
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

**Series 2: “You have nothing to fear but fear itself.” FDR
and the New Deal**

File No. 1389-A

1941 October 27

Navy Day Address

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
NAVY AND TOTAL DEFENSE DAY

OCTOBER 27, 1941

Five months ago tonight I proclaimed to the American people the existence of a state of unlimited emergency.

Since then much has happened. Our Army and Navy are temporarily in Iceland in the defense of the Western Hemisphere.

Hitler has attacked shipping in areas close to the Americas throughout the Atlantic.

Many American-owned merchant ships have been sunk on the high seas. One American destroyer was attacked on September fourth. Another destroyer was attacked and hit on October seventeenth. Eleven brave and loyal men of our Navy were killed by the Nazis.

We have wished to avoid shooting. But the shooting has started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot.

In the long run, however, all that will matter is who fired the last shot.

America has been attacked. The U.S.S. Kearny is not just a navy ship. She belongs to every man, woman and child in this nation.

Illinois, Alabama, California, North Carolina, Ohio, Louisiana, Texas, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Arkansas, New York, Virginia -- those are the home states of the honored dead and wounded of the Kearny. Hitler's torpedo was directed at every American, whether he lives on our sea coasts or in the innermost part of the nation, far from the seas and far from the guns and tanks of the marching hordes of would-be conquerors of the world.

The purpose of Hitler's attack was to frighten the American people off the high seas -- to force us to make a trembling retreat. This is not the first time he has misjudged the American spirit. That spirit is now aroused.

If our national policy were to be dominated by the fear of shooting, then all of our ships and those of our sister Republics would have to be tied up in home harbors. Our Navy would have to remain respectfully -- abjectly -- behind any line which Hitler might decree on any ocean as his own dictated version of his own war zone.

Naturally we reject that absurd and insulting suggestion. We reject it because of our own self-interest, our own self-respect and our own good faith. Freedom of the seas is now, as it has always been, the fundamental policy of this government.

Hitler has often protested that his plans for conquest do not extend across the Atlantic Ocean. His submarines and raiders prove otherwise. So does the entire design of his new world order.

For example, I have in my possession a secret map made in Germany by Hitler's government -- by the planners of the new world order. It is a map of South America and a part of Central America, as Hitler proposes to reorganize it. Today in this area there are fourteen separate countries. The geographical experts of Berlin, however, have ruthlessly obliterated all existing boundary lines; and have divided South America into five vassal states, bringing the whole continent under their domination. And they have also so arranged it that the territory of one of these new puppet states includes the Republic of Panama and our great life line -- the Panama Canal.

This map makes clear the Nazi design not only against South America but against the United States itself.

Your government has in its possession another document made in Germany by Hitler's government. It is a detailed plan, which, for obvious reasons, the Nazis did not wish to publicize just yet, but which they are ready to impose on a dominated world --

if Hitler wins. It is a plan to abolish all existing religions -- Protestant, Catholic, Mohammedan, Hindu, Buddhist and Jewish alike. The property of all churches will be seized by the Reich. The cross and all other symbols of religion are to be forbidden. The clergy are to be forever silenced under penalty of the concentration camps, where even now so many fearless men are being tortured because they placed God above Hitler.

In the place of the churches of our civilization, there is to be set up an International Nazi Church -- a church which will be served by orators sent out by the Nazi Government. In the place of the Bible, the words of Mein Kampf will be imposed and enforced as Holy Writ. And in place of the cross of Christ will be put two symbols -- the swastika and the naked sword.

The god of Blood and Iron will take the place of the God of Love and Mercy.

These grim truths which I have told you of the present and future plans of Hitlerism will of course be hotly denied tomorrow in the controlled press and radio of the Axis Powers. And some Americans will continue to insist that Hitler's plans need not worry us -- and that we should not concern ourselves with anything that goes on beyond rifle shot of our own shores.

The protestations of these American citizens -- few in number -- will, as usual, be paraded with applause through the Axis press and radio during the next few days, in an effort to convince the world that the majority of Americans are opposed to their duly chosen Government, and in reality are only waiting to jump on Hitler's band wagon when it comes this way.

The motive of such Americans is not the point at issue. The fact is that Nazi propaganda continues in desperation to seize upon such isolated statements as proof of American disunity.

The Nazis have made up their own list of modern American heroes. It is, fortunately, a short list. I am glad that it does not contain my name.

All of us Americans, of all opinions, are faced with the choice between the kind of world we want to live in and the kind of world which Hitler and his hordes would impose upon us.

None of us wants to burrow under the ground and live in total darkness like a comfortable mole.

The forward march of Hitlerism can be stopped -- and it will be stopped.

Very simply and very bluntly -- we are pledged to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism.

And when we have helped to end the curse of Hitlerism we shall help to establish a new peace which will give to decent people everywhere a better chance to live and prosper in security and in freedom and in faith.

Each day that passes we are producing and providing more and more arms for the men who are fighting on actual battlefronts. That is our primary task.

And it is the nation's will that these vital arms and supplies of all kinds shall neither be locked up in American harbors nor sent to the bottom of the sea. It is the nation's will that America shall deliver the goods. In open defiance of that will, our ships have been sunk and our sailors have been killed.

I say that we do not propose to take this lying down.

Our determination not to take it lying down has been expressed in the orders to the American Navy to shoot on sight. Those orders stand.

Furthermore, the House of Representatives has already voted to amend part of the Neutrality Act of 1937, today outmoded by force of violent circumstances. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has also recommended elimination of other hamstringing provisions in that Act. That is the course of honesty and of realism.

Our American merchant ships must be armed to defend themselves against the rattlesnakes of the sea.

Our American merchant ships must be free to carry our American goods into the harbors of our friends.

Our American merchant ships must be protected by our American Navy.

It can never be doubted that the goods will be delivered by this nation, whose Navy believes in the tradition of "Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead!"

Our national will must speak from every assembly line -- yes, from every coal mine -- in our vast industrial machine. Our factories and our shipyards are constantly expanding. Our output must be multiplied.

It cannot be hampered by the selfish obstruction of a small but dangerous minority of industrial managers who hold out for extra profits, or for "business as usual". It cannot be hampered by the selfish obstruction of a small but dangerous minority of labor leaders who are a menace to the true cause of labor itself, as well as to the nation as a whole.

The lines of our essential defense now cover all the seas; and to meet the extraordinary demands of today and tomorrow our Navy grows to unprecedented size. Our Navy is ready for action. Indeed, units of it in the Atlantic patrol are in action. Its officers and men need no praise from me.

Our new Army is steadily developing the strength needed to withstand the aggressors. Our soldiers of today are worthy of the proudest traditions of the United States Army. But traditions cannot shoot down dive bombers or destroy tanks. That is why we must and shall provide, for every one of our soldiers, equipment and weapons -- not merely as good but better than that of any other army on earth. And we are doing that right now.

For this -- and all of this -- is what we mean by total national defense.

The first objective of that defense is to stop Hitler. He can be stopped and can be compelled to dig in. And that will be the beginning of his downfall, because dictatorship of the Hitler type can live only through continuing victories -- increasing conquests.

The facts of 1918 are proof that a mighty German army and a tired German people can crumble rapidly and go to pieces when they are faced with successful resistance.

Nobody who admires qualities of courage and endurance can fail to be stirred by the full-fledged resistance of the Russian people. The Russians are fighting for their own soil and their own homes. Russia needs all kinds of help -- planes, tanks, guns, medical supplies and other aids -- toward the successful defense against the invaders. From the United States and from Britain, she is getting great quantities of those essential supplies. But the needs of her huge army will continue -- and our help and British help will have to continue!

The other day the Secretary of State of the United States was asked by a Senator to justify our giving aid to Russia. His reply was: "The answer to that depends on how anxious a person is to stop and destroy the march of Hitler in his conquest of the world. If he were anxious enough to defeat Hitler, he would not worry about who was helping to defeat him".

Upon our American production falls the colossal task of equipping our own armed forces, and helping to supply the British, the Russians and the Chinese. In the performance of that task we dare not fail. And we will not fail.

It has not been easy for us Americans to adjust ourselves to the shocking realities of a world in which the principles of common humanity and common decency are being mowed down by the firing squads of The Gestapo. We have enjoyed many of God's blessings. We have lived in a broad and abundant land, and by our industry and productivity we have made it flourish.

There are those who say that our great good fortune has betrayed us -- that we are now no match for the regimented masses who have been trained in the Spartan ways of ruthless brutality. They say that we have grown fat, and flabby, and lazy -- and that we are doomed.

But those who say that know nothing of America or of American life.

They do not know that this land is great because it is a land of endless challenge. Our country was first populated, and it has been steadily developed, by men and women in whom there burned the spirit of adventure and restlessness and individual independence which will not tolerate oppression.

Ours has been a story of vigorous challenges which have been accepted and overcome -- challenges of uncharted seas, of wild forests and desert plains, of raging floods and withering drought, of foreign tyrants and domestic strife, of staggering problems, social, economic and physical;

and we have come out of them the most powerful nation -- and
the freest -- in all of history.

Today in the face of this newest and greatest challenge
we Americans have cleared our decks and taken our battle
stations. We stand ready in the defense of our nation and the
faith of our fathers to do what God has given us the power to
see as our full duty.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Orig. reading copy

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Broadcast from the Mayflower Hotel,
On the Occasion of a Dinner
In Celebration of "Navy and Total Defense Day"
October 27, 1941, 10:00 P.M.

COLONEL DONOVAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Five months ago tonight I proclaimed to the American people the existence of a state of unlimited emergency.

And since then much has happened. Our Army and Navy are temporarily in Iceland in the defense of the Western Hemisphere.

Hitler has attacked shipping in areas close to the Americas (throughout the) in the North and South Atlantic.

Many American-owned (merchant) ships have been sunk on the high seas. One American destroyer was attacked on September fourth. Another destroyer was attacked and hit on October seventeenth. Eleven brave and loyal men of our Navy were killed by the Nazis.

We have wished to avoid shooting. But the shooting has started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot. In the long run, however, all that will matter is who fired the last shot. (Applause)

America has been attacked. The U.S.S. KEARNY is not just a Navy ship. She belongs to every man, woman and child in this nation.

Illinois, Alabama, California, North Carolina, Ohio, Louisiana, Texas, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Arkansas, New York, and Virginia -- these are the home states of the honored dead and wounded of the KEARNY. Hitler's torpedo was directed at every American, whether he lives on our (sea) coasts or in the innermost part of the (nation) country, far from the seas and far from the guns and tanks of the marching hordes of would-be conquerors of the world.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

The purpose of Hitler's attack was to frighten, frighten the American people off the high seas -- to force us to make a treabling retreat. This is not the first time that he has misjudged the American spirit. And today that spirit is now aroused.

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Naturally we reject that absurd and insulting suggestion. We reject it because of our own self-interest, because of our own self-respect (and) because, most of all, of our own good faith. Freedom of the seas is now, as it has always been, (the) a fundamental policy of (this) your Government and mine.

Hitler has often protested that his plans for conquest do not extend across the Atlantic Ocean. But his submarines and raiders prove otherwise. And so does the entire design of his new world order.

For example, I have in my possession a secret map made in Germany by Hitler's government -- by the planners of the new world order. It is a map of South America and a part of Central America, as Hitler proposes to reorganize it. Today in this area there are fourteen separate countries. But the geographical experts of Berlin (however) have ruthlessly obliterated all existing boundary lines; (and) they have divided South America into five vassal states, bringing the whole continent under their domination. And they have also so arranged it that the territory of one of these new puppet states includes the Republic of Panama and our great life line -- the Panama Canal.

That is his plan. It will never go into effect. (Applause)

And that (This) map, my friends, makes clear the Nazi design not only against South America but against the United States (itself) as well.

And your Government has in its possession another document, a document made in Germany by Hitler's government. It is a detailed plan, which, for obvious reasons, the Nazis did not wish and do not wish to publicize just yet, but which they are ready to impose -- a little later -- on a dominated world -- if Hitler wins. It is a plan to abolish all existing religions -- (Protestant) Catholic, (Catholic) Protestant, Mohammedan, Hindu, Buddhist and Jewish alike. The property of all churches will be seized by the Reich and its puppets. The cross and all other symbols of religion are to be forbidden. The clergy are to be (for)ever liquidated, silenced under penalty of the concentration camps, where even now so many fearless men are being tortured because they have placed God above Hitler.

In the place of the churches of our civilization, there is to be set up an International Nazi Church -- a church which will be served by orators sent out by the Nazi Government. And in the place of the Bible, the words of Mein Kampf will be imposed and enforced as Holy Writ. And in the place of the cross of Christ will be put two symbols -- the swastika and the naked sword.

The god -- a god of Blood and Iron will take the place of the God of Love and Mercy. Let us well ponder that statement which I have made tonight.

These grim truths which I have told you of the present and future plans of Hitlerism will of course be hotly denied tonight and tomorrow in the controlled press and radio of the Axis Powers. And some Americans -- some Americans -- not many -- will continue to insist that Hitler's plans

need not worry us -- (and) that we should not concern ourselves with anything that goes on beyond rifle shot of our own shores.

The protestations of these few American citizens (-- few in number --) will, as usual, be paraded with applause through the Axis press and radio during the next few days, in an effort to convince the world that the majority of Americans are opposed to their duly chosen Government, and in reality are only waiting to jump on Hitler's band wagon when it comes this way.

The motive of such Americans is not the point at issue. The fact is that Nazi propaganda continues in desperation to seize upon such isolated statements as proof of American disunity.

The Nazis have made up their own list of modern American heroes. It is, fortunately, a short list. And I am glad that (it) that list does not contain my name.

And so all of us Americans, of all opinions, in the last analysis are faced with the choice between the kind of world we want to live in and the kind of world which Hitler and his hordes would impose upon us.

None of us wants to burrow under the ground and live in total darkness like a comfortable mole.

The forward march of Hitler(ism) and of Hitlerism can be stopped -- and it will be stopped.

Very simply and very bluntly -- we are pledged to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism.

And when we have helped to end the curse of Hitlerism we shall help to establish a new peace which will give to decent people everywhere a better chance to live and prosper in security and in freedom and in faith.

(Each) Every day that passes we are producing and providing more and more arms for the men who are fighting on actual battlefronts. That is our primary task.

And it is the nation's will that these vital arms and supplies of all kinds shall neither be locked up in American harbors nor sent to the bottom of the sea. It is the nation's will that America shall deliver the goods. In open defiance of that will, our ships have been sunk and our sailors have been killed.

And I say that we do not propose to take this lying down. (Applause)

(Our) That determination of ours not to take it lying down has been expressed in the orders to the American Navy to shoot on sight. And those orders stand. (Applause)

Furthermore, the House of Representatives has already voted to amend a part of the Neutrality Act of 1937, today out-moded by force of violent circumstances. And the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has also recommended the elimination of other hamstringing provisions in that Act. That is the course of honesty and of realism.

Our American merchant ships must be armed to defend themselves against the rattlesnakes of the sea.

Our American Merchant ships must be free to carry our American goods into the harbors of our friends.

And our American merchant ships must be protected by our American Navy.

In the light of a good many years of personal experience, I think that it can be said that it can never be doubted that the goods will be delivered by this nation, whose Navy believes in the tradition of "Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead!" (Applause)

Yes, our nation(al) will and must speak from every assembly line. Yes, from every coal mine -- (Loud applause) -- the all-inclusive whole of (in) our vast industrial machine. Our factories and our shipyards are constantly expanding. Our output must be multiplied.

That output (It) cannot be hampered by the selfish obstruction of (a) any small (but dangerous) minority -- a small but dangerous minority of industrial managers who perhaps hold out for extra profits, or for "business as usual". And it cannot be hampered by the selfish obstruction of a small but dangerous minority of labor leaders -- (loud applause) -- who are a menace -- for labor as a whole knows that that small minority is a menace to the true cause of labor itself, as well as to the nation as a whole. (Applause)

And so the lines of our essential defense now cover all the seas; and to meet the extraordinary demands of today and tomorrow our Navy grows to unprecedented size. Our Navy is ready for action. Indeed, units of it in the Atlantic patrol are in action. Its officers and men need no praise from me.

Our new Army is steadily developing the strength needed to withstand the aggressors. Our soldiers of today are worthy of the proudest traditions of the United States Army. But traditions cannot shoot down dive bombers or destroy tanks. That is why we must and shall provide, for every one of our soldiers, equipment and weapons -- not merely as good but better than that of any other army on earth. And we are doing that right now. (Applause)

For this -- and all of this -- is what we mean by total national defense.

The first objective of that defense is to stop Hitler. He can be stopped and can be compelled to dig in. And that will be the beginning of the end of his downfall, because dictatorship of the Hitler type can live only through continuing victories and increasing conquests.

The facts of the year 1918 are proof that a mighty German army

and a tired German people can crumble rapidly and go to pieces when they are faced with successful resistance.

Nobody who admires qualities of courage and endurance can fail to be stirred by the full-fledged resistance of the Russian people. (Applause) The Russians are fighting for their own soil and their own homes. Russia needs all kinds of help -- planes, and tanks, and guns, and medical supplies and other aids -- toward the successful defense against the invaders. From the United States and from Britain, she is getting great quantities of (those) these essential supplies. But the needs of her huge (army) armies will continue -- and our help and British help will (have to) also continue!

The other day the Secretary of State of the United States was asked by a Senator to justify our giving aid to Russia. His reply was: "The answer to that Senator, depends on how anxious a person is to stop (and) to destroy the march of Hitler in his conquest of the world. If he were anxious enough to defeat Hitler, he would not worry about who was helping to defeat him". (Applause)

Upon our American production falls the colossal task of equipping our own armed forces, and helping to supply the British, and the Russians and the Chinese. In the performance of that task we dare not fail. And we will not fail.

It has not been easy for us Americans to adjust ourselves to the shocking realities of a world in which the principles of common humanity and common decency are being mowed down by the firing squads of the Gestapo. We have enjoyed many of God's blessings. We have lived in a broad and abundant land, and by our industry and productivity we have made it flourish.

There are those who say that our great good fortune has betrayed

us -- that we are now no match for the regimented masses who have been trained in the Spartan ways of ruthless brutality. They say that we have grown fat, and flabby, and lazy -- and that we are doomed.

But those who say that know nothing of America or of American life.

They do not know that this land is great because it is a land of endless challenge. Our country was first populated, and it has been steadily developed, by men and women in whom there burned the spirit of adventure and restlessness and individual independence which will not tolerate oppression.

Ours has been a story, a story of vigorous challenge(s) which (have) has been accepted and overcome -- challenges of uncharted seas, of wild forests and desert plains, of raging floods and withering droughts, of foreign tyrants and domestic strifes, of staggering problems -- social, and economic and physical; and we have come out of them the most powerful nation -- and the freest -- in all of history. (Applause)

Today in the face of this newest and greatest challenge of them all, we Americans have cleared our decks and taken our battle stations. We stand ready in the defense of our nation and in the faith of our fathers to do what God has given us the power to see as our full duty. (Loud and prolonged applause)

OCTOBER 27, 1941

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered at the dinner to be held at the Mayflower Hotel in celebration of "Navy and Total Defense Day", MUST BE HELD IN STRICT CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

2054

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets not earlier than 10:00 P.M., E.S.T., October 27, 1941. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Five months ago tonight I proclaimed to the American people the existence of a state of unlimited emergency.

Since then much has happened. Our Army and Navy are temporarily in Iceland in the defense of the Western Hemisphere.

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The other day the Secretary of State of the United States was asked by a Senator to justify our giving aid to Russia. His reply was: "The answer to that, Senator, depends on how serious a person is to stop and destroy the march of Hitler in his conquest of the world. If he were anxious enough to defeat Hitler, he would not worry about who was helping to defeat him".

Upon our American production falls the colossal task of equipping our own armed forces, and helping to supply the British, the Russians and the Chinese. In the performance of that task we dare not fail. And we will not fail.

It has not been easy for us Americans to adjust ourselves to the shocking realities of a world in which the principles of common humanity and common decency are being mowed down by the firing squads of The Gestapo. We have enjoyed many of God's blessings. We have lived in a broad and abundant land, and by our industry and productivity we have made it flourish.

There are those who say that our great good fortune has betrayed us -- that we are now no match for the regimented masses who have been trained in the Spartan ways of ruthless brutality. They say that we have grown fat, and flabby, and lazy -- and that we are doomed.

But those who say that know nothing of America or of American life.

They do not know that this land is great because it is a land of endless challenge. Our country was first populated, and it has been steadily developed, by men and women in whom there burned the spirit of adventure and restlessness and individual independence which will not tolerate oppression.

Ours has been a story of vigorous challenges which have been accepted and overcome -- challenges of uncharted seas, of wild forests and desert plains, of raging floods and withering drought, of foreign tyrants and domestic strife, of staggering problems -- social, economic and physical; and we have come out of them the most powerful nation -- and the freest -- in all of history.

Today in the face of this newest and greatest challenge of them all we Americans have cleared our decks and taken our battle stations. We stand ready in the defense of our nation and the faith of our fathers to do what God has given us the power to see as our full duty.

FIRST DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
NAVY AND TOTAL DEFENSE DAY
OCTOBER 27, 1941.

Whither Bound?

It is right that America should ask that question. It is right that it be answered.

Our prime purpose -- our goal -- is the defense of America.

America has been attacked. Our liberties are threatened -- our liberties of today, the freedom of our children -- the independence of American generations yet unborn.

The threat overhangs not our island outposts alone, not our coastal cities alone, but the communities and farms as well that lie in the innermost parts of the nation, far from the seas, far from the guns or tanks of the marching hords of would-be conquerors of the world.

I well know how difficult it is in the peaceful households in most parts of our nation to visualize the threat of danger; to grasp the fact that when I say the world, I mean that the United States of America is a part of the world. I know how hard it is because so many other peaceful people, infinitely closer to the Nazi juggernaut, relied on

promises, could not bring themselves to realize that any human beings would strike at them in the normal processes of their lives without warning, and with the utter willingness to destroy their independence, to kill their women and children, in a calculated lust for conquest.

I use the word "calculated" because the purpose of Hitlerism sprang from no sudden running amok. We know now that the fulfillment of the purpose was planned with the utmost care years before 1939 -- a plan which placed dictatorship and the machine and blood ahead of self-government and peaceful living and the humanity of Christ.

Under a conqueror, instant action is the rule. Under a democracy, it takes time to form the opinion of the public which makes up that democracy.]

It is today an historic fact that the so-called isolationists have been consistently wrong in what they have told the people about future events -- wrong for at least six or seven years. They pooch-pooched Hitlerism as a danger to us as far back as 1933. They did not see the tragic implications of the conquest of Abyssinia by Italy. They did not see the pattern of the Japanese invasion of China. They did not see the master minds behind Franco in Spain. They denied the danger of war in the Summer of 1939. They placed obstructions and delays in the way of our re-armament program. They sought to play politics with human lives. They closed their eyes to the power of the airplane, the submarine and the tank. They said the Atlantic was as great a barrier as it had been in 1492.

These people were wrong in the beginning. They were wrong in every year that followed. And they are wrong today.

Slowly ^{successive} for the very fact that we are a democracy ^A we have come through ^A stages of understanding that started with lack of interest, that progressed to knowledge that new and dreadful events were taking place in other continents. And, finally, we have come to the stage where the over-

whelming majority of Americans do not merely realize but know that these events overhang the Americas and the United States.

America, we admit today, has been threatened in these later years and ^{now} ~~that~~ today it has ^{actually} been attacked ^{by those who seek} ~~at~~ one more step in the horrid plan to conquer the world, and, therefore, to conquer us all.

When I say "conquer" I do not mean ^{of necessity} that millions of men and tanks and planes will knock down our cities and trample our farms. In ^{Czechoslovakia} ~~Holland~~, in Norway, in Greece, only a small portion of ^{the country} ~~these countries~~ has been physically destroyed. Those countries nevertheless have been subjugated and their people ^{brutalized and enslaved.} ~~enslaved.~~

It is a part of the ^{infernal Nazi} ~~horrid~~ plan ~~that~~ ~~has~~ ~~been~~ ~~used~~ ~~to~~ ~~push~~ ~~their~~ ~~conquests~~ ~~one~~ ~~by~~ ~~one~~ -- never taking on at any one time more than the serpent can swallow. They plan that the turn of all will come in ^{due time.} ~~the end~~. It will come, they hope, in Asia, in the Near East, in Africa. ^{Then} They plan that the turn of South America will come; and that when that goal is attained, the United States, left practically alone, will go down on its knees ^{to} ~~and~~ ask a reprieve.

(A)

In the place of the churches of our civilization, there is to be set up a National ~~Church~~ ^{Socialist Party} Church -- a church which will

be served by orators sent out by the government. In the place of the Bible, ^{be accepted as Holy writ.} The word of Mein Kampf will ~~become supreme, and~~

And

in place of the ~~symbols of God~~ ^{cross of Christ} will be put ^{two symbols --} the swastika and the

naked sword. [Yet some Americans continue to tell you that all of that is no concern of ours.

I tell you that ~~the destruction of religions~~ ^{freedom of conscience freedom of worship} in all the rest of the world is a concern of ours. I tell you that destruction of free knowledge and free speech is a concern of ours.

It is, in fact, such a concern of ours that I for one, as an American, am willing to carry out the American tradition of fighting for the liberties that we have fought for and preserved in our glorious past.

^{The program to which} ~~What~~ I have told you of the present and future plans of Hitlerism will ^{of course} be hotly denied ^{to-morrow} in the controlled press and radio of the Axis Powers. ^{And at the same time,} ~~With that denial~~ I will be ^{denounced} ~~called~~

^{endless repetition of these epithets prove that the Nazis and Fascists} ~~they~~ ^{they} ~~prove that they~~ are running out of real ammunition. I

know, too, that some Americans will continue to insist that ^{Hitler's} ~~plans need not worry us --~~ ^{plans need not worry us --} ~~all is well with America --~~ and that we should not concern ourselves with anything that goes on ^{beyond rifle shot of our own shores.} ~~outside our Chinese walls.~~

The replies of these Americans, ^A few in number, ^A will, as usual, be paraded with applause in the AXIS press and radio during the next few days, ^{seeking to persuade their fathers} ~~proving to their mothers~~ people that the overwhelming majority of people in the United States are opposed to their ~~President, to their~~ ^{duly chosen} Government, and in reality would ~~and~~ ^{only waiting to jump on Hitler's band wagon when it comes} ~~shed no tears if Hitler won~~ ^{this way.} (A)

~~I have said~~ ^{P.N.E. Americans have determined and proclaimed} that our prime purpose is the defense of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~United States~~ ^{of this Hemisphere.} ~~America.~~ ^{has not wanted} I do not want war, and neither ~~do you~~ ^{do you} I would like to see the world disarm, but it is no time to talk of disarmament when the most heavily armed power in all of history is over-running the world. (B)

This march of Hitlerism can be stopped and it will be stopped. The nations ^{now} actively engaged in that valiant effort have got their second wind. They have come together in mutual defense. They, too, have planned, and the plans are bearing fruit.

In the last war our principle contribution to the defeat of the aggressor nations was man power. To the fighting fronts we sent ^{an American Expeditionary Force. And} ~~American boys and G. I. J.,~~ ^{you like,} and the A. B. P. was furnished in those days with ^{our soldiers were equipped} ~~the~~ weapons of war that had been manufactured in Britain and in France.

Today the practical operation of the defense against aggression ~~is~~ ^{has been} reversed so far as we are concerned. ~~We are not~~ ^{There is no} sending ~~on~~ ⁱⁿ A. E. F. to the battlefronts ^{of Europe;} but with each day that passes we are ~~combating~~ ^{producing and providing} more and more ~~generally to the armament~~ ^{for the men who are fighting on} those battlefronts ~~of aggression.~~ ~~Then they equipped our men;~~ ~~today we are equipping theirs.~~

I have said that we have planned. With our increasing contribution, and with the developments of warfare itself, we have begun to move. We must move far more greatly than during this past year. It will cost money, but I believe that the American people would rather spend the money and get the results than save the money and go down on their knees.

Back home our ~~business~~ factories expand. They must multiply that expansion with an even greater participation on the part of those who labor. On the Army front we must train men and more men until in sheer numbers we can withstand the millions of aggressors if their attack comes nearer to our shores.

Our Navy grows to unprecedented size, and this is made necessary by the fact that we must have more butter, in terms of ships, to spread over the loaf of the ocean which, as a place of defense, is now so broad that it covers all the seven seas.

FIRST DRAFT

-9-

(A)

It is ~~the~~ nation's will that we give ~~great~~ material aid to those who defend the world against Nazism. It is the nation's will that ~~this aid~~ ^{these vital supplies} shall neither be locked up in

American harbors nor sent to the bottom of the sea, ~~so it~~ ^{It is} the nation's will that America shall deliver the goods. Our ~~moves on its way to the bottom.~~ American ships have been sunk; ^{our sailors have been killed.} American lives have been lost -- lives of passengers and crews. ~~American merchant ships have been sunk in various parts of the world. American Navy ships have been attacked. American Navy sailors have been killed.~~

And I say that we ~~have come to the end of our rope~~ and that we do not propose to take this thing lying down.

~~First of all, we have to deal with the defeatists -- people who are not pro-Hitler or pro mere isolation; but people who say "What is the use -- how can you ever best Hitler without millions of men?"~~

~~Well, that is a rather childish way of looking at~~ ~~things.~~ I have no wild desire to march down the Unter ~~den~~ Linden at the head of a great army and over the dead bodies of German women and children. I have, however, a very deep desire to defeat Hitlerism, and I believe that this can be accomplished.

No human being, be he a General or an Admiral, can lay ^{an exact} down ~~a complete~~ course for the future; ^{but my private opinion knows} ~~any more than you or I~~ can, ~~but every General and Admiral knows, and we know,~~ that there are things called objectives, and that the first of ~~these~~ ^{our} objectives is to stop Hitler. He is biting off more than he can chew already. He can be stopped in his onward course and compelled, ~~metaphorically,~~ to dig in. ^{That will obviously spell the beginning of his downfall (A)} We have seen what has been happening in Russia during these past few months -- a Russia that is fighting for its own soil and its own homes. ~~Hitler has bitten off more of Russia than he can assimilate, and he is in a fair way of being compelled to dig in in the not far distant future.~~ Russia needs all kinds of help -- planes, tanks, guns, medical supplies and other aids toward the successful defense against the invaders. ^{(B) P.S. yesterday} ~~When~~ the Secretary of State of the United States was asked ^{by a senator to justify our} ~~the other day~~ why we are giving aid to Russia, ^{his} answer was "That depends on how much you personally want to ~~assist in stopping~~ and ~~destroying~~ the march of Hitler in his conquest of the world".

SECOND DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
NAVY AND TOTAL DEFENSE DAY
OCTOBER 27, 1941

Today is Navy Day. It is set aside annually to celebrate the birthday of a fighting American -- President Theodore Roosevelt. In 1941 we have expanded the celebration into the larger theme of the total defense of all the Americas.

It is proper that we do so -- for we can not dissociate the power of our fleet from the power of our land and air forces, or from the power of our industry. (A)

Five months ago tonight I proclaimed to the American people the existence of a state of unlimited emergency.

Since then ^{much has happened.} our Army and Navy have made temporary occupation of Iceland ^{This was obviously} an essential step in defending the Western Hemisphere; but ^{Hitler has chosen to consider it as an encroachment on his own domain.} (Amundsen material).

^{During those past five months,} since ^{then} the German armies have occupied Russian territory about equal in area ^{and in population to all of the} Eastern United States from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi River. ^{to} ^{while}

Eleven American merchant ships have been sunk on the high seas. One American destroyer was attacked on September third. Another destroyer was attacked and hit on October seventeenth. Eleven men of our Navy were killed by the Nazis.

^{fair}
We wished to avoid a shooting war. But the shooting has started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot.

The American people are now asking:

Whither Bound?

It is right that they should ask that question. It is right that it be answered.

The answer is simple. We are bound for every objective that is necessary to insure the defense of America - the preservation of liberty for us of today and of generations of Americans yet unborn. We know that the defense of our homes and of our institutions can never be assured while Hitler and his allies still march in conquest across the face of this earth.

Therefore we are pledged to play our full part in the destruction of Hitlerism. (B)

America has been attacked. The attack has been directed not only at our Navy doing its duty on the high seas. It has been directed at every American whether he lives on our sea coast or in a community or farm ~~that~~ ^{and} lives in the innermost part of the nation, far from the seas, far from the guns or tanks of the marching hordes of would-be conquerors of the world.

SECOND DRAFT

- 3 -

America, we admit today, has been threatened in these later years and now it has actually been attacked by those who seek to conquer the world.

When I say "conquer" I do not mean that millions of men and tanks and planes will of necessity knock down our cities and trample our farms. In Czecho-Slovakia, in Norway, in Greece, only a small portion of the country has been physically destroyed. These countries nevertheless have been subjugated and their people brutalized and enslaved.

has been
It is ~~a part of~~ the infernal Nazi plan to ~~push~~ *complete* their conquests one by one, — never taking on at any one time more than the serpent can swallow. They plan that the turn of all will come in due time. It will come, they hope, in Asia, in the Near East, in Africa. Then they plan that the turn of South America will come; and that when that goal is attained, the United States, left practically alone, will go down on its knees to ask a reprieve.

A → Slowly — for the very fact that we are a democracy — we have come through successive stages. First a false sense of security arising from our geographical location; then *we were lulled into* a realization *we were aroused by the*

that new and dreadful events were taking place in other continents.

We came to ~~realize and to know~~ ^{how immediately} ~~that~~ these events ^{threaten} ~~overhang~~ the United

States and all the Americas. By the lend-lease law we ~~expressed~~ ^{established}

our ^{will} ~~determination~~ to help, and now ~~we are doing it by~~ ^{we are compelled to take} positive ~~action~~

We have subsequently been
compelled to take positive
action.

Hand
BEING DRAFT

- 5 -

[The plan, from their point of view, is a logical and sound one. They have even put it on paper.] ^PI have in my possession a secret map of undoubted authenticity made in Germany, made by the planners of the new world order. It is a map of South America and a part of Central America, as ^{the Nazis} they propose to reorganize it. In this area today there are ^{eleven} ~~thirteen~~ independent countries. The geographical experts of Berlin, ^{Romero,} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~von~~ ^{von} ~~Neubach~~ ^{Neubach} ~~obliterated all existing boundary lines;~~ ^{and} have taken a pencil, ~~have obliterated eight states ruthlessly,~~ and have divided the Continent of South America into five vassal states, in order to bring the whole continent under their domination, and ^{the Nazis} ~~the Nazis~~ have so arranged it that the territory of one of these new puppet states includes the Republic of Panama and the Panama Canal. (A)

I have in my possession also another document of undoubted authenticity. It is a detailed plan, which, for obvious reasons, the Nazis do not wish to publicise just yet, but which they are ready to impose on a dominated world, ^{if} ~~when~~ Hitler wins. It is a plan to abolish all existing religions — Protestant and Catholic and Mohammedan and Hindu and Jewish alike. The property of all churches will be seized by the Reich. The cross and all other symbols of religion are to be forbidden.

Send
WORLD DRAFT

- 6 -

Priests and clergy are to be forever silenced under penalty of the concentration camps, where even now so many fearless men of God are ~~confined~~ *being tortured.*

In the place of the churches of our civilization, there is to be set up a National Socialist Party Church -- a church which will be served by orators sent out by the government. In the place of the Bible, the words of Mein Kampf will be accepted as Holy Writ. And in place of the cross of Christ will be put two symbols -- the swastika and the naked sword.

These grim truths which I have told you of the present and future plans of Hitlerism will of course be hotly denied tomorrow in the controlled press and radio of the Axis Powers. And at the same time, I will be denounced by the usual epithets -- to which I have no objection because the endless repetition of these epithets proves that the Nazis and Fascists are running out of ^{*propaganda*} ~~propaganda~~ ammunition. I know, too, that some Americans will continue to insist that Hitler's plans need not worry us -- and that we should not concern ourselves with anything that goes on beyond rifle shot of our own shores.

Secord

TRUNG DRAFT

protestations

- 7 -

The ~~repres~~ of these Americans -- few in number -- will, as usual, be paraded with applause ~~in~~ ^{through} the Axis press and radio during the next few days, ~~seeking to persuade their faithless people~~ ^{in an effort to convince the world} that the majority of Americans are opposed to their duly chosen Government, and in reality are only waiting to jump on Hitler's band wagon when it comes this way.

The Nazis have ^{up} made their own list of modern American heroes.

It is fortunately, a short list. ~~And for the sake of my own conscience,~~

I am glad that ^{it does not contain} my name ~~does not appear therein.~~

[We Americans have determined and proclaimed that our prime purpose is the defense of this Hemisphere.] ^I I have not wanted war,

and neither have you. ~~But, in the face of Hitler's internal ~~power~~, I~~

A) for one, as an American, am willing to carry out the tradition of fighting for the Christian democratic faith that we have fought for and preserved ever since the Pilgrims first set sail.

This march of Hitlerian can be stopped ^{and} and it will be stopped.

In the last war our principle contribution to the defeat of the aggressor nations was man power. To the fighting fronts we sent an American Expeditionary Force. And in those days our soldiers were equipped with weapons of war that had been manufactured in Britain and in France.

Send

SECRET DRAFT

Today the practical operation of the defense against aggression has been reversed so far as we are concerned. There is no A. E. F. in the battlefronts of Europe; but with each day that passes we are producing and providing more and more arms for the men who are fighting on those battlefronts.

It is the Nation's will that we give great material aid to those who defend the world against Nazism. These vital supplies of ~~arms~~ ^{arms and} ~~equipment~~ ^{supplies} ~~of all kinds~~ ^{of all kinds} ~~shall~~ ^{shall} neither be locked up in American harbors nor sent to the bottom of the sea. It is the Nation's will that these vital supplies

of all kinds
shall neither be locked up in American harbors nor sent to the bottom of the sea. It is the Nation's will that America shall deliver the goods. *And in open defiance of that will,* our ships have been sunk, our sailors have been killed.

~~I~~ I say that we do not propose to take this ~~thing~~ lying down.

Our determination not to take it lying down has been expressed

in the orders to the American Navy to shoot on sight. That same determination is now being ~~expressed in the demand that we finally cast off~~ ^{expressed in the demand that we finally cast off} ~~established by the Congress~~ ^{established by the Congress}. The House of Representatives

^{already} has voted to repeal part of the Neutrality Act of 1937. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate has approved elimination of other hamstringing provisions in that Act. *This may lie the course of honesty and of realism.*

Our American merchant ships must be armed to protect themselves against the rattlesnakes of the sea.

Our American merchant ships must be permitted to carry our

American goods into the harbors of our friends.

The House made of neutrality.

Second
THIRD DRAFT

- 9 -

Our national will cannot be expressed only through our government.

It must be roared from every assembly line in our vast industrial machine. It must be the animating power of our armed forces -- on land and sea and in the air.

Our factories and our shipyards are constantly expanding. That expansion must be multiplied. It cannot be hampered by the selfish obstruction of a small but dangerous minority of labor leaders who are ^a menace to the true cause of labor itself as well as to the nation as a whole.

Our Navy grows to unprecedented size, for the lines of our *essential* defense now cover the seven seas.

We must train men for our Army, and more men, until we can be certain of the strength needed to withstand the aggressors if their attack comes nearer to our shores. And we must ^{and shall} provide for every one of our soldiers equipment better than that of any other army on earth.

For this - and all of this - is what we mean by total national defense.
Partnership ^{are} are formulating in most careful detail our

strategic plans for the future. I am often asked, "What are those plans? How can we ever beat Hitler without sending millions of men to invade Europe?"

Leah

SECRET DRAFT

- 10 -

I cannot now answer those questions because ~~my voice~~, as
I speak to you tonight, ^{my words} can be heard clearly in Berlin.

I can say however that neither I nor any responsible officer
of our government or of our military and naval establishments thinks that
the defeat of Hitler ~~demands~~ ^{requires} a costly expedition ~~planned to end in~~
a victory march down Unter den Linden over the dead bodies of German
women and children.

The defeat of Hitlerism can be accomplished by means con-
siderably more practical than that.

Regime

which will start on
Fifth Avenue with
colors flying and

Leant

THIRD DRAFT

- 11 -

No human being, be he a General or an Admiral, can lay down an exact course for the future; but any private soldier knows that there are things called objectives, and the first of our objectives is to stop Hitler. He can be stopped in his onward course, ^{and compelled to dig in} That will obviously spell the beginning of his downfall, ~~and that of his confederates~~ because dictatorship of the Hitler type can live only through endless victories -- endless conquests.

The lessons of 1918 prove to us that a mighty German army can crumble rapidly and go to pieces when faced with successful resistance.

We have seen what has been happening in Russia during these past few months -- a Russia that is fighting for its own soil and its own bones. Russia needs all kinds of help -- planes, tanks, guns, medical supplies and other aids toward the successful defense against the invaders. From the United States and from Britain she is getting great quantities of those essential supplies.

The other day the Secretary of State of the United States was asked by a Senator to justify our giving aid to Russia. His answer was "That depends on how much you personally want to stop and destroy the march of Hitler in his conquest of the world".

THIRD DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
NAVY AND TOTAL DEFENSE DAY
OCTOBER 27, 1941

Today ~~is~~ ^{has been} Navy Day — ~~is set~~ ^{is} set aside annually to celebrate the birthday of a fighting American — Theodore Roosevelt. ^{has years of} In 1941 we have expanded the celebration into the larger theme of the total defense of all the Americas.

It is proper that we do so — for we cannot dissociate the power of our fleet from the power of our land and air forces, or from the power of our industry. All of that power is now being massed for the greatest and most important effort in the history of our country.

Five months ago tonight I proclaimed to the American people the existence of a state of unlimited emergency. ^{That national emergency}

^{is still with us - 100%}

Since then much has happened. Our Army and Navy ~~have won~~

~~temporary occupation of Iceland. This was obviously an essential step~~

^{temporarily have taken}

^{in Iceland in the defense of} ~~in defending~~ the Western Hemisphere; but Hitler has chosen to ~~conduct~~

^{attack all} ~~shipping in areas far closer to our own continent.~~

~~During these past five months, the German armies have occupied Russian territory about equal in area to the whole Eastern United States from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi River.~~

^{sunk} Eleven American merchant ships have been sunk on the high seas.

One American destroyer was attacked on September third. Another destroyer was attacked and hit on October seventeenth. ^{brave and loyal} Eleven men of our Navy were killed ^{by} by the Nazis.

We have wished to avoid a shooting war. But the shooting has

started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot. *Ermany first*
shots. If this keeps up, we not he will fire the last shot.
~~The American people are now asking~~

~~Whether Demand~~

~~It is right that they should ask that question. It is right~~

~~that it be answered?~~

P *Certain things are obvious.*
~~The answer is simple.~~ We are ~~fighting~~ *fighting* every objective that

is necessary to insure the defense of America — the preservation of liberty
for us of today and ^{for} generations of Americans yet unborn. We know that
the defense of our homes and of our institutions can never be assured while
Hitler and his allies still march in conquest across the face of this earth.

- very simply and very bluntly -

Therefore, we are pledged to play our full part in the destruction

of Hitlerism.

When we have helped to end
And having ~~downfallen~~ *defeated* the curse of Hitlerism we shall ~~establish~~ *draft to*
establish a new

~~into a new world system of peace which will give~~ *to decent*
a better chance to ~~people everywhere that they may live and prosper in freedom~~ *security and in*
and in faith. ~~and in faith.~~ *freedom*

B.

America has been attacked. ~~The attack has been directed not~~

~~only at our Navy doing its duty on the high seas. It has been directed~~

at every American, whether he lives on our sea coasts or in a community or

farm *]* in the innermost part of the nation, far from the seas and far from the

guns or tanks of the marching hordes of would-be conquerors of the world.

• (A) p. 2

In the long run,
however, all that
will matter is who
fired the last
shot.

(B) p. 2

The USS Kearny ^{is} not
just ~~any~~ ^{a Navy} ship. She belonged
to every man, woman and
child in the United States. Her
torpedo dead came from
every part of the United States.
~~Point~~ Therefore the attack
upon the Kearny was directed

The whole world is

This attack is an inevitable development ^{of} in a long series
with which ~~you are wholly familiar~~
of acts of aggression -- ~~in the past in China and Spain -- and~~

~~all over the Continent of Europe.~~ It is useless ~~again~~ to recall *the misguided*
Hittlerians ^{here} the dismal record of those who have maintained that we were in no
danger -- who have sought to play politics with human lives -- who
have cherished the delusion that the Atlantic is as great a barrier
as it had been in 1492.

Slowly -- for the very fact that we are a democracy -- we
have come through successive stages. First ^{we} were lulled into a
false sense of security arising from our geographical location; then
we were aroused by the realization that new and dreadful events were
taking place in other continents. We ^{gradually} came to know how immediately
these events threaten the United States and all the Americas. By
the lend-lease law we established our will to help. ~~We have sub-~~
~~sequently been compelled to take positive action.~~

B

*History, the present and
the future of the world*

(B) p. 3

The freedom of the seas has been challenged. If our national policy were to be dominated by the fear of shooting war, then all of our ships and those of our sister Republics would have to be tied up in home harbors. Our Navy would have to remain respectfully behind any line which Hitler might ^{draw} ~~draw~~ on any ocean as his own dictatorial boundary of his ^{own} war zone. All out and to ~~Britain~~ Hitler's enemies would have to be stopped at once.

Naturally we reject that
absurd and insulting
suggestion. We reject it
because of our own
self-interest, our own
self-respect and our
own good faith.

THIRD DRAFT

- 4 -

I have in my possession a secret map ~~of undoubted authenticity~~
made in Germany ^{by Hitler's government} ~~made~~ by the planners of the new world order. It is a
map of South America and a part of Central America, as ^{Hitler} ~~the Nazis~~ propose
to reorganise it. In this area today there are ^{14 separate} ~~several independent~~
countries. The geographical experts of Berlin, however, have ruthlessly
obliterated all existing boundary lines; and have divided ~~the continent~~
~~of~~ South America into five vassal states, in order to bring ^{the} whole
Continent under their domination. And they have so arranged it that the
territory of one of these new puppet states includes the Republic of
Panama and the Panama Canal.

This map makes clear the Nazi Design not only on South America
but on the United States itself. (A)

I have in my possession also another document ^{made in Germany} ~~of undoubted authenticity~~
^{by Hitler's government} ~~authenticity~~. It is a detailed plan, which, for obvious reasons, the
Nazis do not wish to publicise just yet, but which they are ready to
impose on a dominated world, if Hitler wins. It is a plan to abolish
all existing religions -- Protestant and Catholic and Mohammedan and
Hindu and Jewish alike. The property of all churches will be seized by
the Reich. The cross and all other symbols of religion are to be forbidden.

It would mean ~~immediate~~ immediate
of this means ~~to~~ [^] control of Central America
and the Caribbean by Nazi ^{air} ~~air~~ power and
sea power. It [^] means that ~~we would~~
~~we would have to engage~~ would
have to fight alone in a long and bloody
war to prevent invasion of the Mississippi
Valley. I tell you this not in an attempt to
scare anyone. I have reason to know that the
American people don't scare easily. I tell you this
because it is vital information that is now in the
possession of your government and which can be told
without revealing our own military secrets.

THIRD DRAFT

- 5 -

Priests and clergy are to be forever silenced under penalty of the concentration camps, where even now so many fearless men of God are being tortured.

In the place of the churches of our civilization, there is to be set up a National ~~Church~~ ^{Nazi} Church -- a church which will be served by orators sent out by the government. In the place of the Bible, the words of Mein Kampf will be ~~accepted~~ ^{imposed and enforced} as Holy Writ. And

in place of the cross of Christ will be put two symbols -- the swastika and the naked sword. *The God of Blood and Iron will take*

the place of the God of love and Mercy.

These grim truths which I have told you of the present and future plans of Hitlerism will of course be hotly denied tomorrow in the controlled press and radio of the Axis Powers. ~~And at the same time, I will be denounced by the usual epithets -- to which I have no objection because the endless repetition of these epithets proves that the Nazis and Fascists are running out of propaganda ammunition.~~

I know, too, that some Americans will continue to insist that Hitler's plans need not worry us -- and that we should not concern ourselves with anything that goes on beyond rifle shot of our own shores.

THIRD DRAFT

- 6 -

The protestations of these Americans -- few in number -- will, as usual, be paraded with applause through the Axis press and radio during the next few days, in an effort to convince the world that the majority of Americans are opposed to their duly chosen Government, and in reality are only waiting to jump on Hitler's band wagon when it comes this way. (A)

The Nazis have made up their own list of modern American heroes. It is, fortunately, a short list. I am glad that it does not contain my name.

~~I have not wanted you, and neither have you. But we are all~~
All of us Americans, of all opinions, are
faced with the choice between the kind of world we want to live in and
the kind of world which Hitler and his hordes would impose upon us.
~~And do not propose to be a comfortable middle~~
for one, as an American, am willing to carry out the transition of

~~fighting for the Christian democratic cause that we have fought for and~~
~~preserved ever since the Pilgrims first set sail.~~

P The forward

That march of Hitlerism can be stopped -- and it will be stopped.

~~In the last war our principle contribution to the defeat of the~~
~~aggressor nations was man power. To the fighting fronts we sent an~~

~~American Expeditionary Force, and in those days our soldiers were~~

~~equipped with weapons of war that had been manufactured in Britain and in~~

~~France.~~

~~of~~ (A) ~~the~~ p. 6.

The motive of such
Americans is not the
point at issue. The
fact ~~is~~ ^{is} that the
~~propaganda of Nazi~~
propaganda ~~is~~ ^{in desperation} ~~is~~
~~is~~ continued, ^{and} seize
upon such ~~just~~ ^{opinion}
as ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~the~~ ^{is} ~~proof~~ ^{is} ~~of~~
American disunity.

• (B) p 6

None of us wants to
burrow under ~~the~~ ground
and live in ^{total} darkness like
the prairie comfortable
moles.

THIRD DRAFT

- 7 -

~~Today, so far as we are concerned, the practical operation~~
~~of the defense against aggression has been reversed. There is no~~
~~A. E. F. in the battlefronts of Europe, but with~~ ^F ~~each day that passes~~
we are producing and providing more and more arms for the men who are
fighting on ^{actual} ~~these~~ battlefronts. *That is our task.*

It is the Nation's will that these vital arms and supplies
of all kinds shall neither be locked up in American harbors nor sent
to the bottom of the sea. It is the Nation's will that America shall
deliver the goods. And in open defiance of that will, our ships have
been sunk, our sailors have been killed.

I say that we do not propose to take this lying down.

Our determination not to take it lying down has been expressed
in the orders to the American Navy to shoot on sight. That ~~determi-~~
tion is now being ^{carried out} ~~expressed in the demand that we finally~~ ~~shoot off the~~
~~sole neck of neutrality.~~ ^{Further} The House of Representatives has already
voted to ^{Amend part of} ~~amend~~ the Neutrality Act of 1937. ^{Senate} The Committee on
^{Relations has recommended} ~~Foreign relations~~ of the Senate has approved elimination of other hamstring-
ing provisions in that Act. *That is* ~~This way~~ ^{is} the course of honesty and of
realism.

Our American merchant ships must be armed to protect themselves
against the rattlesnakes of the sea.

THIRD DRAFT

- 8 -

Our American merchant ships must be permitted to carry our American goods into the harbors of our friends. (A)

~~Our national will shall be expressed through~~

~~government and our national will~~

Our national will must be roared from every assembly line in our vast industrial machine. It must be the animating power of our armed forces ~~on land and sea and in the air~~ (B)

Our factories and our shipyards are constantly expanding. That expansion must be multiplied. It cannot be hampered by the selfish obstruction of a small but dangerous minority of labor leaders who are a menace to the true cause of labor itself as well as to the Nation as a whole.

Our Navy grows to unprecedented size for the lines of our essential defense now cover the seven seas; and to meet the extraordinary demands of to-day and to-morrow we must train men for our Army, and more men, until we can be certain of the strength needed to withstand the aggressors if their attack comes nearer to our shores. (D) We must and shall provide for every one of our soldiers equipment, not merely as good but better than that of any other army on earth.

For this — and all of this — is what we mean by total national defense.

Answer (A)

p. 8

It can never be
doubted that the goods will be
delivered by a nation whose
navy has been reared in the
tradition of "Damn the
torpedoes; full steam ahead!"

(B) p. 8

It cannot be hampered
by the selfish obstruction of a
small but dangerous
minority of industrial
managers who look out for
extra profits or for business as
usual or for ~~the~~ ^{their} considerations of
the future of their industry.

2

• (C) p. 8

The American people should know that our naval ~~construction~~ building capacity has ^{now} reached a point where we are actually launching ~~combat~~ ^{fighting} ships at the rate of one every two days. ~~and~~ The ~~new~~ rate of launching new American destroyers - which are so vital to our patrol - is in excess of one ~~per~~ ^{per} week. ~~new American~~ ~~merchant ships are being~~ ~~launched~~

D

Our soldiers
~~The American army~~
of to-day are worthy of the ~~very~~
highest traditions of the
~~American~~ United States
Army. But traditions are
insufficient defense
against dive bombers
and tanks. That is why

THIRD DRAFT

- 9 -

We are formulating in most careful detail our strategic plans for the future. I am often asked, "What are those plans? How can we ever beat Hitler without sending millions of men to invade Europe?"

I cannot now answer those questions because, as I speak to you tonight, my words can be heard clearly in Berlin.

I can say however that neither I nor any responsible officer of our government or of our military and naval establishments thinks that the defeat of Hitler requires a costly expedition, ^{- an expedition} which will start on Fifth Avenue with colors flying and end in a victory march down Unter den Linden over the ~~dead~~ bodies of German women and children.

The defeat of Hitlerism can be accomplished by means considerably more practical than that.

No human being, be he a General or an Admiral, can lay down an exact course for the future; but any private soldier knows that there are things called objectives, [—] and the first ~~of our~~ objective is to stop Hitler. He can be stopped ~~in his onward course~~, and ^{can be} compelled to dig in. That will ~~obviously spell~~ ^{be} the beginning of his downfall, because dictatorship of the Hitler type can live only through endless victories — endless conquests.

THIRD DRAFT

- 10 -

The ^{facts} ~~lessons~~ of 1918 ~~prove to us~~ ^{are proof} that a mighty German army can crumble rapidly and go to pieces when faced with successful resistance.

[We have seen what has been happening in ^{it is} ~~Russia~~ ^(A) during these past few months — ~~a Russia that~~] is fighting for its own soil and its own homes. Russia needs all kinds of help — planes, tanks, guns, medical supplies and other aids toward the successful defense against the invaders. From the United States and from Britain she is getting great quantities of those essential supplies. But the needs of her huge army will continue.

The other day the Secretary of State of the United States was asked by a Senator to justify our giving aid to Russia. His answer was "That depends on how much you personally want to stop and destroy the march of Hitler in his conquest of the world".

Upon our American production falls the colossal task of supplying the British, the Russians and the Chinese — as well as our own forces. In the performance of that task we cannot afford to fail. We will not fail.

(A) p 10

Nobody who admires
~~the~~ qualities of courage
and endurance can fail
to be ~~deeply~~ ^{stirred} ~~impressed~~
by the ~~buttle~~ tremendous
resistance of the
Russian people. ~~to~~
~~people~~. Russia is fighting

It has not been easy for us Americans to adjust ourselves to the shocking realities of a world in which the principles of common humanity and common decency are ^{being mowed down by the firing squads of The Gestapo.} ~~giving way to the law of the jungle.~~

We have enjoyed many of God's blessings. We have lived in a broad and abundant land, and by our industry ^{and productivity} we have ~~made it~~ flourish. We have known comforts, even luxuries, created by the ingenuity and productivity of our own people. If we have also known injustices and inequalities, we have tried hard to remove them from the structure of our society, and we intend to go on trying. We have never been content to let well enough alone.

There are those who say that our great good fortune has betrayed us — that we are now no match for ^{the regimented masses} those who have been trained in the Spartan ways of ruthless brutality. They say that we have grown fat and flabby and ^{lazy} indolent, and that therefore we are doomed to ~~downfall~~.

But those who say that know nothing of America nor of American life.

They do not know that this land is great because it is a land of endless challenge.

Our country was ^{first} ~~most~~ populated and has been steadily developed, by men and women in whom there burned the spirit of adventure, of restlessness, ^{of individual independence} which will not submit to oppression.

Our history has been a story of ^{vigorous} challenges which have been accepted and overcome — challenges of ~~the~~ uncharted sea, of wild forests and scorched

plains, of foreign tyrants and domestic strife, of raging floods and withering drought, of ~~insurmountable~~ ^{formidable} problems, social, economic and physical -- and ~~we~~ ^{we} have come out of them the most powerful nation and the freest in history. ^{PT. day} In the face of this newest and greatest challenge, ^{we} the American people are clearing ~~our~~ ^{our} ~~backs~~ ^{backs} and taking ~~our~~ ^{our} battle stations -- ~~we~~ ^{we} are ready to do what God has given ~~us~~ ^{us} the power to see as ~~our~~ ^{our} full duty.

SIXTH DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
NAVY AND TOTAL DEFENSE DAY
OCTOBER 27, 1941

Five months ago tonight I proclaimed to the American people the existence of a state of unlimited emergency.

Since then much has happened. Our Army and Navy are temporarily in Iceland in the defense of the Western Hemisphere. Hitler has ~~attacked~~ attack^{ed} shipping in areas ~~close~~ to ^{the Americas} ~~throughout~~ throughout the Atlantic.

Many American-owned merchant ships have been sunk on the high seas. One American destroyer was attacked on September fourth. Another destroyer was attacked and hit on October seventeenth. Eleven brave and loyal men of our Navy were killed by the Nazis.

We have wished to avoid shooting. But the shooting has started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot. In the long run, however, all that will matter is who fired the last shot.

America has been attacked. The U.S.S. Kearny is not just a navy ship. She belongs to every man, woman and child in ^{the Nation.} ~~the United States~~. Illinois, Alabama, California,

North Carolina, Ohio, Louisiana, Texas, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Arkansas, New York, Virginia -- those are the home states of the honored dead and wounded of the Kearny. Hitler's torpedo was directed at every American, whether he lives on our sea coasts or in the innermost part of the Nation, far from the seas and far from the guns and tanks of the marching hordes of would-be conquerors of the world.

The purpose of Hitler's attack was to frighten the American people off the high seas -- to force us to make a trembling retreat. This is not the first time he has misjudged the American spirit. *That spirit is now aroused.*

If our national policy were to be dominated by the fear of shooting ~~our~~, then all of our ships and those of our sister Republics would have to be tied up in home harbors. Our Navy would have to remain respectfully -- abjectly -- behind any line which Hitler might ~~decide to~~ ^{place} on any ocean as his own dictated version of his own war zone.

~~Our aid to his foes would dry up.~~

Naturally we reject that absurd and insulting suggestion. We reject it because of our own self-interest, our own self-respect and our own good faith. Freedom of the seas is now, as it has always been, the fundamental policy of this government.

Hitler has often protested that his plans for conquest do not extend across the Atlantic Ocean. His submarines and raiders prove otherwise. So does the entire design of his new world order.

For example, I have in my possession a secret map made in Germany by Hitler's government -- by the planners of the new world order. It is a map of South America and a part of Central America, as Hitler proposes to reorganize it. Today in this area there are fourteen separate countries. The geographical experts of Berlin, however, have ruthlessly obliterated all existing boundary lines; and have divided South America into five vassal states, bringing the whole continent under their domination. And they have so arranged it that the territory of one of these new puppet states includes the Republic of Panama and our great life line -- the Panama Canal.

This map makes clear the Nazi design not only against South America but against the United States itself.

Your government has in its possession another document made in Germany by Hitler's government. It is a detailed plan, which, for obvious reasons, the Nazis did not wish to publicize just yet, but which they are ready to impose

SIXTH DRAFT

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on a dominated world -- if Hitler wins. It is a plan to abolish all existing religions -- Protestant, Catholic, Mohammedan, Hindu, Buddhist and Jewish alike. The property of

all churches will be seized by the Reich. The cross and all other symbols of religion are to be forbidden. The clergy are to be forever silenced under penalty of the concentration camps, where even now so many fearless men are being tortured because they placed God above Hitler.

In the place of the churches of our civilization, there is to be set up a ^{national} National Nazi Church -- a church which will be served by ^{Nazi} orators sent out by the Government. In the place of the Bible, the words of Mein Kampf will be imposed and enforced as Holy Writ. And in place of the cross of Christ will be put two symbols -- the swastika and the naked sword. ^P The god of Blood and Iron will take the place of the God of Love and Mercy.

These grim truths which I have told you of the present and future plans of Hitlerism will of course be hotly denied tomorrow in the controlled press and radio of the Axis Powers. And some Americans will continue to insist that Hitler's plans need not worry us -- and that we should not concern ourselves with anything that goes on beyond rifle shot of our own shores.

The protestations of these American citizens — few in number — will, as usual, be paraded with applause through the Axis press and radio during the next few days, in an effort to convince the world that the majority of Americans are opposed to their duly chosen Government, and in reality are only waiting to jump on Hitler's band wagon when it comes this way.

The motive of such Americans is not the point at issue.

The fact is that Nazi propaganda continues in desperation to seize upon such ^{isolated statements} ~~episodes~~ as proof of American disunity.

The Nazis have made up their own list of modern American heroes. It is, fortunately, a short list. I am glad that it does not contain my name.

All of us Americans, of all opinions, are faced with the choice between the kind of world we want to live in and the kind of world which Hitler and his hordes would impose upon us.

None of us wants to burrow under the ground and live in total darkness like a comfortable mole.

The forward march of Hitlerism can be stopped — and it will be stopped.

Very simply and very bluntly — we are pledged to pull our ~~own~~ car in the destruction of Hitlerism.

And when we have helped to end the curse of Hitlerism we shall help to establish a new peace which will give to decent people everywhere a better chance to live and prosper in security and in freedom and in faith.

Each day that passes we are producing and providing more and more arms for the men who are fighting on actual battlefronts. That is our primary task. *6*

And It is the Nation's will that these vital arms and supplies of all kinds shall neither be locked up in American harbors nor sent to the bottom of the sea. It is the Nation's will that America shall deliver the goods.

In open defiance of that will, our ships have been sunk, ^{*and*} our sailors have been killed. *P* I say that we do not propose to take this lying down.

Our determination not to take it lying down has been expressed in the orders to the American Navy to shoot on sight. Those orders *Trust* are now being carried out.

Furthermore, the House of Representatives has already ^{*approved*} voted to amend part of the Neutrality Act of 1937, today outmoded by force of violent circumstances. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations ^{*also*} has recommended elimination of other hamstringing provisions in that Act. That is the course of honesty and of realism.

Our American merchant ships must be armed to ^{defend} protect themselves against the rattlesnakes of the sea.

Our American merchant ships must be ^{free} permitted to carry our American goods into the harbors of our friends.

Our American merchant ships must be protected by our American Navy.

It can never be doubted that the goods will be delivered by this nation, whose navy ^{includes} ~~has been equipped~~ in the tradition of "Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead!"

Our national will must speak from every assembly line in our vast industrial machine. Our factories and our shipyards are constantly expanding. ^{Our output} ~~That expansion~~ must be multiplied.

It cannot be hampered by the selfish obstruction of a small but dangerous minority of industrial managers who hold out for extra
 " " "
 profits or for business as usual ~~or for considerations of the future~~
~~of their own industry.~~ It cannot be hampered by the selfish obstruction of a small but dangerous minority of labor leaders who are a menace to the true cause of labor itself as well as to the Nation as a whole.

The lines of our essential defense now cover ~~the seas, coasts;~~ ^{all the}
and to meet the extraordinary demands of today and tomorrow our Navy
grows to unprecedented size. Its officers and men heed no praise from
me.

Our Navy is ready for action. Indeed, units of it in the
Atlantic patrol are in action.

Our new Army is steadily developing the strength needed to
withstand the aggressors ~~if their attack comes nearer to our shores.~~

Our soldiers of today are worthy of the proudest traditions of the United
States Army. But traditions cannot shoot down dive bombers or destroy
tanks. That is why we must and shall provide for every one of our
soldiers, equipment and weapons, not merely as good but better than that
of any other army on earth. *And we are doing that, right now!*

For this -- and all of this -- is what we mean by total national
defense.

The first objective of that defense is to stop Hitler. He can
be stopped and can be compelled to dig in. And that will be the beginning
of his downfall, because dictatorship of the Hitler type can live only
through continuing victories -- increasing conquests.

The facts of 1918 are proof that a mighty German army and a tired German people can crumble rapidly and go to pieces when they are faced with successful resistance.

Nobody who admires qualities of courage and endurance can fail to be stirred by the ^{full-fledged} ~~immense~~ resistance of the Russian people. The Russians are fighting for their own soil and their own homes. Russia needs all kinds of help -- planes, tanks, guns, medical supplies and other aids toward the successful defense against the invaders. From the United States and from Britain, she is getting great quantities of these essential supplies. But the needs of her huge army will continue.

British help will have to continue!

Upon our American production falls the colossal task of equipping our ^{armed} ~~army and navy and air~~ forces, and helping to supply the British, the Russians and the Chinese, ~~as well as our own forces.~~

In the performance of that task we dare not fail. And we will not fail.

The other day the Secretary of State of the United States was asked by a Senator to justify our giving aid to Russia. His ^{reply} ~~answer~~ was "That depends on how much you personally want to stop and destroy the ^{the answer to that} march of Hitler in his conquest of the world."

Smith

It has not been easy for us Americans to adjust ourselves to the

Invest A,

"The answer to that depends on how ~~anxious~~ anxious a person is to stop and destroy the march of Hitler in his conquest of the world. If he were anxious enough to defeat Hitler, he would not worry about who was helping to defeat him."



shocking realities of a world in which the principles of common humanity and common decency are being mowed down by the firing squads of The Gestapo.

We have enjoyed many of God's blessings. We have lived in a broad and abundant land, and by our industry and productivity we have made it flourish.

There are those who say that our great good fortune has betrayed us -- that we are now no match for the regimented masses who have been trained in the Spartan ways of ruthless brutality. They say that we have grown fat, and flabby, and lazy, and that we are doomed.

But those who say that know nothing of America or of American life.

They do not know that this land is great because it is a land of endless challenge. Our country was first populated, and it has been steadily developed, by men and women in whom there burned the spirit of adventure, and restlessness and individual independence which will not ^{submit} ~~submit to~~ oppression.

Ours has been a story of vigorous challenges which have been accepted and overcome -- challenges of uncharted seas, of wild forests and desert plains, of foreign tyrants and domestic strife, of raging floods and withering drought, of staggering problems, social, economic and physical, and we have come out of them the most powerful nation -- and

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the freest -- in all of history.

Today in the face of this newest and greatest challenge we Americans have cleared our decks and taken our battle stations. We stand ready in the defense of our nation and the faith of our fathers to do what God has given us the power to see as our full duty.