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
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.

[Signature]

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[Handwritten note]: 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 -- 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) country, far from the seas and far from the guns and tanks of the marching hordes of would-be conquerors of the world.
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 trembling retreat. This is not the first time that he has misjudged the American spirit. And today 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, 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 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) 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 outmoded 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 with-
stand 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)

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

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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 trampled 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.
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 hordes 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 fulfill-
ment 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 pooh-poohed 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 for the very fact that we are a democracy, we have come through 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 that today it has been attacked, the 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 Holland, in Norway, in Greece, only a small portion of these countries has been physically destroyed. Those countries nevertheless have been subjugated and their people made slave.

It is a part of the horrid plan that goes back many

... 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 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 and ask a reprieve.
FIRST DRAFT

In the place of the churches of our civilization, there
in to be set up a National Church -- a church which will
be served by orators sent out by the government. In the place
of the Bible, The word of Mein Kampf will become supreme; and
the cross of Christ -- two symbols --
in place of the swastika and the
naked sword. And yet some Americans continue to tell you that
all of that is no concern of ours.

I tell you that the destruction of religion 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 voice breaks, which
I have told you of the present and future plans
of Hitlerism will be hotly denied in the controlled press and
radio of the Axis Powers. With that denial I will be

by the usual epithets -- to which I have no objection because the
endless repetition of these epithets from the Nazis and Fascists
they prove that they are running out of real ammunition. I
know, too, that some Americans will continue to insist that
things need not worry us --
all is well with America -- and that we should not concern
ourselves with anything that goes on outside our Chinese walls.
The replies of these Americans, few in number, will, as usual, be paraded with applause in the Axis press and radio during the next few days, to convince the people that the overwhelming majority of people in the United States are opposed to their President, to their Government, and in reality would only be waiting to jump on Hitler's bandwagon when it comes this way.

The American has determined and proclaimed that our prime purpose is the defense of his home, America. I do not want war, and neither would I want 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.

This march of Hitlerism can be stopped and it will be stopped. The nations 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 American boys and girls. In those days with weapons of war that had been manufactured in Britain and in France.
Today the practical operation of the defense against aggression is reversed so far as we are concerned. We are not sending men to the battlefronts, but with each day that passes we are contributing more and more greatly to the army and those battlefronts of defenders. 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 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

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 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. Our ships on the way to the battle. American ships have been sunk; 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.

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

Well, that is a rather childish way of looking at. I have no wild desire to march down the Unter 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 down a complete course for the future; any more than you or I could.

GIven, 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 fall at the beginning of his downfall.

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-so-distant future.

Russia needs all kinds of help -- planes, tanks, guns, medical supplies and other aids toward the successful defense against the invaders. When the Secretary of State of the United States was asked the other day why we are giving aid to Russia, his answer was "That depends on how much you personally want to stop 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 cannot dissociate
the power of our fleet from the power of our land and air forces, or
from the power of our industry.

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

Since then, our Army and Navy have made temporary occupation
of Iceland as an essential step in defending the Western Hemisphere; but
Hitler has chosen to consider it as an encroachment on
his own domain.

During the past five months,
since seven 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.

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.
SECOND DRAFT

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:

Whether 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.

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 lies 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

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 Czechoslovakia, in Norway, in Greece, only a small portion of the country has been physically destroyed. Those countries nevertheless have been subjugated and their people brutalized and enslaved.

It is a part of the infernal Nazi plan to conquer 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.

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

We came to understand and to know that these events overtook the United States and all the Americas. By the lend-lease law we established our determination to help, and now we are compelled to take positive action.
The plan, from their point of view, is a logical and sound one. They have even put it on paper. I 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 they propose to reorganize it. In this area today there are thirteen independent countries. The geographical experts of Berlin, however, 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 have so arranged it that the territory of one of these new puppet states includes the Republic of Panama and the Panama Canal.

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 publicize just yet, but which they are ready to impose on a dominated world, under Hitler’s name. 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.
Priests and clergy are to be forever silenced under penalty of the concentration camps, where even now so many fearless men of God are continuing 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 cratures 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 good 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.
The service of these Americans -- few in number -- will, as usual, be paraded with applause in the Axis press and radio during the next few days, seeking to persuade their feeble-minded people 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 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 my name does not appear among them.

We Americans have determined and proclaimed that our prime purpose is the defense of this Hemisphere. I have not wanted war, and neither have you. But, in the face of Hitler's internal threat, I 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 Hitlerism can be stopped and it will be stopped.

In the last war our principle contribution to the defeat of the aggressor nations was men 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.
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 areas 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. Three vital supplies of arms and munitions increase day by day. It is the Nation's will that these vital supplies 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 same determination is now being established by the Congress. The House of Representatives has voted to repeal part of the Neutrality Act of 1937. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate has approved elimination of other hamstringsing 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.
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 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 provide for every one of our soldiers equipment better than that of any other army on earth.

Furthermore, 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 my voice, as I speak to you tonight, 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 depends upon 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 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 objectives is to stop Hitler. He can be stopped in his onward course. That will obviously spell the beginning of his downfall 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 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.

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 Navy Day—set aside annually to celebrate
the birthday of a fighting American — 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 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 been	


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.

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.

We have wished to avoid a shooting war. But the shooting has
started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot. If this thread is not put to its proper use, it will fare the fate of all but a nation of the American people are now acting.

— William S. Boyd

It is right that they should ask that question. It is right that certain things are obvious. The answer is simple. We are fighting 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.

when we have looked to end the curse of Hitlerism we shall establish a world system of peace which will give people everywhere the chance to live and prosper in freedom and security, and in faith.

America has been attacked. This 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 sea and far from the guns or tanks of the marching hordes of would-be conquerors of the world.
In the long run, however, all that will matter is who fired the last shot.
The U.S. Navy is not an army.

Just a ship. Not belonging

Here, a man, woman, and child in the United States. Here honored dead came from every part of the United States. Therefore the attack upon the Army was directed.
This attack is an inevitable development in a long series of acts of aggression - in the East in China and South-East Asia, on the Continent of Europe. It is useless again to recall the disaster-scorched 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 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 subsequently been compelled to take positive action.
The freedom of the seas had been challenged. If our national policy were to be dominated by the fear of starting war, then all of our ships and those of our sister Republics would have to be tied up in their harbors. Our Navy would have to remain respectably behind any line until Hitler might decide to allow on any ocean as his own dictatorial boundary of his own war zone. All out and to Hitler's enemies would have to be stopped at once.
Naturally we reject that absurd and insupportable suggestion. We reject it in the name of our own self-respect, our own self-respect and our true good faith.
THIRD DRAFT

I have in my possession a secret map made in Germany by the planners of the new world order. It is a map of South America and a part of Central America, as the Nazis propose to reorganize it. In this area today there are 14 separate countries. The geographical experts of Berlin, however, have ruthlessly obliterated all existing boundary lines; and have divided 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.\[\]

I have in my possession also another document. It is a detailed plan, which, for obvious reasons, the Nazis do 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 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
This means control of Central America
and the Caribbean by Nazi air power and
sea power. It means that

in order 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
swear 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.
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 Socialist 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. The End of Blood and Drum will take the place of the End of Hope 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. At that 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.
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.

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 war, and neither have you. But we are all 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. It is not possible to be a neutral nation. For one, as an American, I am willing to carry out the tradition of fighting for the Christian democracy that we have fought for and preserved ever since the Pilgrim first set sail.

The march of Hitlerism can be stopped — and it will be stopped. In the past our principal contribution to the defeat of the aggressor nations was men 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.
The motive of such Americans is that the fact is one that the propaganda which continued to seize upon such joint to opinions and complete force of American discrimination.
None of us wants to
become buried under the mound
and live in darkness like
the proverbial comfortable
recluses.
THIRD DRAFT

- 7 -

Today, as far as we are concerned, the practical operation of the defense against aggression has been reversed. There is no A.E.F. on 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 these battlefronts. That is another truth.

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 determination is now being carried into the demand that we finally cut off the false mask of neutrality. The House of Representatives has already voted to amend the Neutrality Act of 1937. The Committee on Relations has recommended Foreign of the Senate has approved 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 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.

Our national will must be tested through and through.

As 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, 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. And we must and shall provide for not merely as good but 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.
It can never be doubted that the goodness will be delivered by a station whose name has been reared in the tradition of "Damn the torpedoes! Fullsteam ahead!"
It cannot be tampered by the selfish destruct ion of a
small but dangerous
minim of industrial
managers, who hold out for
extra profits or for business as
usual, or for considerations of
the fortune of their industry.
The American people should know that our naval construction building capacity has reached a point where we are actually launching ships at the rate of one every two days. The rate of launching new American destroyers which are so vital to other nations is in excess of one per week. New American merchant ships are being launched.
Our soldiers

The American Army of today are worthy of the highest traditions of the American United States Army. But traditions are insufficient defense against dive bombers and tanks. That is why
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, which will start on Fifth Avenue with colors flying and end in a victory march down Unter den Linden over the 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 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, 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 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.
Nobody who admires the public lines of courage and endurance can fail to be deeply impressed by the tremendous resistance of the Russian people.
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 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 we have enabled it to 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 those who have been trained in the Spartan ways of ruthless brutality. They say that we have grown fat and flabby and indolent, and that therefore we are doomed, too.

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 challenges. —

Our country was first 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 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 formidable problems, social, economic and physical — and we have come out of them the most powerful nation and the freest in history. In the face of this newest and greatest challenge the American people are clearing their decks and taking their battle stations — ready to do what God has given them the power to see as their 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 shipping in areas closest to England 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 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 unbreakable.

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 decide 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 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 a National 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 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 opinions 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 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.

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, 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 are now being carried out.

Furthermore, the House of Representatives has already voted to amend part of the Neutrality Act of 1937, today outdated by force of violent circumstances. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has recommended elimination of other hamstrung provisions in that Act. That is the course of honesty and of realism.
Our American merchant ships must be armed to protect themselves against the rattle snakes of the sea.

Our American merchant ships must be 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 has been exalted in the tradition of "Daw 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. 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 seven seas; and to meet the extraordinary demands of today and tomorrow our Navy grows to unprecedented size. Its officers and men need 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 attacks menace 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 tremendous 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.

Upon our American production falls the colossal task of equipp-
ing our own Army and Navy and other 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 was

"The answer to that depends on how much you personally want to stop and destroy the
march of Hitler in his conquest of the world."

It has not been easy for us Americans to adjust ourselves to the
"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."
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 restless and individual independence which will not 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
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.