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

Series 3: “The Four Freedoms” and FDR in World War II

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1941 December 9

Fireside Chat #18 - re War with Japan



RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

DECEMBER 9, 1941

WHITE HOUSE

The sudden criminal attacks perpetrated by the Japanese in the Pacific provide the climax of a decade of international immorality.

Powerful and resourceful gangsters have banded together to make war upon the whole human race. Their challenge has now been flung at the United States of America. The Japanese have treacherously violated the longstanding peace between us. Many American soldiers and sailors have been killed by enemy action. American ships have been sunk, American airplanes have been destroyed.

The Congress and the people of the United States have accepted that challenge.

And no honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special envoys in our midst.

The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield.

In 1931, Japan invaded Manchukuo -- without warning.

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia -- without warning.

In 1938, Hitler occupied Austria -- without warning.

In 1939, Hitler invaded Czecho-Slovakia -- without warning.

Later in 1939, Hitler invaded Poland -- without warning.

In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, Holland,
Belgium and Luxembourg -- without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece --
without warning.

In 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Jugoslavia and Greece
and they dominated the Balkans -- without warning.

In 1941, Hitler invaded Russia -- without warning.

And now Japan has attacked Malaya and Thailand --
and the United States -- without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

We are now in this war. We are all in it -- all the
way. Every single man, woman and child is a partner in the
most tremendous undertaking of our American history. We must
share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats
and the victories -- the changing fortunes of war.

10.05

Most earnestly I urge my countrymen to reject all rumors. These ugly little hints of complete disaster fly thick and fast in war-time. They have to be examined and appraised.

As an example, I can tell you frankly that until further surveys are made, I have not sufficient information to state the exact damage which has been done to our naval vessels at Pearl Harbor. Admittedly the damage is serious. But no one can say how serious, until we know how much of this damage can be repaired and how quickly the necessary repairs can be made.

I cite as another example a statement made on Sunday night that a Japanese carrier had been located and sunk off the Canal Zone. And when you hear statements that are attributed to what they call "an authoritative source",

you can be reasonably sure that under these war circumstances the "authoritative source" was not any person in authority.

Many rumors and reports which we now hear originate with enemy sources. For instance, today the Japanese are claiming that as a result of their one action against Hawaii 10.10 they have gained naval supremacy in the Pacific. This is an old trick of propaganda which has been used innumerable times by the Nazis. The purposes of such fantastic claims are, of course, to spread fear and confusion among us, and to goad us into revealing military information which our enemies are desperately anxious to obtain.

Our government will not be caught in this obvious trap -- and neither will our people.

It must be remembered by each and every one of us that our free and rapid communication must be greatly restricted in war-time. It is not possible to receive full, speedy, accurate reports from distant areas of combat.

This is particularly true where naval operations are concerned. For in these days of the marvels of radio it is often impossible for the Commanders of various units to report their activities by radio, for the very simple reason that this information would become available to the enemy, and would disclose their position and their plan of defense or attack.

Of necessity there will be delays in officially confirming or denying reports of operations, but we will not hide facts from the country if we know the facts and if the enemy will not be aided by their disclosure.

To all newspapers and radio stations -- all those who reach the eyes and ears of the American people -- I say this: you have a most grave responsibility to the nation now and for the duration of this war.

If you feel that your government is not disclosing enough of the truth, you have every right to say so. But -- in the absence of all the facts, as revealed by official sources -- you have no right ^{in the spirit of patriotism} ~~X~~ to deal out unconfirmed reports in such a way as to make people believe they are gospel truth.

Every citizen, in every walk of life, shares this same responsibility. The lives of our soldiers and sailors -- the whole future of this nation -- depend upon the manner in which each and every one of us fulfills his obligation to our country.

Now a word about the recent past -- and the future. A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France, when the whole world first realized the mechanized might which the Axis nations had been building for so many years. America has used that year and a half to great advantage. Knowing that the attack might reach us in all too short a time, we immediately began greatly to increase our industrial strength and our capacity to meet the demands of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of our war material to the nations of the world still able to resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth that the defense of any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country.

That policy has been justified. It has given us time, invaluable time, to build our American assembly lines of production.

10.15

Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being rushed to completion. A steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns and ships, of shells and equipment -- that is what these eighteen months have given us.

But it is all only a beginning of what has to be done. We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bandits. The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points in both oceans and along both our coast lines and against all the rest of the Hemisphere. It will not only be a long war, it will be a hard war. That is the basis on which we now lay all our plans. That is the yardstick by which we measure what we shall need and demand; money, materials, doubled and quadrupled production -- ever-increasing. The production must be not only for our own army and navy and air forces.

It must reinforce the other armies and navies and air forces fighting the Nazis and the war lords of Japan throughout the Americas and the world.

I have been working today on the subject of production. Your government has decided on two broad policies.

The first is to speed up all existing production by working on a seven day week basis in every war industry, including the production of essential raw materials.

The second policy, now being put into form, is to rush additions to the capacity of production by building more new plants, by adding to old plants, and by using the many smaller plants for war needs.

Over the hard road of the past months, we have at times met obstacles and difficulties, divisions and disputes, indifference and callousness. That is now all past -- and, I am sure, forgotten.

The fact is that the country now has an organization in Washington built around men and women who are recognized experts in their own fields. I think the country knows that the people who are actually responsible in each and every one of these many fields are pulling together with a teamwork that has never before been excelled.

On the road ahead there lies hard work -- gruelling work -- day and night, every hour and every minute.

I was about to add that ahead there lies sacrifice for all of us.

But it is not correct to use that word. The United States does not consider it a sacrifice to do all one can, to give one's best to our nation, when the nation is fighting for its existence and its future life.

It is not a sacrifice for any man, old or young, to be in the Army or the Navy of the United States. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice for the industrialist or the
wage-earner, the farmer or shopkeeper, the trainman or the
doctor, to pay more taxes, to buy more bonds, to forego
extra profits, to work longer or harder at the task for
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It is not a sacrifice to do without many things to
which we are accustomed if the national defense calls for
doing without.

A review this morning leads me to the conclusion
that at present we shall not have to curtail the normal
articles of food. There is enough food for all of us and
enough left over to send to those who are fighting on the
same side with us.

There will be a clear and definite shortage of
metals of many kinds for civilian use, for the very good
reason that in our increased program we shall need for war
purposes more than half of that portion of the principal
metals which during the past year have gone into articles

for civilian use. We shall have to give up many things entirely.

I am sure that the people in every part of the nation are prepared in their individual living to win this war. I am sure they will cheerfully help to pay a large part of its financial cost while it goes on. I am sure they will cheerfully give up those material things they are asked to give up.

I am sure that they will retain all those great spiritual things without which we cannot win through.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

In my message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again". In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us

10.20

by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

In these past few years -- and, most violently, in the past ³ days -- we have learned a terrible lesson.

It is our obligation to our dead -- it is our sacred obligation to their children and our children -- that we must never forget what we have learned.

And what we all have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any nation -- or any individual -- in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-girt hemisphere is not immune from severe attack -- that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on any map.

We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed a brilliant fest of deception, perfectly timed and executed with great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed, but we must face the fact that modern warfare as conducted in the Nazi manner is a dirty business. We don't like it -- we didn't want to get in it -- but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got.

I do not think any American has any doubt of our ability to administer proper punishment to the perpetrators of these crimes.

Your government knows that for weeks Germany has been telling Japan that if Japan did not attack the United States, Japan would not share in dividing the spoils with Germany when peace came. She was promised by Germany that if she came in, she would receive the complete and perpetual control of the whole of the Pacific area -- and that means not only the Far East, not only all of the Islands in the Pacific, but also a stranglehold on the west coast of North, Central and South America.

We also know that Germany and Japan are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and nations which are not helping the Axis powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis powers.

That is their simple and obvious grand strategy. That is why the American people must realize that it can be matched only with similar grand strategy. We must realize for example that Japanese successes against the United States in the Pacific are helpful to German operations in Libya; that any German success against the Caucasus is inevitably an assistance to Japan in her operations against the Dutch East Indies; that a German attack against Algiers or Morocco opens the way to a German attack against South America.

10.25

On the other side of the picture, we must learn to know that guerilla warfare against the Germans in Serbia helps us; that a successful Russian offensive against the Germans helps us; and that British successes on land or sea in any part of the world strengthen our hands.

Remember always that Germany and Italy, regardless of any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they consider themselves at war with Britain and Russia. And Germany puts all the other Republics of the Americas into the category of enemies. The people of ^{our Sister Republics of} the Hemisphere can be honored by that.

The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers -- we are builders.

We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children.

We expect to eliminate the danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

~~difficult~~
And in ~~the~~ dark hours of this day -- and through dark days that may be yet to come -- we will know that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. For, in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well -- our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Big reading copy

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BROADCAST FROM THE OVAL ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE,
NATIONALLY, AND OVER A WORLD-WIDE HOOKUP
DECEMBER 9, 1941 -- 10.00 P.M.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

The sudden criminal attacks perpetrated by the Japanese in the Pacific provide the climax of a decade of international immorality.

Powerful and resourceful gangsters have banded together to make war upon the whole human race. Their challenge has now been flung at the United States of America. The Japanese have treacherously violated the longstanding peace between us. Many American soldiers and sailors have been killed by enemy action. American ships have been sunk; American airplanes have been destroyed.

The Congress and the people of the United States have accepted that challenge.

Together with other free peoples, we are now fighting to maintain our right to live among our world neighbors in freedom, (and) in common decency, without fear of assault.

I have prepared the full record of our past relations with Japan, and it will be submitted to the Congress. It begins with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan eighty-eight years ago. It ends with the visit of two Japanese emissaries to the Secretary of State last Sunday, and hour after Japanese forces had loosed their bombs and machine guns against our flag, our forces and our citizens.

I can say with utmost confidence that no Americans today or a thousand years hence, need feel anything but pride in our patience and in our efforts through all the years toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

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defendant's knowledge or intent to commit any offense, although
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honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special envoys in our midst.

The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and in Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is collaboration, actual collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield.

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Later in (1939) '39, Hitler invaded Poland -- without warning.

In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, (Holland) the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg -- without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece -- without warning.

And this year, in 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Jugoslavia and Greece and they dominated the Balkans -- without warning.

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of our American history. We must share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats and the victories -- the changing fortunes of war.

So far, the news has (all) been all bad. We have suffered a serious set-back in Hawaii. Our forces in the Philippines, which include the brave people of that Commonwealth, are taking punishment, but are defending themselves vigorously. The reports from Guam and Wake and Midway Islands are still confused, but we must be prepared for the announcement that all these three outposts have been seized.

The casualty lists of these first few days will undoubtedly be large. I deeply feel the anxiety of all of the families of the men in our armed forces and the relatives of people in cities which have been bombed. I can only give them my solemn promise that they will get news just as quickly as possible.

This Government will put its trust in the stamina of the American people, and will give the facts to the public just as soon as two conditions have been fulfilled: first, that the information has been definitely and officially confirmed; and, second, that the release of the information at the time it is received will not prove valuable to the enemy directly or indirectly.

Most earnestly I urge my countrymen to reject all rumors. These ugly little hints of complete disaster fly thick and fast in wartime. They have to be examined and appraised.

As an example, I can tell you frankly that until further surveys are made, I have not sufficient information to state the exact damage which has been done to our naval vessels at Pearl Harbor. Admittedly the damage is serious. But no one can say how serious, until we know how much of this damage can be repaired and how quickly the necessary repairs can be made.

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and shells and equipment -- that is what these eighteen months have given us.

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each and every one of these many fields are pulling together with a teamwork that has never before been excelled.

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But there will be a clear and definite shortage of metals (of) for many kinds (for) of civilian use, for the very good reason that in our increased program we shall need for war purposes more than half of that portion of the principal metals which during the past year have gone into articles for civilian use. Yes, we shall have to give up many things entirely.

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In my Message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again". In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

In these past few years -- and, most violently, in the past (few) three days -- we have learned a terrible lesson.

It is our obligation to our dead -- it is our sacred obligation to their children and to our children -- that we must never forget what we have learned.

And what we (all) have learned is this:

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We (also) know (know) also that Germany and Japan are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and nations which are not helping the Axis powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis powers.

That is their simple and obvious grand strategy. And that is why the American people must realize that it can be matched only with similar grand strategy. We must realize for example that Japanese successes against the United States in the Pacific are helpful to German operations in Libya; that any German success against the Caucasus is inevitably an assistance to Japan in her operations against the Dutch East Indies; that a German attack against Algiers or Morocco opens the way to a German attack against South America, and the Canal.

On the other side of the picture, we must learn also to know that guerilla warfare against the Germans in, let us say Serbia or Norway, helps us; that a successful Russian offensive against the Germans helps us; and that British successes on land or sea in any part of the world strengthen our hands.

Remember always that Germany and Italy, regardless of any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they consider themselves at war with Britain (and) or Russia. And Germany puts all the other Republics of the Americas into the same category of enemies. The people of our sister Republics of this (the) Hemisphere can be honored by that fact.

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So we are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the (dark) difficult hours of this day -- (and) through dark days that may be yet to come -- we will know that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. (For) But, in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well -- our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

(2)

~~SECRET~~ - PAGE 1

After Commodore Perry visited Japan in 1856, and that country which had kept itself aloof from the world began to [study and] adopt what we call modern civilization, various outside nations sought to encroach on her integrity. ^{During} ~~Through~~ those ^{early} years the United States used every influence, ^{it could} to protect Japan in her transition stage.

As long as one hundred years ago, the United States stood for the same principle when other nations threatened the integrity of China.

(3)

we pledged ourselves to giving the
Philippine Islands to become a free and
independent nation, and we have made
good that pledge.

At a conference in Washington in 1921 we
joined with China and Japan and six other
~~nations~~ having interests in the Western Pacific
in formulating what is known as the Nine Power
Treaty. This treaty contained pledges to respect
the sovereignty of China and the principle
of equal opportunity for commerce throughout
China.

In the year 1908 the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan concluded an agreement. By it, the two Governments jointly declared that they were determined to support the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry, ~~and industry~~, ~~as all nations in that purpose.~~ It also stated that it was the wish of the two Governments to encourage the ~~free and peaceful development of~~ ~~Hongkong area~~ ~~their countries~~ the Pacific Ocean, and that "the policy of both Countries" ~~was directed to the maintenance of the existing status quo in that region.~~

The United States - fulfilling its treaty - has constantly practised and supported these principles. ~~Japan has practised the same.~~

The next significant step came shortly after the close of the first world war when the nine powers having interests in the Western Pacific met in conference in Washington in 1921. China, Japan and the United States were ~~among them.~~ ~~There~~. One great objective of ~~this conference~~ was the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. This was to be achieved by reduction of armament and ~~equality of treatment~~ by ~~regulation of commerce~~ in the Pacific and Far Eastern areas. ~~Several~~ ~~Treaties and agreements were concluded at that conference.~~

SECOND DRAFT
12-6-41

- 8 -

In 1936 the Government of Japan openly associated itself with Germany, [REDACTED]

The stage was now set for an unlimited campaign of conquest. In July, 1937, feeling themselves ready, the armed forces of Japan opened ~~new~~ large scale military operations against China. Presently her leaders, dropping the mask of hypocrisy, publicly declared their intention to seize and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire region of Eastern Asia, the Western Pacific, and the Southern Pacific. ~~This would make them~~ masters of a region containing almost one-half the population of the earth. It would give them complete control of vast sea lanes and trade routes of importance to the entire world.

The military operations which followed in China flagrantly disregarded American rights. Japanese armed forces killed Americans. They wounded or abused American men, women and children. They sank American vessels. They bombed American hospitals, churches and schools. They destroyed American property, ruined American businesses, ~~destroyed innocent trade~~.

Meanwhile, [brute conquest was also being let loose in Europe and the Mediterranean.]

Hitler and Mussolini had embarked upon a parallel course of un-

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American family of nations in the New World would be a standing challenge to the Axis. The Axis dictators would choose their own time to make it clear that the United States and the New World were included in their ~~plan~~ scheme of destruction.

This they did last year, when Hitler and Mussolini concluded a treaty of alliance with Japan avowedly aimed at the United States. ^PThe strategy of Japan in the Pacific area was a faithful counterpart of that used by Hitler in Europe. Through infiltration, encirclement, and finally armed attack, control was extended over neighboring peoples. Each such acquisition was a new starting point for new aggression.

After this fashion, and pursuing this policy of conquest, first Japan worked her way into and ~~has~~ finally seized Manchuria. ^{But} She invaded ^{China,} and has sought for the past four and one half years, to subjugate ^{her} China. Japanese armed forces passing through the ^{the} South China Sea close to the Philippine Islands, step-by-step invaded and took possession of Indochina. ^{the Japanese are} They are Today extending this conquest into the territory of Thailand ^(C) and seeking the occupation of Malaya and Burma.

To the eastward of the Philippines, Japan extended her threatening activities through the Caroline and Marshall Islands in violation of the mandate under which she received the custody of these

INSERT C - PAGE 8 (continue paragraph)

The Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, Java come next on
time-table; the Japanese list -- and it is probable that further
down the Japanese page we will find the names of
Australia, New Zealand and all the other Islands of
the Pacific, including Hawaii and the great chain
of the Aleutian Islands.

INSERT D

To the eastward of the Philippines, Japan
deliberately violated the mandate under which she had
received the custody of the Caroline, Marshall and
Mariana Islands after the World War, by deliberately
fortifying them and closing them not only to all
commerce but her own, but ~~even~~ forbidding any
^{even} foreigner to visit them.

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~~islands.~~

Japanese spokesman, after their custom, cloaked these conquests with innocent-sounding names. They talked of the "New Order in Eastern Asia"; and then of the "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia". What they meant was the enslavement of every nation which they could bring within their power, and the enrichment -- not of all Asia, not even of the common people of Japan -- but of the war lords who had seized control of the Japanese State. Here too they were following the Nazi pattern. [As their ambitions grew, the Japanese war lords did not hesitate to threaten extension of their conquest to the Philippine Islands, the Dutch East Indies, the British outpost of Singapore, and even Australia and Hawaii.]

By this course of aggression Japan made it necessary for various countries, including our own, to keep in the Pacific in self-defense large armed forces and a vast amount of material which might otherwise have been used against Hitler. That, of course, is exactly what Hitler wanted them to do. The ~~division they created~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~set-up by Hitler's~~ Japanese ally forced peace-loving nations to establish and maintain a huge eastern front ^{in the Pacific.}

United States was to supply Japan as much oil as Japan might require, [the] we

were to suspend all the "freezing" measures which we had applied to Japan,

as we had to the other Axis powers; and [the] United States was to stop all aid and to forego all measures threatening to Japan. Japan, for her to China. It contained no provision for the abandonment of any of Japan's part, proposed to abandon none of her warlike aims.

Such a proposal obviously offered no basis for a peaceful settlement or even for a temporary adjustment. The American Government then presented to

- Two weeks ago - the Japanese Government on November 26 a clear-cut workable plan of settlement

which would provide a legitimate basis for further discussion.

In the midst of these conversations, the Government of the United States learned ~~about possibility of~~ that large new contingents of Japanese

armed forces and masses of equipment were moving into Indochina. *about the*

~~and in November~~ these movements were intensified. Within the past few days

the disposition of Japanese forces and the dispatch of added expeditions

made it clear that under cover of the negotiations Japanese forces were

being mobilized for an attack on unspecified objectives. The operations were

obviously designed not merely to intimidate or assault Thailand but also to

set up bases for later attacks -- ~~southward~~ *westward* against Singapore and northward

against ~~the Burma~~ *But those forces could with equal ease be thrown against the Philippines and the Dutch Indies.*

SECOND DRAFT
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We promptly asked of the Japanese Government a frank
statement ~~as to the intent of its adding to~~ [its forces in Indochina.]

We promptly were given an utterly evasive reply. Simultaneously, ~~the Japanese~~ ^{Ad 10M}
~~from today, down to yesterday,~~
~~the Japanese expeditions went forward with increased~~
~~speed in the way to attack us.~~

I was determined to exhaust every conceivable effort for
peace. With this in mind I addressed, on the evening of December
~~last Saturday, I sent~~
sixth, a personal message to the Emperor of Japan.

~~You are aware of the fact that Japanese armed forces have~~
~~their planes were poised for the~~
~~At that very moment made war attack upon Hawaii and upon the~~
~~Philippines, and that they have now struck -- at many points.~~
^{on Sunday}

The Congress of the United States declared the existence
of a state of war yesterday afternoon.

There is the record of our relations with Japan. No American,
today or a thousand years hence, need ~~have anything but pride~~
ⁱⁿ ~~feel anything but pride~~
pride in our efforts toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which
would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no
honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress
a sense of indignation, resentment and horror at the treachery committed
by the military dictators of Japan under the very shadow of the flag of
peace borne by their special emissaries in our midst.

(1)

INSERT E

While the Empire of Japan seemed to hold out
one hand in friendship, with the other hand that
Empire struck -- struck one peaceful Sunday morning.
Many gallant American men in American uniforms lie
dead and men, women and children of a great and
peaceful American city were mowed down on their
streets and in their homes.

^(part A) The sudden acts of assassination
committed by the Japanese

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

suddenness
The Japanese Threats
against Hawaii and
other American territory
in the Pacific provide
the culmination of a
decade of international
immorality.

(V) 3B

Came from those thousands of
miles of ocean.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

These tragic losses occurred because
our armed forces at Pearl Harbor
were caught off guard. We should waste
no time in trying to blame anyone for that.
We believed we were still at peace - and
we felt that false sense of security
~~which has afflicted so many other~~
~~nations for so long~~. Luckily we have
the strength to rally from this
first, foul blow. We may
acknowledge that ~~we have performed~~
~~your enemies~~ ~~and~~ ~~for a~~
~~million feet of deception~~
perfectly timed and executed
with great skill. It was a
thoroughly dishonorable deed - a
stab in the back - but ~~we must~~
~~face the fact that modern~~
~~warfare is conducted by the~~
Fascist manner is a dirty business.
We do it like it - we didn't want
to get in it - but we are in it
and we're going to fight it with
everything we've got!

(3)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

I don't think any American
has any doubt of our ability
to administer proper punishment
to the perpetrators of those
crimes.

But - let us never for one
moment forget that the true
goal we seek is far above and
beyond the ugly field of battle.
~~We Americans are not destroyers;~~ ~~we fight not~~
~~to crush our enemies but to~~
~~active that which our enemies~~
When we resort to force, as now
we must, we are determined
that this force shall be directed
toward ultimate good rather
than immediate evil. We Americans
are not destroyers; we are builders.

(4)

~~The American people have done the right thing, and the world is safe.~~ Today we are in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children. We expect to eliminate that danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

SECOND DRAFT
12-9-41

The American people, in company with other free peoples throughout the world, are now fighting to maintain their national life. The issue is clear and simple. It is whether peoples have the right to live in peace and liberty, - free from the constant threat of treacherous attack by some brutal military dictatorship.

We are at war to maintain that right. We shall win that war.

When we have done that, we will see to it that no would-be world conqueror shall ever try to inflict this misery on the world again.

Tonight, I want to give you — the people of America and of the world — the record of our relations and negotiations with Japan down to the time when Japan, without cause or warning, while their government was actually talking peace, opened fire.

Believing, as we do, in the freedom of peoples, this nation has steadily stood for the principle of equal treatment and fair dealing with all countries. When there were indications that various nations were inclined to encroach on the integrity of Japan, the United States used its influence against any such encroachment.

One of these was the Nine Power Treaty, which contained pledges to respect the sovereignty of China and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout China. Another was a treaty between the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan providing for limitation of naval armament.

The course of events which have led directly to the present crisis began ten years ago. For it was then -- 1931 -- that Japan undertook on a large scale its policy of conquest in China by commencing its seizure of Manchuria.

The Council and Assembly of the League of Nations endeavored to induce Japan to stop. The United States supported that effort by declaring in 1932 that the United States did not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement brought about by means contrary to the provisions of the Pact of Paris on which we have firmly stood.

The entire world was soon to experience the death-fear of aggression. In 1933 Hitler assumed power in Germany. It promptly became evident that, once re-armed, Germany would undertake a policy of conquest in Europe. Italy had also resolved on a policy of conquest in Africa and in the Mediterranean. It gradually became apparent through the following years that Germany, Italy and Japan had reached an under-

SECOND DRAFT
12-6-41

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In 1936 the Government of Japan openly associated itself with Germany by entering the so-called anti-Comintern Pact.

The stage was now set for an unlimited campaign of conquest. In July, 1937, feeling themselves ready, the armed forces of Japan opened large scale military operations against China. Presently her leaders, dropping the mask of hypocrisy, publicly declared their intention to seize and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire region of Eastern Asia, the Western Pacific, and the Southern Pacific. This would make them masters of a region containing almost one-half the population of the earth. It would give them complete control of vast sea lanes and trade routes of importance to the entire world.

The military operations which followed in China flagrantly disregarded American rights. Japanese armed forces killed Americans. They wounded or abused American men, women and children. They sank American vessels. They bombed American hospitals, churches and schools. They destroyed American property, ruined American business, crippled American trade.

Meanwhile, brute conquest was also being let loose in Europe and the Mediterranean.

Hitler and Mussolini had embarked upon a parallel course of un-

SECRET DRAFT
12-8-41

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limited conquest.

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia - without warning.

In 1936, Hitler occupied Austria - without warning.

In 1939, Hitler, after the Munich Pact, invaded the rest of Czechoslovakia - without warning.

Later in 1939, Hitler invaded Poland - without warning.

In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg - without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece - all without warning.

In 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Yugoslavia and Greece and occupied Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary - all without warning.

In 1941, Hitler invaded his ally Russia - without warning.

And now Japan has attacked us - without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

As the forces of Germany, Italy and Japan increasingly joined their efforts, I was convinced that this combination would ultimately attack the United States -- if it were successful overseas. The very existence of the United States as a great free people, and the free existence of the

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islands.

Japanese spokesmen, after their custom, cloaked these conquests with innocent-sounding names. They talked of the "New Order in Eastern Asia"; and then of the "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia". What they meant was the enslavement of every nation which they could bring within their power, and the enrichment — not of all Asia, not even of the common people of Japan — but of the war lords who had seized control of the Japanese State. Here too they were following the Nazi pattern. As their ambitions grew, the Japanese war lords did not hesitate to threaten extension of their conquest to the Philippine Islands, the Dutch East Indies, the British outpost of Singapore, and even Australia and Hawaii.

By this course of aggression Japan made it necessary for various countries, including our own, to keep in the Pacific in self-defense large armed forces and a vast amount of material which might otherwise have been used against Hitler. That, of course, is exactly what Hitler wanted them to do. The threat set up by Hitler's Japanese ally forced peace-loving nations to establish and maintain a huge eastern front.

- 1D -

It became abundantly clear in 1941 that unless this course of Axis aggression in the Far East were halted, the Pacific area was doomed to experience the same horrors which were making a shambles of Europe. Therefore in an endeavor to end this process by peaceful means, while there seemed still to be a chance, the United States entered into new discussions with Japan.

From March (?) to December conversations have been carried on between the Secretary of State and the President on behalf of the United States, and the Foreign Minister and the Premier of Japan, for the purpose of arriving at some understanding acceptable to both countries.

The Government of the United States throughout these conversations steadfastly supported certain basic principles which should govern international relations -- principles of peace, law and order and fair dealing among nations.

During the course of the conversations, the Japanese Government offered qualified statements of pacific intent. But it became clear as each proposal was explored that Japan did not intend to alter in any way its greedy designs upon the whole Pacific world.

Nor did Japan show any inclination to renounce its unholy alliance with

United States was to supply Japan as much oil as Japan might require; we were to suspend all the "freezing" measures which we had applied to Japan, as we had to the other Axis powers; and the United States was to stop all aid to China. It contained no provision for the abandonment of any of Japan's war-like aims.

Such a proposal obviously offered no basis for a peaceful settlement or even for a temporary adjustment. The American Government then presented to the Japanese Government on November 26 a clear-cut workable plan of settlement which would provide a legitimate basis for further discussion.

In the midst of these conversations, the Government of the United States learned beyond possibility of doubt that large new contingents of Japanese armed forces and masses of equipment were moving into Indochina. Toward the end of November these movements were intensified. Within the past few days the disposition of Japanese forces and the dispatch of added expeditions made it clear that under cover of the negotiations Japanese forces were being mobilized for an attack on unspecified objectives. The operations were obviously designed not merely to intimidate or assault Thailand but also to set up bases for later attacks -- southward against Singapore and northward against the Burma Road.

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Those dictators had learned well the technique of their master in Berlin. In fact they used it even before Hitler came to power. It became a part of the Axis stock in trade -- treachery under protestations of peace and friendship, attack without warning or shred of justification.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

In my message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again". In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

In these past few years -- and, most violently, in the past few days -- we have learned a terrible lesson.

Many brave men have paid with their lives for this lesson. It is our obligation to them -- it is our sacred obligation to our children and our children's children -- that we must never forget what we have learned.

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And what we all have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any nation -- or any individual -- in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-girded hemisphere is not immune from severe attack -- that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on a map. Hawaii was nearly four thousand miles from Japan. Our Navy greatly out-numbered Japan's. Hawaii seemed to be far from the zone of danger.

And then, disguised under a mask of friendship, the enemy struck -- one peaceful Sunday morning -- and a great many gallant and beloved American men were slaughtered before they could have a chance to fire a shot.

We will not eliminate such dangers merely by conquering the Axis powers. We certainly failed to eliminate them when we participated in the conquest of Germany in 1918.

We are not fighting now merely for conquest. We are not fighting to visit vengeance upon the unhappy people of Japan, Germany or Italy. We are fighting for nothing less than a world so ordered

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that all men everywhere shall have the right to live and work in freedom and in dignity and in peace.

The beginnings of this better world have already been made. We have profited by bitter experience. We shall not repeat the tragic mistakes of 1919. We are fighting again for the highest ideals of honor and justice and common decency.

We cannot pretend that ours is an easy task. We have suffered very severe blows in these first days of our participation in the second world war. We are shocked and saddened by our losses, but we are prepared for more losses, for more and more sacrifices by soldiers and civilians alike — all classes and groups of civilians without exception. We are in this war, all of us, and we are going to fight it and win it — all of us, together.

We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the dark hours of this day -- and through dark that may be yet to come -- let us never forget that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us, for we represent their own cause, their own hope for liberty under God.

SECOND DRAFT
12-8-41

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The free peoples -- the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Holland have joined in declaring war upon Japan. The American family of nations has already indicated their wholehearted support.

We, the free peoples, become today a single mighty army resolved to restore the might, the majesty and the dominion of freedom for nations and men throughout the world.

THIRD DRAFT
12-9-41

The sudden acts of assassination committed by the Japanese in the Pacific provide the culmination of a decade of international immorality.

And now the American people, in company with other free peoples throughout the world, are now fighting to maintain their national life. The issue is clear and simple. It is whether peoples have the right to live in peace and liberty, free from the constant threat of attack by powerful and resourceful gangsters.

We are at war to maintain that right. We shall win that war -- and prevent a recurrence of Japanese treachery.

Tonight I want to sketch for you -- the people of America and of the world -- the record of our relations and negotiations with Japan down to the time when, without cause or warning, while their government was actually talking peace, Japan opened fire.

After Commodore Perry visited Japan in 1856, and that country which had kept itself aloof from the world began to adopt what we call modern civilization, various outside nations sought to encroach on her integrity. During those early years the United States used every influence it could to protect Japan in her transition stage.

As long as one hundred years ago, the United States stood for the same principle when other nations threatened the integrity of China.

We plodged ourselves to equip the Philippine Islands to become a free and independent nation, and we have made good that pledge.

At a conference in Washington in 1921 we joined with China and Japan and six other nations having interests in the Western Pacific in formulating what is known as the Nine Power Treaty. This treaty contained pledges to respect the sovereignty of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce throughout China.

The course of events which leading directly to the present crisis began ten years ago. For it was then -- 1931 -- that Japan undertook on a large scale its policy of conquest in China by commencing its seizure of Manchuria which as part of China.

The Council and Assembly of the League of Nations endeavored to induce Japan to stop. The United States supported that effort by declaring in 1932 that it would not recognize any situation brought about by violation of treaties.

The entire world was soon to experience the poisoning fear of aggression. In 1933 Hitler assumed power in Germany. It was evident

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that, once re-armed, Germany would undertake a policy of conquest in Europe. Italy — in the vast pocket of Mussolini — also resolved on a policy of conquest in Africa and in the Mediterranean. Through the following years Germany, Italy and Japan reached an under-

Third draft
12-9-41

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standing to time their acts of aggression to their common advantage -- and to bring about the ultimate enslavement of the rest of the world.

In 1934, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs sent a friendly note to the United States stating that Japan had "no intention whatever to provoke or make trouble with any other power."

But almost immediately the acts of the Japanese Government belied these assurances -- at least so far as China was concerned. The structure of peace set up by the treaties of 1921 was being discarded by Japan. For in December of 1934 the Japanese Government gave notice of its intention to terminate the Naval Treaty of February 6, 1922, which had limited naval armament.

Japan thereafter intensified her rearmament -- to extend her domination over neighboring areas, and destroy the lawful rights and interests in those areas of all other countries, including the United States.

In 1936 the Government of Japan openly associated itself with Germany.

The stage was now set for an unlimited campaign of conquest. In July, 1937, feeling themselves ready, the armed forces of Japan opened new large scale military operations against China. Presently her leaders, dropping the mask of hypocrisy, publicly declared their

intention to seize and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire region of Eastern Asia, the Western Pacific, and the Southern Pacific. They accepted the German thesis that seventy or eighty million Germans were by race, training, ability and might, superior in every way to any other race in Europe -- superior to about four hundred million other human beings in that area. And Japan, through a normal imitative process, announced that the seventy or eighty million Japanese people were also superior to the seven or eight hundred million other inhabitants of the Far East -- nearly all of whom in culture and civilization were infinitely older and more developed than themselves. Their conceit would make them masters of a region containing almost one-half the population of the earth. It would give them complete control of vast sea lanes and trade routes of importance to the entire world.

The military operations which followed in China flagrantly disregarded American rights. Japanese armed forces killed Americans. They wounded or abused American men, women and children. They sank American vessels. They bombed American hospitals, churches and schools/ and missions. They destroyed American property, ruined American commerce. Meanwhile, Hitler and Mussolini had embarked upon a parallel course of unlimited conquest in Europe and the Mediterranean.

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia - without warning.

In 1938, Hitler occupied Austria - without warning.

In 1939, Hitler, after the Munich Pact, invaded the rest of Czecho-Slovakia - without warning.

Later in 1939, Hitler invaded Poland - without warning.

In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg - without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked Franco and later Greece - all without warning.

In 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Jugoslavia and Greece and occupied Roumania, Bulgaria and Hungary - all without warning.

In 1941, Hitler invaded Russia - without warning.

and now Japan has attacked us - without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

As the forces of Germany, Italy and Japan increasingly joined their efforts over these years, I was convinced that this combination would ultimately attack the United States and the Western Hemisphere — if it were successful in all the other continents. The very existence of the United States as a great free people, and the free existence of the

American family of nations in the New World would be a standing challenge to the Axis. The Axis dictators would choose their own time to make it clear that the United States and the New World were included in their scheme of destruction.

This they did last year, when Hitler and Mussolini concluded a treaty of alliance with Japan avowedly aimed at the United States.

The strategy of Japan in the Pacific area was a faithful counterpart of that used by Hitler in Europe. Through infiltration, encirclement, intimidation and finally armed attack, control was extended over neighboring peoples. Each such acquisition was a new starting point for new aggression.

Pursuing this policy of conquest, Japan first worked her way into and finally seized Manchuria. Next she invaded China, and has sought for the past four and one-half years to subjugate her. Passing through the China Sea close to the Philippine Islands, she then invaded and took possession of Indochina. Today the Japanese are extending this conquest into the territory of Thailand -- and seeking the occupation of Malaya and Burma. The Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, Java come next on the Japanese time-table; -- and it is probable that further down the Japanese page we will find the names of Australia, New Zealand and all the other Islands of the Pacific, including Hawaii and the great chain of the Aleutian Islands.

Japanese spokesmen, after their custom, cloaked these conquests with innocent-sounding names. They talked of the "New Order in Eastern Asia"; and then of the "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia". What they meant was the enslavement of every nation which they could bring within their power, and the enrichment — not of all Asia, not even of the common people of Japan — but of the war lords who had seized control of the Japanese State. Here too they were following the Nazi pattern.

By this course of aggression Japan made it necessary for various countries, including our own, to keep in the Pacific in self-defense large armed forces and a vast amount of material which might otherwise have been used against Hitler. That, of course, is exactly what Hitler wanted them to do. The diversion thus created by Hitler's Japanese ally forced the peace-loving nations to establish and maintain a huge front in the Pacific.

By this year of 1941 it had become clear that unless this course of Axis aggression in the Far East were halted, the Pacific area was doomed to experience the same horrors which were devastating Europe. Therefore, in an endeavor to end this process by peaceful means while there seemed still to be a chance, the United States entered into new discussions with Japan.

From March (?) to December conversations were carried on between the United States, and Japan, for the purpose of arriving at some understanding acceptable to both countries.

The Government of the United States throughout these conversations steadfastly advocated certain basic principles which should govern international relations -- principles of peace, law and order and fair dealing among nations.

The Japanese Government repeatedly offered qualified statements of peaceful intentions. But it became clear, as each proposal was explored, that Japan did not intend to alter in any way her greedy designs upon the whole Pacific world.

Although she continually maintained she was promoting only the peace and greater prosperity of East Asia, she continued her brutal assault upon the Chinese people.

Nor did Japan show any inclination to renounce her unholy alliance with Hitlerism.

In July of this year the Japanese Government connived with Hitler to force from the vassal Government of France permission to place Japanese armed forces in southern Indochina, and began sending her troops and equipment into that area.

The conversations between this Government and the Japanese Government were thereupon suspended.

But during the following month, at the urgent and insistent request of the Japanese Government, which again made emphatic profession of peaceful intent, the conversations were resumed. Several formulas were offered and discussed. But the Japanese Government continued upon its course of war and conquest.

Finally, on November 20, 1941, the Japanese Government presented a new proposal. The plan they offered was very simple, to say the least: The United States was to supply Japan as much oil as she might require; the United States was to stop all aid to China and to forego all measures displeasing to Japan. Japan, for her part, proposed to abandon none of her warlike aims.

Such a proposal obviously offered no basis for a peaceful settlement or even for a temporary adjustment. The American Government then presented to the Japanese Government on November 26 -- two weeks ago -- a clear-cut workable plan of settlement which would provide a legitimate basis for further discussion.

In the midst of these conversations, we learned that large new contingents of Japanese armed forces and masses of equipment were moving into Indochina. A week ago these movements were intensified.

Within the past few days the disposition of Japanese forces and the dispatch of added expeditions made it clear that, under cover of the negotiations, these forces were being mobilized for an attack on unspecified objectives. The operations were obviously designed not merely to intimidate or assault Thailand but also to set up bases for later attacks -- westward against Singapore and northward against Burma. But these forces could with equal ease be thrown against the Philippines and the Dutch Indies.

We promptly asked of the Japanese Government a frank statement of the reason for increasing its forces in Indochina. We were given an evasive reply. As we know today to our sorrow, Japanese expeditions were on the way to attack us.

I was determined to exhaust every conceivable effort for peace. With this in mind on the evening of December sixth,⁷ last, Saturday, I sent a personal message to the Emperor of Japan.

At that very moment their planes were poised for the attack upon Hawaii and upon the Philippines. They struck on Sunday -- at many points.

The Congress of the United States declared the existence of a state of war yesterday afternoon.

There is the record of our relations with Japan. No American, today or a thousand years hence, need feel anything but pride in our efforts toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation, resentment and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special emissaries in our midst.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

In my message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again." In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

In these past few years — and, most violently, in the past few days — we have learned a terrible lesson.

Many brave men have paid with their lives for this lesson. It is our obligation to them — it is our sacred obligation to our

children and our children's children — that we must never forget what we have learned.

And what we all have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any nation -- or any individual — in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-gird hemisphere is not immune from severe attack — that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on any map.

While the Empire of Japan seemed to hold out one hand in friendship, with the other hand that Empire struck — struck one peaceful Sunday morning. Many gallant American men in American uniforms lie dead; and men, women and children of a great and peaceful American city were mowed down on their streets and in their homes.

These tragic losses occurred because our armed forces at Pearl Harbor were caught off guard. We should waste no time in trying to blame anyone for that. We believed we were still at peace — and we felt that false sense of security which came from those thousands of miles of ocean. Luckily, we have the strength to rally from this first, foul blow. We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed

a brilliant feat of deception, perfectly timed and executed with great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed — a stab in the back — but we must face the fact that modern warfare as conducted in the Fascist manner is a dirty business. We don't like it — we didn't want to get in it — but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got.

I do not think any American has any doubt of our ability to administer proper punishment to the perpetrators of these crimes.

But — let us never for one moment forget that the true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good rather than immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers; we are builders.

We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children. We expect to eliminate that danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

We cannot pretend that ours is an easy task. We have suffered very severe blows in these first days of our participation in the second world war. We are shocked and saddened by our losses, but we are prepared for more losses, for more and more sacrifices by soldiers and civilians alike — all classes and groups of civilians without exception. We are in this war, all of us, and we are going to fight it and win it — all of us, together.

We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the dark hours of this day — and through dark days that may be yet to come — let us never forget that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us, for in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well — our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

* * * * *

I can say with utmost confidence that no Americans today
or a thousand years hence, need feel anything but pride in our ef-
Patience m/ 30,
forts toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair
and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no honest per-
son, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a
sense of indignation, resentment and horror at the treachery com-
mitted by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of
the flag of peace borne by their special emissaries in our midst.

The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years
in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe
and Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is
collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the
world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists
as one gigantic battlefield.

In 1931, Japan invaded Manchukuo -- without warning.

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia -- without warning.

In 1938, Hitler occupied Austria -- without warning.

In 1939, Hitler, after the Munich Pact, invaded the rest
of Czecho-Slovakia -- without warning.

Later in 1939, Hitler invaded Poland -- without warning.

In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg -- without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece -- all without warning.

In 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Jugoslavia and Greece and occupied Roumania, Bulgaria and Hungary -- all without warning.

In 1941, Hitler invaded Russia -- without warning.

Malaya and Thailand — and us —
And now Japan has attacked ~~us~~ — without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

We are now in this war. We are all in it -- all the way.

We are partners in the most tremendous undertaking of our American history. And, as partners, all of us are entitled to the fullest possible information of what is happening on distant battlefronts and on the home front as well. We must share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats and the victories -- the changing fortunes of war.

*which includes the
defending themselves ~~we~~ vigorously,
take ~~the~~ punishment, but are now striking back. The reports*

So far, the news has all been bad. We have suffered a serious set-back in Hawaii. Our forces in the Philippines ~~were~~ are taking punishment, but are now striking back. The reports

SUBSTITUTE DRAFT

- 6 -

~~Give us no place on this~~

A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France,
~~first~~
when the whole world realized the mechanized might which the Axis
¹
nations had been building for so many years. America has used that
year and a half to great advantage. With foresight that the attack
~~might~~
~~should reach us in all too short a time, we began immediately ~~imperial~~~~
~~yesterday to~~
~~utilize~~ the industrial strength and capacity of this country to
meet the demands of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of
our war material to the few nations of the world still able to
resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth
that the defense of any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the
long run the defense of our own country. That policy has been
justified. It has ~~helped to keep aggression away from our continent~~
~~gained us~~
~~for those long months giving us time, invaluable time to start~~
¹
our American assembly lines of production.

Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being
rushed to completion. A steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns
and ships, of shells and equipment -- today and yesterday and
tomorrow -- that is what these eighteen months have given us.

SUBSTITUTE DRAFT

- 7 -

But it is all only a beginning of what has to be done.

We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bandits.

The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points

in both oceans and along both our coast lines. It will not only be

a long war, it will be a hard war. That is the basis on which we

lay all our plans. That is the yardstick of what we shall need

and demand: money, materials, doubled and quadrupled production,

ever-increasing. The production must be not only for our own army

and navy and air forces. It must help the other armies and navies

and air forces fighting Hitler and Mussolini and Japan throughout
and the American Army

the world.

C. ~~Over the hard road of *past* months, we have met obstacles~~

and difficulties, divisions and disputes, indifference and callous-

~~ness. That is now all past -- and I am sure, forgotten.~~

D. ~~On the road ahead there lies hard work -- gruelling work --~~
~~day and night, every hour and every minute. There lies sacrifice --~~
~~sacrifice for all of us -- industry and labor, farmer and shop keeper,~~
~~soldier and sailor. We shall all have to do without many things. For~~
~~everything must be subordinated to the war effort -- everything.~~

children and ~~our~~ ~~children's~~ ~~children~~ — that we must never forget what we have learned.

And what we all have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any nation -- or any individual -- in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-gird hemisphere is not immune from severe attack -- that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on any map.

~~While the Empire of Japan seemed to hold out one hand in friendship, with the other hand that Empire struck — struck one peaceful Sunday morning. Many gallant American men in American uniforms lie dead; and men, women and children of a great and peaceful American city were mowed down on their streets and in their homes.~~

~~These tragic losses occurred because our armed forces at Pearl Harbor were caught off guard. We should waste no time in trying to blame anyone for that. We believed we were still at peace — and we felt that false sense of security which came from those thousands of miles of ocean. Luckily, we have the strength to rally from this first, real blow. We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed~~

a brilliant feat of deception, perfectly timed and executed with great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed, ~~which is now back~~, but we must face the fact that modern warfare as conducted in the Fascist manner is a dirty business. We don't like it — we didn't want to get in it -- but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got.

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We cannot pretend that ours is an easy task. We have suffered very severe blows in these first days of our participation in the second world war. We are shocked and saddened by our losses, but we are prepared for more losses, for more and more sacrifices by soldiers and civilians alike -- all classes and groups of civilians without exception. We are in this war, all of us, and we are going to fight it and win it -- all of us, together.

We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the dark hours of this day -- and through dark days that may be yet to come -- let us never forget that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us, for in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well -- our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

* * * * *

The sudden criminal attacks perpetrated by the Japanese in the Pacific provide the ^{climax} ~~culmination~~ of a decade of international immorality.

Powerful and resourceful gangsters have banded together to make war upon the whole human race. Their challenge has now been flung at the United States of America. ^{The Japanese have} ~~We have~~ ^{that} ~~treacherously violated the~~ ~~been treacherously attacked in the midst of a~~ longstanding peace between us. Many American soldiers and sailors have been killed by enemy action. American ships have been sunk, American airplanes have been destroyed.

The Congress and the people of the United States ^{that} have accepted the challenge.

Together with other free peoples, we are now fighting to maintain our right to live among our world neighbors in ~~peace and~~ freedom and common decency without fear of assault.

I have prepared the full record of our relations with Japan, and it will be submitted to the Congress. It begins ^{last} ~~eight~~ with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan eighty-five years ago.

It ends with the visit of two Japanese emissaries to the Secretary of State last Sunday, an hour after Japanese forces had loosed their bombs and machine guns against our flag, our forces and our citizens ~~on the Island of Oahu.~~

I can say with utmost confidence that no Americans today or a thousand years hence, need feel anything but pride ^{through all the years} in our patience and our efforts toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation, ~~resentment~~ and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special ~~envoys~~ ^{envoys} in our midst.

The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield.

In 1931, Japan invaded Manchukuo -- without warning.

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia -- without warning.

In 1936, Hitler occupied Austria -- without warning.

In 1939, Hitler, ~~having gained the support of Germany,~~ ~~[written the Munich Pact]~~, invaded the-

~~rest of~~ Czecho-Slovakia -- without warning.

Later in 1939, Hitler invaded Poland -- without warning.

In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, Holland,
Belgium and Luxembourg -- without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece -- ~~in~~
without warning.

In 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Jugoslavia and Greece
~~They eliminated the Balkans~~
and occupied Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary -- ~~in~~ without warning.

In 1941, Hitler invaded Russia -- without warning.

And now Japan has attacked Malaya and Thailand -- and
~~the United States~~ —
~~us~~ without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

We are now in this war. We are all in it, -- all the
~~Every single man woman and child is on~~
way. ~~we~~ partner, in the most tremendous undertaking of our
American history. ~~And, as partners, all of us are entitled to~~
~~the fullest possible information of what is happening on distant~~

~~Battlefronts and on the home front as well.~~ We must share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats and the victories -- the changing fortunes of war.

So far, the news has all been bad. We have suffered a serious set-back in Hawaii. Our forces in the Philippines, which include the brave people of that Commonwealth, are taking punishment, but are defending themselves vigorously. The reports from Guam and Wake and Midway Islands are still confused, but we must be prepared for the announcement that all these ~~outposts~~ ^{three outposts} have been seized..

The casualty lists of these first few days will undoubtedly be large. I deeply feel the anxiety of all families of men in our armed forces and the relatives of people in cities which have been bombed. ^{I can only give them my solemn promise that} They will get news just as quickly as possible. Right now we are engaged in the major task of mobilization of our strength all the way from San Francisco to Manila. Until we are fully ready to STRIKE back powerfully, we must receive reports of reverses with fortitude and calmness.

P/1 Jun P. 7 Most earnestly I urge my countrymen to reject all rumors. These ugly little hints of complete disaster fly

They have to be examined and appraised.

~~and disposed.~~

thick and fast in war-time. As an example, I can tell you frankly that until further surveys are made I have not sufficient information to state the exact damage which has been done to our naval vessels at Pearl Harbor. [It would be a deception, for instance, to announce that a battleship had been sunk if, as a matter of fact, that ship were aground in shallow water and could be repaired and placed again in active service. The clear implication of the word "sunk" means to the average citizen that the ship has disappeared beneath the waters, and must be considered a total permanent loss.]

[As another instance of the wrong way to go about the conduct of this war, I cite the case of some people who have demanded punishment for Army and Navy Officers, ^{The} ~~on the~~ ^{stated} Island of Oahu. Americans as a whole are accustomed to getting facts before they try people. Very careful investigations are, of course, under way at this moment. The American people do not convict sight unseen. Let us reserve judgment until all the facts are in. We can rest assured, however, that we can retain all confidence in the courage of our Army and Navy.]

(A) ←

(B) ←

I ask particularly that the public do not accept statements in certain vehicles of news dissemination. I cite as another example the statement made on Sunday night that a Japanese carrier had been located and sunk off the Canal Zone. And when you hear statements that are attributed to what they call "an authoritative source", you can be reasonably sure that under these war circumstances the "authoritative source" was not any person in authority.

Many reports originate with enemy sources. For instance, today the Japanese are claiming that as a result of their one action against Hawaii they have gained naval supremacy in the Pacific. This is ^{and} a trick of propaganda which has been used innumerable times by the Nazis. The purpose of such fantastic claims ^{as}, of course, to goad us into revealing military information which they ~~want to~~ ^{will not} obtain. ^{spread forward.} ^{Loyalty among us,} ^{and to}

Our government ~~is not going to~~ will not be caught in this obvious trap -- and neither will our people.

It must be remembered by each and every one of us ^{and rapid} ~~that our powers of free communication~~ ^{will be} greatly restricted in war-time. It is not possible to receive full, speedy, accurate reports from distant areas of combat. This is particularly true where naval operations are concerned ^{For} ~~since~~ in these days of the marvels of radio it is often impossible for the Commanders of various units ~~for hours, days and sometimes even weeks~~ to report their activities ~~on, at times, their positions~~ by radio for the very simple reason that this information ~~is rapidly~~ ^{would become} available to the enemy, and would disclose their position and their plan of defense or attack.

7½

~~INSERT C~~ ~~RECORDED~~ ~~SEARCHED~~

To all newspapers and radio stations -- all those who reach the eyes and ears of the American people -- I say this: you have a most grave responsibility to the nation now and for the duration of this war.

If you feel that your government is not disclosing enough of the truth, you have every right to say so. But -- in the absence of all the facts, as revealed by official sources -- you have no right to deal out unconfirmed reports *in such a way as to mislead people & thereby make them believe they were gospel truth.*

Every citizen, in every walk of life, shares this same responsibility. The lives of our soldiers and sailors -- the whole future of our nation -- depend upon the manner in which each and every one of us meets the demands of this war.

DRAFT #5

-8-

Now a word about the recent past - and the future.
A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France, when the whole world first realized the mechanized might which the Axis nations had been building for so many years. America has used that year and a half to great advantage. ~~With foresight~~ ^{Knowing}, that the attack might reach us in all too short a time, we began immediately greatly to increase the industrial strength and capacity of this country to meet the demands of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of our war material to the ~~free~~ nations of the world still able to resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth that the defense of any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country. That policy has been justified. It has given us time, invaluable time, to ~~attack~~ ^{build} our American assembly lines of production.

Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being rushed to completion. A steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns and ships, of shells and equipment -- ~~yesterday~~ ^{today} ~~and yesterday had tomorrow~~ -- that is what these eighteen months have given us.

But it is all only a beginning of what has to be done. We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bandits. The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points in both oceans and along both our coast lines and against all the rest of the Hemisphere. It will not only be a long war, it will be a hard war. That is the basis on which we lay all our plans. That is the yardstick by which we measure what we shall need and demand; money, materials, doubled and quadrupled production ever-increasing. The production must be not only for our own army and navy and air forces. It must ~~help~~ ^{inforce} the other armies and navies and air forces fighting ~~Hitler and Mussolini and Japan and the~~ ^{The Nazis and the war lords of} throughout the Americas and the world.

I have been working today on the subject of production. ~~Your government has~~ We have decided on two broad policies.

The first is to speed up all existing production by working on a seven day week basis in every ~~defensive~~ war industry, including the ~~speeding up of the~~ production of essential raw materials.

The second policy, now being put into form, is to ~~rush~~
~~additions~~
~~add to the capacity of production by building more new plants~~
~~and by adding ~~capacity~~ to old plants, and by using the many~~
~~smaller plants for war needs.~~ Over the hard road of past months, we have met
obstacles and difficulties, divisions and disputes,
indifference and callousness. That is now all past --
and, I am sure, forgotten. ✓

The fact is that the country has an organization
in Washington built around men and women who are recognized
experts in their own fields. In such a vast organization
there may be a small minority of people, far down the
line, who are disgruntled or who are professional trouble-
makers. ~~But~~ I think the country knows that the people
who are actually responsible in each and every one of
these many fields are putting together with a teamwork
that has never before been excelled.

On the road ahead there lies hard work --
gruelling work -- day and night, every hour and every
minute.

DRAFT # 5

-11-

I was about to ^{add} say that ^{ahead} there lies sacrifice for all of us.

But it is not correct to use that word. ~~It~~ is not consider it sacrifice to do all one can, to give one's best ^{our} to ~~the~~ nation, when the nation is fighting for its existence and its future life. It is not a sacrifice for any man, old or young, to be in the Army or the Navy of the United States. Rather is it a privilege.

^{the industrialist or the wage-earner,}
It is not a sacrifice for ^{industry and labor,} ^{the farmer or shopkeeper, the} ^{pay more taxes, to buy more}
^{land, to} ^{forgo extra profits, to}
the trainman or doctor, to work longer or harder at the task for which he is best fitted. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice to do without many things to which we are accustomed if the national defense calls for doing without.

A review this morning leads me to the conclusion that at present we shall not have to curtail the normal articles of food. There is enough food for all of us and enough left over to send to those who are fighting on the same side with us.

There will be a clear and definite shortage of metals of many kinds for civilian use, for the very good reason that in our increased program we shall need for war ~~more than~~ purposes ~~at least~~ half of that portion of the principal metals which during the past year have gone into articles for civilian use, ~~and not into defense purposes.~~ ^{We shall know to give up many things entirely.} From now on we need first to increase their production and, second, to turn over a very much greater part to munitions of all kinds.

Am sure
I ~~know~~ that the people in every part of the nation are prepared in their individual living to win this war. I ~~know~~ they will cheerfully help to pay a large part of its financial cost while it goes on. I ^{am sure} ~~assume~~ they will cheerfully give up those material things they are asked to give up.

Am sure
I ~~know~~ that they will retain all those great spiritual things without ~~shame~~ which we cannot win through.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

In my message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again". In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

In these past few years -- and, most violently, in the past few days -- we have learned a terrible lesson.

It is our obligation to our dead -- it is our sacred obligation to their children and our children -- that we must never forget what we have learned.

And what we all have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any nation -- or any individual -- in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-girt hemisphere is not immune from severe attack -- that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on any map.

We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed a brilliant feat of deception, perfectly timed and executed with great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed, but we must face the fact that modern warfare as conducted in the ~~Nazi~~ ^{German} manner is a dirty business. We don't like it -- we didn't want to get in it -- but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got.

I do not think any American~~s~~ has any doubt of our ability to administer proper punishment to the perpetrators of these crimes.

You Ladrones I Know

~~We know from unimpeachable sources that for weeks~~

Germany has been telling Japan that if Japan did not attack the United States, Japan would not share in dividing the spoils with Germany when peace came. She was promised by Germany that if she came in she would receive the complete and perpetual control of the whole of the Pacific area -- and that means not only the Far East, not only all of the Islands in the Pacific, but also a stranglehold on the West Coast of North, Central and South America.

We also know ~~from unimpeachable sources~~ that the tripartite nations are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and nations which are not helping the Axis powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis powers.

That is their simple and obvious grand strategy. That is why the American people must realize that it can be matched only with similar grand strategy. We must realize for example that Japanese successes against the United States in the Pacific are helpful to German operations in Libya; that any German success against the Caucasus is inevitably an assistance to Japan in her operations against the Dutch East Indies; that a German ~~and Italian~~ attack against Algiers or Morocco opens the way to a German ~~and Italian~~ attack against South America.

On the other side of the picture, we must learn to know that guerilla warfare against the Germans in Serbia helps us; that a successful Russian offensive against the Germans helps us; and that British successes on land or sea in any part of the world strengthen our hands.

Remember always that Germany and Italy, regardless of any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they

consider themselves at war with Britain and Russia. *and Germany puts all the other Republics of the Americas into the category of enemies.* But let us never for one moment forget that the true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate *as will as against* good ~~neutrality~~ immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers — we are builders.

We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children. We expect to eliminate that danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the dark hours of this day -- and through dark days that may be yet to come -- let us never forget that

the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us, for in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well -- our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

Most earnestly I urge my countrymen to reject all rumors. These ugly little hints of complete disaster fly thick and fast in war-time. They have to be examined and appraised.

As an example, I can tell you frankly that until further surveys are made, I have not sufficient information to state the exact damage which has been done to our naval vessels at Pearl Harbor. Admittedly the damage is serious. But no one can say how serious until we know how much of this damage can be repaired and how quickly the necessary repairs can be made.

~~I ask particularly that the public do not accept statements in certain vehicles of news dissemination.~~

PJ cite as another example ~~the~~ statement made on Sunday night that a Japanese carrier had been located and sunk off the Canal Zone. And when you hear statements that are attributed to what they call "an authoritative source",

Every citizen, in every walk of life, shares this
same responsibility. The lives of our soldiers and sailors --

✓ the whole future of ~~our~~ nation -- depend upon the manner in
his
which each and every one of us ~~履行 his obligation to our country.~~

Now abroad about the recent past -- and the future.

A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France,

✓ when the whole world first realized *the* mechanized might
which the Axis nations had been building for so many years.

America has used that year and a half to great advantage.

Knowing that the attack might reach us in all too short a

✓ time, we immediately began greatly to increase *the* industrial
✓ strength and capacity ~~our~~ ^{of our} to meet the demands
of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities
of our war material to the nations of the world still able
to resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the
fundamental truth that the defense of any country resisting
Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country.

Germany and Japan

✓ We also know that ~~the~~ ^{Germany and Japan} are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and nations which are not helping the Axis powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis powers.

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Remember always that Germany and Italy, regardless of any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they consider themselves at war with Britain and Russia. And Germany puts all the other Republics of the Americas into the category of enemies. The people of the Hemisphere can be honored by that.

~~But we fight now for our country's safety that the~~
true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers -- we are builders.

We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children.

✓ We expect to eliminate ~~most~~ danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the dark hours of this day -- and through dark days that may be yet to come -- ~~we will know~~ that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. For, in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well -- our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 9, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR JUDGE ROSENMAN:

In 1852, Commodore (correct) Matthew Calbraith Perry was intrusted by President Fillmore with a letter to the ruler of Japan for the purpose of establishing diplomatic and trade relations. Commodore Perry was given command of a squadron, which reached Japan in July 1853, when he delivered President Fillmore's letter. Commodore Perry returned to Japan early in 1854 and concluded the treaty. Authority: The Americana.

W.D.H.
3
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

M E M O R A N D U M

December 9, 1941

TO: JUDGE ROSENMAN
FROM: MR. LUBIN
SUBJECT: LAST MINUTE SUGGESTION

Archie MacLeish just made the suggestion that the following ideas might go well in the President's speech tonight:

- (1) The Japanese attack aimed at putting us out of commission in the Pacific. It absolutely failed. The reason for its failure is the strength of this country and its armament preparations during the past 18 months.
- (2) Even though our losses in the Pacific were very great, they are insignificant when compared to the total productive capacity of this country. Such losses might have proven fatal to a country less strong and less powerful. Our tremendous facilities and our united effort will make it possible to offset these losses within a relatively short period of time. (This is true, of course, of airplanes and certain types of ships. It is not true of battleships because of the long time required to produce them.)

Bob
Please read

OFFICE OF FACTS AND FIGURES

WASHINGTON

h

December 9, 1941

THE DIRECTOR

Dear Bob:

I don't know if this could be of use to you or not, but on the chance that it may be, here it is:

The American people at the moment are fighting mad. That temper requires action to endure or to create positive political and military strength. Let's assume that offensive action on our part is now unlikely in the near future. A combination of rage and inability to hit back is one of the notorious combinations which produce frustration and defeatism.

What we have to do then is to give the country a substitute for offensive action. The country has lost its cake (the belief that it could push Japan over in two weeks) and we are unable to give it bread in the form of a counter stroke. Therefore we have to give it something to bite on and bite hard.

One of the things the American people believe in is the ability of Americans, once they are aroused, to fight like hell. Let's remind them that our navy, whatever may have happened at Pearl Harbor, is manned by American youngsters - maybe the best American youngsters, by and large. Let's assure them - and let's give them the President's assurance in explicit terms - that the American navy, if it was caught napping once, won't be caught napping again; that isn't the way with Americans. Let's suggest to them that if the American people fighting mad can lick the world, then the American navy is part of the American people and the personification of the American people.

Second, let's point out to them that what happened at Pearl Harbor was obviously a carefully prepared attack, engineered by all the brains, all the audacity, and all the treachery of the Axis combination and that its purpose was to knock us out of the war at one blow. That was its clear purpose and the only possible explanation of the tremendous risk taken and the vast and complicated paraphernalia of diplomatic conversations and wholesale lies which prepared for it.

Then let's say - Bang! - that the attempt miscarried and that we were not knocked out of the war: far from it.

Then let's make this point.

The Loss we suffered at Pearl Harbor was a heavy loss. For any other country it might have been a disaster. But for this country, with its tremendous productive capacity, it was not a disastrous loss. It was a loss which this country at its present rate of production can make good in a period of time which no other nation in the world could begin to approach - a period of time so short that it can have no real effect upon the outcome of the war. But let's add - and this is perhaps the affirmative usefulness of the presentation - that if we will really put our powers into production we will provide such an answer to the Japanese at Pearl Harbor as will astonish and confound them.

Let's make the point also that with a coastline like ours and with outposts as remote as ours no navy, nor any possible combination of conceivable navies can protect every point. We must expect more such attacks. We must expect raids and destruction and loss of life. But against these risks we have our unshaken confidence in ourselves as a great fighting nation. We have, to support that confidence in ourselves, the greatest and most rapidly available productive capacity in the world.

The Japanese expected to knock us out of the war with one treacherous blow. Instead they have aroused and awakened us as a people. They have enabled us to muster all our resources of heart and body for the greatest productive effort ever made by any nation. And they have written in letters of treachery their own final and inescapable doom.

Obviously, the order of these suggestions is not carefully worked out. The warning of further American losses should undoubtedly come early in any such arrangement. However some of these suggestions may be useful to you. God strengthen you!

Faithfully yours,

Archibald MacLeish
Archibald MacLeish
The Director

Mr. Robert Sherwood
Office of the Coordinator of Information
270 Madison Avenue
New York City

The Japanese attack which destroyed these ships and planes was delivered without warning or declaration of war and at a time when representatives of the Japanese Government were engaged in conversations with the Secretary of State concerning the maintenance of peace.

Our Navy and Army in Hawaii were caught off guard. They failed to foresee, and to prepare themselves against, the attack which was thus delivered.

Like the people of the United States, and like the peoples of all democratic governments in our day, the Army and the Navy failed fully to realize that the world of common decency, of mutual confidence, of faith in the solemn commitments of other nations, has been destroyed by the immorality and arrogance and lust for power of the Axis partners.

The Army and the Navy believed that the security of a Hawaiian Sunday morning could be trusted. They were wrong. In the world in which we live -- the world which Hitler and his partners have created, -- it is no longer possible, as we now know to our cost, to trust the appearances of security and peace in any country.

Even we here, in the Continental United States, can no longer trust the evidence of our own senses, or believe that the peace and security we observe about us, is real. It is indeed all too evident

to us that we must prepare ourselves for every military eventuality.

We may take steps -- we will take steps -- to ~~xxxxxx~~ the correct
failures ~~xxxx~~ the command of our armed forces in their first trial of
of strength. But the future of our effort in this war -- the future, to
speak quite literally and candidly, of this republic, -- depends upon
our ability, as a people, to learn the lesson of Pearl Harbor and to
prepare ourselves physically and spiritually for any eventuality how-
ever unexpected, however seemingly remote: -- to recognize the fact
that we are engaged in actual warfare with a combination of outlaw
powers operating at once in the Atlantic and in the Pacific, whose
object is, by any means of falsehood, violence and betrayal, to
destroy our country and ourselves.

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Information

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Confidence and assurance

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Labor + Industry

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Published in

Foreign Relations of the United States

1941 Vol. IV The Far East

pp. 697-698.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

November 29, 1941

PROPOSED MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE
EMPEROR OF JAPAN

Almost a century ago the President of the United States addressed to the Emperor of Japan a message extending the offer of friendship of the people of the United States to the people of Japan. That offer was accepted, and in the long period of unbroken peace and friendship which has followed, our respective nations, through the virtues of their peoples, ~~the sound character of their respective institutions and national structures~~, and the wisdom of their ~~leaders~~ and rulers -- especially in Japan your illustrious grandfather the Emperor Meiji -- have prospered and ~~risen to a position of being able~~ ^{have} substantially ^{helped} ~~to~~ influence humanity.

Only in situations of extraordinary importance to our two countries need I address to Your Majesty messages on matters of state. I feel I should now so address you because of the deep and far-reaching emergency which appears to be in formation.

Developments are occurring in the Pacific area which threaten to deprive each of our nations and all humanity

humanity of the beneficial influence of the long peace between our two countries. Those developments contain tragic possibilities.

A The history of both our countries affords brilliant examples in which your and my predecessors have, at other times of great crisis, by their enlightened decisions and acts, arrested trends and directed national policies along new and better courses -- thereby bringing blessings to the peoples of both countries and to the peoples of other lands.

Feeling deeply concerned over the present trend of events, I address myself to Your Majesty at this moment in the fervent hope that Your Majesty may, as I am doing, give thought to ways of dispelling the dark clouds which loom over the relations between our two countries and of restoring and maintaining the traditional state of amity wherein both our peoples may contribute to lasting peace and security throughout the Pacific area.

State Dept copy, including revisions,
Published in

Foreign Relations of the United States

1941 Vol. IV The Far East

pp. 723-725.

December 6, 1941.

PROPOSED MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE
EMPEROR OF JAPAN

Almost a century ago the President of the United States addressed to the Emperor of Japan a message extending ~~the~~ An offer of friendship of the people of the United States to the people of Japan. That offer was accepted, and in the long period of unbroken peace and friendship which has followed, our respective nations, through the virtues of their peoples and the wisdom of their rulers have prospered and have substantially helped humanity.

Only in situations of extraordinary importance to our two countries need I address to Your Majesty messages on matters of state. I feel I should now so address you because of the deep and far-reaching emergency which appears to be in formation.

Developments are occurring in the Pacific area which threaten to deprive each of our nations and all humanity of the beneficial influence of the long peace between our two countries. Those developments contain tragic possibilities.

The people of the United States, believing in peace and in the right of nations to live and let live, have eagerly watched the conversations between our two Governments during these past months. We have hoped for a termination of the present conflict between Japan and China. We have hoped that a peace of the Pacific could be consummated in such a way that nationalities of many diverse peoples could exist side by side without fear of invasion; that unbearable burdens of armaments could be lifted for them all; and that all peoples would resume commerce without discrimination against or in favor of any nation.

I am certain that it will be clear to Your Majesty, as it is to me, that in seeking these great objectives both Japan and the United States would agree to eliminate any form of military threat. This seemed essential to the attainment of the high objectives.

More than a year ago Your Majesty's Government concluded an agreement with the Vichy Government by which five or six

thousand Japanese troops were permitted to enter into Northern

~~French~~ Indo-China for the protection of Japanese troops which were
operating against China further north. And this Spring and
Summer the Vichy Government permitted further Japanese
military forces avowedly for the same reason -- protection
against Chinese attack on Indo-China from the north. I think
I am correct in saying that no Chinese attack has been made
^{has been}
upon Indo-China, nor that any ~~is~~ contemplated by the Chinese
Government.

During the past few weeks it has become clear to the
world that very large numbers of Japanese military, naval
and air forces have been sent to southern Indo-China, to
places so far removed from the defense area of northern
Indo-China as to constitute a reasonable doubt on the part
of other nations that this continuing concentration in
southern Indo-China is neither defensive in its character
nor directed against China at all.

Because these continuing concentrations in southern Indo-China have reached such large proportions and because they extend now to the southeast and the southwest corners of that Peninsula, it is only reasonable that the people of the Philippines, of the hundreds of Islands of the East Indies, of Malaya and of Thailand itself are asking themselves whether these forces of Japan are preparing or intending to make attack in one or more of these many directions.

I am sure that Your Majesty will understand that the fear of all these peoples is a legitimate fear in as much as it involves their peace and their national existence.

I am sure that Your Majesty will understand why the people of the United States in such large numbers look askance at the establishment of military, naval and air bases manned and equipped so greatly as to constitute armed forces capable of measures of offense.

It is clear that a continuance of such a situation is unthinkable.

(other information)

None of the peoples whom I have spoken of above can sit
permanently on a ~~log~~ of dynamite.

There is absolutely no thought on the part of the United States of invading Indo-China if every Japanese soldier or sailor were to be withdrawn therefrom.

I think that we can obtain the same assurance from the Governments of the East Indies, the Governments of Malaya and the Government of Thailand. I would even undertake to ask for the same assurance on the part of the Government of China. Thus a withdrawal of the Japanese forces from Indo-China would result in the assurance of peace throughout the whole of the South Pacific area.

I address myself to Your Majesty at this moment in the fervent hope that Your Majesty may, as I am doing, give thought in this definite emergency to ways of dispelling the dark clouds. I am confident that both of us, for the sake of the peoples not only of our own great countries but for the sake of humanity in neighboring territories, have a sacred duty to

restore traditional amity and prevent further death and
destruction in the world.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Address of the
President,

Broadcast from the Oval
Room of the White House,
Nationally, and over a
world-wide hookups.

10 PM - December

9, 1941.

STATEMENTS FILE

Now a word about the recent past -- and the future. A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France, when the whole world first realized the mechanized might which the Axis nations had been building for so many years. America has used that year and a half to great advantage. Knowing that the attack might reach us in all too short a time, we immediately began greatly to increase our industrial strength and our capacity to meet the demands of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of our war material to the nations of the world still able to resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth that the defense of any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country. That policy has been justified. It has given us time, invaluable time, to build our American assembly lines of production.

Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being rushed to completion, a steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns and ships, of shells and equipment -- that is what these eighteen months have given us.

But it is all only a beginning of what has to be done. We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bandits. The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points, ^{still} ~~in both oceans and along both our coast lines and against all the rest of the Hemisphere.~~ ^{points}

It will not only be a long war, it will be a hard war. That is the basis on which we now lay all our plans. That is the yardstick by which we measure what we shall need and demand; money, materials, doubled and quadrupled production -- ever-increasing. The production must be not only for our own army and navy and air forces. It must reinforce the other armies and navies and air forces fighting the Nazis and the war lords of Japan throughout the Americas and the world.

I have been working today on the subject of production. Your government has decided on two broad policies.

The first is to speed up all existing production by working on a seven day week basis in every war industry, including the production of essential raw materials.

The second policy, now being put into form, is to rush additions to the capacity of production by building more new plants, by adding to old plants, and by using the many smaller plants for war needs.

Over the hard road of the past months, we have at times met obstacles and difficulties, divisions and disputes, indifference and callousness. That is now all past -- and, I am sure, forgotten.

The fact is that the country now has an organization in Washington built around men and women who are recognized experts in their own fields. I think the country knows that the people who are actually responsible in each and every one of these many fields are pulling together with a teamwork that has never before been excelled.

On the road ahead there lies hard work -- gruelling work -- day and night, every hour and every minute.

I was about to add that ahead there lies sacrifice for all of us.

But it is not correct to use that word. The United States does not consider it a sacrifice to do all one can, to give one's best to our nation, when the nation is fighting for its existence and its future life.

It is not a sacrifice for any man, old or young, to be in the Army or the Navy of the United States. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice for the industrialist or the wage-earner, the farmer or the shopkeeper, the trainman or the doctor, to pay more taxes, to buy more bonds, to forego extra profits, to work longer or harder at the task for which he is best fitted. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice to do without many things to which we are accustomed if the national defense calls for doing without *it*.

A review this morning leads me to the conclusion that at present we shall not have to curtail the normal use of articles of food. There is enough food for all of us and enough left over to send to those who are fighting on the same side with us.

But there will be a clear and definite shortage of metals, many kinds for civilian use, for the very good reason that in our increased program we shall need for war purposes more than half of that portion of the principal metals which during the past year have gone into articles for civilian use. We shall have to give up many things entirely.

Yes, And I am sure that the people in every part of the nation are prepared in their individual living to win this war. I am sure they will cheerfully help to pay a large part of its financial cost while it goes on. I am sure they will cheerfully give up those material things they are asked to give up.

that And I am sure that they will retain all those great spiritual things without which we cannot win through.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

In my message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again". In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

that In these past few years — and, most violently, in the past few days — we have learned a terrible lesson.

It is our obligation to our dead — it is our sacred obligation to their children and our children — that we must never forget what we have learned.

The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers -- we are builders.

We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children. We expect to eliminate the danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

So We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the ~~difficult~~ hours of this day -- ~~and~~ through dark days that may be yet to come -- we will know that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. ~~For~~, in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well -- our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

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CONF

STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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DECEMBER 9, 1941

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast from the White House, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

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CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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The sudden criminal attacks perpetrated by the Japanese in the Pacific provide the climax of a decade of international immorality.

Powerful and resourceful gangsters have banded together to make war upon the whole human race. Their challenge has now been flung at the United States of America. The Japanese have treacherously violated the longstanding peace between us. Many American soldiers and sailors have been killed by enemy action. American ships have been sunk, American airplanes have been destroyed.

The Congress and the people of the United States have accepted that challenge.

Together with other free peoples, we are now fighting to maintain our right to live among our world neighbors in freedom and in common decency, without fear of assault.

I have prepared the full record of our past relations with Japan, and it will be submitted to the Congress. It begins with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan eighty-eight years ago. It ends with the visit of two Japanese commissioners to the Secretary of State last Sunday, an hour after Japanese forces had loosed their bombs and machine guns against our flag, our forces and our citizens.

I can say with utmost confidence that no Americans today or a thousand years hence, need feel anything but pride in our patience and our efforts through all the years toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special envoys in our midst.

The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and Africa. Today, it ~~has become~~ far more than a parallel. It is collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield.

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In 1931, Japan invaded Manchukuo — without warning.

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia — without warning.

In 1936, Hitler occupied Austria — without warning.

In 1939, Hitler invaded Czecho-Slovakia — without warning.

Later in 1939, Hitler invaded Poland — without warning.

In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, ~~Netherlands~~, Belgium and Luxembourg — without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece — without warning.

In 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Yugoslavia and Greece and they dominated the Balkans — without warning.

In 1941, Hitler invaded Russia — without warning.

And now Japan has attacked Malaya and Thailand — and the United States — without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

We are now in this war. We are all in it — all the way. Every single man, woman and child is a partner in the most tremendous undertaking of our American history. We must share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats and the victories — the changing fortunes of war.

So far, the news has ~~not~~ been bad. We have suffered a serious set-back in Hawaii. Our forces in the Philippines, which include the brave people of that Commonwealth, are taking punishment, but are defending themselves vigorously. The reports from Guam and Wake and Midway Islands are still confused, but we must be prepared for the announcement that all these three outposts have been seized.

The casualty lists of these first few days will undoubtedly be large. I deeply feel the anxiety of all families of the men in our armed forces and the relatives of people in cities which have been bombed. I can only give them my solemn promise that they will get news just as quickly as possible.

This Government will put its trust in the stamina of the American people, and will give the facts to the public as soon as two conditions have been fulfilled: first, that the information has been definitely and officially confirmed; and, second, that the release of the information at the time it is received will not prove valuable to the enemy directly or indirectly.

Now a word about the recent past -- and the future. A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France, when the whole world first realized the mechanized might which the Axis nations had been building for so many years. America has used that year and a half to great advantage. Knowing that the attack might reach us in all too short a time, we immediately began greatly to increase our industrial strength and our capacity to meet the demands of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of our war material to the nations of the world still able to resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth that the defense of any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country. That policy has been justified. It has given us time, invaluable time, to build our American assembly lines of production.

Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being rushed to completion. A steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns and ships, of shells and equipment -- that is what these eighteen months have given us.

But it is all only a beginning of what has to be done. We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bandits. The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points, in both oceans and along both our coast lines and against all the rest of the Hemisphere.

It will not only be a long war, it will be a hard war. That is the basis on which we now lay all our plans. That is the yardstick by which we measure what we shall need and demand; money, materials, doubled and quadrupled production -- ever-increasing. The production must be not only for our own army and navy and air forces. It must reinforce the other armies and navies and air forces fighting the Nazis and the war lords of Japan throughout the Americas and the world.

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Over the hard road of the past months, we have at times met obstacles and difficulties, divisions and disputes, indifference and callousness. That is now all past -- and, I am sure, forgotten.

The fact is that the country now has an organization in Washington built around men and women who are recognized experts in their own fields. I think the country knows that the people who are actually responsible in each and every one of these many fields are pulling together with a teamwork that has never before been excelled.

On the road ahead there lies hard work -- gruelling work -- day and night, every hour and every minute.

I was about to add that ahead there lies sacrifice for all of us.

But it is not correct to use that word. The United States does not consider it a sacrifice to do all one can, to give one's best to our nation, when the nation is fighting for its existence and its future life.

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A review this morning leads me to the conclusion that at present we shall not have to curtail the normal articles of food. There is enough food for all of us and enough left over to send to those who are fighting on the same side with us.

There will be a clear and definite shortage of metals of many kinds for civilian use, for the very good reason that in our increased program we shall need for war purposes more than half of that portion of the principal metals which during the past year have gone into articles for civilian use. We shall have to give up many things entirely.

I am sure that the people in every part of the nation are prepared in their individual living to win this war. I am sure they will cheerfully help to pay a large part of its financial cost while it goes on. I am sure they will cheerfully give up those material things they are asked to give up.

I am sure that they will retain all those great spiritual things without which we cannot win through.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

In my message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again". In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

In these past few years — and, most violently, in the past few days — we have learned a terrible lesson.^A

It is our obligation to our dead — it is our sacred obligation to their children and our children — that we must never forget what we have learned.

And what we ~~will~~ have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any nation -- or any individual -- in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-girt hemisphere is not immune from severe attack -- that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on any map.

We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed a brilliant feat of deception, perfectly timed and executed with great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed, but we must face the fact that modern warfare as conducted in the Nazi manner is a dirty business. We don't like it — we didn't want to get in it — but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got.

I do not think any American has any doubt of our ability to administer proper punishment to the perpetrators of these crimes.

Your government knows that for weeks Germany has been telling Japan that if Japan did not attack the United States, Japan would not share in dividing the spoils with Germany when peace came. She was promised by Germany that if she came in she would receive the complete and perpetual control of the whole of the Pacific area — and that means not only the Far East, ~~not only~~ all of the Islands in the Pacific, but also a stranglehold on the west coast of North, Central and South America.

We ~~also~~ know that Germany and Japan are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and nations which are not helping the Axis powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis powers.

That is their simple and obvious grand strategy. That is why the American people must realize that it can be matched only with similar grand strategy. We must realize for example that Japanese successes against the United States in the Pacific are helpful to German operations in Libya; that any German success against the Caucasus is inevitably an assistance to Japan in her operations against the Dutch East Indies; that a German attack against Algiers or Morocco opens the way to a German attack against South America.

On the other side of the picture, we ~~must~~ learn to know that guerilla warfare against the Germans ~~in Serbia~~ helps us; that a successful Russian offensive against the Germans helps us; and that British successes on land or sea in any part of the world strengthens our hands.

Remember always that Germany and Italy, regardless of any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they consider themselves at war with Britain and Russia. And Germany puts all the other Republics of the Americas into the category of enemies. The people of the Hemisphere can be honored by that.

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The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers -- we are builders.

We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children. We expect to eliminate the danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

✓ We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the dark hours of this day -- and through dark days that may be yet to come -- we will know that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. (For) in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well -- our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

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For the Newsreels

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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DECEMBER 9, 1941

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Secretary to the President

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Powerful and resourceful gangsters have banded together to make war upon the whole human race. Their challenge has now been flung at the United States of America. The Japanese have treacherously violated the longstanding peace between us. Many American soldiers and sailors have been killed by enemy action. American ships have been sunk, American airplanes have been destroyed.

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Together with other free peoples, we are now fighting to maintain our right to live among our world neighbors in freedom and in common decency, without fear of assault.

I have prepared the full record of our past relations with Japan, and it will be submitted to the Congress. It begins with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan eighty-eight years ago. It ends with the visit of two Japanese commissioners to the Secretary of State last Sunday, an hour after Japanese forces had loosed their bombs and machine guns against our flag, our forces and our citizens.

I can say with utmost confidence that no Americans today or a thousand years hence, need feel anything but pride in our patience and our efforts through all the years toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special envoys in our midst.

The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield.

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We are now in this war. We are all in it — all the way. Every single man, woman and child is a partner in the most tremendous undertaking of our American history. We must share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats and the victories — the changing fortunes of war.

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2
This Government will put its trust in the stamina of the American people, and will give the facts to the public as soon as two conditions have been fulfilled; first, that the information has been definitely and officially confirmed; and, second, that the release of the information at the time it is received will not prove valuable to the enemy directly or indirectly.

Now a word about the recent past -- and the future. A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France, when the whole world first realized the mechanized might which the Axis nations had been building for so many years. America has used that year and a half to great advantage. Knowing that the attack might reach us in all too short a time, we immediately began greatly to increase our industrial strength and our capacity to meet the demands of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of our war material to the nations of the world still able to resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth that the defense of any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country. That policy has been justified. It has given us time, invaluable time, to build our American assembly lines of production.

Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being rushed to completion. A steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns and ships, of shells and equipment -- that is what these eighteen months have given us.

But it is all only a beginning of what has to be done. We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bandits. The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points in both oceans and along both our coast lines and against all the rest of the Hemisphere.

It will not only be a long war, it will be a hard war. That is the basis on which we now lay all our plans. That is the yardstick by which we measure what we shall need and demand; money, materials, doubled and quadrupled production -- ever-increasing. The production must be not only for our own army and navy and air forces. It must reinforce the other armies and navies and air forces fighting the Nazis and the war lords of Japan throughout the Americas and the world.

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The first is to speed up all existing production by working on a seven day week basis in every war industry, including the production of essential raw materials.

The second policy, now being put into form, is to rush additions to the capacity of production by building more new plants, by adding to old plants, and by using the many smaller plants for war needs.

Over the hard road of the past months, we have at times met obstacles and difficulties, divisions and disputes, indifference and callousness. That is now all past -- and, I am sure, forgotten.

The fact is that the country now has an organization in Washington built around men and women who are recognized experts in their own fields. I think the country knows that the people who are actually responsible in each and every one of these many fields are pulling together with a teamwork that has never before been excelled.

On the road ahead there lies hard work -- grueling work -- day and night, every hour and every minute.

I was about to add that ahead there lies sacrifice
for all of us.

But it is not correct to use that word. The United States does not consider it a sacrifice to do all one can, to give one's best to our nation, when the nation is fighting for its existence and its future life.

It is not a sacrifice for any man, old or young, to be in the Army or the Navy of the United States. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice for the industrialist or the wage-earner, the farmer or the shopkeeper, the trainman or the doctor, to pay more taxes, to buy more bonds, to forego extra profits, to work longer or harder at the task for which he is best fitted. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice to do without many things to which we are accustomed if the national defense calls for doing without.

A review this morning leads me to the conclusion that at present we shall not have to curtail the normal articles of food. There is enough food for all of us and enough left over to send to those who are fighting on the same side with us.

There will be a clear and definite shortage of metals of many kinds for civilian use, for the very good reason that in our increased program we shall need for war purposes more than half of that portion of the principal metals which during the past year have gone into articles for civilian use. We shall have to give up many things entirely.

I am sure that the people in every part of the nation are prepared in their individual living to win this war. I am sure they will cheerfully help to pay a large part of its financial cost while it goes on. I am sure they will cheerfully give up those material things they are asked to give up.

I am sure that they will retain all those great spiritual things without which we cannot win through.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

In my message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again". In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

STOP

In these past few years — and, most violently, in the past few days — we have learned a terrible lesson.

It is our obligation to our dead — it is our sacred obligation to their children and our children — that we must never forget what we have learned.

And what we all have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any nation -- or any individual -- in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-girt hemisphere is not immune from severe attack -- that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on any map.

We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed a brilliant feat of deception, perfectly timed and executed with great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed, but we must face the fact that modern warfare as conducted in the Nazi manner is a dirty business. We don't like it -- we didn't want to get in it -- but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got.

I do not think any American has any doubt of our ability to administer proper punishment to the perpetrators of these crimes.

Your government knows that for weeks Germany has been telling Japan that if Japan did not attack the United States, Japan would not share in dividing the spoils with Germany when peace came. She was promised by Germany that if she came in she would receive the complete and perpetual control of the whole of the Pacific area -- and that means not only the Far East, not only all of the Islands in the Pacific, but also a stranglehold on the west coast of North, Central and South America.

4
We also know that Germany and Japan are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and nations which are not helping the Axis powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis powers.

That is their simple and obvious grand strategy. That is why the American people must realize that it can be matched only with similar grand strategy. ~~We must realize for example that Japanese successes against the United States in the Pacific are helpful to German operations in Libya; that any German success against the Caucasus is inevitably an assistance to Japan in her operations against the Dutch East Indies; that a German attack against Algeria or Morocco opens the way to a German attack against South America.~~

On the other side of the picture, we must learn to know that guerrilla warfare against the Germans in Serbia helps us; that a successful Russian offensive against the Germans helps us; and that British successes on land or sea in any part of the world strengthen our hands.

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Remember always that Germany and Italy, regardless of any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they consider themselves at war with Britain and Russia. And Germany puts all the other Republics of the Americas into the category of enemies. The people of the Hemisphere can be honored by that.

The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers -- we are builders.

We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children. We expect to eliminate the danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

5

We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the dark hours of this day -- and through dark days that may be yet to come -- we will know that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. For, in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well -- our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

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~~Mr. Williams~~
Mr. Hasgett asks if you will have this
stencil rewritten, embodying the changes made
as the President delivered it last night.

M. Williams

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2103

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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DECEMBER 9, 1941

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast from the White House, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

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STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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Together with other free peoples, we are now fighting to maintain our right to live among our world neighbors in freedom and in common decency, without fear of assault.

I have prepared the full record of our past relations with Japan, and it will be submitted to the Congress. It begins with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan eighty-eight years ago. It ends with the visit of two Japanese commissioners to the Secretary of State last Sunday, an hour after Japanese forces had loosed their bombs and machine guns against our flag, our forces and our citizens.

I can say with utmost confidence that no Americans today or a thousand years hence, need feel anything but pride in our patience and our efforts through all the years toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special envoys in our midst.

The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield.

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The casualty lists of these first few days will undoubtedly be large. I deeply feel the anxiety of all families of the men in our armed forces and the relatives of people in cities which have been bombed. I can only give them my solemn promise that they will get news just as quickly as possible.

This Government will put its trust in the stemming of the American people, and will give the facts to the public ~~just~~ as soon as two conditions have been fulfilled: first, that the information has been definitely and officially confirmed; and, second, that the release of the information at the time it is received will not prove valuable to the enemy directly or indirectly.

Most earnestly I urge my countrymen to reject all rumors. These ugly little hints of complete disaster fly thick and fast in war-time. They have to be examined and appraised.

As an example, I can tell you frankly that until further surveys are made, I have not sufficient information to state the exact damage which has been done to our naval vessels at Pearl Harbor. Admittedly the damage is serious. But no one can say how serious, until we know how much of this damage can be repaired and how quickly the necessary repairs can be made.

I cite as another example a statement made on Sunday night that a Japanese carrier had been located and sunk off the Canal Zone. And when you hear statements that are attributed to what they call "an authoritative source", you can be reasonably sure that under these war circumstances the "authoritative source" ~~was~~ ^{from now on,} not any person in authority.

Many rumors and reports which we now hear originate, ^{of course,} with enemy sources. For instance, today the Japanese are claiming that as a result of their one action against Hawaii they have gained naval supremacy in the Pacific. This is an old trick of propaganda which has been used innumerable times by the Nazis. The purposes of such fantastic claims are, of course, to spread fear and confusion among us, and to gond us into revealing military information which our enemies are desperately anxious to obtain.

Our government will not be caught in this obvious trap -- and neither will the people of the United States.

It must be remembered by each and every one of us that our free and rapid communication must be greatly restricted in war-time. It is not possible to receive full, speedy, accurate reports from distant areas of combat. This is particularly true where naval operations are concerned. For in these days of the marvels of radio it is often impossible for the Commanders of various units to report their activities by radio, for the very simple reason that this information would become available to the enemy, and would disclose their position and their plan of defense or attack.

Of necessity there will be delays in officially confirming or denying reports of operations but we will not hide facts from the country if we know the facts and if the enemy will not be aided by their disclosure.

To all newspapers and radio stations — all those who reach the eyes and ears of the American people — I say this: you have a most grave responsibility to the nation now and for the duration of this war.

If you feel that your government is not disclosing enough of the truth, you have every right to say so. But — in the absence of all the facts, as revealed by official sources — you have no right to deal out unconfirmed reports in such a way as to make people believe they are gospel truth.

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Every citizen, in every walk of life, shares this same responsibility. The lives of our soldiers and sailors — the whole future of this nation — depend upon the manner in which each and every one of us fulfills his obligation to our country.

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DECEMBER 9, 1941

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It must be remembered by each and every one of us that our free and rapid communication must be greatly restricted in war-time. It is not possible to receive full, speedy, accurate reports from distant areas of combat. This is particularly true where naval operations are concerned. For in these days of the marvels of radio it is often impossible for the Commanders of various units to report their activities by radio at all, for the very simple reason that this information would become available to the enemy, and would disclose their position and their plan of defense or attack.

Of necessity there will be delays in officially confirming or denying reports of operations but we will not hide facts from the country if we know the facts and if the enemy will not be aided by their disclosure.

To all newspapers and radio stations — all those who reach the eyes and ears of the American people — I say this: you have a most grave responsibility to the nation now and for the duration of this war.

If you feel that your government is not disclosing enough of the truth, you have every right to say so. But — in the absence of all the facts, as revealed by official sources — you have no right, in the ethics of patriotism, to deal out unconfirmed reports in such a way as to make people believe they are gospel truth.

Every citizen, in every walk of life, shares this same responsibility. The lives of our soldiers and sailors — the whole future of this nation — depend upon the manner in which each and every one of us fulfills his obligation to our country.

Now a word about the recent past -- and the future. A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France, when the whole world first realized the mechanized might which the Axis nations had been building up for so many years. America has used that year and a half to great advantage. Knowing that the attack might reach us in all too short a time, we immediately began greatly to increase our industrial strength and our capacity to meet the demands of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of our war material to the nations of the world still able to resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth that the defense of any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country. That policy has been justified. It has given us time, invaluable time, to build our American assembly lines of production.

Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being rushed to completion. A steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns and ships, of shells and equipment -- that is what these eighteen months have given us.

But it is all only a beginning of what still has to be done. We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bandits. The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points in both oceans and along both our coast lines and against all the rest of the Hemisphere.

It will not only be a long war, it will be a hard war. That is the basis on which we now lay all our plans. That is the yardstick by which we measure what we shall need and demand; money, materials, doubled and quadrupled production -- ever-increasing. The production must be not only for our own army and navy and air forces. It must reinforce the other armies and navies and air forces fighting the Nazis and the war lords of Japan throughout the Americas and the world.

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Over the hard road of the past months, we have at times met obstacles and difficulties, divisions and disputes, indifference and callousness. That is now all past -- and, I am sure, forgotten.

The fact is that the country now has an organization in Washington built around men and women who are recognized experts in their own fields. I think the country knows that the people who are actually responsible in each and every one of these many fields are pulling together with a teamwork that has never before been excelled.

On the road ahead there lies hard work -- gruelling work -- day and night, every hour and every minute,

I was about to add that ahead there lies sacrifice for all of us.

But it is not correct to use that word. The United States does not consider it a sacrifice to do all one can, to give one's best to our nation, when the nation is fighting for its existence and its future life.

It is not a sacrifice for any man, old or young, to be in the Army or the Navy of the United States. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice for the industrialist or the wage-earner, the farmer or the shopkeeper, the trainman or the doctor, to pay more taxes, to buy more bonds, to forego extra profits, to work longer or harder at the task for which he is best fitted. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice to do without many things to which we are accustomed if the national defense calls for doing without.

A review this morning leads me to the conclusion that at present we shall not have to curtail the normal use of articles of food. There is enough food today for all of us and enough left over to send to those who are fighting on the same side with us.

But there will be a clear and definite shortage of metals of many kinds for civilian use, for the very good reason that in our increased program we shall need for war purposes more than half of that portion of the principal metals which during the past year have gone into articles for civilian use. We shall have to give up many things entirely.

I am sure that the people in every part of the nation are prepared in their individual living to win this war. I am sure they will cheerfully help to pay a large part of its financial cost while it goes on. I am sure they will cheerfully give up those material things they are asked to give up.

I am sure that they will retain all those great spiritual things without which we cannot win through.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

In my message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again". In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

In these past few years -- and, most violently, in the past three days -- we have learned a terrible lesson.

It is our obligation to our dead -- it is our sacred obligation to their children and our children -- that we must never forget what we have learned.

And what we have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any nation -- or any individual -- in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-girt hemisphere is not immune from severe attack — that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on any map any more.

We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed a brilliantfeat of deception, perfectly timed and executed with great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed, but we must face the fact that modern warfare as conducted in the Nazi manner is a dirty business. We don't like it -- we didn't want to get in it -- but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got.

I do not think any American has any doubt of our ability to administer proper punishment to the perpetrators of these crimes.

Your government knows that for weeks Germany has been telling Japan that if Japan did not attack the United States, Japan would not share in dividing the spoils with Germany when peace came. She was promised by Germany that if she came in she would receive the complete and perpetual control of the whole of the Pacific area -- and that means not only the Far East, not only all of the Islands in the Pacific, but also a stranglehold on the west coast of North, Central and South America.

We also know that Germany and Japan are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and nations which are not helping the Axis powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis powers.

That is their simple and obvious grand strategy. That is why the American people must realize that it can be matched only with similar grand strategy. We must realize for example that Japanese successes against the United States in the Pacific are helpful to German operations in Libya; that any German success against the Caucasus is inevitably an assistance to Japan in her operations against the Dutch East Indies; that a German attack against Algiers or Morocco opens the way to a German attack against South America, and the Canal.

On the other side of the picture, we must learn to know that guerrilla warfare against the Germans in, let us say, Serbia or Norway, helps us; that a successful Russian offensive against the Germans helps us; and that British successes on land or sea in any part of the world strengthen our hands.

Remember always that Germany and Italy, regardless of any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they consider themselves at war with Britain and Russia. And Germany puts all the other Republics of the Americas into the same category of enemies. The people of our sister Republics of this Hemisphere can be honored by that fact.

The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers -- we are builders.

We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children. We expect to eliminate the danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the difficult hours of this day -- and through dark days that may be yet to come -- we will know that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. For, in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well -- our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

P.P.E.
F

FDR Mr. Fetter

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DECEMBER 9, 1941

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STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

The sudden criminal attacks perpetrated by the Japanese in the Pacific provide the climax of a decade of international immorality.

Powerful and resourceful gangsters have banded together to make war upon the whole human race. Their challenge has now been flung at the United States of America. The Japanese have treacherously violated the longstanding peace between us. Many American soldiers and sailors have been killed by enemy action. American ships have been sunk, American airplanes have been destroyed.

The Congress and the people of the United States have accepted that challenge.

Together with other free peoples, we are now fighting to maintain our right to live among our world neighbors in freedom and in common decency, without fear of assault.

I have prepared the full record of our past relations with Japan, and it will be submitted to the Congress. It begins with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan eighty-eight years ago. It ends with the visit of two Japanese emissaries to the Secretary of State last Sunday, an hour after Japanese forces had loosed their bombs and machine guns against our flag, our forces and our citizens.

I can say with utmost confidence that no Americans today or a thousand years hence, need feel anything but pride in our patience and our efforts through all the years toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special envoys in our midst.

The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield.

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In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece — without warning.

In 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Jugoslavia and Greece and they dominated the Balkans — without warning.

In 1941, Hitler invaded Russia — without warning.

And now Japan has attacked Malaya and Thailand — and the United States — without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

We are now in this war. We are all in it — all the way. Every single man, woman and child is a partner in the most tremendous undertaking of our American history. We must share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats and the victories — the changing fortunes of war.

So far, the news has all been bad. We have suffered a serious set-back in Hawaii. Our forces in the Philippines, which include the brave people of that Commonwealth, are taking punishment, but are defending themselves vigorously. The reports from Guam and Wake and Midway Islands are still confused, but we must be prepared for the announcement that all these three outposts have been seized.

The casualty lists of these first few days will undoubtedly be large. I deeply feel the anxiety of all families of the men in our armed forces and the relatives of people in cities which have been bombed. I can only give them my solemn promise that they will get news just as quickly as possible.

This Government will put its trust in the stamina of the American people, and will give the facts to the public as soon as two conditions have been fulfilled; first, that the information has been definitely and officially confirmed; and, second, that the release of the information at the time it is received will not prove valuable to the enemy directly or indirectly.

Now a word about the recent past -- and the future. A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France, when the whole world first realized the mechanized might which the Axis nations had been building for so many years. America has used that year and a half to great advantage. Knowing that the attack might reach us in all too short a time, we immediately began greatly to increase our industrial strength and our capacity to meet the demands of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of our war material to the nations of the world still able to resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth that the defense of any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country. That policy has been justified. It has given us time, invaluable time, to build our American assembly lines of production.

Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being rushed to completion. A steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns and ships, of shells and equipment -- that is what these eighteen months have given us.

But it is all only a beginning of what has to be done. We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bandits. The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points in both oceans and along both our coast lines and against all the rest of the Hemisphere.

It will not only be a long war, it will be a hard war. That is the basis on which we now lay all our plans. That is the yardstick by which we measure what we shall need and demand; money, materials, doubled and quadrupled production -- ever-increasing. The production must be not only for our own army and navy and air forces. It must reinforce the other armies and navies and air forces fighting the Nazis and the war lords of Japan throughout the Americas and the world.

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Over the hard road of the past months, we have at times met obstacles and difficulties, divisions and disputes, indifference and callousness. That is now all past -- and, I am sure, forgotten.

The fact is that the country now has an organization in Washington built around men and women who are recognized experts in their own fields. I think the country knows that the people who are actually responsible in each and every one of these many fields are pulling together with a teamwork that has never before been excelled.

On the road ahead there lies hard work -- gruelling work -- day and night, every hour and every minute.

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We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed a brilliant feat of deception, perfectly timed and executed with great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed, but we must face the fact that modern warfare as conducted in the Nazi manner is a dirty business. We don't like it -- we didn't want to get in it -- but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got.

I do not think any American has any doubt of our ability to administer proper punishment to the perpetrators of these crimes.

Your government knows that for weeks Germany has been telling Japan that if Japan did not attack the United States, Japan would not share in dividing the spoils with Germany when peace came. She was promised by Germany that if she came in she would receive the complete and perpetual control of the whole of the Pacific area -- and that means not only the Far East, not only all of the Islands in the Pacific, but also a stranglehold on the west coast of North, Central and South America.

We also know that Germany and Japan are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and nations which are not helping the Axis powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis powers.

That is their simple and obvious grand strategy. That is why the American people must realize that it can be matched only with similar grand strategy. We must realize for example that Japanese successes against the United States in the Pacific are helpful to German operations in Libya; that any German success against the Caucasus is inevitably an assistance to Japan in her operations against the Dutch East Indies; that a German attack against Algiers or Morocco opens the way to a German attack against South America.

On the other side of the picture, we must learn to know that guerilla warfare against the Germans in Serbia helps us; that a successful Russian offensive against the Germans helps us; and that British successes on land or sea in any part of the world strengthen our hands.

Remember always that Germany and Italy, regardless of any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they consider themselves at war with Britain and Russia. And Germany puts all the other Republics of the Americas into the category of enemies. The people of the Hemisphere can be honored by that.

The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers -- we are builders.

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And in the dark hours of this day -- and through dark days that may be yet to come -- we will know that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. For, in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well -- our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

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And no honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special envoys in our midst.

The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield.

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Most earnestly I urge my countrymen to reject all rumors. These ugly little hints of complete disaster fly thick and fast in war-times. They have to be examined and appraised.

As an example, I can tell you frankly that until further surveys are made, I have not sufficient information to state the exact damage which has been done to our naval vessels at Pearl Harbor. Admittedly the damage is serious. But no one can say how serious, until we know how much of this damage can be repaired and how quickly the necessary repairs can be made.

I cite as another example a statement made on Sunday night that a Japanese carrier had been located and sunk off the Canal Zone. And when you hear statements that are attributed to what they call "an authoritative source",

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As an example, I can tell you frankly that until further surveys are made, I have not sufficient information to state the exact damage which has been done to our naval vessels at Pearl Harbor. Admittedly the damage is serious. But no one can say how serious, until we know how much of this damage can be repaired and how quickly the necessary repairs can be made.

I cite as another example a statement made on Sunday night that a Japanese carrier had been located and sunk off the Canal Zone. And when you hear statements that are attributed to what they call "an authoritative source", you can be reasonably sure, from now on, that under these war circumstances the "authoritative source" is not any person in authority.

Many rumors and reports which we now hear originate, of course, with enemy sources. For instance, today the Japanese are claiming that as a result of their one action against Hawaii they have gained naval supremacy in the Pacific. This is an old trick of propaganda which has been used innumerable times by the Nazis. The purposes of such fantastic claims are, of course, to spread fear and confusion among us, and to goad us into revealing military information which our enemies are desperately anxious to obtain.

Our government will not be caught in this obvious trap -- and neither will the people of the United States.

It must be remembered by each and every one of us that our free and rapid communication must be greatly restricted in war-time. It is not possible to receive full, speedy, accurate reports from distant areas of combat. This is particularly true where naval operations are concerned. For in these days of the marvels of radio it is often impossible for the Commanders of various units to report their activities by radio at all, for the very simple reason that this information would become available to the enemy, and would disclose their position and their plan of defense or attack.

Of necessity there will be delays in officially confirming or denying reports of operations but we will not hide facts from the country if we know the facts and if the enemy will not be aided by their disclosure.

To all newspapers and radio stations -- all those who reach the eyes and ears of the American people -- I say this: you have a most grave responsibility to the nation now and for the duration of this war.

If you feel that your government is not disclosing enough of the truth, you have every right to say so. But -- in the absence of all the facts, as revealed by official sources -- you have no right, in the ethics of patriotism, to deal out unconfirmed reports in such a way as to make people believe they are gospel truth.

Every citizen, in every walk of life, shares this same responsibility. The lives of our soldiers and sailors -- the whole future of this nation -- depend upon the manner in which each and every one of us fulfills his obligation to our country.

I was about to add that ahead there lies sacrifice for all of us.

But it is not correct to use that word. The United States does not consider it a sacrifice to do all one can, to give one's best to our nation, when the nation is fighting for its existence and its future life.

It is not a sacrifice for any man, old or young, to be in the Army or the Navy of the United States. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice for the industrialist or the wage-earner, the farmer or the shopkeeper, the trainman or the doctor, to pay more taxes, to buy more bonds, to forego extra profits, to work longer or harder at the task for which he is best fitted. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice to do without many things to which we are accustomed if the national defense calls for doing without.

A review this morning leads me to the conclusion that at present we shall not have to curtail the normal use of articles of food. There is enough food today for all of us and enough left over to send to those who are fighting on the same side with us.

But there will be a clear and definite shortage of metals of many kinds for civilian use, for the very good reason that in our increased program we shall need for war purposes more than half of that portion of the principal metals which during the past year have gone into articles for civilian use. We shall have to give up many things entirely.

I am sure that the people in every part of the nation are prepared in their individual living to win this war. I am sure they will cheerfully help to pay a large part of its financial cost while it goes on. I am sure they will cheerfully give up those material things they are asked to give up.

I am sure that they will retain all those great spiritual things without which we cannot win through.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

In my message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again". In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

In these past few years -- and, most violently, in the past three days -- we have learned a terrible lesson,

It is our obligation to our dead -- it is our sacred obligation to their children and our children -- that we must never forget what we have learned.

And what we have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any nation -- or any individual -- in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-girt hemisphere is not immune from severe attack -- that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on any map any more.

We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed a brilliantfeat of deception, perfectly timed and executed with great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed, but we must face the fact that modern warfare as conducted in the Nazi manner is a dirty business. We don't like it -- we didn't want to get in it -- but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got.

I do not think any American has any doubt of our ability to administer proper punishment to the perpetrators of these crimes.

Your government knows that for weeks Germany has been telling Japan that if Japan did not attack the United States, Japan would not share in dividing the spoils with Germany when peace came. She was promised by Germany that if she came in she would receive the complete and perpetual control of the whole of the Pacific area -- and that means not only the Far East, not only all of the Islands in the Pacific, but also a stranglehold on the west coast of North, Central and South America.

We also know that Germany and Japan are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and nations which are not helping the Axis powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis powers.

That is their simple and obvious grand strategy. That is why the American people must realize that it can be matched only with similar grand strategy. We must realize for example that Japanese successes against the United States in the Pacific are helpful to German operations in Libya; that any German success against the Caucasus is inevitably an assistance to Japan in her operations against the Dutch East Indies; that a German attack against Algiers or Morocco opens the way to a German attack against South America, and the Canal.

On the other side of the picture, we must learn to know that guerrilla warfare against the Germans in, let us say, Serbia or Norway, helps us; that a successful Russian offensive against the Germans helps us; and that British successes on land or sea in any part of the world strengthen our hands.

Remember always that Germany and Italy, regardless of any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they consider themselves at war with Britain and Russia. And Germany puts all the other Republics of the Americas into the same category of enemies. The people of our sister Republics of this Hemisphere can be honored by that fact.

The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers — we are builders.

We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children. We expect to eliminate the danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the difficult hours of this day — and through dark days that may be yet to come — we will know that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. For, in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well — our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

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