

FRANCIS T. ROOSEVELT: Speech Files

No. 1355C- Message to Congress, Jan. 6, 1941

SIXTH DRAFT

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

1941

SJR

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the Constitution in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these -- the four years War Between the States -- ever threatened our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States had often been disturbed by events in other Continents; and we had even engaged in two wars with European nations. In no case, however, had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our independence. *B*

That was true, for example, during the quarter century of wars that followed the end of the French Revolution.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

Struggle
 While the Napoleonic Wars did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our rights against interference of American seamen and interference with our peaceful *trade* commerce, it is, nevertheless, clear that neither France nor Great Britain nor any other nation was aiming at domination of the whole world.

the same way
 From 1815 to 1914 — 99 years — no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a *not* *our future* ~~real~~ threat against us or against any other American nation. *Except in the Maximilian interference*

No foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic was at almost all times a friendly strength.

John Brown
Over
 When the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But as time went on, and the success of German and Austro-Hungarian arms increased, the American people began to visualize that the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.



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We need not blink at ~~the~~ imperfections ⁱⁿ at the Peace of Versailles. We need not blink at ~~the~~ failure of the Democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction ⁱⁿ in the days following the World War, but we should remember that the Peace of Versailles was far less unjust than ^{the} the Peace of Brest-Litovsk which preceded it, or the Peace of Munich which followed it, or the proposals for a "New Order" of tyranny that are currently made.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world — assailed either by arms or by secret spreading of poisonous ideas by those whose true purpose is to destroy unity and promote discord in nations still at peace.

During sixteen months this assault has blotted out the whole patte^{ry} of democratic life in an amazing number of independent nations great and small. Now, its deadly weapons are threatening that kind of life in several other nations great and small.

Therefore as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union",



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SLITH DRAFT

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I find it necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. The total of those populations and resources greatly exceed the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere -- many times over.

No realistic American can expect international generosity ^{from a dictatorial State} or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion -- or even good business ^E from victorious dictatorships.

Such a peace would bring no security, for us or for our neighbors. ^{that we would} In the words of Benjamin Franklin, ~~They~~ ^{They} that give up liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.*



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SIXTH DRAFT

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*with armday lines
and linking symbols.*

As a nation we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed.

We must always be wary against those who preach the gospel of appeasement, especially that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack, which we must expect if the dictator nations win this war. This country and all the people of this Hemisphere know by now how direct a threat against us lies in the formal tri-partite alliance of the aggressor nations of the world.

There is much loose talk of the dangers to us of direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such dangers exist. Even without the British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attach us in the most difficult manner, by sending troops across thousands of miles of ocean.



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We can learn much from the lessons of the past year in Europe -- particularly the lesson of Norway, whose strategic seaports were captured simultaneously under the very eyes of the British fleet. *by trenching and surprise*

The first invaders in this hemisphere would not be regular troops. They would be secret agents -- so-called "Salomon" -- so-called "tourists". These invaders are already here and in Latin America, *and* they are in considerable numbers. *Secret*

This country's most vulnerable frontier may not be on the Atlantic Coast, or the Pacific Coast. It may well be Texas.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, *- without* they will have the advantage of choosing the time and place and method of attack. *to*

That is why all the American Republics are today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why this Congress meets in a dramatic hour.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

That is why every member of the Executive branch of the government and every member of the Congress face great responsibility — and assume great accountability.

The great need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily — almost exclusively — to meeting this danger from abroad. ^{foreign peril} For all our domestic problems are now a part of entangled in the great emergency. We must all have a national identity of aims, purposeful and passionate, directed to creating the most effective answer to this challenge which is being made to our civilisation.

Our national policy is clear. It is founded on sound morality and enlightened self-interest. ^{heart}

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all our fellow-men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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The policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to "all-out" national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to "all-out" support of all those resolute peoples everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail, and we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ ^{the} principles of morality ^{and} ~~nor~~ ^{and} considerations for our own security will ever permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national



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policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today, it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are ~~completely~~ ^{now} united in demanding ^{with a feeling} speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

~~The~~ ^{immediate} need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production and the disposal of that armament in a way that will best serve our purpose — to keep war away from this Hemisphere and to help attain a world in which free men and free nations can freely live in peace.]

The last Congress, in a series of enactments in 1940, authorized and appropriated the money for the undertaking of a great new program of defense. Of a sum of approximately twelve billion dollars appropriated in that calendar year, ten billion dollars have already been spent or contracted toward carrying out that program. This includes appropriations and authorizations made by the Congress as late as three months ago.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons



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Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases -- and I am sorry to say very important cases -- we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy have, however, made substantial progress during the past year. The figures show that. Actual experience is improving our methods of production with every passing day. It is vitally important, however, that every person responsible for the carrying out of the program must realize that this improvement cannot be static -- that it must continue in every passing day of the future. Yesterday's best is not good enough for today.

Every day that passes, the need of speed and yet more speed, is being driven home by the government, by industry and by labor. We are not satisfied with the progress thus far and we shall never be satisfied until the job is done. This is no time for complacency. This is no time for fear or faltering. The hour requires candor and courage. The American people will not flinch from the truth nor from



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that action or the truth which alone makes and keeps men free.

To change a whole nation to a basis of war time production of implements of war, from a basis of peace time production of implements of peace, is no small task. For the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools and plant facilities and new assembly lines must be first constructed before the actual material begins to flow steadily from them.

The Congress of course must be kept informed at all times of the progress of the program; except that there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which our own security and the interests of the nations we are supporting, require to be kept in confidence.

New circumstances beget constantly new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I shall also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to include a program for manufacturing munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.



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Our most useful and immediate role is to get as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power. They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. We shall not tell them they must surrender merely because they cannot immediately pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons -- a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend, instead of having these nations continue to place their own orders directly with our manufacturers of war materials, that this government alone place all orders and supervise all construction and pay for all the weapons. Most of it will be material which, if the time ever came, would fit into our own defense.

We can then determine on the best military and naval judgment and advice, based only on what is best for our own security, how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their gallant resistance are giving us a period of grace, a breathing spell, in which to make ready our own defenses. Their victory will be our victory; their freedom will ensure our safety. For what we send abroad, we shall expect them to repay us



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in similar materials or, at our option, in other goods of all kinds which they can produce and which we need within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities.

I am advised that the President, as Commander-in-Chief, already has power in an emergency to arrange for the transfer of military or naval equipment to other nations, if he deems such emergency action necessary to the defense of the United States. But when such action is taken, the world must know that the Congress of the United States and the Administration are in full agreement as to our national purpose.

Therefore, I am asking the Congress for its approval to construct and repair war materials and equipment of all kinds, not only for our own Army and Navy but for those nations whose defense is important to our defense, and to transfer such materials and equipment to those nations.



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TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the Constitution, in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these — the four year War Between the States — ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, one hundred and thirty million Americans, in forty-eight States, have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States often had been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce. In no case, however, had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained opposition to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past.

Today, thinking of our children and their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any part of the Americas.

That determination of ours was proved, for example, during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is, nevertheless, clear that neither France nor Great Britain nor any other nation was aiming at domination of the whole world.

In like fashion from 1815 to 1914 — 99 years — no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength. It is still a friendly strength.

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But, as time went on, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not over-emphasize imperfections in the Peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction. We should remember

that the Peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of "pacification" which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world — assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations still at peace.

During sixteen months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. The assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union", I find it necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. The total of those populations and their resources greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere — many times over.

In times like these it is immature — and incidentally untrue — for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion — or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. "Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety".

As a nation we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed.

We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement.

We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must expect if the dictator nations win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even if there were no British Navy, it is not probable

that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate.

But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe — particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years.

The first phase of the invasion of this Hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and their dupes — and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they — not we — will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

That is why the future of all American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why every member of the Executive branch of the government and every member of the Congress face great responsibility — and great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily — almost exclusively — to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all our fellow-men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today, it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases — and I am sorry to say very important cases — we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy, however, have made substantial progress during the past year. Actual experience is improving and speeding up our methods of production with every passing day. And today's best is not good enough for tomorrow.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. The men in charge of the program represent the best in training, ability and patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done.

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, our objective is quicker and better results.

To give two illustrations:

We are behind schedule in turning out finished airplanes; we are working day and night to solve the innumerable problems and to catch up.

We are ahead of schedule in building warships; but we are working to get even further ahead of schedule.

To change a whole nation from a basis of peace time production of implements of peace to a basis of war time production of implements of war is no small task. And the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools and plant facilities and new assembly-lines and ship ways must first be constructed before the actual materiel begins to flow steadily and speedily from them.

The Congress, of course, must rightly keep itself informed at all times of the progress of the program. However, there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which, in the interests of our own security and those of the nations we are supporting, must of needs be kept in confidence.

New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power. They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. We cannot, and will not, tell them they must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons -- a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend that we make it possible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own program. Nearly all of their material would, if the time ever came, be useful for our own defense.

Taking counsel of expert military and naval authorities, considering what is best for our own security, we are free to decide how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their determined and heroic resistance are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense.

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid, within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, in similar materials, or, at our option, in other goods of many kinds which they can produce and which we need.

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our pledge".

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law and as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be.

When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war.

Their only interest is in a new one-way international law, which lacks mutuality in its observance, and, therefore, becomes an instrument of oppression.

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger.

We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency -- as serious as war itself -- demands. Whatever

stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of government to save government.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and courage which come from an unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action which we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the

social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

There is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple and basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.

As examples:

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression -- everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want -- which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants -- everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear -- which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor -- anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception -- the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

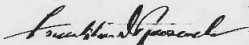
Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in change -- in a perpetual peaceful revolution -- a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions -- without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the

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supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is in our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Franklin D. Roosevelt". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

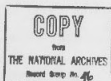
THE WHITE HOUSE,

January 6, 1941.

Jan, 6, 1941.
Read to the
two houses
in joint session.

[Annotated in blue/black ink.

Written on reverse of last page of text, J. 5/1/84]



Messages, Reports and Communications

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MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

1941

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the Constitution, in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these -- the four year War Between the States -- ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, one hundred and thirty million Americans, in forty-eight States, have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression -- everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want -- which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants -- everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear -- which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor -- anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception -- the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in a change -- in a perpetual peaceful revolution -- a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly, adjusting itself to changing conditions -- without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is in our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Orig. reading copy

Addressed
Original
1941

Ribbon copy
Jan 6 - Dec. 24, 1941

ADDRESSES
OF THE PRESIDENT

1941

Jan. 1 to Apr. 1 Bernard Foote
Apr. 1 to Dec. 31 J. Romagna
Official Reporters

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That kind of a world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new order" which the dictators seek to create *with the crash of a* ~~at the point of a gun~~

to rule in Europe and in Asia.

To that "new order" we oppose the greater conception, ~~the~~ the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear. It has no need either for the one or for the other.



world society

Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a signature or a short note, located in the lower right quadrant of the page.

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO ANNY
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, 2000

Message to Congress
1/6/44

SAL
R.E.S.
BVC

*used -
note*

Judge Rosenman
White House



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

(17)

Message to Congress - 1/6/43

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119 ff.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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ONE PAPER, N. Y.

From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenbaum

New York Post

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By ALEXANDER HAMILTON

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The design of this paper is to diffuse among the masses the information on all important subjects, in accessible and readable form, and to stimulate a free and vigorous expression of opinion on the issues of the day. No. 1, Nov. 11, 1941.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DEC. 26, 1940

THE ONEYEAR CONTRACT signed by the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation and the United Automobile Workers incorporates the spirit of The Post plan for avoiding strikes in defense industries. On one hand the company agrees to wage increases totalling about \$3,000,000 and on the other hand the union agrees not to take part in sit-down, stay-in or sympathy strikes during the life of the contract. Furthermore, all disputes between management and labor will be submitted to a five-man arbitration board, and during its deliberations production will continue. The UAW has, for one year, suspended its fundamental right to strike. But the point is that labor is willing to agree to limitations of this sort on the basis of a prior agreement, written into the labor contract. Cooperation like this is the best antidote to the campaign for legislation against strikes. We hope the Brewster-UAW example will be widely copied.

A COLD STATISTIC may sometimes speak with the greatest eloquence. The Dutch exports to Germany before and after the Nazi invasion are an example. In June to September, 1939, they were worth 20,000,000 guilders; during the same period in 1940 they were 84,000,000 guilders. To see the full picture of Hitler's exploitation of his victim, one must add the costs to Holland of the Nazi occupation, approximately 125,000,000 guilders or \$65,000,000. The increase in Dutch exports is under "forced draught," with forced Dutch labor and Dutch business men compelled to accept the price they are offered. Holland is not the only country to undergo the devastation of Nazi economic organization. In Denmark, according to informed estimates, the legalized robbery is three times as intense.

ALIENS WHO HAVE postponed registration until this, the final day, are expected to jam the post offices tonight in order to get in under the midnight deadline. The mandatory penalty for failure to register is six months' imprisonment or a \$1,000 fine or both. Canadians must register, as must the parents or guardians of alien children under 14. If you should register and have not yet done so, hurry to the post office now and avoid the long line later this evening.

ONCE A PHONOGRAPH record is sold, it may be played over the air by a broadcaster without permission of the recording company or the recording artist. This is the meat of the Supreme Court's decision in the Paul Whiteman case. It seems to us a harsh one, on several grounds. Congress and the courts have rarely been kind to the "creative" citizen. While the inky wretch who writes books has managed to secure fairly adequate (but only fairly adequate) copyright protection, and while the composer has at least enough law on his side to enable him to organize an ASCAP, the gifted performer can still be played to death by recordings without much compensation. One victim of the

and said all their goodbyes, only to be turned down at the induction center. Picking up where they left off is sometimes impossible and always embarrassing. We hope the Army will eradicate the problem by giving drafted men five days of grace after their first selection.

The New Order

One of the characteristics peculiar to this war has been the intense preoccupation, by many minds, with the question of what the world shall be like after the final gun is fired. There has been almost as much talk of the peace to come, its shape, its form, its promise, as there has been of the war itself. Pope Pius has just made his contribution to this discussion. It is a memorable one.

The Pope seeks five moral victories, which are stated in the clearest possible form. We repeat them here. Victories must be sought:

1. Over "hatred."
2. Over "mistrust." The Pope called, in this connection, for "return to that fidelity in observance of pacts without which pure neighborliness of peoples and, particularly, the co-existence of powerful and weak peoples could not possibly succeed."
3. Over the idea that "might makes right."
4. Over economic maladjustment.
5. Over "the spirit of cold egoism, which, fearless in its might, easily leads to violation not only of honor and sovereignty of a state, but of the righteous, wholesome, disciplined liberty of citizens as well."

These five evils which must be conquered (in the view of the Pontiff) constitute almost a running description of fascism. Not far from the Vatican, in which this message was given, stands the Palazzo Venezia, from whose balcony a bull-headed leader of an evil system has proclaimed his hatred of democracy; has announced successive invasions in defiance of solemnly signed treaties; has boasted (perhaps too optimistically) of Italian might; has called for "sacrifices" which have intensified every economic malaise of the Italian state, and has, in the spirit of cold egoism, called upon the walls of Rome to witness an Italian version of the German goose-step.

These five moral victories can only be won in an atmosphere which permits men the unrestricted use of their talents, their gifts, their minds; a free discussion of their problems; a clear check upon the acts of their statesmen, including the right to oust statesmen who misuse authority. None of these victories can be won in the atmosphere of fascism.

In this connection it is important to recall the five "precepts" put forward only a few days ago by leaders of both the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches in England, in an unprecedented joint action. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, for the Church of England; Arthur Coadwin Hinsley, for the Catholic Church; and Walter H. Armstrong, for the Free Church Federal Council, proposed in an open letter:

1. That extreme inequality of wealth be abolished;
2. Full education for all children, regardless of class or race;
3. Protection for the family;
4. Restoration of a sense of a divine vocation to daily work;
5. Use of all the resources of earth for the benefit of the whole human race.

Thus, out of a democracy (even in time of war) come proposals that are very close in spirit to those uttered by Pope Pius.

It is difficult, unfortunately, to know what the consensus of church thought is in Germany as to the world's future; many clergymen best qualified to speak are in concentration camps; all are more or less under the thumb of Nazi party authority. However, we have often been reminded that the voice of Hitler is the only official voice of the German people. That voice was

I'd Rather



Mussolini. It is a reasonable one. It could hardly ask less without being silly. The Italian people heard him; there can be no doubt of this kind would get to their feet even if it were written in Starbuck and served in the most heard him, and being essential people, capable of delighted as anyone, the question is, will they do as he suggests?

The A. ing to the a foreign their on ment's one of the new art Twentieth Mr. Chi made an in this f ing the ple to de

The art of talking to the people of he had addressed Il Duce as recently

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42

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appeared with Rudolph Valentino in the tandom. She lost out after talkies were introduced she was a real estate broker and

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tated by stenographers and salesgirls over the land. In her later, more obscure years she once went on tour for a beauty preparation.

Despite all that happened, she maintained her optimism, remarking when she tried her comeback:

"I'm still young, and I see no reason why I can't get to the top again. It cost me \$500,000 to learn the value of a nickel but I wouldn't trade the experience for all that money back again."

She leaves a daughter, Maria Brachi, reported to be in Mexico with her father.

For F. D. R. Jr.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., 26, third son of the President, will start to work as a \$2,100-a-year law clerk with Wright, Gordon, Zachry & Parlin, 43 Wall St., on Jan. 6, it was disclosed today.

Members of the law firm said young Roosevelt applied for his job without any special letters of introduction and that his application was put through the same routine as that of any new graduate of a law school. It was announced Aug. 6 that Franklin Jr. would become a clerk with Garey & Garey, 63 Wall St., but he became active in his father's campaign for re-election and did not accept the job.

C. H. Aldrich Dies at 69

Special to The Post

ROME, Dec. 26.—Chester H. Aldrich, 69, New York architect whose firm drew plans for the homes of the late John D. Rockefeller and Dwight W. Morrow, and who had been director of the American Academy in Rome since 1935, died today.

Aldrich was a member of the firm of Dehane & Aldrich, 126 E. 38th St., and lived at 116 E. 38th St., New York, before taking up residence here to guide affairs of the academy, which had about 20 students, all selected in America by rigorous examinations.

Aldrich was a close friend of the Charles A. Lindberghs and helped plan their home at Hopewell, N. J. He held the Order of the Crown of Italy and the Medal of Honor of the Italian Red Cross.

Other Deaths

SAMUEL DAVID LEVY, 80, of 88 Central Park W., retired judge of the Children's Court and founder of a camp for underprivileged children at Bear Mountain, following a stroke he suffered Sunday; at Mt. Sinai Hospital.

ROY BURNETT SMITH, 65, professor emeritus of chemistry at Colgate University; at his home at Hamilton, N. Y.

PHILIP GROSS, 43, director of dramatics at the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Assn. of The Bronx; at the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital.

FREDERICK W. WJENK, 67, member of the business staff of the New York Times; at his home, 25 Lefferts Pl., Brooklyn.

Brazil Piqued At U. S.

By PAUL VANORDEN SHAW

Copyright, 1940, Overseas News Agency and New York Post
RIO DE JANEIRO, Dec. 13 (ONA, By Almsil).—Every reputable newspaper of Rio de Janeiro this morning reported in full the non-participation of Brazil in the celebrations of Pan American Aviation Day yesterday.

When President Roosevelt announced a few months ago that he had chosen Dec. 17 as Pan American Aviation Day to commemorate the Wright brothers' flight, Brazilian newspapers, aviators, historians and editorialists lodged a protest, because almost all Brazilians, backed by many non-Brazilian authorities, believe that Alfredo Santos Dumont, the Brazilian inventor, was the first to fly in a heavier-than-air plane.

This movement was not inspired by enemies of the United States or of Pan Americanism. Nor was it the expression of outraged national pride alone. There is reasonable doubt as to which flew first, but there is absolutely no doubt that a Pan American event should be Pan American in spirit.

No Action on Claims

Save for slight concessions on the part of individuals in the United States no effort was made to arbitrate the question, to placate the Brazilians, nor to recognize their claims. The result is a crop of newspaper articles and editorials which go far in undermining the Pan American movement and in feeding the flames of anti-Americanism which enemies of the United States are only too willing and ready to fan.

Individuals, clubs, societies, newspapers, government officials and others have joined to protest what has been interpreted here as an act which is, purposely or not, unfriendly to Brazil.

Regardless of the merits of the case, the consequences are obvious. We North Americans have been bitterly criticized. A Pan American event has been far from Pan American in a most important part of Latin America. The Brazilian press has given it a deservedly sound trouncing. Brazil-United States relationships have not been improved. And the enemies of the Americas have been handed an "incident" which they can capitalize.

500 Children

He Hopes to Save Them

International Jewish similar to the DDT. At Monticorey, home for refugee

come, a few at a are were 500." Pa- his eyes growing mist behind his

the Germans, then Jewish children both. The Jewish children

That can we in the park, at the first thing the children of the man who had spoken

is that might not

is, would say was

the trains to make room for refugees.

"The children—and they included the children from the St. Louis, the boat that went around the world with its cargo of homeless, searching for a place to land—did not complain. They set about making new furniture. But we had no food.

"The French were kind. The Mayor of Limoges gave me his promise, unasked, that the children would have enough to eat. And they did.

"When the armistice came, the French, who hated the war, were at first relieved. 'They will take our colonies, perhaps; they may even take Alsace and Lorraine; but there will be peace again,' they said.

To Speak of Many Things

CAPT. HARRY MANNING (master of the S. S. Washington, describing a Pacific typhoon): "The wind was fierce eleven, about 15 miles an hour. I had gone off my course taking the liner like a sailing vessel in an attempt to lose the storm, but with those 30-foot

year only 543,881 passenger automobiles were manufactured. In 1938 fewer than 1,000 cars were built, while the assembly lines turned out 4,362,000 autos. Even more startling are the figures relating to canned fruit and vegetable juices. These were not even mentioned in the 1934 census;

arm	Charm	Smart	Scrim	Trash	Mirth
art	Crash	Stair	Seris	March	Match
air	Crass	Smith	Shirt	Marsh	Amir

Tuesday's word—CUMULUS

Note: This draft (the 6th) consists of 13 pages each labeled "sixth draft" and eleven other pages. Some of these eleven pages are labeled "fifth draft"; some longhand notes are interlarded. It is on the "fifth draft" pages that FWR's holograph notes appear. The "Four Freedoms" section of the address begins at bottom of page 17.

7/29/63
jvd

SIXTH DRAFT

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

1941

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the Constitution in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these -- the four years War Between the States -- ever threatened our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States had often been disturbed by events in other Continents; ~~and~~ ^{we} had even engaged in two wars with European nations. In no case, however, had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our independence. (15)

~~That was true~~, for example, during the quarter century of wars that followed the end of the French Revolution.

Insert A - Page # 1

and a number of
undeclared wars in the
West Indies, in the
Mediterranean and in the
Pacific for the maintenance
of American rights and for
the principle of peaceful
commerce.

Insert B - Page #1

What I seek to convey
is the historic truth that
the United States as a nation
has at all times maintained
opposition to any attempt
to lock it into an attic
room while the procession
of civilization goes past the
door. Today, thinking of
our children, we oppose
enforced isolation for
ourselves or for any part
of the Americas.

That determination of ours
was proved for example
etc

^{Struggle}
 While the Napoleonic ~~Wars~~ [^] did threaten interests of the
 United States because of the French foothold in Louisiana, and while
^{the West Indies and}
[^]
 we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our rights against im-
 pressment of American seamen and interference with our peaceful ^{Trade}
~~commerce~~, it is, nevertheless, clear that neither France nor Great
 Britain nor any other nation was aiming at domination of the whole
 world.

^{so too.}
 From 1815 to 1914 — 99 years — no single war in Europe
[^] or in Asia constituted a real threat against ^{our future} ~~the future of~~ any other
 American nation.
^{Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no}
[^] foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere;
 and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic ^{has been} ~~was as strong as~~
~~since~~ a friendly strength. ^{It is still a friendly strength.}

^{Then}
 When the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain
 only small threat of danger to our own American future. But as time
 went on, and the success of German and Austro-Hungarian arms increased,
 the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic
 nations might mean to our own democracy.

Page # 3 - Insert A

Continue same paragraph -

The American people
have unalterably set
their faces against that
tyranny.

SIXTH DRAFT

- 3 -

We need not blink at ~~the~~ imperfections at the Peace of Versailles. We need not blink at ~~the~~ failure of the Democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction, ~~in the days following~~ ~~the World War~~, but we should remember that the Peace of Versailles

was far less unjust than ~~the Peace of West-Itouah which preceded~~ ~~the kind of "sacrifications" which began before Munich~~ ~~the Peace of Munich which followed it, or the proposals for a~~ ~~and which is being carried under the~~ "New Order" of tyranny that ~~are currently made~~ ~~to spread over~~ ~~every continent today~~ 34.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world -- assailed either by arms or by secret spreading of poisonous ideas by those whose true purpose is to destroy unity and promote discord in nations still at peace.

During sixteen months this ^{assault} _A has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an amazing number of independent nations great and small. Now, its deadly weapons are threatening that kind of life in several other nations great and small.

Therefore as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union",

SIXTH DRAFT

- 4 -

I find it necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. The total of those populations and resources greatly exceed the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere — many times over. 4A.

from a dictator's peace
No realistic American can expect international generosity
or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion — or even good business, ~~from~~

~~from a dictator's peace.~~

Such a peace would bring no security, for us or for our neighbors. *"Those who sell*

present!
In the words of Benjamin Franklin, ~~those who~~ *purchase* give up liberty to ~~obtain~~ *purchase* a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

Page 4- Insert A

In times like these it
is immature -- and incidentally
untrue -- for anybody to
boast that an unprepared
America, single-landed, and
with one land tied behind
its back, can defeat the
whole world.

SIXTH DRAFT

- 5 -

As a nation we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed.

We must always be wary ^{of those who with sounding brass wear a fooling symbol.} ~~against those who~~ preach the gospel.

15M We must ^{be aware} especially that small group of selfish men who of appeasement ~~by~~ would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack, which we must expect if the dictator nations win this war. This country and all the people of this Hemisphere know by now how direct a threat against us lies in the formal tri-partite alliance of the aggressor nations of the world.

There is much loose talk of the dangers to us of direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such dangers exist. Even without the British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us ^{directly} in the most difficult manner, by ^{landing} ~~sending~~ troops ^{in the H.M.T. & T.T.} across thousands of miles of ocean.

We can learn much from the lessons of the past year in Europe — particularly the lesson of Norway, whose strategic ^{by Treachery and surprise,} ~~seaports were captured simultaneously under the very eyes of the British fleet.~~

The first invaders in this hemisphere would not be regular troops. They would be secret agents — so-called "Salesmen" — so-called "tourists". These invaders are already here and in Latin America. ~~They~~ ^{— and} ~~are~~ ^{are} in considerable numbers.

6A This country's most vulnerable frontier may not be on the Atlantic coast, or the Pacific Coast. It may well be Texas.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, ~~we will have the advantage of choosing the time and place and method,~~ ^{— nature — will choose} ~~they will have the advantage of choosing the time and place and method,~~ ^{the the}

~~That is why~~ ^{this future infall} ~~the American Republics~~ ^{is} today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why this Congress meets in a dramatic hour.

Insert A - Page * 6.

This country's most vulnerable frontier might not lie on either the immediate Atlantic or Pacific Coasts. It might be in Nova Scotia or Quebec or in British Columbia. It might be at some distant or nearer point on the Continent of South America. It might be somewhere among the Republics that lie immediately to the south of us. It might be the Rio Grande.

That is why every member of the Executive branch of the government and every member of the Congress face great responsibility — and ~~great~~ great accountability.

The great need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily — almost exclusively — to meeting this ~~foreign~~ *foreign* ~~problem~~ *part*. For all our domestic problems are now *a part of* ~~confronted~~ the great emergency. We must all have a national identity of aims, purposeful and passionate, directed to creating the most effective answer to this challenge which is being made to our civilization.

Our national policy is clear. It is founded on sound morality and enlightened self-interest. 7A.

7A. Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all our fellow-men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small.

Insert A - Page 7

Our national policy
is clear. It is founded
on enlightened self-
interest and our self-
interest is founded on
morality. And the justice
of morality must and will
win in the end.

SIXTH DRAFT

- 8 -

The policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to "all-out" national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to "all-out" support of all those resolute peoples everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail, and we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that ~~and~~ ^{and} principles of morality ~~and~~ considerations for our own security will ⁿ ever permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and ₄ sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national

SIXTH DRAFT

- 9 -

policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today, it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are ~~completely united in~~ ^{and supporting} demanding speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, The immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production, ~~and the disposal of that armament in a way that will best serve our purpose - to keep war away from this Hemisphere and to help attain a world in which free men and free nations~~
~~freely live in peace.~~

The last Congress, in a series of enactments in 1940, authorized and appropriated the money for the undertaking of a great new program of defense. Of a sum of approximately twelve billion dollars appropriated in that calendar year, ten billion dollars have already been spent or contracted toward carrying out that program. This includes appropriations and authorizations made by the Congress as late as three months ago.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons

Insert A - Page # 10 -

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. People in charge of producing the results of the programs represent as good ability, training, and experience as can be found in the country. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. We ought not be satisfied until the job is done.

Insert B. Page 10-

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, the objective is quicker and better results.

To give two illustrations: We are behind hand in the goal for the actual turning out of finished airplanes. we are working day and night to catch up.

In the case of warship building we are doing better in speed than we anticipated; it

is now our objective to
get even greater speed
in the launching and
commissioning of these
ships.

Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases — and I am sorry to say very important cases — we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy have, however, made substantial progress during the past year. The figures show that. Actual experience is improving our methods of production with every passing day. It is vitally important, however, that every person responsible for the carrying out of the program must realize that this improvement cannot be static — that it must continue in every passing day of the future. Yesterday's best is not good enough for today.

10 P Every day that passes, the need of speed and yet more speed, is being driven home by the government, by industry and by labor. We are not satisfied with the progress thus far and we shall never be satisfied until the job is done. ~~This is no time for complacency.~~
~~This is no time for fear or faltering. The hour requires action and~~
~~courage. The American people will not shrink from the truth nor from~~

~~that action of the State which alone makes and keeps men free.~~

To change a whole nation to a basis of war time production of implements of war, from a basis of peace time production of implements of peace, is no small task. For the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools and plant facilities and new assembly lines ^{and ship ways} must be first constructed before the actual material begins to flow steadily from them.

The Congress of course ^{rightly keeps itself} must ~~be~~ informed at all times of the progress of the program; except that there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which our own security and the interests of the nations we are supporting, require to be kept in confidence.

New circumstances beget constantly ~~new~~ new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I shall also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to include a program for manufacturing munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to get as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power. They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. We ~~should not~~ ^{cannot and will not} tell them they must surrender merely because ~~they cannot immediately~~ ^{of present inability to} pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons -- a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend, instead of having those nations continue to place their own orders directly with our manufacturers of war materials, that this government alone place all orders and supervise all construction and pay for all the weapons. ^{Nearly all} ~~most~~ of it will be material which, if the time ever came, would fit into our own defense.

We can then determine, on the best military and naval judgment and advice, based ~~only~~ on what is best for our own security, how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their gallant resistance are giving us a period of grace, a breathing spell, in which to make ready our own defenses. Their victory will be our victory; their freedom will ensure our safety. For what we send abroad, we shall expect them to repay us

in similar materials or, at our option, in other goods of all kinds which they can produce and which we need within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities.

I am advised that the President, as Commander-in-Chief, already has power in an emergency to arrange for the transfer of military or naval equipment to other nations, if he deems such emergency action necessary to the defense of the United States. But when such action is taken, the world must know that the Congress of the United States and the Administration are in full agreement as to our national purpose.

Therefore, I am asking the Congress for its approval to construct and repair war materiel and equipment of all kinds, not only for our own Army and Navy but for those nations whose defense is important to our defense, and to transfer such materiel and equipment to those nations.

13A
~~SECRET DRAFT~~

~~PROHIBITION~~

[Our aid to those peoples who stand between us and still greater danger is a vital part of our own national defense. To impede that aid is to impede our national defense. The war orders of the democracies are not ordinary commercial transactions. Such aid is not a matter of barter. Such aid is not given because there is cash on the barrel-head. Such aid is given because it strengthens our defense and reduces the risks of further entanglement.]

Let us say to the democracies: America stands behind you. America ^{is} ~~will~~ ^{bring} put forth her energies, her resources and her organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. America will send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks and guns, food and medical supplies.

I hope that none of us will be beguiled by the threats of the dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law and as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. *Such aid is not an act of war. When if dictators should unilaterally proclaim it to be.* When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or Holland to commit an act of war.

~~The dictators~~ ^{They} are not interested in international law.

With a cynical appeal to the international law which they

13B

~~FINAL DRAFT~~

PROPOSED INSERT PAGE 16 (continued)

^{obsolete}
 themselves completely reject as part of democratic nonsense, they
~~therefore~~ warn free people to commit suicide by indifference
~~their self-interest~~, so that they may attack their victims one ^{at a time} ~~at a time~~
~~is time, when each victim nation is least able to defend itself and~~
~~least able to get help from other nations in a common, democratic~~
~~cause.~~

International law which lacks mutuality in its observance
 becomes an instrument of oppression. ~~Let us not deceive ourselves.~~
~~Dictators who have murdered law, never have been, are not now, and~~
~~never can be the guardians of law as we conceive it.~~

FIFTH DRAFT

~~14~~ 14

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The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger.

~~As we continue to master all that we know in this great~~
~~country~~ ✓ We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency -- as serious as war itself -- demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need. ~~But our national effort toward defense is impaired,~~
~~and not advanced, if the spirit of free people is not willingly~~
~~sacrificed in their own cause.~~

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort and sacrifice not among other groups but within their own groups.

No country has ever been saved by its business men pointing to the selfishness or radicalism of labor; or by its workers pointing to the greed or conservatism of capital. ~~A free nation derives its~~
~~strength from free men who are more eager to do their best for their~~

FIFTH DRAFT

15 277

~~country in time of crisis than they are to complain of the slackers.~~

I do not believe that there are many conscious slackers in America in business, in labor or agriculture. But the best way of dealing with the few slackers in our midst is to shame them by patriotic ^{on trouble making} example.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by arguments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and courage which come from an unshakeable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty ^{and} action which we call for, cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make the great mass of its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect, ~~have made a free people~~
~~ever more willing and ready to defend their freedom.~~

While our defense needs come first and while there are things which we might like to do but cannot because they might slow down our defense effort, we must not assume that what we have done

or what we shall continue to do to improve the social and economic conditions of our people will interpenetrate with our defense effort.

Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a ~~fact~~ ^{reality} in the world.

There is nothing mysterious about the basis of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are: equality of opportunity for youth and for others. Jobs for those who can work, security for those who need it, the ~~absence~~ ^{ending} of special privilege for the few, ~~the preservation~~ ^{the preservation} of civil liberties by all, ~~and~~ ^{the} enjoyment of the fruits of ~~technological~~ ^{scientific} progress in a constantly rising ~~widely diffused~~ ^{wider and} standard of living. These are the simple and basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these basic expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for improvement.

For example, we ought to bring more citizens into the coverage of old age pensions and unemployment insurance.

Insert A - Page 16.

¶ As examples:

¶ We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old age pensions and unemployment insurance

¶ We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care

¶ We should plan a better system by which persons desiring or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

FIFTH DRAFT

-28-

17

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We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care in many parts of the country. With it we must make better provision for the care of those who are handicapped in life by physical or mental causes or by personal conditions which make them exceptions to the normal.

We must go farther than ever before in planning a nationwide system by which all persons desiring gainful employment may obtain it in private or in government work.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call. ~~A part of the response involves harder work and the giving up of certain things in life which are not essentials.~~

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program. The principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation. **PH A**

→ That is the kind of system which we have been seeking to build. That is the kind of system which we shall continue to build for the future. ~~In that future~~ **the** days which we wish to make secure we look forward to a world founded fundamentally upon four essential human freedoms.

Insert A - Page # 17

If the Congress
maintains these fundamentals,
the voters, putting patriotism
ahead of pocketbooks,
will give you their
applause

18 176
-H-

The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want — which translated into world ~~international~~ terms means economic understandings which will secure to every nation ~~anywhere~~ a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants — *everywhere in the world*

The fourth is freedom from fear — which translated into world ~~international~~ terms means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation ~~anywhere~~ will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor — *anywhere in the world.*

17A. That kind of a world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new order" which the dictators seek to create *with the crash of* ~~at the point of~~

break in Europe and in Asia.

To that "new order" we oppose the greater conception, the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear. It has no need either for the one or for the other.

Insert A - Page 18

This is no vision
of a distant millennium.
It is a definite possi-
bility of attainment in
our own time and
generations.

SEVENTH DRAFT

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

1941

- - - - -

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress,
at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word
"unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security
been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the
Constitution in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history
have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these --
the four years War Between the States -- ever threatened our national
unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States had often
been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in
two wars with European nations and a number of undeclared wars in the
West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance
of American rights and for the principle of peaceful commerce. In no
case, however, had a serious threat been raised against our national
safety or our independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United



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States as a nation has at all times maintained opposition to any attempt to lock it into an attic room while the procession of civilization goes past the door. Today, thinking of children ^{in the clouds}, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any part of the Americas.

That determination of ours was proved, for example, during the quarter century wars that followed the end of the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our rights against impressment of American seamen and interference with our peaceful trade, it is, nevertheless, clear that neither France nor Great Britain nor any other nation was aiming at domination of the whole world.

From 1815 to 1914 -- 99 years -- ¹⁸¹⁴ no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength. It is still a friendly strength.

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain



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only small threat of danger to our own American future. But as time went on, and the success of German and Austro-Hungarian arms increased, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not blink at imperfections at the Peace of Versailles. We need not blink at failure of the Democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction, but we should remember that the Peace of Versailles was far less unjust than the kind of pacification which began even before Munich and which is being carried under the "New Order" of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world -- assailed either by arms or by secret spreading of poisonous ideas by those whose true purpose is to destroy unity and promote discord in national still at peace.

During sixteen months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an amazing number of independent nations great and small. Now, its deadly weapons are threatening that kind of life in several other nations great and small.



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Therefore as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union", I find it necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. The total of those populations and resources greatly exceed the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere -- many times over.

In times like these it is immature -- and incidentally untrue -- for anybody to boast that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can defeat the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictators peace international generosity or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion -- or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security, for us or for our neighbors. "Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."



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SKETCH DRAFT

-5-

As a nation we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed.

We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement. We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack, which we must expect if the dictator nations win this war. This country and all the people of this Hemisphere know by now how direct a threat against us lies in the formal tri-partite alliance of the aggressor nations of the world.

There is much loose talk of the dangers to us of direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such dangers exist. Even without the British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us directly in the most difficult manner, by landing troops in the United States across thousands of miles of ocean.



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We can learn much from the lessons of the past year in Europe -- particularly the lesson of Norway, whose strategic airports were captured by treachery and surprise. *let*

The first invaders in this hemisphere would not be regular troops. They would be secret agents -- so-called "Galeman" -- so-called "tourists". These invaders are already here and in Latin America -- and in considerable numbers.

This country's most vulnerable frontier might not be on either the immediate Atlantic or Pacific Coasts. It might be in Nova Scotia or Quebec or in British Columbia. It might be at some distant or nearer point on the Continent of South America. It might be somewhere among the Republics that lie immediately to the south of us. It might be the Rio Grande.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they -- not we -- will choose the time and the place and the method.

That is why the future of all American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why this Congress meets in a dramatic hour.



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That is why every member of the Executive branch of the government and every member of the Congress face great responsibility -- and great accountability.

The great need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily -- almost exclusively -- to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Our national policy is clear. It is founded on enlightened self-interest and our self-interest is founded on morality. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all our fellow-men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small.



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General I. Rosenbaum

The policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to "all-out" national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to "all-out" support of all those resolute peoples everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail, and we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenzweig

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 2 -

policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today, it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

The last Congress, in a series of enactments in 1940, authorized and appropriated the money for the undertaking of a great new program of defense. Of a sum of approximately twelve billion dollars appropriated in that calendar year, ten billion dollars have already been spent or contracted toward carrying out that program. This includes appropriations and authorizations made by the Congress as late as three months ago.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases -- and I am sorry to say very important cases -- we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.



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General I. Hoesmann

The Army and Navy have, however, made substantial progress during the past year. The figures show that. Actual experience is improving our methods of production with every passing day. It is vitally important, however, that every person responsible for the carrying out of the program must realize that this improvement cannot be static -- that it must continue in every passing day of the future. Yesterday's best is not good enough for today.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. People in charge of producing the results of the program represent as good ability, training, and experience as can be found in the country. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. We ought not be satisfied until the job is done.

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, the objective is quicker and better results.

To give two illustrations: We are behind hand in the goal for the actual turning out of finished airplanes; we are working day and night to catch up.

In the case of warship building we are doing better in speed than we anticipated; it is now our objective to get even greater speed in the launching and commissioning of these ships.



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AID. PERS., R. 1.

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To change a whole nation to a basis of war time production of implements of war, from a basis of peace time production of implements of peace, is no small task. For the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools and plant facilities and new assembly lines and ship ways must be first constructed before the actual materiel begins to flow steadily from them.

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New circumstances beget constant new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I shall also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to include a program for manufacturing armaments and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 12 -

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power. They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. We cannot and will not tell them they must surrender merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons -- a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend, instead of having these nations continue to place their own orders directly with our manufacturers of war materials, that this government alone place all orders and supervise all construction and pay for all the weapons. Nearly all of it will be material which, if the time ever come, would fit into our own defense.

We can then determine, on the best military and naval judgment and advice based on what is best for our own security, how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their gallant resistance are giving us a period of grace,



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

a breathing spell, in which to make ready our own defenses.

Their victory will be our victory; their freedom will ensure our safety. For what we send abroad, we shall expect them to repay us in similar materials or, at our option, in other goods of all kinds which they can produce and which we need within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities.

Let us say to the democracies: America stands behind you. America is putting forth her energies, her resources and her organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. America will send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks and guns, food and medical supplies.

I hope that none of us will be beguiled by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law and as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it to be.

When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or Holland to commit an act of war. They are not interested in international law.



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Sumner T. Rosenbaum

With a cynical appeal to the international law which they themselves completely reject as part of obsolete democratic nonsense, they warn free people to commit suicide by indifference so that they may attack their victims one by one.

International law which lacks mutuality in its observance becomes an instrument of oppression.

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger.

We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency — as serious as war itself — demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need.

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FIVE FLOOR, R. 1

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[No country has ever been saved by its business men pointing to the selfishness or radicalism of labor; or by its workers pointing to the greed or conservatism of capital.]

[I do not believe that there are many conscious slackers in America in business, in labor or agriculture. But] the best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is to shame them by patriotic example.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and courage which come from an unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action which we call for, cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make the great mass of its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenmann

Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

There is nothing mysterious about the basis of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties by all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple and basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these basic expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for improvement.

As examples:



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From the Report of
SENATOR J. ROOSEVELT

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old age pensions and unemployment insurance.

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I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program. ^{and} The principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these fundamentals, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded fundamentally upon four essential human freedoms.



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The third is freedom from want -- which translated into world terms means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants -- everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear -- which translated into world terms means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor -- anywhere in the world.

There is no vision of a distant millenium. It is a definite possibility of attainment in our own time and generation. That kind of a world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new order" which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb in Europe and in Asia.

To that "new order" we oppose the greater conception -- the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenbaum

and foreign revolutions alike without fear. It has no need either for the one or for the other.

Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in a perpetual peaceful revolution — a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly and kindly. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free nations working together in a friendly civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our help lies open to those who seek to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is in our unity of purpose. To that high concept there can be no end save victory.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

PP

1- 16-17-18

SIXTH DRAFT

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

1941

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the Constitution in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these -- the four years War Between the States -- ever threatened our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States had often been disturbed by events in other Continents; ~~and~~ ^{we} had even engaged in two wars with European nations. In no case, however, had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our independence. (15)

~~That was true~~, for example, during the quarter century of wars that followed the end of the French Revolution.

FIFTH DRAFT

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17

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We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care in many parts of the country. With it we must make better provision for the care of those who are handicapped in life by physical or mental causes or by personal conditions which make them exceptions to the normal.

We must go further than ever before in planning a nationwide system by which all persons desiring gainful employment may obtain it in private or in government work.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call. ~~A part of the response involves harder work and the giving up of certain things in life which are not essentials.~~

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program. The principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation. *PA B A*

→ That is the kind of system which we have been seeking to build. That is the kind of system which we shall continue to build for the future. *The days which are with the month & year*
In the future, we look forward to a world founded fundamentally upon four essential human freedoms.

- 18 - 178

The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want — which translated into world ~~international~~ terms means economic understandings which will secure to every nation ~~anywhere~~ a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants. *everywhere in the world*

The fourth is freedom from fear — which translated into world ~~international~~ terms means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation ~~anywhere~~ will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor. *anywhere in the world.*

A-17A. That kind of a world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new order" which the dictators seek to create *with the crash of* ~~at the point of a gun~~

break in Europe and in Asia.

To that "new order" we oppose the greater conception ^{of} the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear. It has no need either for the one or for the other.

Since the beginning of our ^{American} history we have been engaged
in a perpetual ^{peaceful} revolution -- a revolution which goes on steadily,
quietly and kindly. The ^{desired} ~~new~~ order which we seek is the
cooperation of free nations working together in a friendly civilized

~~new~~ society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and
hearts of its millions of free men, ^{and women; in freedom under} its faith ~~and~~ the guidance of
God ^{freedom under} ~~and~~. No class is made sacred. No property system is
made superior to human rights. Our strength is in our union; and our gener-
osity is open to every nation of the world. To that conception there
can be no end save victory.

The supremacy of
Freedom means human rights everywhere.
Our help lies open to those who
seek to gain these ^{rights} ~~is~~ ~~and~~ keep them.
Our strength is in our unity of
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MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

1941

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the Constitution, in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these -- the four year War Between the States -- ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, one hundred and thirty million Americans, in forty-eight States, have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States often had been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce. In no case, however, had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained opposition to any attempt to look us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past ~~the door~~. Today, thinking of our children and their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any part of the Americas.

That determination of ours was proved, for example, during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is, nevertheless, clear that neither France nor Great Britain nor any other nation was aiming at domination of the whole world.

In like fashion from 1815 to 1914 -- 99 years -- no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength. It is still a friendly strength.

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But, as time went on, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not over-emphasize imperfections in the Peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction. We should remember that the Peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of "pacification" which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world -- assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda, by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations still at peace.

During sixteen months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. The assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations , great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union", I find it necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population ^{and} ~~at~~ all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. *and let me remember that* The total of those populations and their resources greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere -- many times over.

In times like these it is immature -- and incidentally untrue -- for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion -- or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. "Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety".

As a nation we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed.

We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement.

We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack, which we must expect if the dictator nations win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even if there were no British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate.

But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe -- particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years.

The first phase of the invasion of this Hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and their dupes -- and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they -- not we -- will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

That is why the future of all American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why every member of the Executive branch of the government and every member of the Congress face great responsibility -- and great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily -- almost exclusively -- to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all our fellow-men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will, and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today, it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases -- and I am sorry to say very important cases -- we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy, however, have made substantial progress during the past year. Actual experience is improving and speeding up our methods of production with every passing day. And today's best is not good enough for tomorrow.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. The men in charge of the program represent the best in training, ability and patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done.

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, our objective is quicker and better results.

To give two illustrations: We are behind schedule in turning out finished airplanes; we are working day and night to solve the innumerable problems and to catch up.

We are ahead of schedule in building warships; but we are working to get even further ahead of schedule.

To change a whole nation from a basis of peace time production of implements of peace to a basis of war time production of implements of war is no small task. And the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools and plant facilities and new assembly lines and ship ways must first be constructed before the actual materiel begins to flow steadily and speedily from them.

The Congress, of course, must rightly keep itself informed at all times of the progress of the program. However, there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which, in the interests of our own security and those of the nations we are supporting, must of needs be kept in confidence.

New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power. They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. We cannot, and will not, tell them they must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons -- a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend that we make it possible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own program. Nearly all of their materiel would, if the time ever came, be useful for our own defense.

Taking counsel of expert military and naval authorities, considering what is best for our own security, we are free to decide how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their determined and heroic resistance are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense.

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid, within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, in similar materials, or, at our option, in other goods of many kinds which they can produce and which we need.

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our pledge".

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law and as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be.

When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war.

Their only interest is in a new one-way international law, which lacks mutuality in its observance, and, therefore, becomes an instrument of oppression.

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger.

We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency -- as serious as war itself -- demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of government to save government.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and courage which come from an unshakeable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action which we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

For There is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple and basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.

As examples:

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression -- everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want -- which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants -- everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear -- which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor -- anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception -- the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in a change -- in a perpetual peaceful revolution -- a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly, adjusting itself to changing conditions -- without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is in our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

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