
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

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

File No. 1570

1945 January 20

Fourth Inaugural Address

FOURTH INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
JANUARY 20, 1945

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE, MR. VICE PRESIDENT - MY FRIENDS:

You will understand and, I believe, agree with my wish that the form of this Inauguration be simple and its words brief.

We Americans of today, together with our Allies, are passing through a period of supreme test. It is a test of our courage -- of our resolve -- of our wisdom -- of our essential decency.

If we meet that test -- successfully and honorably -- we shall perform a service of historic importance which men and women and children will honor throughout all time.

Original removed for loan to NLGN 9-3-08

B. Cline Sup. Sec.

As I stand here today, having taken the solemn oath of office in the presence of my fellow countrymen -- in the presence of our God -- I know that it is America's purpose that we shall not fail.

In the days and in the years that are to come we shall work for a just and durable peace as today we work and fight for total victory in war.

We can and we will achieve such a peace.

We shall strive for perfection. We shall not achieve it immediately -- but we still shall strive. We may make mistakes -- but they must never be mistakes which result from faintness of heart or abandonment of moral principle..

I remember that my old schoolmaster, *Dr. A. A. Hardy* said, in days that seemed to us then to be secure and untroubled:

"Things in life will not always run smoothly. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights -- then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward; that a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and the valleys of the centuries always has an upward trend".

Our Constitution of 1787 was not a perfect instrument; it is not perfect yet. But it provided a firm base upon which all manner of men, of all races and colors and creeds, could build our solid structure of democracy.

Today in this year of war, 1945, we have learned lessons -- at a fearful cost -- and we shall profit by them.

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as **men**, not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger.

We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.

We have learned the simple truth, as Emerson said, that "The only way to have a friend is to be one".

We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust -- and with fear. We can gain it only if we proceed with the understanding and confidence and courage which flow from conviction.

The Almighty God has blessed our land in many ways. He has given our people stout hearts and strong arms with which to strike mighty blows for freedom and truth. He has given to our country a faith which has become the hope of all peoples in an anguished world.

We pray now to Him for the vision to see our way
clearly -- to see the way that leads to a better life
for ourselves and for all our fellow men -- to the
achievement of His will to peace on earth.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

orig. making copy

THE PRESIDENT'S FOURTH INAUGURAL ADDRESS

From The South Portico Of The White House

January 20, 1945, about 12.06 p.m., e.w.t.

Broadcast Nationally

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President, My Friends:

You will understand and, I believe, agree with my wish that the form of this Inauguration be simple and its words brief.

We Americans of today, together with our Allies, are passing through a period of supreme test. It is a test of our courage -- of our resolve -- of our wisdom -- of our essential democracy (decency).

If we meet that test -- successfully and honorably -- we shall perform a service of historic importance -- of historic importance which men and women and children will honor throughout all time.

As I stand here today, having taken the solemn oath of office in the presence of my fellow countrymen -- in the presence of our God -- I know that it is America's purpose that we shall not fail.

In the days and (in) the years that are to come, we shall work for a just and honorable (durable) peace, a durable peace, as today we work and fight for total victory in war.

We can and we will achieve such a peace.

We shall strive for perfection. We shall not achieve it immediately -- but we still shall strive. We may make mistakes -- but they must never be mistakes which result from faintness of heart or abandonment of moral principle.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

I remember that my old schoolmaster, Dr. Peabody, said -- in days that seemed to us then to be secure and untroubled -- he said, "Things in life will not always run smoothly. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights -- then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward; that a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and the valleys of the centuries always has an upward trend."

Our Constitution of 1787 was not a perfect instrument; it is not perfect yet. But it provided a firm base upon which all manner of men, of all races and colors and creeds, could build our solid structure of democracy.

And so today, in this year of war, 1945, we have learned lessons -- at a fearful cost -- and we shall profit by them.

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as men and not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger.

We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.

We have learned the simple truth, as Emerson said, that, "The only way to have a friend is to be one."

We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust -- or (and) with fear. We can gain

it only if we proceed with the understanding and the confidence and the courage which flow from conviction.

The Almighty God has blessed our land in many ways. He has given our people stout hearts and strong arms with which to strike mighty blows for freedom and truth. He has given to our country a faith which has become the hope of all peoples in an anguished world.

So we pray (now) to Him now for the vision to see our way clearly -- to see the way that leads to a better life for ourselves and for all our fellow men -- and to the achievement of His will to peace on earth.

(applause)

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Jan. 13, 1945

OTHER THOUGHTS FOR INAUGURAL SPEECH

Three years ago we had become an active participant in a world pervading war and today we are in the costly process of winning it.

Our people have come to realize attendant losses; and they have understood, many of them for the first time, the vastness of the figures of distances, of populations and of the sum of munitions and production now essential to final victory. They are happy in the generalization that the greater part of humanity is on our side.

But many of these hundreds of millions need the confidence which flows from conviction. And the pity of it is that there is so much wavering, so much doubt on those fundamentals which have been a part of us and our ancestors through the long years.

They see through the glass, darkly. I remember that my old schoolmaster said in the early days, "Things in life will not always run smoothly -- life is a series of ups and downs. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights -- then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization, like the trend of the individual, is on the average upward; that a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and valleys

through the centuries always had an upgrade trend."

For the second time in history humanity looks toward the achievement of the highest conceivable ideals of international conduct; but we shall fail in that if we insist on perfection. The Constitution of 1787 was neither perfect nor complete. It was the best that could be obtained at that time.

We seek improvement -- in social conduct, in moral values, in accord between nations. Below that goal lies a negation, for all that we can tell our children is that in this struggle we have averted something worse. Clear gain lies in the area of continuous future striving toward higher levels of action and morality.

Twelve years ago I said in a day of stress that this country had to fear fear itself. That is true in the sense that it applies to the whole world and not to us alone. To counter this a speed-up is needed in plans for world organization. Opportunity knocks once more.

Many years ago Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said that the law defines a line of "minimum social conduct" below which one went at one's peril. The law does not

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preach nor does it indicate maximum behavior. It deals with minima of conduct. It establishes rules and provides penalties.

Amos (21)
4/15/44

My Fellow Citizens:

You will understand my wish that the forms of this
Inauguration should be simple and its words brief.

There is no need to say in words what all the world has
seen in action. The meaning of our Republic has been declared
upon every continent of the earth and on its seas and in the
islands.

Four years ago, there were men in other countries who
wished the world to think democracy was old, self-government had
lost its vigor, and liberty was dead.

Four years ago, there were some in our own country who
listened to these counsels of despair.

Now we are fighting the greatest war in the history of
the world. Our Armies stand on the Rhine and in the valley of

northern Italy and on the approaches to Manila. Our fleet has mastered the greater part of the Pacific Ocean and shares with our British Allies the patrol of the Atlantic. Our planes strike at the hearts of our enemies in Germany and Japan.

The war is not yet won, but it will be won.

^{And we}
^ know why it will be won.

It will be won because the things in which we believe have proved to be more powerful than the things in which our enemies believe.

^{We will achieve}
It is not by arms alone the victory, ~~will be won~~.

We and our Allies have mustered enormous forces, but our enemies were strong also: at the beginning they were stronger than we were, and they struck when they, not we, were ready.

We and our Allies have built a powerful armament of

weapons of every kind, but our enemies were armed as well as we; they were armed indeed before us, and for months and even years their weapons were superior to ours.

It is not by arms alone but by our wills we have out-fought them. We knew the thing we believed in was good, and the thing they believed in was evil. Knowing this, we were stronger than they, however great their strength.

They could not destroy the people of England, though they crushed them in their burning cities when their arms had been struck down.

They could not destroy the people of Russia, though they murdered them on the winter plains as they retreated.

They could not destroy us, though they struck us by treachery.

There are still some doubting and faint-hearted men who

ask that the Americans should state their purpose in this war.

The American purpose in this war is not different from the American purpose in any other action of the people in our history.

The American purpose is the American future - the future of that last best hope which Lincoln told us we Americans would nobly save or meanly lose - the hope of freedom. The American future is the future of the hope of all mankind that men may live in peace and freedom and be men.

Because our enemies had threatened to root out that hope from every heart in every country, they revived our deep devotion to the ~~same~~ hope, *our future holds.*

Because our enemies had challenged our belief in our own past, they gave us back our past to fight beside us.

The oath which I have just taken is one which all of us Americans have taken who are now engaged in a mighty struggle to defend all of the ideals of our Constitution against those who would destroy them. Fighting American men and women -- all over the world -- have taken that same oath and are now fulfilling it in a struggle of death and destruction.

We know that ultimately -- inevitably -- we shall win that struggle and that the principles of our Constitution on which this nation was founded and has prospered will be safe from our enemies.

With that victory in sight we now begin to see the achievement of another ideal -- one for which men of goodwill have labored and prayed through the ages -- the ideal of world peace based upon the cooperation of the peace-loving nations of the earth.

The assurance of that world peace will not come overnight -- it will not come easily. It will take hard work, it will take patience, it will take tolerance and mutual understanding. Above all, it will take conviction -- unshakeable conviction that it can be done and that it must be done.

For a second time, this generation has had to count the cost of war in treasure and in human lives. Engines of

destruction, now foreseen by men of science, would make a third time the end of all civilization itself.

Therefore there can be no wavering this time -- no doubts, no fears, no excuses.

We must remember the truths we learned from childhood on -- the course of life is not always smooth and level. Mankind can attain great heights -- and can sink to low depths. But through the centuries, the trend of civilization -- like the trend of the individual -- has been forward and upward.

Our Constitution itself was not a perfect instrument in 1787 -- nor a complete one. But in 1787 it was the best that human beings had up to that date been able to achieve. The framers of the Constitution knew that they had not achieved perfection -- nor did they insist upon perfection before they signed.

For the second time in history, humanity now has within its grasp the achievement of the highest ideals of international conduct. We failed once because we would not even make an effort to succeed. We shall fail again if we insist on perfection -- all at once.

Our first job is to win this war; but we cannot be content merely in the knowledge that by winning it we have saved ourselves

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from slavery and have saved the world from slipping back into the dark ages. We must look upward -- raise our sights -- and seek improvement in moral values, in the relationship between nations. We must continue to strive toward higher levels of action and morality.

As in every day of crisis, the principal thing to fear is fear itself -- fear that we cannot accomplish the high objectives we seek.

We have climbed a long way in the last twelve years at home and have reached levels of human security and well-being far above those of 1933. Of course we have not begun to attain or even envisage perfection. But we have set definite goals of social progress and we know we are moving toward them.

We have likewise set goals in international affairs. The principles of the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms form the objectives. We shall fix our course by the outlines of that chart. How far we can sail in the next four years, no one can now foretell. But we shall sail -- not drift.

God Almighty has blessed this land in a thousand ways. But His greatest blessing has been to give us the strength and the vision and the courage to lead the way toward His ideals of peace. We have gallant Allies who have banded together with us to overcome the forces of evil. We shall need them, they will need us -- to carry on to the goal of lasting peace. In our efforts to find His paths of peace, our Allies and ourselves - together - will need, and will call upon, that Divine guidance without which the will of mortals is of no avail.

You will understand and, I believe, agree with my wish that the form of this Inauguration should be simple and its words brief.

There is no need to say in words what mankind has seen and experienced in action. The meaning of our Republic has been declared upon every continent of the earth and on the seas and on the islands.

We Americans of today -- and our brothers in many lands who fight at our side -- are passing through a period of supreme test. It is a test of our courage - of our resolve - of our wisdom - of our essential decency.

If we meet that test - successfully and honorably - we shall have performed a service of historic importance which men and women and children will celebrate throughout all time.

If we were now to fail - then we should be condemning future generations to death in wars even more terrible than this one.

As I stand here today, having taken the solemn oath of office in the presence of my fellow countrymen -- in the presence of our God -- it is my [proposal and my purpose] ^{and my pledge} that we shall not fail.

In the days and in the years that are to come we shall work and fight for a just and durable peace as today we are working and fighting for total victory in war.

We can and we must and we will achieve such a peace despite all the doubts that may dilute our confidence or all the formidable obstacles that may be placed in our path.

We shall strive for perfection. We may not achieve it -- not in this generation nor the next one -- but we still shall strive.

I remember that my old schoolmaster said, in days that seemed to us then to be secure and untroubled: "Things in life will not always run smoothly -- life is a series of ups and downs. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights -- then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The big fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward; that a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and valleys through the centuries always has an upward trend."

Our Constitution of 1787 was not a perfect instrument -- it is not perfect yet. But it provided a firm base upon which all manner of men, of all races and colors and creeds, could build the great and powerful and eternal structure of democracy.

Today, in this year of war, 1945, we have learned lessons -- at a fearful cost -- and we shall profit by them. We have learned what it means to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace.

We have learned that we must live as men, not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger.

We have learned that we must have strong and determined Allies in these times of war -- and that we must have good and devoted friends in future times of peace.

In the sublimely simple words of Emerson, "The only way to have a friend is to be one."

We have valiant Allies who have banded together with us to overcome the forces of evil. We shall need them, they will need us, to carry on to the goals for which our sons have fought.

Those goals can not be achieved if we proceed with suspicion and mistrust -- and with fear. They can be achieved only if we proceed with understanding and confidence -- and with courage.

The Almighty God has blessed our land in a thousand ways. He has given our people stout hearts and strong arms with which to strike mighty blows for freedom. He has given to our country a faith which now has become the hope of all peoples in an anguished world.

We pray now to Him for the vision that is needed to see our way clearly -- to see the way that leads to a better life for ourselves and for all our fellow men.

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FIRST DRAFT

Fourth Inaugural Address of the President
Jan 20, 1945

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You will understand and, I believe, agree with my wish that the form of this Inauguration [should] be simple and its words brief.

[There is no need to say in words what mankind has seen and experienced in action. The meaning of our Republic has been declared upon every continent of the earth and on the seas and on the islands.]

Together with our Allies,
We Americans of today and our brothers of many lands who fight at our side are passing through a period of supreme test. It is a test of our courage - of our resolve - of our wisdom - of our essential decency.

If we meet that test - successfully and honorably - we shall ~~have~~ perform a service of historic importance which men and women and children will ~~remember~~ *know* throughout all time.

If we ~~were to~~ *in that test* fail - ~~we~~ *shall* ~~condemn~~ future generations to death in wars even more terrible than this one.

As I stand here today, having taken the solemn oath of office in the presence of my fellow countrymen -- in the presence of our God -- I know that it is America's purpose ~~that~~ that we shall not fail.

In the days and in the years that are to come we shall work for a just and durable peace as today we ~~are working~~ and fighting for total victory in war.

We can end ~~[the war]~~ we will achieve such a peace,
 [despite all the doubts that may dilute our confidence or all the
 formidable obstacles that may be placed in our path.]

We shall strive for perfection. We ~~may~~^{shall} not achieve it -- ^{immediately}
 [not in this generation nor the next one] -- but we still shall strive.

We may ~~undoubtedly~~ make mistakes -- but they must never be
 the kind of mistakes which result from faintness of heart or from
 cynical abandonment of moral principle.

I remember that my old schoolmaster said, in days that
 seemed to us then to be secure and untroubled: "Things in life will
 not always run smoothly. [- life is a series of ups and downs.]
 Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights -- then all will seem
 to reverse itself and start downward. The ^{great} fact to remember is
 that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward; that a fine ^{color the line}
 drawn through the middle of the peaks and valleys ^{the of the signature} ~~through the~~
~~confusion~~ always has an upward trend."

Our Constitution of 1787 was not a perfect instrument --
 it is not perfect yet. But it provided a firm base upon which all
 manner of men, of all races and colors and creeds, could build ^{an solid} ~~the~~
 [great and powerful and eternal] structure of democracy.

[It is not for us nor for any nation to insist upon
 immediate perfection in affairs between nations. But it is for all

[of us to insist that we can build a firm base upon which a structure of lasting peace will rest; it is for all of us to persist in that conviction.]

Today, in this year of war, 1945, we have learned lessons -- at a fearful cost -- and we shall profit by them.

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace. We have learned that we must live as men, not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger.

[We have learned that we must have strong and determined Allies in these times of war -- and that we must have good and devoted friends in future times of peace.]

We have learned the truth of the
In the [sublimely] simple words of Emerson: "The only way to have a friend is to be one." ~~We have learned what it means~~
to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.

[We have valiant Allies who have banded together with us to overcome the forces of evil. We shall need them, they will need us, to carry on to the goals for which our sons have fought.]

~~These goals can not be achieved if we proceed with~~ *approach it*
suspicion and mistrust -- and with fear. ~~we~~ *can be achieved only*
if we proceed with the understanding and confidence and courage which flow from conviction.

The Almighty God has blessed our land in ^{many} [a thousand] ways.

These men will bring to light the truth of the human condition, the truth of the human spirit, the truth of the human soul.

FIRST DRAFT

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He has given our people stout hearts and strong arms with which to strike mighty blows for freedom. He has given to our country a faith which ~~has~~ has become the hope of all peoples in an anguished world.

We pray now to Him for the vision [that is needed] to see our way clearly -- to see the way that leads to a better life for ourselves and for all our fellow men -- to the achievement of His ^{to peace} will on earth.
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FOURTH INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
JANUARY 20, 1945

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SECOND DRAFT

You will understand and, I believe, agree with my wish that the form of this Inauguration be simple and its words brief.

We Americans of today, together with our Allies, are passing through a period of supreme test. It is a test of our courage - of our resolve - of our wisdom - of our essential decency.

[If we fail in that test - we shall condemn future generations to death in wars even more terrible than this one.]

If we meet that test - successfully and honorably - we shall perform a service of historic importance which men and women and children will honor throughout all time.

As I stand here today, having taken the solemn oath of office in the presence of my fellow countrymen -- in the presence of our God -- I know that it is America's purpose that we shall not fail.

In the days and in the years that are to come we shall work for a just and durable peace as today we work and fight for total victory in war.

We can and we will achieve such a peace.

We shall strive for perfection. We shall not achieve it immediately -- but we still shall strive. We may make mistakes -- but they must never be mistakes which result from faintness of heart or ~~any~~ abandonment of moral principle.

SECOND DRAFT

I remember that my old schoolmaster said, in days that seemed to us then to be secure and untroubled: "Things in life will not always run smoothly. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights — then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward; that a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and the valleys of the centuries always has an upward trend."

Our Constitution of 1787 was not a perfect instrument, ^{and} it is not perfect yet. But it provided a firm base upon which all manner of men, of all races and colors and creeds, could build our solid structure of democracy.

Today in this year of war, 1946, we have learned lessons -- at a fearful cost -- and we shall profit by them.

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace, ^{and} that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as men, not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger.

We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.

SECOND DRAFT

~ [We have learned that we must have strong and determined Allies
in these times of war -- and that we must have good and devoted friends
in future times of peace.]

We have learned the ^{single} truth, ~~of the simple words of Emerson~~ ^{as said, that} "The
only way to have a friend is to be one."

We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion
and mistrust -- and with fear. We can gain it only if we proceed with the
understanding and confidence and courage which flow from conviction.

The Almighty God has blessed our land in many ways. He has
given our people stout hearts and strong arms with which to strike mighty
blows for freedom. ^{A. J. T. K.} He has given to our country a faith which has become the
hope of all peoples in an anguished world.

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men -- to the achievement of His will to peace on earth.

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FOURTH INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
JANUARY 20, 1945

SECOND DRAFT

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President - My friends:

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SKETCHED DRAFT

I remember that my old schoolmaster said, in days that seemed to us then to be secure and untroubled: "Things in life will not always run smoothly. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights -- then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward; that a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and the valleys of the centuries always has an upward trend."

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SECOND DRAFT

~~We have learned that we must have strong and determined Allies
in these times of war, and that we must have good and devoted friends
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We have learned the truth of the simple words of Emerson: "The only way to have a friend is to be one."

We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust -- and with fear. We can gain it only if we proceed with the understanding and confidence and courage which flow from conviction.

The Almighty God has blessed our land in many ways. He has given our people stout hearts and strong arms with which to strike mighty *and truth.* blows for freedom. He has given to our country a faith which has become the hope of all peoples in an anguished world.

We pray now to Him for the vision to see our way clearly -- to see the way that leads to a better life for ourselves and for all our fellow men -- to the achievement of His will to peace on earth.

FOURTH INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
JANUARY 20, 1945

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE, MR. VICE PRESIDENT - MY FRIENDS:

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

January 19, 1945

To: Thomas D. Blake
From: Luther H. Evans

With general reference to
the sound philosophy of being a
friend in order to deserve one.

Luther H. Evans
Luther H. Evans
Chief Assistant Librarian

*I already thanked him
over phone.*

can speak to your accomplice on even terms. *Crimen quos inquit, equal.* To those whom we admire and love, at first we cannot. Yet the least defect of self-possession vitiates, in my judgment, the entire relation. There can never be deep peace between two spirits, never mutual respect until, in their dialogue, each stands for the whole world.

What is so great as friendship, let us carry with what grandeur of spirit we can. Let us be silent, — so we may hear the whisper of the gods. Let us not interfere. Who set you to cast about what you should say to the select souls, or to say any thing to such? No matter how ingenious, no matter how graceful and bland. There are innumerable degrees of folly and wisdom, and for you to say aught is to be frivolous. Wait, and thy soul shall speak. Wait until the necessary and everlasting overpowers you, until day and night avail themselves of your lips. The only money of God is God. He pays never with any thing less or any thing else. The only reward of virtue, is virtue: the only way to have a friend, is to be one. Vain to hope to come nearer a man by getting into his house. If unlike, his soul only flies the faster from you, and you shall catch never a true glance of his eye. We see the noble afar off, and they repel us; why should we intrude? Late — very late — we perceive that no arrangements, no introductions, no consuetudes, or habits of society, would be of any avail to establish us in such relations with them as we desire, — but solely the uprise of nature in us to the same degree it is in them: then shall we meet as

page 176, line 21: "...the only way to have a friend, is to be one." Essay VI: "Friendship" from Essays by R. W. Emerson. Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1841.

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JANUARY 20, 1945

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NOTE: Delivery is expected about 12:15 P.M., E.W.T., today.

Export before 11 AM, E.W.T., is prohibited.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

FOURTH INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
JANUARY 20, 1945

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE, MR. VICE PRESIDENT - MY FRIENDS:

You will understand and, I believe, agree with my wish that the form of this Inauguration be simple and its words brief.

We Americans of today, together with our Allies, are passing through a period of supreme test. It is a test of our courage -- of our resolve -- of our wisdom -- of our essential decency.

If we meet that test -- successfully and honorably -- we shall perform a service of historic importance which men and women and children will honor throughout all time.

As I stand here today, having taken the solemn oath of office in the presence of my fellow countrymen -- in the presence of our God -- I know that it is America's purpose that we shall not fail.

In the days and in the years that are to come we shall work for a just and durable peace as today we work and fight for total victory in war.

We can and we will achieve such a peace.

We shall strive for perfection. We shall not achieve it immediately -- but we still shall strive. We may make mistakes -- but they must never be mistakes which result from faintness of heart or abandonment of moral principle.

I remember that my old schoolmaster said, in days that seemed to us then to be secure and untroubled:

"Things in life will not always run smoothly. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights -- then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward; that a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and the valleys of the centuries always has an upward trend".

Our Constitution of 1787 was not a perfect instrument; it is not perfect yet. But it provided a firm base upon which all manner of men, of all races and colors and creeds, could build our solid structure of democracy.

Today in this year of war, 1945, we have learned lessons -- at a fearful cost -- and we shall profit by them.

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as man, not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger.

We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.

We have learned the simple truth, as Emerson said, that "The only way to have a friend is to be one".
x

We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust -- and with fear. We can gain it only if we proceed with the understanding and confidence and courage which flow from conviction.

The Almighty God has blessed our land in many ways. He has given our people stout hearts and strong arms with which to strike mighty blows for freedom and truth. He has given to our country a faith which has become the hope of all peoples in an anguished world.

-5-

We pray now to Him for the vision to see our way
clearly -- to see the way that leads to a better life
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STATEMENTS FILE

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Program
of the Ceremonies Attending the
Inauguration of the
President and Vice President
of the United States

at the
White House
January Twentieth
Nineteen Hundred Forty-Five



United States
Government Printing Office
Washington : 1945

*Joint Committee to
Arrange for the Inauguration
of the President-Elect*



UNITED STATES SENATE

HARRY FLOOD BYRD, Virginia Chairman
KENNETH MCKELLAR, Tennessee
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, Michigan



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SAM RAYBURN, Texas Vice Chairman
ROBERT L. DOUGHTON, North Carolina
JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr., Massachusetts



EDWIN A. HALSEY Secretary

*Proceedings on the
South Portico, White House
January 20, 1945*



The Marine Band will play Hail to the Chief.

The President will proceed to the entrance of the President's Platform.

Prayer by Right Reverend Angus Dun, D. D., S. T. D.

The Vice-President-Elect will take his place at the Speaker's Stand.

The Vice President will administer the oath of office to the Vice-President-Elect.

The President will take his place at the Speaker's Stand.

The Chief Justice will administer the oath of office to the President.

The President will then deliver his Inaugural Address.

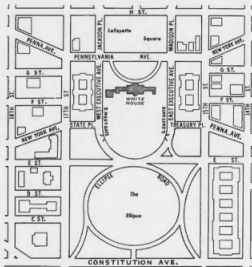
Benediction by Right Reverend John A. Ryan, D. D.

The Marine Band will play the Star Spangled Banner.



Guests on the Portico are requested to remain in their places until the President and the Vice President have retired.

Cards of Admission to White House Grounds



East and West Executive Avenues closed to automobiles.
Parking of Congressional Cars on East Ellipse Road, south of
White House grounds.

- Senate and House of Representatives—Enter southeast gate. (Blue card) Section A
- Diplomatic Corps—Enter southwest gate. (Salmon card) Section A
- Army, Navy and Marine Corps representatives—Special assignments.
- Governors—Enter southwest gate. (Blue card) Section A
- Officials—Enter southwest gate. (Blue card) Section A
- Honored Guests—Enter either southeast or southwest gate. (White card) Section B
- National Committee—Enter southwest gate. (White card) Section B
- State Chairmen—Enter southwest gate. (White card) Section B
- Press, Radio, News Photographers—Enter northwest gate, Pennsylvania Avenue. (Yellow card)
- Electors—Enter southwest gate. (White card) Section B
- Veterans—Enter southwest gate. (Brown card) Section A
- Special Aides—Enter southeast gate. (Blue card) Section A.
- South Portico White House—Enter northwest gate, Pennsylvania Avenue. (Red card)

Procedure, January 20

11:45 a. m.



Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives will proceed direct to the White House grounds. There will be no session of the Congress on this day or any places of assembly other than at the White House ceremonies.

Congressional cars are to be parked on the east Ellipse Road or adjacent streets south of the White House.

Only holders of RED automobile cards will be permitted to enter the White House grounds in their cars.

All other cars are to be parked on the west Ellipse Road and adjacent spaces.

No umbrellas permitted.

