I still believe, however, as I did when I said on May 
26th last: "We must make sure in all that we do that there 
be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social 
gains which we have made in these past years. ... There 
is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat 
from any of our social objectives — conservation of resources, 
assistance to agriculture, housing, and help to the 
underprivileged".

Our mighty national defense effort against all present 
and potential threats cannot be measured alone in terms of 
mathematical increase in the number of soldiers and sailors, 
or of guns or tanks or planes. Behind them all must stand a 
united people whose spiritual and moral strength has not been 
sapped through hunger or want or fear or insecurity. The 
morale of a people is an essential supplement to their guns 
and planes.

I am convinced that a breakdown of existing labor 
and social legislation would weaken rather than increase our 
efforts for defense. Continuance of them means the 
preservation of the efficiency of labor. It means the 
return to work of several millions still unemployed.

The employment of additional workers and the provisions 
for over-time payments for over-time work will insure 
adequate working hours at decent wages to do all that is 
necessary in physical defense. We will not overlook 
the lesson learned in Europe in past years.

At times, internal obstacles to the growth of labor 
unions have come in those rare instances where the occasional 
scoundrel has appeared in position of leadership. Labor 
unions are not the only organisations which have to suffer 
immodesty for the crimes and misdeeds of one or two of 
their selfish and guilty members. The rule applies to all 
orGANizations, to all trades and professions alike.

I cannot add to the terms of condemnation which your 
President, my old friend Dan Tobin, included in his report 
to your Convention in which he said:

"..... It is indeed pitiful and heart-
breaking and seriously depressing to find 
that amongst our enormous membership, 
composed of clean men, fathers of families, 
Americans of the purest type — to find 
amongst this membership some creatures so 
bereft of decency and honor as to bring 
disgrace upon the International Union".

Labor knows that there is no room in the labor move-
ment for the racketeer or the strong-arm man. Government is 
determined to help labor unions clean their house of those 
 Few persons who have betrayed them.

In this great crisis has come proof that organized 
labor, as well as all other groups of our citizens, is aware 
of its own responsibilities. I have called on representatives 
of labor to serve, and have placed them in responsible 
positions to take part in the defense work of their government. 
From the very start, representatives of labor, including your 
own distinguished President, have shared in formulating and 
administering the program.

I am particularly glad to be able to say that the 
A.F.I., the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods are all 
lovingly cooperating in this effort with the National Defense 
Commission and with the Army and Navy. This cooperation in 
the task of national defense will, I hope, encourage closer 
and more friendly relations between these great labor 
orGANizations.
I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face, patriotically and unselfishly.

In our search for national unity as the basis of national defense, it is necessary and it is fair that every man being in the United States contribute his share. This applies both to those who train in the fighting forces and to the forces of workers behind the lines.

It is equally necessary and fair that every dollar of capital in America also contribute its share. Just as long as we continue to call upon men to train for combat, and for service behind the lines, will we also continue to call upon the industrial plants of the nation for the service which they can give.

Capital and industry as well as labor and agriculture are responding, and I know will continue to respond.

The nation, through its elected representatives, is now adopting the principle of selective universal training of its young men. On the same principle, no reasonable person can object to giving the government the power to acquire the services of any plant or factory for adequate compensation, if the owner refuses to make its services available to the defense needs of the nation. This is nothing new in American life. The principle of eminent domain or eminent use is as old as democratic government itself. It merely permits government to acquire or to use, for a fair and reasonable price, any property which is necessary for its proper functioning.

The overwhelming majority of our munitions and other defense requirements are now manufactured by private enterprise under private management. We continue that process. It is only in the rare, isolated case that the owner of a plant will refuse to deal with his government in a fair way.

But if and when such case does arise, the government cannot stand by, helpless in its efforts to arm and defend itself. No business is above its government; and government should be empowered to deal adequately with any business which tries to rise above its government.

In all of these plans for national defense, only those who seek to play upon the fears of the American people, discover an attempt to lead us into war. The American people will reject that kind of propaganda of fear, as they have rejected similar types which are "occasionally" spread at election time. They know that against the raging forces loose in the world the best defense is the strongest preparedness -- fighting men and equipment in front, and fighting industry and agriculture behind the lines.

Weakness in these days is a cordial invitation to attack. That is no longer theory; it is a proven fact -- proved in the past year.

I hate war now more than ever. I have one supreme determination -- to do all I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand, with my party, upon the platform adopted in Chicago:

"We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack."

Let us have an end to the sort of appeasement which seeks to keep us helpless by playing on fear and by indirect sabotage of all the progress we are making. "Appeasement" is a polite word for misdirected partisanship.
In our efforts for national defense, fine teamwork has been developed -- and you teamsters know what that word "teamwork" means.

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is over, will have consequences of lasting good to the nation as a whole. It will enable us to enjoy an internal security transcending anything heretofore known.

Ours is a great heritage; we are determined with all our effort and might to keep it intact. The workers in the factories, the farmers on the land, and business men in plants and offices are awake to the perils which threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, no political campaign can sway the majority will of our people to make America strong -- and to keep it free.
CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered at Constitution Hall to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters-Chauffeurs-Stablemen and Helpers MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release is for editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:30 P.M., E.S.T., Wednesday, September 11, 1940. The same applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEVEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

MR. ROOS, MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

During the past weeks, in several sections of the East, I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have gone through Navy yards and private yards to watch the building of destroyers, submarines and aircraft carriers; I have visited aviation units to see our modern fighting planes; I have been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most modern guns of all types, swiftly being molded into shape; I have visited camps where young Americans are receiving training and instruction in the tactics of the warfare of today. Through it all there was the impressive conviction that America is rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate physical armed defense of the country.

Tonight in a very real sense, I feel as I stand here that I am visiting another type of national defense, equally important in its own way in meeting the needs of the times. Enduring strength to a nation and staying power in an emergency definitely call for an efficient and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade. And when I speak of a "labor force" I very definitely include those who toll in their fields as well as those who toll in industry. Teamsters will be the first to assert that farmers labor too.

It is one of the characteristics of a free and democratic modern nation that it has free and independent labor unions. In country after country in other lands, labor unions have disappeared as the iron hand of the dictator has taken command. Only in free lands have free labor unions survived. When union workers can assemble with freedom and independence in conventions like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained unimpaired -- and it is symbolic of our determination to keep it free.

Yours is now one of the great international labor unions of America. You can remember, however, other days -- days when labor unions were considered almost unAmerican by some individuals in our land. You can remember when it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who joined a union. You can remember when employers sought to meet threatened strikes by demanding that their government -- federal or state -- call out armed troops. You can remember when many large employers resorted to the un-American practice -- still unfortunately followed in some sections of the country -- of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out members of a union.
The cause of labor has traveled forward since those days, over a road beset with difficulties, both from within its membership and from without. Your own organization is an outstanding example of the progress which has been made. By 1933 your membership had dropped to 70,000. Within the last seven years you have grown to a membership of 600,000.

In those same seven years organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, in influence, and in its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman and of society in general, than at any other time in our history. Much of this progress has been due to the one thing which this Administration, from the very beginning, has insisted upon -- the assurance to labor of the untrammeled right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly imbedded in the law of the land; it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all times.

The principle has the support today not only of organized labor as a whole, but also of hundreds of thousands of decent, practical, forward-looking employers. A decade ago a minority of employers were willing to accept the principle of collective bargaining; today the majority of employers gladly adopt it.

And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to give to labor a fair share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair minimum wages are being established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set, to bring about an American standard of living and recreation; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened and successfully used for the mediation of labor disputes. Over them all has been created a shelter of social security -- a Foundation upon which is being built protection from the hazards of old age and unemployment.

This progress of the last seven years has been difficult. It has been beset by obstruction and by bitter propaganda from certain minority groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of people who worked for them. It was the same type of opposition to which I had become accustomed during my entire public career, dating back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York thirty years ago this Autumn, continuing through my service for nearly eight years an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor employing State in the Union.

You will remember that kind of opposition in the campaign of four years ago when certain employers, politicians and newspapers -- all of whom are now active in this campaign -- in an effort to mislead and intimidate labor, went to the extent of putting untrue electioneering notices in pay envelopes in order to smash the new social security act and force its repeal by electing its enemies.

That kind of opposition comes only too often from those who regularly for three years and eight months block Labor's welfare, and then for four months loudly proclaim that they are Labor's true friends -- from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January.
In spite of that opposition the vast majority of our small business men have now become convinced that the gains of labor are the gains of the entire interdependent community, and that the welfare of labor is indispensable to the welfare of all. They know now that their best customer is a satisfied, adequately paid worker with a feeling of security against unemployment and poverty in his old age.

We are still, however, quite distant from the objective which we seek -- the security and the high standard of living for every man, woman and child which the resources and man-power of America make possible.

Our advance has been accomplished with patience and deliberation. That is the democratic way; that is the road which leads to lasting results. Here in America we have kept our feet on the ground; our programs have been steady and sure; we have not been misled by illusory promises.

Events abroad have shown too late the result of the other kind of methods -- promises of swift, revolutionary relief; seductive pictures of peraceal; short cuts to prosperity and plenty, pictured as simple and easy -- all of these have led to the same cruel disappointment. For these promises people yielded up their liberties and all that made life dear.

In exchange they have received only the rationing of their news, the rationing of their religion, the rationing of the clothes upon their backs, and the rationing of the bread upon their tables.

Our progress must continue to be a steady and deliberate one -- we cannot stand still, we cannot slip back. We must look forward to certain definite things in the near future. For example, the benefits of social security should be broadened and extended; unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. Our old age pension system must be improved and extended; the amount of the pension should be increased, and, above all, these pensions must be given in a manner which will respect the dignity of the life of service and labor which our aged citizens have given to the nation.

It is my hope that soon the United States will have a national system under which no needy man or woman within our borders will lack a minimum old age pension which will provide adequate food, clothing and lodging to the end of the road -- without having to go to the poorhouse to get it. And I look forward to a system which, in addition to this bare minimum, will enable those who have faithfully toiled in any occupation to build up additional security for their old age which will allow them to live in comfort and happiness.

The people must decide whether to continue the type of government which has fostered the progress to date, or whether to turn it over to those who by their action, if not always by their word, have shown their fundamental opposition to the main objectives toward which we have worked in the past and to which we are definitely committed for the future.

There are some who would not only stop now the progress we are making in social and labor legislation, but would even repeal what has been enacted during the past seven years -- all on the plea that an adequate national defense requires it. They would seek unlimited hours of labor. They would seek lower wages. They would seek the cancellation of those safeguards for which we have all struggled so long.
I still believe, however, as I did when I said on May 26th last: "We must make sure in all that we do that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains which we have made in these past years. . . . There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives — conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, housing, and help to the underprivileged".

Our mighty national defense effort against all present and potential threats cannot be measured alone in terms of mathematical increase in the number of soldiers and sailors, or of guns or tanks or planes. Behind them all must stand a united people whose spiritual and moral strength has not been sapped through hunger or want or fear or insecurity. The morale of a people is an essential supplement to their guns and planes.

I am convinced that a breakdown of existing labor and social legislation would weaken rather than increase our efforts for defense. Continuance of them means the preservation of the efficiency of labor. It means the return to work of several millions still unemployed.

The employment of additional workers and the provisions for over-time payments for over-time work will insure adequate working hours at decent wages to do all that is now necessary in physical defense. To will not overlook the lesson learned in Europe in past years.

At times, internal obstacles to the growth of labor unions have come in those rare instances where the occasional scoundrel has appeared in position of leadership. Labor unions are not the only organizations which have to suffer innocently for the crimes and mistakes of one or two of their selfish and guilty members. The rule applies to all organizations, to all trades and professions alike.

I cannot add to the terms of condemnation which your President, my old friend Dan Tobin, included in his report to your Convention in which he said:

". . . . It is indeed pitiful and heart-breaking and seriously depressing to find that amongst our enormous membership, composed of clean men, fathers of families, Americans of the purest type — to find amongst this membership some creatures so bereft of decency and honor as to bring disgrace upon the International Union".

Labor knows that there is no room in the labor movement for the racketeer or the strong-arm man. Government is determined to help labor unions clean their house of those few persons who have betrayed them.

In this great crisis has come proof that organized labor, as well as all other groups of our citizens, is aware of its own responsibilities. I have called on representatives of labor to serve, and have placed them in responsible positions to take part in the defense work of our government. From the very start, representatives of labor, including your own distinguished President, have shared in formulating and administering the program.

I am particularly glad to be able to say that the A.F.L., the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods are all loyally cooperating in this effort with the National Defense Commission and with the Army and Navy. The cooperation in the task of national defense will, I hope, encourage closer and more friendly relations between these great labor organizations.
I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face, patriotically and unselfishly.

In our search for national unity as the basis of national defense, it is necessary and it is fair that every human being in the United States contribute his share. This applies both to those who train in the fighting forces and to the forces of workers behind the lines.

It is equally necessary and fair that every dollar of capital in America also contribute its share. Just as long as we continue to call upon men to train for combat, and for service behind the lines, will we also continue to call upon the industrial plants of the nation for the service which they can give.

Capital and industry as well as labor and agriculture are responding, and I know will continue to respond.

The nation, through its elected representatives, is now adapting the principle of selective universal training of its young men. On the same principle, no reasonable person can object to giving the government the power to acquire the services of any plant or factory for adequate compensation, if the owner refuses to make its services available to the defense needs of the nation. This is nothing new in American life. The principle of eminent domain or eminent use is as old as democratic government itself. It merely permits government to acquire or to use, for a fair and reasonable price, any property which is necessary for its proper functioning.

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But if and when such cases does arise, the government cannot stand by helpless in its efforts to arm and defend itself. No business is above its government; and government should be empowered to deal adequately with any business which tries to rise above its government.

In all of these plans for national defense, only those who seek to play upon the fears of the American people, discover an attempt to lead us into war. The American people will reject that kind of propaganda of fear, as they have rejected similar types which are "occasionally" spread at election time. They know that against the raging forces loose in the world the best defense is the strongest preparedness -- fighting men and equipment in front, and fighting industry and agriculture behind the lines.

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I hate war now more than ever. I have one supreme determination -- to do all I can to keep war away from those shores for all time. I stand, with my party, upon the platform adopted in Chicago:

"We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack."

Let us have an end to the sort of appeasement which seeks to keep us helpless by playing on fear and by indirect sabotage of all the progress we are making. "Appeasement" is a polite word for misdirected partnership.
In our efforts for national defense, fine teamwork has been developed -- and you teamsters know what that word "teamwork" means.

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is over, will have consequences of lasting good to the nation as a whole. It will enable us to enjoy an internal security transcending anything heretofore known.

Ours is a great heritage; we are determined with all our effort and might to keep it intact. The workers in the factories, the farmers on the land, and business men in plants and offices are awake to the perils which threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, no political campaign can sway the majority will of our people to make America strong -- and to keep it free.
FOR THE PRESS

September 10, 1940

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT

America has adopted selective service in time of peace, and, in doing so, has broadened and enriched our basic concept of citizenship. Besides the clear democratic ideals of equal rights, equal privileges and equal opportunities, we have set forth the underlying other duties, obligations and responsibilities of equal service.

In thus providing for national defense, we have not carved a new and uncharted trail in the history of our democratic institutions. On the contrary, we have merely resurrected an old and accepted principle of our democratic government. The militia system, the self-centered citizenry with the obligation of military service incumbent upon every free man, has its roots in the old common law. It was brought to this continent by our forefathers. It was an accepted institution in colonial days. At the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, nine of the thirteen states explicitly provided for universal service in their basic laws.

In those days, little was required in the way of equipment and training for the man in arms. The average American had his flintlock and knew how to use it. In addition, he was healthy, strong, and accustomed to hardship. When he reported for military duty, he brought with him his musket and his powder horn. His daily life inured him to the rigors of warfare.

Today, the art of war calls for a wide variety of technical weapons. Modern life does not emphasize the qualities demanded of soldiers. Moreover, behind the armed forces, we must have a munitions industry as a part of an economic system capable of providing the fighting man with his full requirements of arms and equipment. Many individuals, therefore, may serve their country best by holding their democratic government. The object of selective service is to provide men for our Army and Navy and at the same time disturb as little as possible the normal life of the nation.

Selective service consists of four steps, which singly and in the group, have been developed to operate with the fairness and justice characteristic of free, democratic institutions. These steps are registration, classification, selection, and induction.

Wednesday, October sixteenth has been set aside, on which day every male between 21 and 38, inclusive, will be expected to report to a neighborhood precinct to fill out a registration card and a registration certificate. The certificate issued to the individual will be carried by him as a testimonial to his acceptance of the fundamental obligation of citizenship. The registration cards will be forwarded to the county clerk or similar official and will be delivered by him to the local selective service board. These boards, consisting of three men, each appointed by the President, upon recommendations of the state governors, will be set up in more than 8,000 communities. In those states not having the national director of selective service that all of the local boards have completed this work, a national drawing by lot will determine the order of priority of the registrants in each local board area. The national priority list will be furnished to the local boards and the corresponding order of selection will be entered on the registration cards in their custody.
The priority established by the drawing will determine the order in which questionnaires will be mailed to the registrants. Upon receipt of these questionnaires the registrants will enter on these forms pertinent facts on the basis of which their final classification will be determined.

There will be organized in every community in our nation advisory boards for registrants, composed of patriotic citizens, civilian volunteers, to assist registrants in presenting fairly the facts to be used in determining the place of each individual in the scheme of national defense.

After the return of these questionnaires, the local board, after due consideration, will place the registrants in one of four classes. In Class I will be those who are available for immediate service; in Class II, those who are deferred because of the essential character of the service they are rendering in their present occupations; in Class III those individuals who should be deferred because of individuals dependent upon them for support; in Class IV those specifically deferred by the terms of the Act.

The total number of individuals needed by the armed forces will be proceeded among the several states. In this allocation due consideration will be given to the number of men already furnished by that state for our military forces. Within each state a quota, in a similar manner, will be divided among the local boards. Thus, each locality will be asked to furnish its fair share of individuals for induction into our armed forces.

In each of these local board areas individuals between the ages of 18 and 35 will be offered an opportunity to volunteer for a one-year period of service and training. Such applicants will be accepted before any other individuals are selected, provided they are suitable for military service. It will be the duty of the local board to select as many additional individuals as are necessary to fill the quota for that particular area.

Following the tentative selection of these individuals, a local medical examiner will examine them physically. If they are accepted, they will be sent forward for final physical examination by medical officers of the Army, Navy or Marine Corps. Those who pass will be inducted into the service.

In the military service they will be intelligently led, comfortably clothed, well fed, and adequately armed and equipped for basic training. By the time they get physically hardened, mentally disciplined and properly trained in fundamentals, the flow of critical munitions from factory to combat units will meet the full requirements for their advanced training.

In the military service, Americans from all walks of life, rich and poor, country-bred and city raised, farmer, student, manual laborer and white collar worker, will learn to live side by side, to depend upon each other in military drills and maneuvers, and to appreciate each other's dignity as American citizens.

Universal service will bring not only greater preparedness to meet the threat of war, but a wider distribution of tolerance and understanding to enjoy the blessings of peace.
FOR THE PRESS

September 16, 1940

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT

America has adopted selective service in time of peace, and, in doing so, has broadened and enriched our basic concept of citizenship. The clear democratic ideals of equal rights, equal privileges and equal opportunities, we have set forth the underlying duties, obligations and responsibilities of equal service.

In thus providing for national defense, we have not carved a new and uncharted trail in the history of our democratic institutions. On the contrary, we have merely reasserted an old and accepted principle of democratic government, the self-armed citizenry with the obligation of military service incumbent upon every free man, has its roots in the old common law. It was brought to this continent by our forefathers. It was an accepted institution in colonial days. At the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, nine of the thirteen states explicitly provided for universal service in their basic laws.

In those days, little was required in the way of equipment and training for the man in arms. The average American had his flint-lock and knew how to use it. In addition, he was healthy, strong, and accustomed to hardship. When he reported for military duty, he brought with him his musket and his powder horn. His daily life insured him to the rigors of warfare.

Today, the art of war calls for a wide variety of technical weapons. Modern life does not emphasize the qualities demanded of soldiers. Moreover, behind the armed forces, we must have a munitions industry as a part of an economic system capable of providing the fighting man with his full requirements of arms and equipment. Many individuals, merchants, may serve their country best by holding their posts on the production line. The object of selective service is to provide men for our Army and Navy and at the same time disturb as little as possible the normal life of the nation.

Selective service consists of four steps, which singly and in the group, have been developed to operate with the fairness and justice characteristic of free, democratic institutions. Those steps are: registration, classification, selection, and induction.

Wednesday, October sixteenth, has been set aside, on which day every male between 21 and 35, inclusive, will be expected to report to a neighborhood precinct to fill out a registration card and a registration certificate. The certificates issued to the individual will be carried by him as a testimonial to his acceptance of the fundamental obligation of citizenship. The registration card will be forwarded to the county clerk or similar official and will be delivered by him to the local selective service board. Those boards, consisting of three men, each appointed by the President, upon recommendations of the state governors, will be set up in more than 6,000 communities. Then the states notify the national director of selective service that all of the local boards have completed this work, a national drawing by lot will determine the order of priority of the registrants in each local board area. The national priority list will be furnished to the local boards and the corresponding order of selection will be entered on the registration cards in their custody.
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September 16, 1940

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Wednesday, October sixteenth has been set aside, on which day every male between 21 and 36, inclusive, will be expected to report to a neighborhood precinct to fill out a registration card and a registration certificate. The certificate issued to the individual will be carried by him as a testimonial to his acceptance of the fundamental obligation of citizenship. The registration card will be forwarded to the county clerk or similar official and will be delivered by him to the local selective service board. These boards, consisting of three men, each appointed by the President, upon recommendations of the state governors, will be set up in more than 6,000 communities. When the states notify the national director of selective service that all of the local boards have completed this work, a national drawing by lot will determine the order of priority of the registrants in each local board area. The national priority list will be furnished to the local boards and the corresponding order of selection will be entered on the registration cards in their custody.
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In the military service, Americans from all walks of life, rich and poor, country-bred and city-raised, former, student, manual laborer and white collar worker, will learn to live side by side, to depend upon each other in military drills and maneuvers, and to appreciate each other's dignity as American citizens.

Universal service will bring not only greater preparedness to meet the threat of war, but a wider distribution of tolerance and understanding to enjoy the blessings of peace.
FOR THE PRESS

September 16, 1940

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT

America has adopted selective service in time of peace, and, in doing so, has broadened and enriched our basic concept of citizenship. Beside the clear democratic ideals of equal rights, equal privileges and equal opportunities, we have set forth the underlying other duties, obligations and responsibilities of equal service.

In thus providing for national defense, we have not served a new and uncharted trail in the history of our democratic institutions. On the contrary, we have merely reassured an old and accepted principle of democratic government. The militia system, the self-armed citizenry with the obligation of military service incumbent upon every free man, has its roots in the old common law. It was brought to this continent by our forbears. It was an accepted institution in colonial days. At the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, nine of the thirteen states explicitly provided for universal service in their basic laws.

In those days, little was required in the way of equipment and training for the man in arms. The average American had his flint-lock and knew how to use it. In addition, he was healthy, strong, and accustomed to hardship. When he reported for military duty, he brought with him his musket and his powder horn. His daily life insured him to the rigors of warfare.

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CONFIDENTIAL: To be held in STRICT CONFIDENCE and no portion, synopsis or inclination to be published or given out until the READING of the President's Message has begun in the Senate or the House of Representatives. Extreme care must therefore be exercised to avoid premature publication.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Secretary to the President

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Over a week ago I had several important conferences at sea with the British Prime Minister. Because of the factor of safety to British, Canadian and American ships and their personnel no prior announcement of these meetings could properly be made.

At the close, a public statement by the Prime Minister and the President was made. I quote it for the information of the Congress and for the record:

"The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, have met at sea.

"They have been accompanied by officials of their two Governments, including high ranking officers of their Military, Naval and Air Services.

"The whole problem of the supply of munitions of war, as provided by the Lease-Lend Act, for the armed forces of the United States and for those countries actively engaged in resisting aggression has been further examined.

"Lord Beaverbrook, the Minister of Supply of the British Government, has joined in these conferences. He is going to proceed to Washington to discuss further details with appropriate officials of the United States Government. These conferences will also cover the supply problems of the Soviet Union.

"The President and the Prime Minister have had several conferences. They have considered the dangers to world civilization arising from the policies of military domination by conquest upon which the Hitlerite government of Germany and other governments associated therewith have embarked, and have made clear the steps which their countries are respectively taking for their safety in the face of these dangers.

"They have agreed upon the following joint declaration:

"Joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

"First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;
"Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely-expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

"Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

"Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

"Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

"Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

"Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

"Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

"(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"(Signed) WINSTON S. CHURCHILL"

The Congress and the President having heretofore determined through the Lend Lease Act on the national policy of American aid to the democracies which East and West are waging war against dictatorships, the military and naval conversations at these meetings have made clear gains in furthering the effectiveness of this aid.

Furthermore, the Prime Minister and I are arranging for conferences with the Soviet Union to aid it in its defense against the attack made by the principal aggressor of the modern world -- Germany.

Finally, the declaration of principles at this time presents a goal which is worth while for our type of civilization to seek. It is so clear-cut that it is difficult to oppose in any major particular without automatically admitting a willingness to
accept compromise with Nazism; or to agree to a world peace which would give to Nazism domination over large numbers of conquered nations. Inevitably such a peace would be a gift to Nazism to take breath -- amid breath -- for a second war to extend the control over Europe and Asia to the American Hemisphere itself.

It is perhaps unnecessary for me to call attention once more to the utter lack of validity of the spoken or written word of the Nazi government.

It is also unnecessary for me to point out that the declaration of principles includes of necessity the world need for freedom of religion and freedom of information. No society of the world organized under the announced principles could survive without these freedoms which are a part of the whole freedom for which we strive.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

August 21, 1941.
The following statement of the President is for release in papers appearing on the streets not earlier than 9:00 P.M., E.S.T., Saturday, October 11, 1941.

The same limitation applies to its use by radio broadcasters or radio commentators.

Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

A COLUMBUS DAY STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The rounding out of each century and each half-century following a landmark in human progress recalls to our minds the vision and the sacrifice and the achievement of all those benefactors of the race who have striven to advance the cultural or material frontiers of civilization. The year commencing October 12, 1941 is the four hundred and fiftieth year after the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. In these four and a half centuries, the western hemisphere has received and enjoyed the gifts of Old World culture, religion, science, and philosophy, and has evolved and nurtured a precious contribution of its own, new marvels of science, lasting creations of literature and art, political forms of benefit to all the world.

Based on the premise that all of the children of men are equal in their natural right to the pursuit of happiness, the governments of the western hemisphere republics, now in their second century of existence, have advanced through periods of stress to a present-day solidarity and unity of purpose never before known on the American continents on so wide a scale and with such unanimity of consent. These American nations are firmly resolved to preserve and defend the principles and the institutions of representative government, liberty of conscience, and social responsibility.

Columbus acted according to the ideal of science. On the basis of assembled data, he arrived at a hypothesis; and he bent every effort to test his theory by actual experiment. The sighting of dim outlines of land in the distance, on the morning of that epochal twelfth of October, proved beyond contradiction his doctrine that dry land lay beyond the ocean; and he thereby opened new avenues of human history.

Neither Columbus nor any other man of science nor any statesman or colonizer could foresee the progress destined to be made by the lands discovered in the west. Nor can we of the present day foresee what further advances will be achieved in the coming years toward the goal of a world permanently at peace, permanently prosperous, permanently free. But we do know that the common striving of all of the countries of the Americas can be a powerful force in the interest of stability, peace, and freedom.