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.

That was true, for example, during the quarter century of wars that followed the end of the French Revolution.
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 impressment of American seamen and interference with our peaceful commerce, 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 — no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against us or against any other American nation. Except in 1812 and 1846, 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.

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.
SIXTH DRAFT

- 3 -

We need not blink at the imperfections of 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 East-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 assult has blotted out the whole patency of democratic life in an amazing number of independent nations great and small. Now, its deadly weapon is 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", 
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 or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion — or even good business from victorious dictatorships.

Such a peace would bring no security, for us or for our neighbors. In the words of Benjamin Franklin: "They that give up liberty to obtain 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 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 attack us in the most difficult manner, by sending troops 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
conquests 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 "Salomon" — so-called
"tourists." Those invaders are already here and in Latin America. They
appear in considerable numbers.

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,
they will have the advantage of choosing the time and place and method
of attack.

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

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.
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 neither principles of morality nor 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
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 demanding 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
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
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 begat 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.
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 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. Each 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 fol-
lowing 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 pur-
pose.

Therefore, I am asking the Congress for its approval to con-
struct 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.
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 so 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 civilisation 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 visualise what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not over-emphasise 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 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 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 land-
ing 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 offen-
sive, 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 material 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
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.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 6, 1941.
Jan 6, 1941.

Lead to the

two houses
in joint session.

[Announced in blue/black ink.

Written in reverse of last page of text, 11. 5/1/89]
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.

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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.

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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.
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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.

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Orig. reading copy
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
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.

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The fourth is freedom from fear — which translated into 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.

That kind of a world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new order" which the dictators seek to create at the point of a gun 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.
Since the beginning of our history we have been engaged
in a perpetual revolution -- a revolution which goes on steadily,
quietly and kindly. The international 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, its faith in the guidance of
God and humanity. 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.
Message from
11/14

S.W.L.
R.E.S.
B.W.C.

Judge Rosenman

White House
Message to Congress - 1/6/41

Carbon - 5 pages uncorrected.

Second Draft - Berle draft 26 pages - original - uncorrected.

Third Draft - uncorrected - 14 pages - 2 copies.


Fifth Draft - pages attached to 6th Draft.


THE ONE YEAR 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 all-out, stupid 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 300,000,000 guilders. To see the full picture of Hitler's exploitation of the weaker victim, one must add the costs to Holland of the Nazi occupation, approximately 125,000,000 guilders or 285,000,000 dollars. The increase in Dutch exports is under "forced draft," with forced Dutch labor used to manufacture goods to supply the German army. The price they are offered. Holland is not only the country to undergo the devastation and economic organization. In Denmark, according to careful calculations, the legalized robbery is three times as intense.

ALIENS WHO HAVE postponed registration until this, the final day, are ex-pected to jam the post offices tonight in order to get in under the midnight deadline. Those who fail to register by the last day will lose their rights. The German government has adopted the policy of failure to register is six months' imprisonment or a $1,000 fine or both. Canadian must register, as must the parents or guardians of alien children under 14. If you should register and are not yet done, hurry to the post office now and avoid the long line later this evening.

THEY have used the air by a broad-caster without permission of the recording company that is the recording artist. This is the meat of the Supreme Court's decision in the Paul Whiteman case. It seems to us to be a violation on several grounds. Congress and the courts have rarely been kind to the "copyright" man. In the last, the writer who writes books has managed to secure fairly adequate but only fairly adequate protection, and when 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 via recordings without
ACCELERATE OUR WAR INDUSTRIES AND GIVE ALL AID TO BRITAIN

Dear Editor: I wish to congratulate you on your recent article on the acute perception and incisive thinking in this our national crisis.

The simple, homespun way your Samuel Grafton analyzes the complicated business problems of governmental and industrial performance, and his timely remedial suggestions for improving the communications between our national leaders on charge of our defense efforts.

We are not just another new problem of granting England vast amounts of money to carry on, there seems to be one logical answer to it. But it is now too early to write off our commitment to help England. To crush back to our little hole of national isolation, so we must not forget the advice of Hitler and his cohorts for our interest in each other, the path of purification of the opponent, upon whom all who have ever had to wage war on past paths of destruction.

I say go on to the full limit now, in spite of our incomplete preparation, and seek England's failure while we accelerate our own efforts. We can be the victim of our own success, the opportunity of learning the only universal language, the language of song, which belongs equally to all.
For F. D. R. Jr.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., 26, third son of the President, will start to work on a $2,500-a-year law clerk with Wright, Gordon, Sachau & Parlin, 13 Wall St., on June 6, as it was disclosed today.

Members of the law firm who told 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 an applicant for a law school. It was announced Aug. 17 that FDR Jr. would become a clerk with Garcey & Garcey, 13 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 archi-
tect whose firm drew plans for the homes of the late John D. Rockefeller and Dwight W. Morrow, and who had been di-
rector of the American Academy in Rome since 1905, died today.

Aldrich was a member of the firm of Delano & Aldrich, 128 E. 53rd St., and lived at 116 E.

53rd St., New York, before moving up residence here to guide af-
airs of the academy, which had about 20 members, all wel-
comed in America by distinguished examination.

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

Other Deaths

SAMBUL DELEVET, 60, of 88 Central Rd., West Palm Beach, Fla., judge of the Children's Court and founder of a camp for un-
privileged children at Camp Groton, Mount, 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, 63, director of dramatics at the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Assn. of The Bronx; at the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital.

FRIDERIC W. WEEKS, 67, member of the business staff of the New York Times; at his home, 25 Lefrak Pl., Brooklyn.

500 Children He Hopes to Save Them

International Jewish Migrant to New York

at Montevideo, some for refuge

Terrorized children included

in the trains to make room for

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

land—did not complain. They

set about making new furniture.

But we had no food.

The French were kind. The

Mayoress of Limoges gave me her 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 Algeria and Mor-

rocco; 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,

even, about 75 miles an hour. I had gone off my course tack-
ing the line like a sailing ves-


der in an attempt to lose the

storm, but with those 30-foot

year only 543,681 passenger automobiles were manufactured.

In 1939 fewer than 1,000 car-

nels were built, while the as-

sembly lines turned out 4,362-

200 units. Even more striking was the drop in the output of camec fruit and vegetable.

The shock was mentioned in the 1941 censu
Papa Papanek's 500 Children

They Suffer in Europe but He Hopes to Save Them

By MARION BUSSANG

Ernst Papanek, who looks like a Mitteleuropean version of Mr. Chips, is both happy and sad this holiday season.

Two of his children—George Papanek, 3, and Gustav, 14—are with their mother and father, who came here from Vienna by way of Czechoslovakia and France.

But 500 others, his foster children, are in the South of France, in the refugee homes where he took them from Paris as the Germans swept through Holland and Belgium.

Comfort to Papanek in his comparatively loneliness is the hope that the children will soon be brought to the U.S. by the American Joint Distribution Committee and the Swiss Refugee Service.

In September, Papanek, a former member of the Vienna Diet, and president of the Vienna School Board's committee on school personnel, left Austria in 1934, after the Dolfuss regime took power.

Set Up Children's Haven

He worked first in Czechoslovakia, then in the Scandinavian countries, and finally for four years in France for the OSE Union, an international Jewish organization similar to the ORT.

In France, at Montmorency, he set up a home for refugee children in 1936.

"I saw them, a few at a time, until there were 500," Papanek recalled, his eyes growing warm and moist behind his thick-lensed glasses.

"First the little Germans, then the Austrians—Jewish children and Gentile children. In the first thing the Jewish children would say was: 'You really play in the park, we Jews.' And the first thing the little Gentiles, children of the men and women who had spoken aloud of things that might be talked about, would ask was: 'And may we really talk like this at home?'

Then the Poles—Terribly

"Then later, the Poles came, just as the last, with terror in their eyes."

"But life was kind at Montmorency and some of the terror lasted there, and some of it little ones even forgot, after a fashion.

"And at first the air raid alarms began, and we sang and the children played in the air raid shelter rooms, until there were 500. Each letter gathered pieces of shells from the anti-aircraft guns.

A Policeman's Holiday

Special to The Post
DETROIT, Dec. 26—Thomas Urquhart, 31, told police today that he was taking two drinks of wine yesterday to start off his celebration of Christmas.

They then told him that he was no longer a policeman, that he was spending nearly all of his time in a prison, and that he shot a WPA worker and that the shot hit a theatre a block away, and that he had shot again, this time critically wounding Alexander Rody, 53, a dishwasher.

by Neil O'Hara

In the family tub, with gas, the older ones, the other kiddies and the servants dipping into the warm water—three from ten to ten each. However, bringing into the tub, each hour I like to enjoy space, at times and the entire body.

Just snipped from someplace: "We wonder whether, with any family dinner, a female soldier ever lets the know whose wearing it in that family.

Ily Milly

EXTRA YORK CITY—Refugee's College Art Therapists have been due at the Art Institute, according to a Dean learns.

Swings Out the News

Out SOMEBODY'S TELING CHEATING US?

Mr. Alexander J. Golobic

By Stan Mac Govern

Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Charm Char
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 FDR'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 1739, 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.

That was true, for example, during the quarter century of wars that followed the end of the French Revolution.
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.
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...
While the Napoleonic-Wars did threaten interests of the
West Indies and
United States because of the French foothold in Louisiana, and while
we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our rights against im-
pression of American seamen and interference with our peaceful
commerce, 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 — no single war in Europe
or in Asia constituted a real threat against or against any other
American nation.

Except in the Mexican War, 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.

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 - Desert 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 years following the Great War, but we should remember that the Peace of Versailles was far less unjust than the Peace of West-östlich which preceded it, or the proposal for a kind which is being carved under the "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 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", 
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 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. As the words of Benjamin Franklin, "he that gives up

... liberty to secure a little temporary safety, deserves neither liberty nor safety."
In times like these it is immature and INCREDIBLY

vile to boast that an unprepared

united America, singly handed, and

with one hand tied behind

its back, can defeat the whole world.
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 attack us in the most difficult manner, by troops 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
positions 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 “Spiesmen” — so-called
“tourists”. Those invaders are already here and in Latin America, they
are and have been in considerable numbers.

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,
they will have the advantage of choosing the time and place and method,
the future will be.

That is why 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.
This country's most vulnerable frontier might not lie on either the immediate Atlantic or Pacific Coasts. It might lie in Nova Scotia or Quebec or in British Columbia. It might be at some distant or near 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 accountability.

The great need of the moment is that our actions and our
policy should be devoted primarily — almost exclusively — to meeting
this great emergency. We must all have a national identity
of aim, 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.

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.
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

- 9 -

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 morality 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
policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today, it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are united in 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 as to keep us 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
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 to 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 runway construction we are doing better in speed than we anticipated; it
as soon 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.

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 fragmenting. The hour requires courage and

The American people will not shrink from the truth nor from
that action of 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 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 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 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 these in ready cash. We should 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 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 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 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 fol-
lowing 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 pur-
pose.

Therefore, I am asking the Congress for its approval to con-
struct 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.
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 will 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; if it were, should unilaterally proclaim it as.

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 are not interested in international law.

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

Be a time when each victim nation is least able to defend itself and least able to get help from other nations in a common, democratic

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.
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 mete out what we know in this great war, 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 policy of a free people is not willingly undertaken 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
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 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 unshakeable 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, —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 willinters 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 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 of special privilege for
the few, the possession of civil liberties by all, the enjoyment
of the fruits of technological progress in a constantly rising
widely-diffused 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.
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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 decent for needing gainful employment may obtain it.
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 sacrifices. 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 sacrifices 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.

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 this future, we look forward to a world founded fundamentally upon four essential human freedoms.
If the Congress maintains these fundamentally the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.
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 kind of a world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new order" which the dictators seek to create 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.
This is no vision of a distant millennium.
It is a definite possibility of attainment in our own time and generations.
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
States as a nation has at all times maintained opposition to any attempt to look it into an attic room while the procession of civiliza-
tion goes past the door. Today, thinking of children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any part of the Americans.

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 — 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, 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.
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."
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 in-
vasion 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.
We can learn much from the lessons of the past year in Europe — particularly the lessons of Norway, whose strategic seaports were captured by treachery and surprise.

The first invaders in this hemisphere would not be regular troops. They would be secret agents — so-called "salesmen" — as-called "tourists". Those 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.
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.
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
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.
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 those ships.
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 must rightly keep itself 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 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 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, 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 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 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.

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.
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.

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.

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 men 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.
Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root causes 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:
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. 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.
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.

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
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 civilised
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.
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 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.

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

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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 this future, we look forward to a world founded fundamentally upon four essential human freedoms.
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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.
Since the beginning of our history we have been engaged
in a perpetual revolution -- a revolution which goes on steadily,
quietly and kindly. The 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, its faith, the guidance of
God. 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
and help the poor to those who
are in need. Treat those who
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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 us. 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 manpower. 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.

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.