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FDR Four Freedoms 50th Anniversary 1/30/91 [OA 8321]

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G	26	21	2	4

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: Fred McClure

FROM: KATHY SUPER

SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

EVENT: 50th Anniversary of the Four Freedoms Speech by
President Franklin Roosevelt

DATE: Wednesday, January 30, 1991

TIME: 11:00 a.m.

DURATION: 40 minutes

LOCATION: Statuary Hall, U.S. Capitol, Washington, D.C.

ATTIRE: Business suit

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open

FIRST LADY
PARTICIPATION: Is Invited

ADDITIONAL
INFORMATION:

CONTACT: _____ Rob Portman _____

TELEPHONE: OFFICE 2230 HOME _____

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

Ed Rogers	Marlin Fitzwater	Ede Holiday
Philip Brady	David Demarest	David Valdez
Fred McClure	Fran Norris	USSS - PPD
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AJM 1/3/91

91 JAN 23 11:52

Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute
511 Albany Post Road
Hyde Park, NY 12538

Telephone: 914-229-8114

Fax #: 914-229-9046

Facsimile Cover Sheet

To: Peggy Dooley

Company: White House Speech Writing Department

Number of pages (including this page): 1

From: John F. Sears, Executive Director

Date: 23 January 1991

Remarks: There are two other sources who may be very helpful to those who are working on President Bush's speech for the 50th anniversary of FDR's Four Freedoms speech:

Dr. William Emerson, Director

FDR Library (914) 229-8114

Dr. Emerson was a friend of President Bush when they were both students at Yale. He is very knowledgeable about FDR and WWII. He is a military historian.

William vanden Heuvel, President
Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute
(212) 832-8000

Ambassador vanden Heuvel is a long-time student of the history of the Roosevelt period and is particularly familiar with the Four Freedoms speech and its legacy.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

91 JAN 29 AM 12:35

January 28, 1991

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *BH fncw*
FROM: BETH HINCHLIFFE *BH*
SUBJECT: REMARKS AT THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF
 PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S "FOUR FREEDOMS" SPEECH

On Wednesday, January 30, you will be the keynote speaker at the commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of President Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" Speech.

The event will be at 11 a.m. in the Statuary Hall of the Capitol. Also on the platform with you will be: **Speaker Foley; Senators Dole and Mitchell; Rep. Michel; FDR's granddaughter Anne Roosevelt; William vanden Heuvel (President of the Roosevelt Institute); and Arthur Schlesinger (Co-Chair, Roosevelt Institute).**

Your remarks (6 minutes) begin by recalling that Roosevelt's speech was part of a tradition of freedom-defining documents. They then reflect on how the Four Freedoms have inspired Americans to want peace, and have prepared us to stand against threats to the New World Order -- specifically, in the Gulf. And they conclude with a call to remember the freedoms as we enter the 21st century.

(Hinchliffe/Dooley)
January 28, 1991 9 p.m.
FREE

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 30, 1991**

The Declaration of Independence. The Constitution. The Emancipation Proclamation. Franklin Roosevelt called these documents "milestones of human progress." And he added one more to the list -- the charge he named his "Four Freedoms of common humanity." \\ All of these landmark charters are optimistic -- after all, that's what inspiration is all about. But Roosevelt knew that these monumental charters are more than just idealistic goals. Together, they are the moral North Star that guides us. \\ \\

200 years ago, our greatest American political philosopher, Thomas Jefferson, defined our nation's identity when he wrote: "all men are created equal...endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights...among them are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." \\

50 years ago, our greatest American political pragmatist, Roosevelt, refined that thought in his "Four Freedoms," when he brilliantly enunciated the 20th century vision of our founding fathers' commitment to individual liberty. Freedom of expression, \ freedom of worship, \ freedom from want \ and freedom from fear.

For these 200 years, this vision of human dignity has been a beacon drawing to these shores people from across the globe. People like a boy named Quang ^{TRINH} A Vietnamese teenager who almost died escaping from the country where he'd seen his mother killed, his father jailed, his brother's spirit broken. Quang

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*TEXT OF
THE DECLARATION
OF INDEPENDENCE,
ENCYCLOPEDIA
AMERICANA
quote mark*

*ANNUAL
MESSAGE
to Congress
JAN 6, 1941*

fled the only life he'd known -- for freedom. He jumped into shark-filled waters -- for freedom. Starved in delirium -- for freedom. When he was rescued and told he could enter the U.S., he wept for joy. Quang calls America "freedom country." \\

Imagine if every person across this world could call their homeland -- "freedom country." \\ \\

We do. We do because the Four Freedoms have shaped the American character. They've molded who we are -- as individuals and as a nation. And they've made us realize that along with the freedoms that are our birthright come solemn responsibilities. \\

As we look around the world, at the events of the past year, we see how these very same beliefs are bringing about the emergence of a New World Order. One based on respect for the individual and for the rule of law. A New World Order that can lead to the lasting peace we all seek, where children will never have to repeat Quang's ordeal. \\

That's what's at stake. A new chapter of human history. \\

And that's why an international coalition of 28 nations backed by the U.N. is standing up to the evil that challenges this ideal in the Middle East. We cannot -- we must not -- and we will not let that hope for a better world be threatened. \\ \\

It is our commitment to this New World Order that takes us to the sands and seas of the Gulf. We're there because we realize that each of Roosevelt's four freedoms leads us to the greatest of all human aspirations -- THE FREEDOM TO LIVE IN PEACE. \\ \\

And the ones who know that best are the men and women who

are, as General Schwarzkopf put it: the "lightning and thunder" of Operation Desert Storm. They have put their lives on hold because they understand that Saddam Hussein's aggression is a threat to everything we know -- everything we believe in -- everything we stand for. They know that his is a world that crushes the human spirit. And diminishes the human soul. \

We stand now at a defining moment in history, much as the man we came to honor today did a half-century ago. Last night I spoke to the nation from this building. I spoke of sacrifice, of vision, and above all, of the hard work of freedom. No one knew better than President Roosevelt what hard work freedom really is.

When he first introduced the Four Freedoms, Roosevelt's America was entering a war against the oldest enemy of the human spirit -- evil that threatened the world's peace. But listen to the confidence of purpose he expressed in that same speech. "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." \ \ \

That charge is as true today in the Gulf as it was 50 years ago in Europe. And the triumph of the moral order must still be the vision that compels us. So we ask God to bless us. To guide us. And to help us through whatever dark nights we still may face. We hope that, in the sublime resolve of those who strive so that all may live in **freedom and peace** -- we will show how this nation has forged its soul. And that the liberty bell of **THE FOUR FREEDOMS** will ring for all people in every nation of this world.

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THE ANNUAL
MESSAGE
to
Congress
Jan 6 1941

VOLUME 8

Corot to Desdemona

T H E E N C Y C L O P E D I A
A M E R I C A N A
I N T E R N A T I O N A L E D I T I O N

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES
FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829



GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

TEXT OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.—We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.—He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.—He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.—He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.—He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.—He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.—He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.—He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.—He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.—He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.—He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to

with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:—For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:—For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:—For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:—For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:—For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:—For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:—For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:—For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:—For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.—He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.—He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.—He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.—He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.—He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.—

WE, THEREFORE, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of

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mocracy ought to be taught in the schools to combat Communism and Fascism he answered that the best way to encourage democracy was by promoting freedom of the press and freedom of information at all levels, not just in the schools, for if people were given all sides of the story they would end up on the side of democracy. And this he would like to see all over the world.⁵⁴ In at least one specific instance Roosevelt refused to content himself with glittering generalities about freedom of information. In October 1943 when the Argentine government suppressed Jewish newspapers, the President made it very clear that such action was reprehensible to the United States and within a matter of hours the ban was lifted.⁵⁵ About the same time the President told Welles and Hopkins that he was going to try to work out for postwar use some form of international news broadcast that would give unbiased factual information to all people everywhere and that countries like Germany, Italy, and Japan would be compelled to use.⁵⁶

It was by his proclamation of the Four Freedoms, however, that Roosevelt dramatized his great hope for a new world order of human liberty. Apparently he had been developing his thinking on these for some time before he announced them in his 1941 Annual Message. Frank Knox claimed that when Roosevelt offered him the Secretaryship of the Navy in December 1939 the President treated him to a long disquisition on what later became the Four Freedoms.⁵⁷ In June 1940 he told the press that there were four fears he hoped to see eliminated after the war: 1) fear of not being able to worship freely; 2) fear of not being able to express one's self freely; 3) fear of armaments; and 4) fear of not being able to have normal economic and social relations with other nations, the normal commercial and cultural relations necessary, he said, to produce economic security so that there would not be an economic breakdown such as had occurred in Germany after the last war.⁵⁸

A month later he gave the press a long dissertation on both democracy and freedom, declaring that both were among his major postwar objectives. This time he listed five freedoms. The first was freedom of information, which he insisted meant far more than just freedom of the press. There could not be a stable world, he asserted, unless all sources of information were free and people could know what was going on everywhere without censorship. The second was freedom of religion, which he believed was essential to peace. The third was freedom of expression, which

we have a new world order of freedom & peace from here to New York

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everyone ought to have "as long as you don't advocate the over-
throw of the government." The fourth was freedom from fear, by
which he meant freedom from fear of being bombed or attacked
by some other nation; and this in essence meant disarmament.
The fifth was freedom from want, which meant the removal of
economic and cultural barriers.⁵⁹

Once formally announced in his 1941 Annual Message (with
two of the above combined), the promotion of these freedoms,
said Hull, became the basis for the administration's consideration
of a future world order.⁶⁰ They were repeated time and again
during the war and publicized in various ways throughout the
world; Roosevelt even appealed to some of his associates, such as
Welles and Wallace, to write short books on them aimed at
counteracting those who disliked the Four Freedoms or sneered
at the possibility of achieving them. He suggested to Welles that
he liken the opponents of the Four Freedoms to the nobles of
France during the French Revolution, to the noisy minority in
England who opposed the Magna Carta, to the rioters of ancient
Athens who drove out many wise men, and to the "rambunctious
children of Israel who made Moses so angry he smashed the
Tables of Stone."⁶¹

Obviously much of what Roosevelt had to say about individual
liberty was said for the effect it would have on the war. But the
evidence is overwhelmingly to the effect that what he said about
it also represented his real feelings. Earlier we noted the private
testimony of Hopkins to the effect that when Roosevelt came out
with something like the Four Freedoms it was the real Roosevelt,
Roosevelt the idealist, who was speaking; and we gave other evi-
dence to the effect that as practical and realistic as Roosevelt was
much of the time, there is no doubt that he was, much of the
time, an idealist.

But Roosevelt also had a rational argument in favor of global
freedom. In the first place, he believed that there existed a uni-
versal desire for liberty just as there existed a universal desire for
democracy. "The essential validity of the American Bill of Rights
was accepted everywhere at least in principle," he said on one oc-
casion. "Even today," he added, "with the exception of Germany,
Italy, and Japan the peoples of the world—in all probability four-
fifths of them—support its principles, its teachings, and its glorious
results." And in Latin America, he noted, every Republic had
incorporated the basic principles of the Bill of Rights in her
fundamental law.⁶²

4 freedoms
of common
humanity

Later he referred to the Four Freedoms as "the four freedoms of common humanity" and declared that they were as essential to man as "air and sunlight, bread and salt. Deprive him of these freedoms and he dies—deprive him of part of them and a part of him withers. Give them to him in full and abundant measure and he will cross the threshold of a new age, the greatest age of man." These freedoms, he added, were the right of every man of every creed, race, and land, a heritage already too long withheld from many.⁶³ He saw coming a fusion of East and West, of all continents, of all cultures, and the emerging of a single "world civilization," and the Four Freedoms were among its "high goals."⁶⁴ The Italian people's enthusiastic welcome to Allied Troops in 1943 "proved conclusively," he told Congress, that despite a generation under dictatorship the "love of liberty was unconquerable."⁶⁵

In addition to believing that individual liberty had a universal appeal, Roosevelt also looked upon it as interdependent, arguing that for freedom to be safe anywhere it had to be safe everywhere. In other words, the freedoms the people of the United States were used to and wanted preserved could no longer be guaranteed unless they were respected almost everywhere on the globe. In his 1940 Annual Message, the President reaffirmed the right of people to choose their own form of government; but then he qualified that right by declaring that such choice should be predicated on certain freedoms which he thought were essential everywhere. "We know," he went on, "that we ourselves shall never be wholly safe at home unless other governments recognize such freedoms."⁶⁶

When proclaiming the Four Freedoms in his 1941 Annual Message he declared after each one that it was essential "everywhere in the world." Rosenman has testified that during the preparation of that message Harry Hopkins raised questions about the wisdom of including the phrase "everywhere in the world" and said that he doubted if Americans were going to be much interested in Java after the war. "I'm afraid they'll have to be some day, Harry," Roosevelt is reported to have answered. "The world is getting so small that even the people of Java are getting to be our neighbors now."⁶⁷ On another occasion Roosevelt asserted that the struggle with the Axis "has taught us increasingly that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon the security of the rights and obligations of liberty and justice everywhere in the world."⁶⁸ In a 1943 address he declared that in the future the personal freedom of every American and his family would depend increasingly on the free-

freedoms as "the four freedoms" and that they were as essential to man as salt. Deprive him of these freedoms, of part of them and a part of the full and abundant measure and the age, the greatest age of man. "The right of every man of every age, ready too long withheld from the East and West, of all contingencies of a single "world civilization" among its "high goals."⁶⁴ The message to Allied Troops in 1943 Congress, that despite a generation of tyranny was unconquerable."⁶⁵ Individual liberty had a universal character in it as interdependent, arguing that it had to be safe everywhere. The people of the United States would no longer be guaranteed everywhere on the globe. In his message he reaffirmed the right of people to choose their government; but then he qualified that choice should be predicated on the right that were essential everywhere. "Our people shall never be wholly content until they recognize such freedoms."⁶⁶ The Four Freedoms in his 1941 Annual Message that it was essential "everywhere." Hopkins testified that during the war Hopkins raised questions about the Four Freedoms "everywhere in the world" and that Americans were going to be much worse off. "I'm afraid they'll have to be disappointed to have answered. "The people of Java are getting worse off on another occasion Roosevelt said that the Axis "has taught us increasingly the importance of property anywhere in the world of the rights and obligations of the world."⁶⁸ In a 1943 address on the personal freedom of every man depend increasingly on the free-

dom of neighbors in other lands. "The whole world is one neighborhood," he said, adding that that was why the war had spread to every continent and involved the lives and liberties of everyone.⁶⁹

Roosevelt made many statements regarding the attainability of the Four Freedoms. In some he sounded as if they were attainable in the near future; in others he sounded as if they were attainable only in the distant future; while in still others he talked as if they were simply ideals toward which man could make progress but might never wholly attain at all. Testimony of Harry Hopkins indicated that Roosevelt certainly believed in the attainability of the Four Freedoms at some time. When presenting the Four Freedoms to Congress in his 1941 Annual Message the President declared that the world of freedom he had just described was not "a vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation."⁷⁰ A few weeks later he contradicted himself somewhat by saying the Four Freedoms were distant ideals rather than immediately attainable objects, but he seemed to think civilization might get close to them. "They might not be immediately attainable throughout the world," he declared, "but humanity does move toward those glorious ideals through democratic processes."⁷¹

A few weeks after making that statement he asserted that the Four Freedoms were attainable in the sense that the ideals of the Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Emancipation Proclamation were attained,⁷² by which he probably meant that such milestones of human progress, as he called them, could be approached if not completely attained. In a still later address he spoke only of "steady progress" toward the Four Freedoms rather than of their attainment. But he poured the most bitter sarcasm he could summon on the "puny prophets" who sneered at the Four Freedoms and called them unattainable. Such people were fiddling "with many sour notes while civilization burns." And while he was aware that such ideals could not be attained easily or over night and would require a long, hard, and bitter struggle, he had no doubt that there could be made "a steady progress toward the highest goals that men have ever imagined."⁷³

This writer's own conclusion is that this last statement by Roosevelt comes nearer to his real views than do the others regarding the attainability of the Four Freedoms, or of a new world order based on democracy and freedom. He knew when praising democracy in Latin America in 1936 that little of it existed there

Milestones
of HUMAN
Progress.

149. *Fireside Chat on National Security*

our hearts against fear, that we still believe in the Golden Rule for all mankind, that we intend to live more purely in the spirit of Christ, and that by our works, as well as our words, we will strive forward in Faith and in Hope and in Love.

In that spirit I wish a Happy Christmas to all, and happier Christmases yet to come.

149 ¶ "There Can Be No Appeasement With Ruthlessness. . . . We Must Be the Great Arsenal of Democracy." Fireside Chat on National Security. White House, Washington, D.C.

December 29, 1940

My friends:

THIS is not a fireside chat on war. It is a talk on national security; because the nub of the whole purpose of your President is to keep you now, and your children later, and your grandchildren much later, out of a last-ditch war for the preservation of American independence and all the things that American independence means to you and to me and to ours.

Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back eight years to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function.

I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States, I had before my eyes the picture of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories; the girl behind the counter; the small shopkeeper; the farmer doing his spring plowing; the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings.

149. Fireside Chat on National Security

I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis meant to them in their daily lives.

Tonight, I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America.

We met the issue of 1933 with courage and realism.

We face this new crisis—this new threat to the security of our nation—with the same courage and realism.

Never before since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock has our American civilization been in such danger as now.

For, on September 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin, three powerful nations, two in Europe and one in Asia, joined themselves together in the threat that if the United States of America interfered with or blocked the expansion program of these three nations—a program aimed at world control—they would unite in ultimate action against the United States.

The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

It was only three weeks ago their leader stated this: "There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other." And then in defiant reply to his opponents, he said this: "Others are correct when they say: With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves. . . . I can beat any other power in the world." So said the leader of the Nazis.

In other words, the Axis not merely admits but *proclaims* that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government.

In view of the nature of this undeniable threat, it can be asserted, properly and categorically, that the United States has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace, until the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world.

At this moment, the forces of the states that are leagued against all peoples who live in freedom, are being held away

149. Fireside Chat on National Security

from our shores. The Germans and the Italians are being blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British, and by the Greeks, and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from subjugated countries. In Asia, the Japanese are being engaged by the Chinese nation in another great defense.

In the Pacific Ocean is our fleet.

Some of our people like to believe that wars in Europe and in Asia are of no concern to us. But it is a matter of most vital concern to us that European and Asiatic war-makers should not gain control of the oceans which lead to this hemisphere.

One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine was conceived by our Government as a measure of defense in the face of a threat against this hemisphere by an alliance in Continental Europe. Thereafter, we stood on guard in the Atlantic, with the British as neighbors. There was no treaty. There was no "unwritten agreement."

And yet, there was the feeling, proven correct by history, that we as neighbors could settle any disputes in peaceful fashion. The fact is that during the whole of this time the Western Hemisphere has remained free from aggression from Europe or from Asia.

Does anyone seriously believe that we need to fear attack anywhere in the Americas while a free Britain remains our most powerful naval neighbor in the Atlantic? Does anyone seriously believe, on the other hand, that we could rest easy if the Axis powers were our neighbors there?

If Great Britain goes down, the Axis powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the high seas—and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all of us, in all the Americas, would be living at the point of a gun—a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic as well as military.

We should enter upon a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our hemisphere included, would be run by threats of brute force. To survive in such a world, we would have to con-

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vert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power on the basis of war economy.

Some of us like to believe that even if Great Britain falls, we are still safe, because of the broad expanse of the Atlantic and of the Pacific.

But the width of those oceans is not what it was in the days of clipper ships. At one point between Africa and Brazil the distance is less than from Washington to Denver, Colorado—five hours for the latest type of bomber. And at the North end of the Pacific Ocean America and Asia almost touch each other.

Even today we have planes that could fly from the British Isles to New England and back again without refueling. And remember that the range of the modern bomber is ever being increased.

During the past week many people in all parts of the nation have told me what they wanted me to say tonight. Almost all of them expressed a courageous desire to hear the plain truth about the gravity of the situation. One telegram, however, expressed the attitude of the small minority who want to see no evil and hear no evil, even though they know in their hearts that evil exists. That telegram begged me not to tell again of the ease with which our American cities could be bombed by any hostile power which had gained bases in this Western Hemisphere. The gist of that telegram was: "Please, Mr. President, don't frighten us by telling us the facts."

Frankly and definitely there is danger ahead—danger against which we must prepare. But we well know that we cannot escape danger, or the fear of danger, by crawling into bed and pulling the covers over our heads.

Some nations of Europe were bound by solemn non-intervention pacts with Germany. Other nations were assured by Germany that they need *never* fear invasion. Non-intervention pact or not, the fact remains that they *were* attacked, overrun and thrown into the modern form of slavery at an hour's notice, or even without any notice at all. As an exiled leader of one of these nations said to me the other day—"The notice was a

minus quantity. It was given to my Government two hours after German troops had poured into my country in a hundred places."

The fate of these nations tells us what it means to live at the point of a Nazi gun.

The Nazis have justified such actions by various pious frauds. One of these frauds is the claim that they are occupying a nation for the purpose of "restoring order." Another is that they are occupying or controlling a nation on the excuse that they are "protecting it" against the aggression of somebody else.

For example, Germany has said that she was occupying Belgium to save the Belgians from the British. Would she then hesitate to say to any South American country, "We are occupying you to protect you from aggression by the United States"?

Belgium today is being used as an invasion base against Britain, now fighting for its life. Any South American country, in Nazi hands, would always constitute a jumping-off place for German attack on any one of the other Republics of this hemisphere.

Analyze for yourselves the future of two other places even nearer to Germany if the Nazis won. Could Ireland hold out? Would Irish freedom be permitted as an amazing pet exception in an unfree world? Or the Islands of the Azores which still fly the flag of Portugal after five centuries? You and I think of Hawaii as an outpost of defense in the Pacific. And yet, the Azores are closer to our shores in the Atlantic than Hawaii is on the other side.

There are those who say that the Axis powers would never have any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. That is the same dangerous form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance of so many conquered peoples. The plain facts are that the Nazis have proclaimed, time and again, that all other races are their inferiors and therefore subject to their orders. And most important of all, the vast resources and wealth

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of this American Hemisphere constitute the most tempting loot in all the round world.

Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many others are already within our own gates. Your Government knows much about them and every day is ferreting them out.

Their secret emissaries are active in our own and in neighboring countries. They seek to stir up suspicion and dissension to cause internal strife. They try to turn capital against labor, and vice versa. They try to reawaken long slumbering racial and religious enmities which should have no place in this country. They are active in every group that promotes intolerance. They exploit for their own ends our natural abhorrence of war. These trouble-breeders have but one purpose. It is to divide our people into hostile groups and to destroy our unity and shatter our will to defend ourselves.

There are also American citizens, many of them in high places, who, unwittingly in most cases, are aiding and abetting the work of these agents. I do not charge these American citizens with being foreign agents. But I do charge them with doing exactly the kind of work that the dictators want done in the United States.

These people not only believe that we can save our own skins by shutting our eyes to the fate of other nations. Some of them go much further than that. They say that we can and should become the friends and even the partners of the Axis powers. Some of them even suggest that we should imitate the methods of the dictatorships. Americans never can and never will do that.

The experience of the past two years has proven beyond doubt that no nation can appease the Nazis. No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. There can be no appeasement with ruthlessness. There can be no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. We know now that a nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of total surrender.

Even the people of Italy have been forced to become ac-

complices of the Nazis; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be embraced to death by their allies.

The American appeasers ignore the warning to be found in the fate of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and France. They tell you that the Axis powers are going to win anyway; that all this bloodshed in the world could be saved; that the United States might just as well throw its influence into the scale of a dictated peace, and get the best out of it that we can.

They call it a "negotiated peace." Nonsense! Is it a negotiated peace if a gang of outlaws surrounds your community and on threat of extermination makes you pay tribute to save your own skins?

Such a dictated peace would be no peace at all. It would be only another armistice, leading to the most gigantic armament race and the most devastating trade wars in all history. And in these contests the Americas would offer the only real resistance to the Axis powers.

With all their vaunted efficiency, with all their parade of pious purpose in this war, there are still in their background the concentration camp and the servants of God in chains.

The history of recent years proves that shootings and chains and concentration camps are not simply the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships. They may talk of a "new order" in the world, but what they have in mind is only a revival of the oldest and the worst tyranny. In that there is no liberty, no religion, no hope.

The proposed "new order" is the very opposite of a United States of Europe or a United States of Asia. It is not a Government based upon the consent of the governed. It is not a union of ordinary, self-respecting men and women to protect themselves and their freedom and their dignity from oppression. It is an unholy alliance of power and pelf to dominate and enslave the human race.

The British people and their allies today are conducting an active war against this unholy alliance. Our own future security

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is greatly dependent on the outcome of that fight. Our ability to "keep out of war" is going to be affected by that outcome.

Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct statement to the American people that there is far less chance of the United States getting into war, if we do all we can now to support the nations defending themselves against attack by the Axis than if we acquiesce in their defeat, submit tamely to an Axis victory, and wait our turn to be the object of attack in another war later on.

If we are to be completely honest with ourselves, we must admit that there is risk in any course we may take. But I deeply believe that the great majority of our people agree that the course that I advocate involves the least risk now and the greatest hope for world peace in the future.

The people of Europe who are defending themselves do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war, the planes, the tanks, the guns, the freighters which will enable them to fight for their liberty and for our security. Emphatically we must get these weapons to them in sufficient volume and quickly enough, so that we and our children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure.

Let not the defeatists tell us that it is too late. It will never be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.

Certain facts are self-evident.

In a military sense Great Britain and the British Empire are today the spearhead of resistance to world conquest. They are putting up a fight which will live forever in the story of human gallantry.

There is no demand for sending an American Expeditionary Force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your Government to send such a force. You can, therefore, nail any talk about sending armies to Europe as deliberate untruth.

Our national policy is not directed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people.

Democracy's fight against world conquest is being greatly aided, and must be more greatly aided, by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines. It is no more unneutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, Russia and other nations near Germany, to send steel and ore and oil and other war materials into Germany every day in the week.

We are planning our own defense with the utmost urgency; and in its vast scale we must integrate the war needs of Britain and the other free nations which are resisting aggression.

This is not a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion. It is a matter of realistic, practical military policy, based on the advice of our military experts who are in close touch with existing warfare. These military and naval experts and the members of the Congress and the Administration have a single-minded purpose—the defense of the United States.

This nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency—and with all possible speed. This great effort requires great sacrifice.

I would ask no one to defend a democracy which in turn would not defend everyone in the nation against want and privation. The strength of this nation shall not be diluted by the failure of the Government to protect the economic well-being of its citizens.

If our capacity to produce is limited by machines, it must ever be remembered that these machines are operated by the skill and the stamina of the workers. As the Government is determined to protect the rights of the workers, so the nation has a right to expect that the men who man the machines will discharge their full responsibilities to the urgent needs of defense.

The worker possesses the same human dignity and is entitled to the same security of position as the engineer or the manager or the owner. For the workers provide the human power that turns out the destroyers, the airplanes and the tanks.

The nation expects our defense industries to continue opera-

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tion without interruption by strikes or lock-outs. It expects and insists that management and workers will reconcile their differences by voluntary or legal means, to continue to produce the supplies that are so sorely needed.

And on the economic side of our great defense program, we are, as you know, bending every effort to maintain stability of prices and with that the stability of the cost of living.

Nine days ago I announced the setting up of a more effective organization to direct our gigantic efforts to increase the production of munitions. The appropriation of vast sums of money and a well coordinated executive direction of our defense efforts are not in themselves enough. Guns, planes, ships and many other things have to be built in the factories and arsenals of America. They have to be produced by workers and managers and engineers with the aid of machines which in turn have to be built by hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the land.

In this great work there has been splendid cooperation between the Government and industry and labor; and I am very thankful.

American industrial genius, unmatched throughout the world in the solution of production problems, has been called upon to bring its resources and its talents into action. Manufacturers of watches, farm implements, linotypes, cash registers, automobiles, sewing machines, lawn mowers and locomotives are now making fuses, bomb packing crates, telescope mounts, shells, pistols and tanks.

But all our present efforts are not enough. We must have more ships, more guns, more planes — more of everything. This can only be accomplished if we discard the notion of "business as usual." This job cannot be done merely by superimposing on the existing productive facilities the added requirements of the nation for defense.

Our defense efforts must not be blocked by those who fear the future consequences of surplus plant capacity. The possible

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consequences of failure of our defense efforts now are much more to be feared.

After the present needs of our defenses are past, a proper handling of the country's peace-time needs will require all the new productive capacity—if not more.

No pessimistic policy about the future of America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries essential to defense. We need them.

I want to make it clear that it is the purpose of the nation to build now with all possible speed every machine, every arsenal, every factory that we need to manufacture our defense material. We have the men—the skill—the wealth—and above all, the will.

I am confident that if and when production of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries requires the use of machines and raw materials that are essential for defense purposes, then such production must yield, and will gladly yield, to our primary and compelling purpose.

I appeal to the owners of plants—to the managers—to the workers—to our own Government employees—to put every ounce of effort into producing these munitions swiftly and without stint. With this appeal I give you the pledge that all of us who are officers of your Government will devote ourselves to the same whole-hearted extent to the great task that lies ahead.

As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your Government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend this hemisphere. The decision as to how much shall be sent abroad and how much shall remain at home must be made on the basis of our over-all military necessities.

We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war.

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We have furnished the British great material support and we will furnish far more in the future.

There will be no "bottlenecks" in our determination to aid Great Britain. No dictator, no combination of dictators, will weaken that determination by threats of how they will construe that determination.

The British have received invaluable military support from the heroic Greek army, and from the forces of all the governments in exile. Their strength is growing. It is the strength of men and women who value their freedom more highly than they value their lives.

I believe that the Axis powers are not going to win this war. I base that belief on the latest and best information.

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good reason for hope—hope for peace, hope for the defense of our civilization and for the building of a better civilization in the future.

I have the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat to our democratic faith.

As President of the United States I call for that national effort. I call for it in the name of this nation which we love and honor and which we are privileged and proud to serve. I call upon our people with absolute confidence that our common cause will greatly succeed.

(See note to Item 152, this volume, for discussion of the Lend-Lease Act, which carries out the policy of making America the "great arsenal of democracy.")

152 (The Annual Message to the Congress.

January 6, 1941

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:

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. But in no case had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence.

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

That determination of ours, extending over all these years, was proved, for example, during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the

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 peacetime 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 our unity of purpose.

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

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 sea-ports 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 the American Republics is today in serious danger.

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

That is why every member of the Executive Branch of the Government and every member of the Congress faces 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 the 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.

(Hinchliffe/Dooley)
January 22, 1991
FREEDOMS

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: "THE NEW FREEDOMS"
50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 30, 1991**

There's a classic American painting I'm thinking of today. A very simple one. In it, parents -- a little weary, but faces creased with love -- gently tuck their children into bed. A warm light shines from downstairs. The scene says: security, safety, peace. It was how that great translator of the American spirit, Norman Rockwell, captured on canvas the most powerful of

President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms: the Freedom from Fear.

It's a powerfully moving picture. And sentiment. For as parents, we want desperately to keep our children safe -- they are the soul of our country, the heart of our future. But, as Roosevelt knew only too painfully well, the freedoms that are our birthright carry obligations. Sometimes they weigh heavy on our heart, and we wish we could let the burden pass us by. But it is precisely in those moments that we find our true courage. It is in those moments that the Four Freedoms become no longer just idealistic goals -- but the moral North Star that guides us.

President Roosevelt brilliantly enunciated the 20th century vision of our founding fathers' commitment to individual liberty. His was a nation entering a war against the oldest enemy of the human spirit: evil that threatened the world's peace. For the sake of freedom of expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear, his America sent its young to foreign

battlefields, carrying high and proud the torch of liberty.

50 years later, we watch again the sad eyes of our children. Those innocents we never wanted to have to learn about grieving. We think of the world we want to leave them. Then we remember the Four Freedoms. And we realize what this war is all about.

In our current battle for freedom, a brave young man has become our first combat casualty. Navy Lt Cmdr Michael Speicher was in the very first crew to go to the Gulf five months ago. He was in the very first group of planes to take action five days ago. And on that night, he was the very first to lose his life.

We honor him. And we honor the other courageous servicemen and women who are the lightning and thunder of Operation Desert Storm. Young people who embody the essence of our nation's Four Freedoms. Who put their own lives and dreams on hold because they understand that Saddam Hussein is a threat to everything we know. Everything we believe in. Everything we stand for. Who know that his is a world of the subjugation of the human spirit. And the diminution of the human soul.

These fine young men and women have the unshakable belief that when even one person in this world is oppressed: no-one else can ever be truly free. And that if even one person lives in terror: then none of us can ever truly have Freedom from Fear.

Today, Americans mourn for Lt Cmd Speicher, who makes us proud even as he makes us grieve. For we still hope. We still hope because we share a vision: his vision, and the vision of the other kids who have represented our nation on battlefields two

days ago, two decades ago, two centuries ago.

It's a vision summed up in a simple, silent image at the end of the movie "Not Without My Daughter." A woman and her little girl fight for two years to escape from a foreign land. When they finally make it out of their nightmare world, the first thing they see is what they've held in their hearts all that time: the American flag, waving high and proud and free.

It Cmd Speicher understood what that means. He also knew the flame of democracy cannot keep burning unattended. He knew that each of us who is born into freedom and believes in freedom, has a solemn responsibility: to protect this flame from the cold, dark wind of hatred and greed that would try to extinguish it. We must hold fast to his dream. That's how he, and others, will become as eternal as the flame they fought to keep blazing bright.

As we look back at the last year, we see how that flame caught fire -- how the joyous dawn of freedom's light in Eastern Europe is finally bringing about a triumphant New World Order. A long dreamed-of vision we've all worked for for so long. And which may be the last, best hope for a peaceful planet.

As we enter the last decade of this century, we stand at a defining moment in history. Let us call for a unifying new vision to unite and guide us. Let it be a call for moral responsibility as well as unlimited horizons.

And let's name this vision "The New Freedoms."

200 years ago, our greatest American political philosopher, Thomas Jefferson defined the identity of our nation when he

wrote: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." 50 years ago, our greatest American political pragmatist, Franklin Roosevelt, refined that thought in his Four Freedoms. From Jefferson's revolution to Roosevelt's ideology, Americans always defined freedom as "freedom from."

Let's redefine the way we look at our most cherished birthright. And think of freedom as: "freedom to." \\

There are four principles of "THE NEW FREEDOMS" -- four components upon which the vision of our nation will be based. Along with each come revised responsibilities of citizenship -- essential parts of the blessings and bounty of this country.

For the individual: FREEDOM TO CHOOSE. We will be empowered to use the resources of government not as Washington dictates, but as the individual decides. Each of us bears the responsibility to choose wisely and fairly. \\

For the community: FREEDOM TO SERVE. Navigating by our own inner moral compass, we must discover how to help others. Each of us bears the responsibility to serve unselfishly. \\

For the nation: FREEDOM TO MAKE AMERICA THE FINEST NATION ON EARTH. Only we can assure that our country guarantees equality of opportunity and hope. Each of us bears the responsibility to share in this awesome challenge. \\

And for the world: FREEDOM TO LIVE IN PEACE. All people, everywhere, must be able to know liberty and hope for their

future. As a nation, we bear the responsibility to guarantee basic, human rights throughout the world. This is the most solemn -- and perhaps the greatest -- charge of all. \\\

You know, I heard about Vietnamese teenager named Quang Trinh. He almost died escaping from the shattered life of a country where he had seen his mother killed, his father jailed, his brother's spirit broken. Quang fled the only life he had known -- for freedom. He jumped into shark-filled waters -- for freedom. He starved in delirium -- for freedom. After he was rescued and told he could enter the U.S., he wept for joy.

When did we rejoice like that over the daily freedoms of our lives? Quang calls America "freedom country." Wouldn't it be wonderful if all of us did the same.

What a splendid new century would then dawn.

A century defined by Roosevelt's words in his Four Freedoms speech. Words which guided our actions then; now; throughout our future. He said: "[T]he justice of morality must and will win in the end. ... 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 our unity of purpose."

In that unity, we ask God to bless us. We ask God to guide us. We ask God to help us through whatever dark nights we still may face. And we pray that in the sublime resolve of all who give their lives so that others may live in freedom and peace, this nation may rediscover its soul.

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1/30/1982

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—ninety-nine 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 overemphasize 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 that are still at peace.

During sixteen long 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, unhappily, 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. Let us remember that the total of those populations and their resources in those four continents greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and the 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."

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But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe—particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential sea-ports 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 the American Republics is today in serious danger.

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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 the 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.

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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 the 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.

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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 that 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, but 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 all in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them that

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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 their matériel 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 or 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, if 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—almost 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 the courage which come from unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that 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 for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

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

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

These are the simple, 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.

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

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my Budget Message I shall 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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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 our unity of purpose.

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

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January 6, 1941

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:

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. But in no case had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence.

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

That determination of ours, extending over all these years, was proved, for example, during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the

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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—ninety-nine 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 overemphasize 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—as sailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen long 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, unhappily, 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. Let us remember that the total of those populations and their resources in those four continents greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and the 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.

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