

Roosevelt Declares 'Unlimited National Emergency'

FR Rallies Nation Against Asserted Hitlerism Threat

Editor's Note: Herewith is the condensed text of President Roosevelt's historic Tuesday night address. The few deletions made were of words unessential in the meaning of his statements.

WASHINGTON, May 27 (UP) Following is a condensed text of President Roosevelt's address:

I am speaking tonight from the White House in the presence of the governing board of the Pan-American union, the Canadian minister, and their families.

Now, as never before, the unity of the American republics is of supreme importance to each of us and to freedom throughout the world. Our future independence is bound up with the future independence of all our sister republics.

The problems that confront us are military. We cannot afford to approach them from the point of view of wishful thinkers. What we face is cold fact.

Hitler's Plan
The fundamental fact is that what started as a European war has developed, as the nazis always intended it should develop, into a war for world domination.

Adolf Hitler never considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. European conquest was but a step toward ultimate goals in all the other continents. It is apparent to all of us that, unless the advance of Hitlerism is forcibly checked now, the western hemisphere will be within range of nazi destruction.

For our own defense we have accordingly undertaken necessary measures.

First, we joined in concluding agreements with the other American republics. This solidified our hemisphere against common danger.

Then, a year ago, we launched the largest armament production program we have ever undertaken.

We have added to our splendid navy, and we have mustered our manpower to build up a new army which is worthy of the traditions of our military service.

We instituted a policy of aid for the democracies.

This policy had its origin in the first month of the war, when I urged upon the congress repeal of the arms embargo provisions in the neutrality law. In that message of September, 1939, I said, "I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead."

In the subsequent months . . . the night spread over Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France.

In June, 1940, Britain stood alone. . . Our government rushed arms to meet her desperate needs.

In September, 1940, an agreement was completed with Great Britain for the trade of 50 destroyers for eight important off-shore bases.

In March, 1941, the congress passed the lend-lease bill and an appropriation of \$7,000,000,000 to implement it.

Hard-Headed
Our whole program of aid for the democracies has been based on hard-headed concern for our own security and for the kind of safe and civilized world in which we wish to live. Every dollar of material we send helps to keep the dictators away from our own hemisphere. Every day they are held off gives us time to build more guns and tanks and planes and ships.

We have made no pretense about our own self-interest in this aid. Great Britain understands it—and so does nazi Germany.

And now Britain still fights gallantly. We have redoubled our production, increasing our material supply of tools of war for ourselves and Britain and China—and eventually for all democracies.

The supply of these tools will increase.

With augmented strength, the United States and the American republics now chart their course in the situation of today.

Your government knows what

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terms Hitler would impose. They are the only terms on which he would accept a "negotiated" peace.

Under those terms, Germany would parcel out the world . . . setting up puppet governments subject to the will of a conqueror.

To the people of the Americas, Hitler would say: "I am now satisfied. This is the last territorial readjustment I will seek." And he would of course add: "All we want is peace, friendship, and trade relations with you in the new world."

And were any of us in the Americas so simple as to accept those words, what would then happen?

Those in the new world who were seeking profits would be urging that all that the dictators desired was "peace." They would oppose toil and taxes for more American armament.

Meanwhile, the dictators would be forcing the people of their old world conquests into a system they are organizing—to build a naval and air force intended to be master of the Atlantic and the Pacific.

They would fasten an economic stranglehold upon our nations. Quislings would be found to subvert the governments in our republics; and the nazis would back their fifth columns with invasion, if necessary.

No Speculation
I am not speculating about all this. I merely repeat what is already in the nazi book of world conquest. They plan to treat the Latin American nations as they are now treating the Balkans. They plan then to strangle the United States and Canada.

The American laborer would have to compete with slave labor. Minimum wages, maximum hours? Nonsense! Wages and hours would be fixed by Hitler. The standard of living of the American worker and farmer would be gone. Trade unions would become relics, and collective bargaining a joke.

Farm income? What happens to all farm surpluses without any foreign trade? The American farmer would get for his

products what Hitler wanted to give. He would face disaster.

Tariff walls would be futile. Freedom of trade is essential to our economic life. We do not eat all the food we can produce; we do not burn all the oil we can pump; we do not use all the goods we can manufacture. It would not be an American wall to keep nazi goods out; it would be a nazi wall to keep us in.

The fabrics of working life as we know it would be crippled under such a system. Yet to maintain even that crippled independence would require conscription of our manpower; it would curtail the funds we could spend on education, housing, public works, flood control, health. Instead, we should be pouring our resources into armaments; and standing day and night watch against destruction.

"We will not permit this nazi 'shape of things to come.' It will never be forced upon us, if we act with the courage of the past.

The nazis have taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. In Africa they have occupied Tripoli and Libya, and they are threatening Egypt, the Suez canal, and the Near East.

But their plans do not stop there, for the Indian ocean is the gateway to the east. They also have the armed power at any moment to occupy Spain and Portugal; and that threat extends not only to French North Africa and the western end of the Mediterranean, but also to the Atlantic fortress of Dakar, and to the island outposts of the new world—the Azores and Cape Verde islands.

Seven Hours Away
The Cape Verde islands are only seven hours distance from Brazil by bomber or troop-carrying planes. They dominate shipping routes to and from the south Atlantic.

The war is approaching the brink of the western hemisphere itself. It is coming very close to home.

Control or occupation by nazi forces of any of the islands of the Atlantic would jeopardize the immediate safety of portions of North and South America, and of the island possessions of the United States, and of the ultimate safety of the continental United States itself.

Hitler's plan of world domination would be near its accomplishment today, were it not for two factors: one is the epic resistance of Britain. . . The other is the magnificent defense of China, which will, I have reason to believe, increase in strength. . . .

The axis powers can never achieve their objective of world domination unless they first obtain control of the seas. This is their supreme purpose today; and to achieve it, they must capture Great Britain.

They could then have the power to dictate to the western hemisphere. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, and no false pledges like those given by Hitler at Munich, can deceive the American people into believing that he and his axis partners would not, with Britain defeated, close in relentlessly on this hemisphere.

But if the axis powers fail to gain control of the seas, they are certainly defeated. . . .

Both they and their people know this—and they are afraid. That is why they are risking everything they have . . . to break through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of . . . innocent, oppressed peoples . . . of Europe; and in the end, their whole structure will break into little pieces. . . .

Silenced Peoples
We do not forget the silenced peoples. The masters of Germany . . . have marked these peoples . . . for slavery. But those people . . . yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been enslaved—will prove to be a powerful force in disrupting the nazi system.

All freedom depends on freedom of the seas. . . .

Since 1799 . . . we have fought in defense of freedom of the seas—for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of world trade—and for our own safety.

During the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of cruisers, gunboats and destroyers; and this type of convoy was effective against submarines. In this second World War the problem is greater, because the attack is fourfold: First—the improved submarine; second—the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or hit-and-run battleship; third—the bombing airplane . . . and fourth—the destruction of merchant ships in ports which are accessible to bombing attack.

Alarming Sinkings
The battle of the Atlantic now extends from the icy waters of the North Pole to the frozen continent of the Antarctic. Throughout this huge area, there have been sinkings of merchant ships in alarming and increasing numbers by nazi raiders or sub-

marines. . . . Great numbers of these sinkings have been actually within the waters of the western hemisphere.

Blunt Truth

The blunt truth is this — and I reveal this with the full knowledge of the British government: The present rate of nazi sinkings of merchant ships is more than three times as high as the capacity of British shipyards to replace them; it is more than twice the combined British and American output of merchant ships today.

We can answer this peril by two simultaneous measures: First, by speeding up . . . our shipbuilding; and second, by helping to cut down the losses on the high seas.

Attacks on shipping off the very shores of land which we are determined to protect, present an actual military danger to the Americas. . . .

Most of the supplies for Britain go by a northerly route, which comes close to Greenland and the nearby island of Iceland. Germany's heaviest attack is on that route. Nazi occupation of Iceland or bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our continental shores; because they are stepping-stones to Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the northern United States, including the great industrial centers of the north, east and the middle west.

Equally, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, controlled by Germany, would endanger the freedom of the Atlantic and our own safety. They would become bases for submarines, warships, and airplanes raiding the waters off our own coasts and attacking shipping in the South Atlantic. They would provide a springboard for attack against Brazil and her neighboring republics.

The United States is mustering its men and resources—only to repel attack. . . . But we must be realistic when we use the word "attack" to relate it to the speed of modern warfare. . . .

Some seem to think that we are not attacked until bombs drop on New York. They are shutting their eyes.

The attack on Czechoslovakia began with the conquest of Austria. The attack on the Suez Canal began with the invasion of the Balkans and North Africa. The attack on the United States can begin with the domination of any base which menaces our security.

Nobody can foretell tonight when the dictators will attack this hemisphere. But we know

it would be suicide to wait until they are in our yard.

When your enemy comes at you in a tank or bombing plane, if you hold your fire until you see the whites of his eyes, you will never know what hit you. Our Bunker Hill of tomorrow may be several thousand miles from Boston.

Don't Be Stupid

Anyone with an atlas and a reasonable knowledge of the striking force of modern war, knows that it is stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack. . . .

We have, accordingly, extended our patrol in North and South Atlantic waters. We are steadily adding more and more ships and planes to that patrol. . . .

These ships and planes warn of the presence of attacking raiders, on the sea, under the sea, and above the sea. . . . We are thus being forewarned; and we shall be on our guard against efforts to establish nazi bases closer to our hemisphere.

The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple self-preservation, to make stern choices. . . . We believe in the independence and integrity of the Americas, we must be willing to fight to defend them just as much as we would to fight for the safety of our own homes.

Our national policy, therefore, is this:

First, we shall actively resist wherever necessary, and with all our resources, every attempt by Hitler to extend his nazi domination to the western hemisphere, or to threaten it. We shall actively resist his very attempt to gain control of the seas. We insist upon the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world

which could be used and would be used as a base of attack against the Americas.

Second, . . . We shall give every possible assistance to Britain and to all who . . . are resisting Hitlerism. . . . Our patrols are helping now to insure delivery of the needed supplies to Britain. All additional measures necessary to deliver the goods will be taken. Any and all further methods or combination of methods, which can or should be utilized, are being devised by our military and naval technicians, who, with me, will work out and put into effect such new and additional safeguards as may be needed. . . .

We Are United

To the other American nations — twenty republics and the Dominion of Canada — I say this: The United States does not merely propose these purposes, but is actively engaged today in carrying them out.

I say to them further: You may disregard those citizens who contend that we are disunited. There are some who say we must preserve peace at any price. To them I say: never in the world has a nation lost its democracy by a successful struggle to defend it. We must not be defeated by the fear of the danger we are preparing to resist. Our freedom would never survive surrender.

There is a group of patriotic men whose passion for peace has shut their eyes to the realities of banditry. They are embarrassed by support from the bundists, fascists, and communists. It is no mere coincidence that arguments put forward by these enemies of democracy . . . are but echoes of axis propaganda.

Our government has the right to expect all citizens that they

take loyal part in the common work of our common defense. . . .

I have recently set up the machinery for civilian defense. It will rapidly organize, locality by locality. It will depend on the organized effort of men and women everywhere. . . .

What Defense Means

Defense today means more than merely fighting. It means morale. . . . It means using every available resource, it means enlarging every useful plant. It means the use of a greater American common sense in discarding rumor and distorted statement. It means recognizing, for what they are, racketeers and fifth columnists, who are the incendiary bombs of the moment.

. . . We have made very great social progress in recent years. We propose to maintain that progress and strengthen it. When the nation is threatened from without, however, . . . defense must not be interrupted by disputes between capital and labor, and labor, or capital and labor. The future of all free enterprise—of capital and labor alike—is at stake.

This is no time for capital to make, or be allowed to retain, excess profits. Articles of defense must have undisputed right of way in every industrial plant in the country.

A nation-wide machinery for conciliation and mediation of industrial disputes has been set up. That machinery must be used without stoppage of work. Collective bargaining will be retained, but the American people expect recommendations of our government services will be followed by capital and labor.

The majority of our citizens expect their government to see that the tools of defense are built; and . . . this government is

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