effort is too great. We need still more. And all will presently learn that it is not too late.]

We intend to take further serious steps to prevent delays in the speed of our production.

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



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~~Inauguration~~

(5)

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To the people of the Americas the triumphant [Axis] at first would say, "We have achieved our purpose. We are now completely satisfied."

Hitler would say again as he said after the seizure of Austria, and after Munich and after the seizure of Czechoslovakia: "Now, completely satisfied, [Axis] And this is the last territorial readjustment I will seek." [In us in the

Americas] he would of course add: "All we want is peace, friendship, and profitable trade relations with you in the New World. [We have

not -- we never have had -- any thought of touching the Western Hemisphere." [You, in America]

Be friends with us and fat profits, [will immediately be awaiting you.] [A]

"From the New World Citizen"

(6)

~~Insc~~

and forgetful

And were any of us in the Americas so incredibly simple as

to accept those honeyed words, what would then happen?

Those in the new world who were seeking fat profits would be urging that all that the dictatorships desired was "peace." They would oppose ~~the burdensome~~ 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 ~~and interlocked~~ they would be building a naval and air force large enough to gain and hold and be master of the Atlantic and 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; ^{It's} ~~It's~~ 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. They plan to treat the Latin American nations as they are now treating the Balkans. They plan to strangle the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada.

[We shall not permit this to happen, because we know what is planned for us if we ~~were~~ weak enough to falter.]

The American laborer would have to compete with slave labor in



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the rest of the world. Minimum wages, maximum hours? Nonsense.

Wages and hours would be fixed by the decrees of dictators abroad.

~~This~~ ^{of the American workers and of the world}. ~~dignity and power and standard of living~~ would be gone. Trade

unions would become historical relics and collective bargaining a

^{could live, find, etc.}
joke. [How can a worker expect to get a decent day's wage for his work, when in every other place in the world, people ^{were} working in a state of serfdom at the point of a gun?]

Farm prices? What happens to all farm surpluses without any foreign trade? The American farmer would get exactly what some foreign dictator decided he wanted to give. [Quite likely he would get nothing.] He would face disaster a hundredfold more destructive than the disaster of 1932. [His purchasing power would shrink so that the factories which employ workers ^{would} lose him as a market.]

Tariff walls — Chinese walls of isolation — ^{would not} help. Freedom to trade is essential to our economic life. We do not eat all we produce; we do not burn all the oil we pump; we do not use all the goods we manufacture. [If we tried to cut all these down only to our own requirements, there ^{would} be even less employment; and the whole economic ladder ^{would} crash.] It ^{would} not be so much a question of our building a wall to keep Nazi goods out; it ^{would} be a question of the



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8
March 1
Nazis building a wall around us to keep us in.

The whole fabric of life as we know it -- business, finance,
agriculture --
manufacturing, mining -- all would be mangled and crippled under such
a system. To maintain even that crippled independence would require
a vast standing army; would curtail the funds we spend on education,
on health, on housing, on public works, on flood control. Instead,
we should be pouring our resources into ships and planes,
and standing the day and the night, watch against destruction of
our cities.

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

I say that 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.



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INSERT A

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These places may seem very remote to many Americans,
but remember that they constitute the gateway to Eastern
Africa, to all of Southern Asia, to the East Indies, and
to Australia, New Zealand and the Islands of the Pacific.

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

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

The Cape Verde Islands are only seven hours distance by bomber or troop-carrying planes, ~~from~~ ^{from Brazil} west from the South Atlantic.

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

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

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DRAFT NO. 7

— 6 —

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

The Axis Powers can never achieve their objective of world domination unless they first obtain control of the seas. This is their supreme purpose today; and to achieve it, they must capture Great Britain. They could then have power to dictate to the western Hemisphere. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, and no false pledges like those given by Hitler at Munich can deceive the American people on that.

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



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through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed peoples on the continent of Europe, and in the end, their whole structure will break ~~up~~ ^{into} pieces.

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

Freedom -- meaning freedom to live, and not freedom to conquer and ~~enslave~~ ^{subjugate} other peoples -- depends on this control of the seas. All of American history -- North, Central and South American history -- has been inevitably tied up with those words, "control of the seas."

Since 1798, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since



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

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

[Today the British Navy has to operate in all the seas as the Hitler-led war spreads throughout the world. It must fight not only



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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 present British and American shipbuilding capacity; and it will be a considerable time before American shipbuilding has been stepped up sufficiently to meet the tremendous need for more and more and more ships.



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

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

[The blunt fact is that the Nazis are now sinking ships faster than they are now being replaced.]

B-17 This presents an actual military danger to the Americas.

And that danger has recently been heavily underlined by the presence in western Hemisphere waters of a Nazi battleship of great striking power.

Most of the supplies for Britain go by a northerly route, which comes close to Greenland and the nearby island of Iceland.

Planned attack is
Germany's concentration her attack on that route. Nazi occupation

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of Iceland or bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our continental shores; because they are stepping-stones to Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the northern United States, including the great industrial centers of the north, east and the middle west.

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

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



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b5

The attack on Czechoslovakia began with the conquest of Austria. The attack on Norway began with the occupation of Denmark.

The attack on Greece was begun with occupation of Albania and Bulgaria.

The attack on the Suez Canal was begun with the invasion of the Balkans and North Africa. The attack on the United States will begin with the occupation of any base which menaces our security -- north or south.

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

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

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



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a cardinal principle of all strategy when he said: "Git thar fustest
with the mostest."

We have, accordingly, extended our patrol in north and south
Atlantic waters. We are steadily adding more and more ships and
planes to that patrol. ^A ~~They~~ warn of the presence of attacking raiders,
on the sea, under the sea and above the sea. The danger from these
raiders is greatly lessened if their location is definitely known. We
are thus being forewarned, and we shall be on our guard ~~against~~ against expe-
^h ditions to establish bases closer to our Hemisphere.

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

~~R~~ The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple self-
preservation, to make stern choices. It does not make sense, for
instance, to say "I believe in the defense of all the Western Hemisphere"
and in the next breath to say "I will not fight for that defense until



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A p. 16

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. ^{? like ships}
)

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Jo

the enemy has landed on our shores." And if you believe in the independence and integrity of the Americas, you must be willing to fight to defend it just as much as you would to fight for the safety of your own home.

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

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

The safety of our institutions and our form of government is linked with the successful defense of Britain and with the fight which she and other nations are now putting up on sea, on land and in the air against the Nazi-led war machine. Britain's ~~containing situation is~~ ~~vital to our own~~ defense. That fact is recognized and understood by our government and

by the overwhelming majority of the American people, and by our neighbors to the north and south as well. Our national policy today is therefore this:

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



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

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

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

To the other American nations — twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada — and to the people of the new-world islands under the British flag and the French flag and the Dutch flag and the Danish flag, I say this: The United States does not merely propose these purposes, but is actively engaged today in carrying them out. We have and

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(19)

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are creating adequate force to do these things. ^P I say to them further: you may disregard those few citizens of the United States who pretend that we cannot act, or that we are divided. Every nation has its minority group; this one makes much noise, but has little substance.

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

In this minority there is, of course, a small group of sincere, patriotic, men and women whose real passion for peace has shut their eyes to the ugly realities of international banditry and the need to resist it at all costs. I am sure they ~~have been~~ embarrassed by the sinister support they ~~have received~~ from the enemies of democracy in our midst — the Bandits, Fascists, and Communists, and every ~~divisive~~ group devoted



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to bigotry and racial and religious intolerance. It is no mere coincidence that all arguments put forward by these enemies of democracy -- all their attempts to confuse and divide our people and destroy public confidence in our government -- all the defeatist forebodings that Britain and democracy are already beaten; all the selfish promises that we can "do business" with Hitler -- all of these are but echoes of 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, ^{these} ~~these~~ words have formed the advance guard of physical attack.



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

I have recently set up the machinery for civilian defense.



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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. *All* you will have responsibilities to fulfill.

You will find that defense today means more than merely fighting. *civilian as well as military;* *it means building better buildings;* it means using every available material resource; it means enlarging every useful plant; *[it means resistance of will to any who seek to undermine or interrupt the machinery of production and distribution and defense.]* It means the use of a greater American common sense in discarding rumor and distorted statement. It means watching out against racketeers and fifth columnists, *who are the incendiary bombs of the moment.* It means that we must give to the America of the future

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~~Draft~~

an even better break than that which America has already given us.

It means rolling up a flood of organization and resources, and materials,
and production, and transportation, and scientific progress, and

military strength — so strong and so vital that it moves like a tidal
wave towards the forces of destruction and slavery and intimidation

and greed — so vast that it will engulf these temporary tyrants.

Historical and growing

DRAFT NO. 7

(23)

All of us know that we have made very great social
in recent years!
progress. 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.

(A)

A nation-wide machinery for mediation of industrial
disputes has been set up. The American people expect it to
be used promptly and whenever the Defense Mediation Board
thinks it necessary -- and without stoppage of work. They
expect that its impartial recommendations will be followed
both by capital and by labor. In this national emergency,
it is abundantly clear that the nation as a whole cannot,
in simple, self-interest, allow the output of essential
war weapons to lag or stop.

This is a Government by majority rule; and there is
no possible question that the overwhelming majority of our
citizens expect their Government to see that the tools of



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(A) M 8/23

larger gains by
~~without~~
manufacturing.

This is a time for capital to make,
~~and~~ or be allowed to retain,
undue excess profits. If the industrial
families of the country must forego their
~~full~~ profit of making ~~the~~ private
articles of luxury in preparation needed
articles of national defense. All plants
must accept their ~~full~~ share of defense
production. It is better to have
when peace is restored, more of them
well trained than ~~less~~ relatively
behind in this ~~over~~ particular line.
J. T.



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LARSON INBERT (attachment)

defense are built; and your Government is determined to use all of its power to express that will of its people and prevent interference with the production of materials essential to our nation's defense and security.



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

We choose human freedom, which is the Christian ideal.

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

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

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-13-

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

Is such a world impossible of attainment?

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

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

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

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

AA Therefore,
 With profound consciousness of my responsibilities to my
 countrymen and to my country's cause, I shall issue tomorrow a
 proclamation that total national emergency exists and requires the
 strengthening of our defense to the extreme limit of our power and
 authority. By virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution
 and the laws of the United States, I shall authorize and direct that



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AA. p25

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

- ~~We will decide when and where our American interests are attacked or our safety jeopardized.~~
- ~~We will not hesitate to use force to repel that attack.~~
- ~~We will distribute and use our armed forces toward these ends.~~
- ~~Our own interests require us to give help and more help to the democracies. We will deliver the goods to those to whom we have given our aid, because we recognize that democracies are fighting the same evil that threatens us, and will hold them to set the actual implements of defense.~~
- ~~We reassert the ancient American doctrine of freedom of the seas.~~
- ~~We reassert the solidarity of the twenty-one American Republics and the Dominion of Canada in the preservation of the independence of the Hemisphere.~~
- ~~We call for sacrifice for unity.~~

~~Polytechnic students support
to the other democracies of the world, and we will fulfill
our pledges to all
that we can and must do.~~



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each and every necessary measure be taken in furtherance of defense

Martin McGuire
 and in the ~~dissemination~~ and perpetuation of the spirit of liberty throughout the world. ~~the world~~

In meeting this state of total emergency, the nation will expect all individuals and all groups to play their full parts, without stint, and without selfishness; and without doubt that our democracy will triumphantly survive.

a little
 I 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".

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.



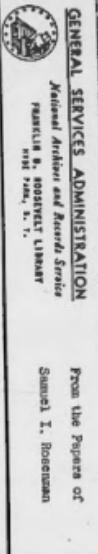
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SHL

May 27, 1941



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

The members of this Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the
American Republics who are now accredited to the United States.

It is appropriate that I do this. Now as never before the unity
of the American Republics is of supreme importance to each and every
one of us and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. Our
future independence, in the historic sense of that splendid term,
is bound up with the future independence of each and every one of
our sister Republics.

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

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



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

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

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

We have added substantially to our splendid Navy and we have mustered our manpower to build up a new Army which, I can confidently say, 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. The light of liberty was blotted out.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

We intend to take further serious steps to prevent delays in the speed of our production.

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



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

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

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

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

Those in the new world who were seeking fat profits would be urging that all that the dictatorships desired was "peace". They would oppose toll and taxes for more American armament. Meanwhile, the dictatorships would be forcing the enslaved peoples of their Old World conquests into a system they are even now organizing. With this



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they would be building a naval and air force large enough -- and intended -- to gain and hold and be master of the Atlantic and the Pacific as well.

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

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

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

Farm prices? What happens to all farm surpluses without any foreign trade? The American farmer would get exactly what some foreign dictator decided he wanted to give. He would face disaster a hundredfold more destructive than the disaster of 1932.



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Tariff walls -- Chinese walls of isolation -- would not help.

Freedom to trade is essential to our economic life. We do not eat all we produce; we do not burn all the oil we pump; we do not use all the goods we manufacture. It would not be ~~so~~ much a question of our building a wall to keep Nazi goods out; it would be a question of the Nazis building a wall around us to keep us in.

The whole fabric of life, as we know it -- business, finance, manufacturing, mining, agriculture -- all would be 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 should spend on education, on housing, on public works, on flood control, on health. Instead, we should be permanently pouring our resources into armaments; year in and year out standing the day and night watch against the destruction of our cities.

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



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

The Nazis have taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. In Africa they have occupied Tripoli and Libya, and they are threatening Egypt, the Suez Canal, and the Near East. ^{These places do not lie in the Near East, but are in Africa.} Nazi success there would threaten military domination over Turkey, Iraq, Arabia, Persia and the Persian Gulf.

These places may seem very remote to many Americans, but remember that they constitute the gateway to Eastern Africa, to all of Southern Asia, to the East Indies, and to Australia, New Zealand and the Islands of the Pacific.

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

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



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

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

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

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

P They could then have power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, and no false pledges like those given by Hitler at Munich can deceive the American people on that.



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For the President
Samuel I. Rosenman
John T. Schlesinger

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

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

That is why they are risking everything they have, conducting desperate attempts to break through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed peoples on the continent of Europe, and in the end, their whole structure will break into pieces.

We do not forget those silenced peoples. The present masters of Germany — those, at least, who have not been assassinated or escaped to free soil — have marked these peoples and their children's children for slavery. They look to us as their hope
British fight spirit all unbroken
for freedom: Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes of Jugo-Slavia — yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been enslaved.
In the Name



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

Since 1798, 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



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hit-and-run battleship; third -- the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base; and fourth -- the destruction of merchant ships, their warehoused cargoes and harbor facilities, in these ports of the world which are accessible to bombing attack.

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

The blunt truth is this -- and I reveal this with the full knowledge of the British government: the present rate of Nazi sinkings 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 ~~present~~ ^{present} ~~combined~~ British and American ~~shipbuilding capacity~~ ^{combined} shipbuilding capacity; and it will be a considerable time before American shipbuilding has been stepped up sufficiently to meet the tremendous need for more and more ships.

Samuel I. Rosenman



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This presents an actual military danger to the Americas.

And that danger has recently been heavily underlined by the presence in Western Hemisphere waters of a Nazi battleship of great striking power.

Most of the supplies for Britain go by a northerly route, which comes close to Greenland and the nearby island of Iceland.

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

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



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

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

Everybody 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.

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

Any ~~high school student~~ with an atlas and a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war knows that it is stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack.



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

[] nearly a century ago a famous Confederate General laid down a cardinal principle of all strategy when he said: "Hit 'em hard and hit 'em fast."

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

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

[] The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple self-preservation, to make stern choices. It does not make sense, for instance, to say "I believe in the defense of all the Western Hemisphere" and in the next breath to say "I will not fight for that defense until the enemy has landed on our shores." And if 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.



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

Our national policy today is therefore this:

First, we shall actively resist wherever necessary with all our resources every attempt by Hitler to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere, or to threaten it. We shall actively resist with all our resources his every attempt to gain control of the seas. We insist upon the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used and would be used as a base of attack against the 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 combinations of methods, which can or should be utilized are being devised by our military and naval technicians, who, with me, will work out and put into effect such new and additional safeguards as may be needed.



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

To the other American nations -- twenty Republics and the
Dominion of Canada -- and to the people of the new-world islands under
the British flag and the French flag and the Dutch flag and the Danish
flag, I say this: The United States does not merely propose these pure
purposes, but is actively engaged today in carrying them out. We have and
are creating adequate forces to do these things.

I say to them further: you may disregard those few citizens
of the United States who pretend [under] that we cannot act, or that we are
divided. Every nation has its minority groups; this one makes much
noise, but has little substance.

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



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

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

I have recently set up the machinery for civilian defense. It will rapidly organize, locality by locality. It will call for [redacted]



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

You will find that defense today means more than merely
fighting. It means morale; civilian as well as military; it means
using every available resource; it means enlarging every useful plant.
It means the use of a greater American common sense in discarding
tumors and distorted statement. It means watching out against racketeers
and fifth columnists, who are the incendiary bombs of the moment. It
means that we must give to the America of the future an even better
break than that which America has already given us. It means rolling
up a flood of materials, and production, and transportation, and
scientific progress, and military strength -- so strong and so vital
that it moves like a tidal wave towards the forces of destruction
and slavery and intimidation and greed -- so vast that it will engulf
these temporary threats of world tyranny.

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



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1940

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, undue excess profits. The industrial plants of the country must forgo their privilege of making larger gains by manufacturing private articles of national defense. All plants must accept their fair share of defense production so that, when peace is restored, none of them will have fallen relatively behind in their own particular line.

A nation-wide machinery for mediation of industrial disputes has been set up. The American people expect it to be used promptly and whenever the Defense Mediation Board thinks it necessary — and without stoppage of work. They expect that its impartial recommendations will be followed both by capital and by labor. In this national emergency, it is abundantly clear that the nation as a whole cannot, in simple, self-interest, allow the output of essential war weapons to lag or stop.

This is a Government by majority rule; and there is no possible question that the overwhelming majority of our citizens expect their Government to see that the tools of



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defense are built; and your Government is determined to use all of its power to express that will of its people and prevent interference with the production of materials essential to our nation's defense and security.

The whole world today is divided between human slavery and human freedom -- between pagan brutality and the Christian ideals.

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

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

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

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

Is such a world impossible or attainable?

Then see was Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation and every other milestone in human progress. Yet they were attained.

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We call for work, for sacrifice, and for unity.

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



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proclamation that a total national emergency exists and requires the strengthening of our defense to the extreme limit of our national power and authority.

[] By virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, I shall authorize and direct that each and every necessary measure be taken in furtherance of defense and in the maintenance and perpetuation of the spirit of liberty throughout the world. []

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

I repeat the words of a little band of patriots, fighting long odds 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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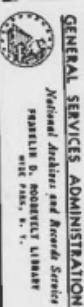
SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

MAY 27, 1941

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



Samuel T. Rosenfeld
for the Press
Under
S. T. Rosenfeld

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.



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

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

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

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



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In March, 1941, the Congress passed the Lend-Lease
Bill and an appropriation of seven billions ^{dollars} to implement it.

This law realistically provided for material aid "for the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States."

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

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

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

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



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Augmented

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

Your government knows that 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?



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

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

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

The American laborer would have to compete with slave labor in the rest of the world. Minimum wages, maximum hours? Nonsense! Wages and hours would be fixed by 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 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~~ ^{The first} ~~should~~ not be an American wall to keep Nazi goods out; it would be a Nazi wall to keep us in.

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



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S. L. Johnson
From the "Works of"

against the destruction of our cities.

Even our right of worship would be threatened.

The Nazi world does not recognize any God except Hitler; for the Nazis are as ruthless as the Communists in the denial of God. What place has religion which preaches the dignity of the human being, of the majesty of the human soul,

in a world where moral standards are measured by treachery and bribery and Fifth Columnists? Will our children, too,
goose-stepping in search
wander off ~~in search~~ ^{of new gods?} ~~to known and unknown~~

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.



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

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

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

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

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



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which will, I have reason to believe, increase in strength.
All of these, together, prevent the Axis from winning control
of the seas by ships and aircraft.

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

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

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



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Both they and their people know this -- and they are afraid. That is why they are risking everything they have, conducting desperate attempts to break through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed peoples on the continent of Europe, and in the end, their whole structure will break into little pieces. And ~~the world~~
~~the Nazi land~~ suffer the greater their ~~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, ^{desiring the} Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, ~~and~~ Southern Slavs -- yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been enslaved -- will prove to be a powerful force in ~~exposing~~ ^{destroying the} Nazi ~~regime~~ 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."



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

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



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merchant ships in those ports of the world which are accessible to ~~shum~~ 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. ⁷ We can answer ^{This} ~~the~~ peril ^A by two simultaneous measures: first, by speeding up and increasing our great shipbuilding program; and second,



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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 mid-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.



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They would provide a springboard for actual attack against the integrity and independence of Brazil and her neighboring republicies.

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

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

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



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From the Papers of
President Franklin D. Roosevelt

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

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

Any one 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 ~~stop~~ 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.



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



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

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

Our national policy today is, therefore, this:

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



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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.



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

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

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



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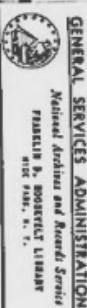
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This is no time for capital to make, or be allowed to retain, excess profits. Articles of defense must have undisputed right of way in every industrial plant in the country.

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

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

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



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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 ~~despair~~ ^{freedom from fear}.

Is such a world impossible of attainment?

Then so were Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation and every other milestone in human progress -- yet they were attained.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

We are placing our armed forces in strategic military
positions.

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,



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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 a total national emergency exists and requires the strengthening of our defense to the extreme limit of our national power and authority.

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

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



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