

October 27, 1941

[May Day]

FDR Speech File

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L.D.R. Special material

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE
DEPARTMENTS

October 24, 1941

Miss Grace Tully,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Miss Grace:

I send you herewith the speech, as per
your request of this morning.

Call on me at any time.

Very sincerely,

Robert Franks

Enclosure



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenbaum

ADDRESS OF HON. LISTER HILL, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM ALABAMA,
ON THE NATIONAL FORUM OF THE AIR, STATION WJAL, NATIONAL
BROADCASTING COMPANY, MONDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 20, 1941

THE DEFENSE OF OUR COUNTRY

The nations of Europe are slave states today because the leaders and the people refused to face the reality of their peril. If they had joined together and pitted their united strength against Germany they would be free men today, instead of slaves. But they stood apart, deluded by wishful thinking, and Hitler took them, one by one. Now they are become as driven cattle toiling under the whip of their German masters. They have within themselves no more power to throw off their chains than yoked oxen to shake off their yokes.

It seems incredible that a gang of bloody murderers could have seized the power of a nation and all the inventions and discoveries of science and turned them upon the world. It seems incredible that any nation would willingly set out upon a career of destruction, pillage, and enslavement. The German people could not have done it if they had not been obsessed with the delusion that they were a race of supermen. Their leaders told them they were a race superior to all others and they believed it and acted upon it and have murdered and enslaved millions of men and women as if they were inferior beings of no account.

The forces which have gathered around Hitler and found expression in Hitler have grown from a puff of wind into a vast whirlwind of destruction. The war has become a war of continents. It cannot end until the world is Hitler's or Hitler is overthrown. It is stupid beyond all expression for



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us in America to think we can escape a conflict with Hitler. Other nations thought the same thing and today they toil in bondage.

If Hitler conquers Europe, if ever he stands the supreme and untraveled master of that continent, and England lies broken at his feet, he will turn upon America. The greatest plunderer of the ages will then attempt to plunder the richest country the world has seen. Our wealth, our factories, our food and our way of life will be to him a challenge and an affront. The world will be too small to hold a victorious Germany and a free America.

The vast machine which Hitler has constructed must run upon the bodies of free men. He could not stop it if he would. It is built not to produce but to destroy. It must move forward to enslave producers because it is barren and cannot produce. If it stops it will shake itself to pieces. The man who created that machine must grind others with it or themselves become its victims.

That machine cannot be stopped by human bodies. It is vulnerable only to other machines. The Poles and the Yugo-Slavs, the Greeks and the Serbs, have shown us that stout hearts without the modern implements of war cannot stop the monster which clenches its destructive way over Europe.

The mechanical monster has its forerunners who prepare the way for it. Lying propagandists, saboteurs and spies precede its approach. They are already in our midst. They are working and burrowing in all the countries of South America.

The method they use is old. It was employed by Julius Caesar nearly two thousand years ago. It has been used by many conquerors. It



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Stanley I. Rosenbaum

is simple. "Divide and conquer" is the rule they follow today, and they have been clever at their task. The plodding German mind has measured our strength and our weakness. They apply themselves to the weakness in our armor. They know that a nation divided against itself cannot stand.

The division in America is in large part the result of German penetration. It is easy to see that now they stir up racial hatreds in the United States. They foster strife between capital and labor. They play upon the hearts of the weak sentimentalists. They encourage the delusions of the isolationists. They would make of America a nation of warring creeds and factions. They would reproduce in America the conditions which devitalized France and made her an easy prey.

And we in America have played into their hands. We have talked and talked and aired our contrary views while the vital hours slipped away. Each petty strategist and embryo statesman or military genius has shouted his views until America has seered at times like a cackling barnyard. We prize our constitutional freedom of speech and the Nazis have turned our boasted virtue against us.

The time for talking is past. The time for action has been with us long. It too will pass.

We face the greatest danger that has ever confronted the republic. We must put forth the greatest effort of all our history. We have the strength of a giant, but we have moved with the speed of a sluggard. We have accomplished great things for our defense but they are insignificant in comparison with what we might have done.



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Speed is the essence of modern war, yet we have moved with lagging steps. Speed is one secret of Hitler's success. We have been masters of speed in time of peace - why should we abandon it in time of peril?

We have chosen our course. We have determined that Hitler must be stopped in Europe. We have resolved that England shall not fall. But the arguments go on without end. Once a decision has been made the debate should end. A town meeting of the United States cannot precede every step in our preparation for our own security.

We have leaders of our own choosing. Give them a chance to lead. We have a head to all our defense efforts in the President of the United States. He is entitled to our support. We should give it with all our hearts. All we have and are is at stake. Yet selfish interests clamor for the appointment of a co-ordinator of defense.

This is no time for selfishness. It is a time for sacrifice. It is a time for unity of purpose. We have one hundred thirty million people who should be willing to give their all to the salvation of America. Hitler has a slave for each one of our millions, and those slaves will toil until they drop. Their German masters will see to it that they do.

Their work will not be hindered by any strife between capital and labor. All capital is under control of the Nazis. The labor unions are a memory. A union of slaves is an absurdity. And if Russia falls Hitler will have two slaves or more for every living American. They will work to a single purpose. Their strength will go into the machine of their brutal overlords. If they falter they will feel the lash or other tortures. If



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they rebel they will die. Two hundred fifty million will toil as one, and over them eighty million Germans will wage war as one.

If we are to survive as a free people we must face the reality. We must meet it and conquer it. Enforced unity of purpose must be met with a still greater unity. Vast preparations must be surpassed by preparations still more vast. Exactod sacrifices must be outweighed by willing sacrifices of those who are free and would continue free.

We must be worthy of the blessings we enjoy. We must forget ourselves and think only of our country. I regret to say that we have not measured up to our obligations and our responsibilities. Capital has been laggardly. Vast corporations which could have turned their great factories to defense months ago, wasted precious time trying to get a tax bill through the Congress. Patriotism at a price and for a profit is no patriotism at all.

This is no time for corporations existing under a Government to bargain with that Government for special privileges.

Even now the managers of some of our great manufacturing enterprises halt and balk and dilly-dally over defense contracts because they want to make sure their favored positions when peace comes. They are reluctant to expand and build new plants because they fear those plants may compete with them when the war is at an end.

The financial strength of the United States has been open to them through the Defense Plant Corporation. They could have gotten limitless millions and the people of the United States could have gotten production



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lines of a magnitude to stagger the imagination. But they have held back, and dickered over contracts and bargained for advantages while the monster that is devouring Europe grows in size and power.

If America is to escape tears and grief, misery and wretchedness, the corporate managers must put patriotism above profit, America above special privileges.

American labor has not met its responsibilities. It has not cleaned its own house. Destructive elements within the ranks of labor hinder our defense program. The labor leaders who place the labor union above the American union betray their followers. Men who war for personal power and position will have no unions to lead unless labor goes all out for American defense. Strikes in defense industries can be avoided. Production can go on, it should go on, while negotiations are in progress. The outlay strikes are a reflection upon leadership in the ranks of labor.

The men who have been drafted into the military service of the United States are entitled to demand the cooperation of every dollar of American capital and every member of the American labor unions. The great, unorganized masses of American citizens are entitled to ask that the safety and security of our people be placed above all personal profit and personal ambition.

The strength of our people is beyond all measure. It is fully adequate to meet and overthrow the monster that threatens our existence. To have the strength and the power to guarantee our freedom and then fail to use it is an act of supreme stupidity.



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The danger which threatens us is so clear that none but a fool can fail to realize it. England, the British Isles, are our outposts of freedom. They stand between us and the Hun. Their fight is our fight. We must see to it that they get all possible help from us.

If we let fear that we may become involved in the war control our course we will indeed be the soft people Hitler called us in his book. Fear has never guided our past and fear must never guide our future. If our course costs the lives of a few that is better than any course which will cost the lives of many.

Our soil has produced heroes in the past. We have them now - and in great numbers, or else I do not correctly read the faces of our men and women. We have a country to live for and, if necessary, to die for.

If we cannot live as free men, I for one do not care to live at all. As for me and my house, I say that death is better than slavery.

I say that the fate which has overtaken the people of Europe is worse than death. I say that fate may become our fate unless we become one nation, united in heart and purpose, resolved to make every sacrifice in order that Hitler may be destroyed and we may continue free.



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From the Papers of
 Samuel I. Rosenman



THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS
 WASHINGTON

S. R.

October 20, 1941

Dear Mr. Hassett:

I recently sent the President a quotation from Hamilton which he told me he was putting aside for his October 27 speech. Enclosed is a somewhat more precise form of the quotation. The differences are largely differences in punctuation.

Faithfully yours,

Archibald MacLeish
 Archibald MacLeish
 The Librarian of Congress

Enclosure

Mr. William D. Hassett
 Assistant to Mr. Early
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.



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From the Papers of
General I. Roosevelt

The desire of a power at war to destroy the commerce of its enemy is a natural effect of the state of war, and while exercised within bounds consistent with the rights of Nations who are not engaged in the contest is entirely justifiable. But when it manifestly overleaps these bounds, and indulges in palpable violations of neutral rights, without even the color of justification in the usages of War, it becomes an intolerable tyranny -- wounds the sovereignty of Nations and calls them to resistance by every motive of self preservation and self respect.

Papers of Alexander Hamilton (Library of Congress), Vol. 29, fol. 4055.

NNN

GRAY

Berlin

Dated October 23, 1941

Rec'd. 2:45 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

3861, October 23, 2 p.m.

The German press attacks the United States administration with renewed violence in connection with Secretary Hull's statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Prominent editorials describe the statement as no different in its substance from many previous formulations of Americans' views but as "much more scandalous and putrid in its slander of Germany and its Fuehrer". The President and the Secretary are deluged with epithets such as liar, rascal, pirate, gangster and fraud, but little is conveyed to German readers of the actual points made by the Secretary other than that as a "henchman of Roosevelt" he is putting full pressure on Congress to abrogate American neutrality and thus "plunge his nation into disaster".

The semi-official D.A.D. likewise states that there was nothing new in the Secretary's remarks



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SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

-2- #3861, October 23, 2 p.m. from Berlin.

remarks but that his "unusually aggressive tone" meets with a "correspondingly sharper rejection" in the German press. It declares that the movement not only to arm American merchant ships but to send them into "the German-English battlefield" clearly places the blame for any developments on the American statesmen since "they are deliberately steering into complications from which they expect the road will inevitably lead to war".

MORRIS

HGM



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 20, 1941

Mr. Stephen Early
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Steve:

Can anything be done about the enclosed.

I will await your reply.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Jimmy
James Roosevelt
Captain, U.S.M.C.

Attachment

Speech Material
Oct 27th —
Watt



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenberg

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

270 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK

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MEMORANDUM

October 16, 1941

To: Captain James Roosevelt

From: Joseph Barnes

As I told you yesterday, Russian War Relief, Inc. is having a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden on the night of October 27th. They tell me that the Garden is already sold out. Their program is going to include a lot of prominent people. Besides stage and moving picture names, they have Mayor LaGuardia, Governor Lehman, Joseph E. Davies, Myron Taylor, and others like them as speakers or sponsors. It will be the principal meeting in New York in the campaign which has been approved, I believe, by the State Department and the American Red Cross, to raise \$1,000,000 for medical aid to Russia.

What they are interested in, naturally, is the possibility of having the President include in his Navy Day speech that night a few sentences about Russian War Relief. As I understand it, their plan is to pipe the speech into the Garden, if it is being broadcast nationally. Almost any mention of Russian resistance to Hitler or of our government policy of helping Russia would help them enormously.

The meeting is being arranged in New York, I understand, by Harriet Moore and Joe Losey, with headquarters at 535 Fifth Avenue, Vanderbilt 6 - 3202. I am passing this suggestion on simply as a friendly gesture to them and because I deeply sympathize with the objectives of the organization. I believe Steve Early has been told about this in a general way and I am passing it on to you in the hope that you may be able to support any plan he may work out under which the President can make his speech help this campaign.

Joe

JB:bmb



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Samuel I. Rosenman

THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS

Washington, D. C.

*Speech Material
Oct 27th Speech*

b

October 14, 1941

Dear Mr. President:

My friend, Edward Lead Earle, of Princeton, has come upon a quotation from Hamilton on the freedom of the seas which is so beautifully appropriate at the moment that I thought you would like to see it. Perhaps after having looked at it you will feel that I ought to send it along to someone in the Senate for use on the floor, but I don't want to do that unless you see no better use for it. The quotation is as follows:

"The desire of a power at war to destroy the commerce of its enemy is a natural effect of the state of war, and while exercised within bounds, consistent with the rights of nations who are not engaged in the contest, is entirely justifiable; but when it manifestly overleaps these bounds, and indulges in palpable violations of neutral rights, without even the color of justification in the usages of war, it becomes an intolerable tyranny, wounds the sovereignty of nations, and calls them to resistance by every motive of self-preservation and self-respect."

Volume 6, page 233 of the Henry Cabot Lodge edition of The Works of Alexander Hamilton. Dated January 27, 1797.
Title: "The Warning"

Yours,

Quoted

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.



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From the Papers of

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 15, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR ARCHIE MacLACHLAN:

Thank you ever so much for that quotation from Hamilton. I am putting it with my speech material to use in the October 27th speech.

T.D.R.



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1941.

FOR THE PRESIDENT:

E.R.

*Harry
Sam
Bob*



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT

WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 17, 1941

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

George L. Ridgway, who graduated from Princeton with me in 1923 and is now head of the Department of History at Wells College, sent me the enclosed memorandum on "Freedom of the Seas", which goes into existing sanctions under the United States Constitution and the Law of Nations. George is a real student of international organization. He has studied abroad a great deal and is author of "Merchants of Peace" with an introduction by Professor James T. Shotwell, which was published in 1938 for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

It occurred to me that in this memorandum there are pertinent phrases and some material which might prove of interest in assembling material for the President's statements on the subject.

With warm regards from Olita and me, I am

Sincerely,

Edwy. Woodward



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Samuel I. Roderman

Memorandum on Freedom of the Seas, the International Freedom, Existing Sanctions under the United States Constitution and the Law of Nations for its enforcement. George L. Ridgeway

- I. Freedom of the Seas is in fact the international freedom of the Five Freedoms. The Free Seas must form the common frontier of any system of free states. (Historically speaking, the genius of the West has been the genius of free men in free nations. International relations have accordingly spread out in the social pattern of the turbulent commonwealth of European states, best described perhaps by the medieval name of Christendom. Free men in free nations have always risen after every flood tide of tyranny. This periodic phenomenon of renaissance is the great miracle of Europe, the great miracle of the west. However, there is no assurance in the record of the rise and decline of civilizations that this process may not become so destructive that other concepts more conducive to physical security may not black out the miraculous conception of Freedom in Christendom. "That all men in all lands may live out their lives in Freedom" still rings like magic to the West only because western culture is not yet overgrown by the most dangerous of tyrannies in the history of man, totalitarian tyranny. The historic task of American statesmanship to maintain American Independence is, in reality, a brilliant manifestation of western genius, of nationalism in its finest flower. This is the finest flower of the "enlightenment" which swept western nations over the threshold of the last century into our age of power. This is still the task of American statesmanship. MR 1776 is well named. And we have rightly returned to the universal character of the inspiration which attended the birth of American Independence, to the spirit of Jefferson who wrote the Declaration of our Independence in no mean partisan spirit but in the manner of those who have written the other great charters of the West. The Declaration of American Independence was no provincial secession from a European empire. It belongs to the great documents of that human decency which is the basic concept of Christendom. It was written out of "a decent respect for the opinion of mankind." Our effort to save America today touches the same epic note of universal defiance to tyranny-like the opening notes to Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. This is true because we are Americans. Our independence today must be reaffirmed in the spirit which gave it birth. We must ask nothing for ourselves which we do not ask for all men. Our freedom can only be made secure when all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom. Our task is to provide for the defense of the frontiers of political autonomy. Free States must be made as free as free men and their possessions under the great charters. The Free Seas are what a frontier of a free state ought to be--open to all in equality before the law. The Free State can only survive as an open state-like a city. The openness of a State is dependent upon its openness to the international highways on the Free Seas, to the traffic in goods, and to the



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tremendously expanding commerce in ideas consequent upon the development of science. The Free Seas and the Free Air which is above it, are more than vital defensive frontiers, common to all states and, therefore, the key to common defense policy. They are, in reality, the frontiers of Freedom itself. There is no magnet defense. Their defense is the historic international freedom, the Fifth Freedom, which defends and unites the society of Free States.

II. Sanctions for the Defense of the Freedom of the Seas.

A. The United States Constitution imposes upon the President the heavy responsibility of maintaining unimpaired the Independence of the United States. American independence might have been written in terms of provincial territorial defense. Jefferson, who under Congressional statute ordered American ships off the high seas might have renounced American rights to the full enjoyment of Freedom of the Seas. Congress might have so declared. Neither Jefferson or Congress had any such intention. The Acts of Congress and the policy of the President in the emergency created by the European War were directed solely toward one objective--the enforcement of respect from European belligerents for full American rights to Freedom of the Seas. And when it became evident that this objective could not be attained by a policy of economic sanctions, President Madison and Congress elected to shoot it out rather than to abandon meekly American rights to the Freedom of the Seas. In so doing they were in fact following a glorious precedent set by none other than Jefferson himself who first victoriously vindicated American rights to Freedom of the Seas against the piratical States of the Barbary coast. Such was the broad interpretation of American independence shaped by trials and error in the first European War. Upon this broad interpretation of a Free America surrounded by Free Seas, Monroe formulated the historic defense policy of the United States in terms of the defense of two continents. This fundamental policy of national defense which every American President and every American Congress without exception have accepted as the cardinal principle of American independence was actually formulated as the result of conversations and negotiations between British and American statesmen on the initiative of the British Government. The Monroe Doctrine automatically extended the frontiers of American defense into the vast oceans which encircle this hemisphere. It was based upon one vital assumption--Anglo-American control of the seas. It was based upon the maintenance of the Free Seas. The Freedom of the Americas was based upon the Freedom of the Seas. Under the menace of a new European order styled for the reactionaries of Monroe's time as a Holy Alliance, America and Great Britain accepted a mandate to defend the Freedom of the Americas. They accepted it by the two historic declarations--the Polignac Memorandum and the Monroe Doctrine--which placed the mighty British fleet and its strategic bases and the small but glorious American fleet with its vital bases across the sea lanes of the aggressors. The defense of American independence was here made not on the shores and



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Stanford I. Rosenman

beaches of continental United States nor on the coasts of Brazil or Argentina. This Anglo-American mandate to keep the Holy Alliance out of the American hemisphere which with the unfolding of American history became the Monroe Doctrine has in reality been solely the corollary of continuous Anglo-American naval supremacy. During the hundred years of peace which followed the second war for American independence, the war for American rights to the Freedom of the Seas, the affairs and the interests of the British and American commonwealths flowed for the most part on together. This happy conjunction of Anglo-American interests made real the tacit Anglo-American mandate to keep the seas free from aggressors. The policy of the American government as officially stated by Secretary Hull on September 14, 1939 in connection with the various neutrality measures taken under the Neutrality Law, reasserting full American rights to the enjoyment of Freedom of the Seas, and H.R. 1776 which makes defense of Great Britain vital to the defense of the United States do, in fact, implement in the present emergency this historic Anglo-American mandate to defend the Freedom of the Americas by keeping aggressors off the Free Seas. American policy today is a renewal of this Anglo-American mandate to maintain the Freedom of the Seas upon which the Monroe Doctrine has always rested and, upon which more than ever before, it rests today.

B. Freedom of the Seas like the other Freedoms must be established under the Charters. The fundamental concept must not be lost as it has been lost by some lawyers in the details of the laws of war. War has come to be the exception not the rule. Grotius three centuries ago based his concept of the Law of Nations upon the idea of a society of states operating in an order dominated by morals not force. Freedom of the Seas is the fundamental international Freedom of such an evolving society of free states. The seas have been held in communis. As one early writer put it, "... it was communis, and is yet, and will be hereafter, until there is someone who will be able to occupy it with his ships..." The Free seas are today for the first time in history actually threatened with occupation. Old fashioned imperialism lacked the complete control of the great base for such a grand design, the European continent. And the international relationships created by economic and political life which mingled in the seas held in communis by all nations, great and small, resulted in the preservation of the free nation itself. Napoleon and the Kaiser were both beaten by international coalitions based on the Free Seas. The supremacy of this international system as against a tyrant state system, early in the Concert of Europe, and later in the League of Nations has, in reality, been the salient feature of our Free Seas civilization. Were the Nazis to succeed in conquering Great Britain and occupying the strategic bases now held by the British, the Free Seas and the international system of free states



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which the Free Seas bound would belong with Grotius to a past civilization. The concept of the Free Seas is fundamental to the concept of a society of Free Nations.

Point 2 of Wilson's 14 points, the Pact of Paris, Part IV of the Treaty on Limitation of Naval Armament, London 1930 (submarine warfare), and point 7 of the Declaration of the Atlantic give full international sanction for international action to defend the Freedom of the Seas. In the language of Wilson's second point "... the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants." (See Memorandum on Declaration of Freedom). There is no more reason why Freedom of the Seas should not survive whatever abridgement is essential to its own defense than that the other Freedoms we cherish should be lost under emergency disciplines. The danger here lies rather in our failing, as at Paris when the Covenant of the League was drafted, to recognize Freedom of the Seas as the Great International Freedom upon which the Freedom of Nations depends. Any organization of Free Nations for the building of the Peace should start now with an effective exercise of this Freedom. With such a dynamic concept the democracies could take the offensive.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

*Harry
Sam
Bob*

THE PLAZA BANK OF ST. LOUIS
TWELVE THIRTY OLIVE STREET
SAINT LOUIS

F. R. VON WINDEGGER
PRESIDENT

October 18, 1941

Dear Mr. President:

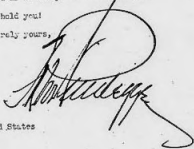
Pierre van Paassen, that great chronicler and prophet of this tragic era, made an address here last night with which I completely and whole-heartedly agree. Among other things, he said that he did not understand why you, the President, did not tell the American people the whole truth about the terribly dangerous situation we are in, both internally and externally, unless you thought that the people could not stand the whole truth without a panic.

He went on further to say, and I agree with him, that he thought the American people could stand the whole truth. I will go further and state that I think our people should be told the whole truth. Otherwise it will not be possible to make the determination necessary to the preservation of our freedom.

"The time is now" before the Fascists in our midst soften us up any further. Tell them, Mr. President. Tell them now. Lead us! We will follow you as we always have followed you.

May the Everlasting Arms uphold you!

Sincerely yours,



The President of the United States
Washington, D. C.



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From the papers of
Samuel I. Robertsman

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1941

Harry
Bob
Sam

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Dear Mr. President:

Drew Pearson calls attention to the October twenty-eighth anniversary of the Italian attack on Greece and suggests that "the President might well use this (anniversary) for a message to the Greek people or a statement from the White House which would remind not only the Greeks, but also the conquered peoples everywhere that they are not forgotten."

I asked Sumner Welles to give me his opinion of the Pearson suggestion. Sumner fully concurs and says that if the President desires either a message or a statement, he will have something drafted and sent over.

Will the President please let me know his wishes in this matter, remembering that if such a statement or message is sent in this instance, he will be expected to make similar statements in other analogous cases.

S.T.E.



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Navy Day - 10/27/41

First Draft - Carbon - pages 3-10 no corrections.

Second Draft - 4 uncorrected pages (carbon).

Third Draft - 10 pages (carbon) S.I.R. corrections.

Fifth Draft - 10 pages (carbon) S.I.R. corrections.

Sixth Draft - 3 pages (carbon) S.I.R. corrections.

Memos from F.R. von Windeggerger - Pres. - a St. Louis Bank,
Steve Early, Donovan, etc.



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Speech:

10/27/41.

Navy Day.

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COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 17, 1941.

My dear Mr. President:

Attached is a memorandum on the repeal
of the Neutrality Act, which I am sending only
in the hope that it might be of use to someone
in the coming debate.

Respectfully,

Donovan
William J. Donovan

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.



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MEMORANDUM ON REPEAL OF THE
NEUTRALITY ACT OF 1939

Preliminary Note: It is assumed that repeal of the Neutrality Act means the repeal of all sections of the statute except Section 12 which deals with the control and licensing of the manufacture, export and import of munitions. This Section might be retained as it stands or re-enacted in new legislative form.

(I) General Arguments: The Act is Contrary to Both
Historic and Current American Policies.

1.) The fundamental premise of the Neutrality Act was that the safety and security of the United States could be preserved by withdrawing our rights to trade and travel upon the seas and by imposing special restrictions regarding loans and credit upon American citizens. Congress in the so-called Lease-Lend law of March 11, 1941, has now declared that the safety and defense of this country are to be secured by sending supplies and materials of war to "any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States." The purpose and effect of the Neutrality Act is thus diametrically opposed to the aims of the present policy of the country. Current needs call for the use of the seas by the United States for the shipment of defense articles.

2.) The United States, until the passage of the so-called Neutrality legislation in 1935, 1936, 1937 and 1939, has always asserted the right of American ships, American citizens and American goods to cross the seas during war and peace. We have consistently maintained the "freedom of the seas," i.e., the right of our vessels and citizens to use the oceans unmolested except for legitimate belligerent rights of visit and search, and



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seizure on grounds of contraband or blockade. This doctrine of the "freedom of the seas" has been American doctrine from the beginnings of our existence: the treaty of 1778 with France, our formal assent on April 7, 1781 to the principles of the First Armed Neutrality, our diplomatic stand against both Britain and France during the French Revolutionary wars, the acts of Congress of 1798 authorizing armed strife with France in defense of our maritime rights, the act of Congress of Feb. 2, 1802 for the protection of our commerce against the Barbary Pirates, the defense of our rights at seas in the period leading up to the conflict of 1812, the successful stand against Russian maritime pretensions in the Pacific in 1824, the opening of the Danish Sound in 1857, adherence to the principles of the Declaration of Paris of 1856, our stand for freedom of the seas at The Hague in 1899 and 1907, and at London in 1909, and the American defense of rights at sea during the World War all testify to the traditional willingness of this country to assert and to maintain the freedom of the seas. The Neutrality Act of 1939 is completely out of line with our entire tradition.

3.) Our other historic policies such as the Monroe Doctrine and the "Open Door" cannot be maintained effectively unless we preserve our rights upon the ocean highways. The authors of the Monroe Doctrine were well aware of the dangers confronting us if hostile powers secured control of the South Atlantic. Weakening our policy in regard to the sea anywhere on the globe imperils our rights elsewhere and jeopardizes our other basic policies.



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The repeal of the Neutrality Statute is required if we are to apply a consistent and effective foreign policy.

4.) In the Neutrality Act of 1939, the United States abandoned more rights and privileges under international law than any other nation has ever done voluntarily, and by so doing, we drastically diminished our influence and weakened our prestige. Recession from a traditional policy was extremely harmful and dangerous. If we are to exert the influence we must have for our own safety, and for the safety of other and smaller nations whose rights we have consistently championed, a vigorous reassertion of our traditional stand is necessary. Our statute has encouraged other powers to violate international law. It has acted as a "green light" for aggressors, indicating to them that we did not care what they did and would take no measures to protect our rights. Continued use of combat areas on our part encourages belligerents to proclaim huge war zones in which any vessel is liable to attack at sight. We have never countenanced such action until the passage of recent legislation which unwittingly has helped to destroy the maritime rights we so long strove to uphold.

5.) Repeal of the Neutrality Act would not be an "act of war" and would not bring us any closer to war. It would only bring us closer to our well established policy. It would bring us back to a reliance upon international law in the development of which we played such an outstanding part until 1935. "Act of war" has no objective meaning anyway; it is entirely subjective,



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and any act or no act may be regarded by another power as a justification for making war. Many of the measures already adopted by Congress could have been regarded as "acts of war" had another state chosen to view them as such.

6.) Repeal of the statute would not only make for consistency but would also clear the political atmosphere. Both internally and externally it would end all pretense and would make explicit the fact that we are not "neutral" in regard to Hitler's aims for world conquest. As long as we cling to the Neutrality Act we are encouraging the belief that we are only half-hearted in our defense program. Repeal would stiffen resistance to Hitler all around the world, terminate confusion as to our position and strengthen immeasurably our adopted policy of defeating the axis.

7.) Retention of the Act forces us to resort to subterfuges unworthy of our history and unworthy of a great nation. In the struggle against Hitler, ideas and intangibles are of tremendous importance. Dignity and honor are essential for this country if our defense effort is to be ultimately effective.

8.) Under international law, we, as a nation at peace, have a perfect right to change our domestic legislation. Most of the developments in the international law governing the conduct of non-participants have come about by domestic legislation passed while other powers were at war: e. g. our first Neutrality statute in 1794; the Netherlands' prohibition against the entry of belligerent warships in 1914; the repeal of the arms embargo in 1939, we have a right to return to "freedom of the seas" principles, and this



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right is buttressed by the elementary right of self-defense belonging to any power whose safety and interests are jeopardized.

II.) The Act Itself Envisages Changes and Repeal.

9.) In the preamble to the Act it is stated that "The United States waives none of its own rights and privileges....under international law.....and expressly reserves all the rights and privileges to which it and its nationals are entitled under the law of nations." Repeal of the statute would merely be a reassertion of what we have never given up.

10.) Also in the preamble it is stated that "the United States expressly reserves the right to repeal change or modify this joint resolution..... in the interests of the peace, security or welfare of the United States." The conquests and thrusts of Hitler since 1939 have brought about greatly changed conditions; the security and welfare of the United States now require the maintenance of our rights, not their withdrawal. Congress may exercise its announced right of repeal.

III.) Specific Hindrances to Present Policy.

11.) Sections 2, 3, 6 and 9 are in effect today and seriously impair the effectiveness of present policy.

a. The prohibition in Section 2 against American ships going to named belligerent territory hampers our program of aid to Britain. We need to be free to send supplies in our ships to Britain direct. There is a shortage of shipping tonnage, the Allied merchant marine is already overstrained, and our shipping is desperately needed. We have embarked upon a gigantic ship-



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building program and it seems strange that if these ships are to be employed for purposes of carrying supplies to Britain they must be turned over to foreign control. It is far more sensible to retain direction over them ourselves. The Act already has forced more than 500 of our ships to foreign registry. Also, because of Section 2, goods brought across the Pacific from the Far East must be transferred from American to Allied or neutral ships before proceeding to Britain; oil from the Gulf or from South America must likewise be pumped from American to foreign tankers. Because of the accidents of geography and the special wording of the Act we are using our ships to supply Russia but not the United Kingdom. Consistency and pressing need demand full freedom for our vessels to carry supplies to all nations resisting the Axis.

b. The fixing by statute, in Section 2, of the places where our ships may travel is a menace to our safety in times of rapid change. Section 2 is inflexible and is thus dangerous. It makes for the use of subterfuges. It makes for grave inconsistencies. For example: American vessels may not now go to Halifax but they may proceed to Newfoundland; until recently, American vessels could carry munitions to Egypt but not to less dangerous spots such as British East Africa.

c. Section 3, prescribing the announcement of combat areas, is likewise an impediment to effective aid to states whose defense is vital to our own. In so far as these areas keep American vessels from proceeding to Britain they are as harmful as the



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provisions of Section 2. They also fail to restrict the zones declared by belligerent Germany; American vessels now proceed to Iceland which lies within the German war zone. Thus, if combat areas were repealed and American ships went to Britain or Ireland, they would not be entering belligerent war zones for the first time; they are proceeding into such zones already. Section 3 prevents American ships from voyaging to Eire, a neutral country. Prohibition of trade between the United States and a neutral like Eire is unprecedented and operates as a barrier to both normal commerce and to transport called for under "Lease-Lend" provisions.

a. Section 6 prohibiting the arming of merchant vessels menaces the safety of our ships engaged in the vital tasks of supplying our friends as well as ourselves. Under international law we have a right to arm our ships (The Nerseide, 9 Cranch 388), we have done so in the past in defense of our rights, and we never relinquished that right until the recent Neutrality legislation.

a. Section 9 prescribes a rigid course of action in regard to Latin America. If Germany should attack a Latin American nation and Britain should aid and "cooperate" with the latter, we would be bound to apply all the restrictions of the Act to that state.

IV.) The Act is Obsolete and has Failed to Safeguard our Interests.

12.) Section 1-a has not been applied to the Sino-Japanese, the Soviet-Finnish or the Soviet-German conflicts. "Finding wars" in those instances would not have been to our interest. This section itself envisages the possibility that the Act need be applied only when "it is necessary to promote the



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General I. Roosevelt

security..... of the United States". Such a necessity does not exist today.

13.) Section 2-c, the "right and title" provisions serves no purpose today when the government under "Lease-Lend" is engaged in the business of exports to belligerents. Even in times of "normal" neutrality, Section 2-c is practically valueless because private traders, as a part of normal business practice, transfer title to belligerent purchasers before shipment.

14.) Section 2-a and Section 3 have not prevented "incidents", or loss of life and property. American ships have been sunk at points far removed from combat areas and from named belligerent shores.

15.) Section 5 is of minor significance today. Executive orders, issued under authority of the Act itself, permit extensive travel by American citizens on belligerent ships.

16.) Section 7 is superseded by the provisions of the "Lease-Lend" law. Credit and loans are being made by the Government.

17.) Section 10 likewise has been superseded by "Lease-Lend" legislation. Belligerent warcraft of nations aided under our current policy are being repaired and provisioned in our ports.

Summary

The Neutrality Act is inconsistent with our historic policies, past and present. It is a positive obstruction to the fulfillment of



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our avowed program of aiding all powers resisting the Axis. It is serving no useful purpose and is in no way protecting or safeguarding the interests of the country.



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FIRST DRAFT

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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 France 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 start 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-



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FIRST DRAFT

-4-

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 -- 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 those countries has been physically destroyed. Those countries nevertheless have been subjugated and their people made slaves.

It is a part of the horrid plan that goes back many years to push their conquests one by one -- never taking on at any one time more than the serpent can swa' They plan that the turn of all will come ' t will come, they hope, in Asia, in the Near East, in Africa. 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.



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FIRST DRAFT

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The plan, from their point of view, is a logical and sound one, and the extension of it has been put on secret paper. I have in my possession a secret map made in Germany, made by the planners, a map of South and a part of Central America. On this map the boundary lines, as they exist today, have been wiped out. In this area there are today thirteen countries. The geographical experts of Berlin have taken a pencil, have destroyed existing boundaries ruthlessly, and have set up, in place of thirteen countries, five countries, in order to meet their own sweet desires. And it is of interest to note that one of these new puppet nations, the Republic of Panama, and the Panama Canal are brought under the orders of Hitler.

I have in my possession also the detailed plan, not yet ready for announcement by the Nazi party, but ready to spring on a dominated world when Hitler wins -- a plan to abolish all existing churches -- Protestant and Catholic and Mohammedan and Hindu and Jewish alike. The property of all churches will escheat to the Reich. The cross and all other symbols of religion are to be abolished. Priests and clergy are to be wiped out. The Bible and other holy books are to be forbidden altogether.



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FIRST DRAFT

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In the place of the churches of our civilization, there is to be set up a National Reich 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 in place of the symbols of God will be put 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.

What 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 called by the usual epithets, to which I have no objection because they prove that they are running out of real ammunition. I know, too, that some Americans will continue to insist that all is well with America -- and that we should not concern ourselves with anything that goes on outside our Chinese walls.



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FIRST DRAFT

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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, proving to their factless people that the overwhelming majority of people in the United States are opposed to their President, to their Government, and in reality would shed no tears if Hitler won.

I have said that our prime purpose is the defense of America. I do not want war, and neither 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.

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 A. E. F., if you like, and the A. E. F. was furnished in those days with the weapons of war that had been manufactured in France.



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FIRST DRAFT

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Today the practical operation of the defense against aggression is reversed so far as we are concerned. We are not sending an A. E. F. to the battlefronts, but with each day that passes we are contributing more and more greatly to the arming of those battlefronts of defenders. 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 ~~munitions~~ 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.



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FIRST DRAFT

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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 as it moves on its 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 mere isolationist 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 things. 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.



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FIRST DRAFT

-10-

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 can, but every General and Admiral knows, and we know, that there are things called objectives, and that the first of these 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.

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. 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 assist in stopping and destroying the march of Hitler in his conquest of the world".



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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 Americans.

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.

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. (Kendall material).

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.

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.



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SECOND DRAFT

- 2 -

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.

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.



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SECOND DRAFT

- 8 -

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 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. 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



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SECOND DRAFT

- 4 -

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

We came to realize and to know that these events overhang the United

States and all the Americans. By the lend-lease law we expressed

our determination to help; and now we are doing it by positive action.



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THIRD 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 -- Theodore Roosevelt. In 1941 we have expanded the celebration into the larger theme of the total defense of all the Americans.

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. *100%*

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.*

During those 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.

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THIRD DRAFT

- 2 -

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[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 by our own} 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.

And having demolished the curse of Hitlerism we shall participate in a new world system of peace which will give guarantee to decent people everywhere that they may live and prosper in freedom and in faith and in peace.

America has been attacked. ^(A) 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.



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From the Papers of
SAMUEL I. ROOSEVELT

THIRD DRAFT

- 3 -

This attack is an inevitable development in a long series of acts of aggression — in Abyssinia, in China, in Spain — and all over the Continent of Europe. It is useless again to recall 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 1491.

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 now 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.



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General L. H. Hootchman

THIRD DRAFT

- 4 -

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 the Nazis propose to reorganize it. In this area today there are eleven independent *foreign* 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.

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, 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.



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From the papers of
Samuel I. Rosenbaum

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 civilisation, there is to be set up a National ^{German} 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 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.



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THIRD DRAFT

- 4 -

The pretensions of these Americans — few in number — will, as usual, be perused 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. And 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 principal 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.



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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. S. F. in the battlefronts of Europe; but with each day that passes we are procuring and providing more and more arms for the men who are fighting on those battlefronts.

It is the Nation's will that those 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 same determination is now being expressed in the demand that we finally cast off the false mask of neutrality. The House of Representatives has already 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 way lies the course of honesty and of realism.

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



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General I. Neumann

WIRE DRAFT

- 2 -

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 reared 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.

THIRD DRAFT

- 3 -

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 dead bodies of German women and children.

The defeat of Hitlerian 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, 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.



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From the papers of
Samuel I. Rosenberg

THIRD DRAFT

- 18 -

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 these 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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

FIFTH 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; but Hitler has chosen to attack all shipping in areas far closer to our own continent.

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 a shooting war. 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 USS Kearny is not just a navy ship. She belongs to every man, woman and child in the United States. Her honored dead came from every part of the United States. Therefore, the attack upon the Kearny 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 or tanks of the marching border of would-be conquerors of the world.



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From the Papers of
General I. H. H. H.

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 -- abjectly -- behind any line which Hitler might decide to draw on any ocean as his own dictated version of his own war zone. ^{The line that he is} All our aid to Hitler's enemies would have to be stopped at once. ^{and we have no right} 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 ^{and since} Ocean his submarines prove otherwise. So does the entire design of his new world order.

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 14 separate countries. The geographical experts of Berlin, however, have ruthlessly obliterated all existing boundary lines; and have divided South America into five vassal



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

FIFTH DRAFT

- 3 -

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 the Panama Canal.

This map makes clear the Nazi design not only against South America but against the United States itself. *the design which would put* It would mean immediate *hostilities*

control of South and Central America and the Caribbean by Nazi air power and sea power. The Nazis would then be in a most strategic position to start an invasion of the Mississippi Valley itself. I tell you this not in an attempt to scare anyone. The American people do not scare easily. I tell you this because it is vital information now in the possession of your Government which can be told without revealing our own military secrets.

The State Department 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 and Catholic and Mohammedan and Hindu and Jewish alike. The property of



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

FIFTH DRAFT

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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 artificial} ~~an artificial~~ 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.



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FIFTH DRAFT

- 3 -

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 seduce upon such opinions ^{accepted 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 car in the destruction of Hitlerism.



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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 looked 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 *stand* are now being carried out.

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



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Our American merchant ships must be armed to protect them-
selves 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 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 reared 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.



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From the Papers of
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FIFTH DRAFT

- 2 -

The lines of our essential defense now cover ^{all} 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 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.

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.



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FIFTH DRAFT

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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 these essential supplies. But the needs of her huge army will continue.

Upon our American production falls the colossal task of equipping our own 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 answer was "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



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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 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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FIFTH DRAFT

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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.

Yhca.



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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, but Hitler has chosen to attack all shipping in areas far closer to our own continent.

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 a shooting war. 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,



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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.

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 -- abjectly -- behind any line which Hitler might decide to draw 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.



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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} arranged it that the territory of one of these new puppet states includes the Republic of Panama and our ^{own} 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



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