24-1 | President Roosevelt Defines the Four Freedoms at Risk
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Annual Message to Congress on the State of the Union (1941)

Following the disaster of World War I, Americans had little taste for another European war when conflict erupted on the Continent once again in 1939. Eleven months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt pressed the case against isolationism and for the protection of American security in his January 1941 State of the Union address. Here, Roosevelt articulates a vision for the world defined by guarantees of four essential freedoms.

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 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.

ur Freedoms at Risk
Message to Congress

taste for another European war
seven months before the attack
isolationism and for the protec-
Union address. Here, Roosevelt
table freedoms.

th Congress, at a moment
he word "unprecedented,"
seen as seriously threatened
ent under the Constitution,
ave related to our domestic
War Between the States—
nd, one hundred and thirty
ten points of the compass in
ften had been disturbed by
two wars with European
West Indies, in the Mediter-
ican rights and for the prin-
serious threat been raised
cence United States as a nation
o any attempt to lock us in
of civilization went past.
we oppose enforced isol-
ese years, was proved, for
ing the French Revolution.
eters of the United States
Louisiana, and while we
peaceful trade, it is neverthe-
any other nation, was aiming
years — no single war in
uture or against the future

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."

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

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

We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.
I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually expect if the dictator nations win this war.

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

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

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

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

That is why the future of all 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.

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.
npo of modern warfare could
we must eventually expect if

an immediate and direct inva-
the British Navy retains its
British Navy, it is not proba-
cue us by landing troops in the
ran, until it had acquired stra-
he past years in Europe—
le seaports were captured by
's.
ere would not be the landing
would be occupied by secret
rem are already here, and in

efensive, they — not we — will
attacked.
 Republics is today in serious
ness is unique in our history.
nach of the Government and
ility and great accountability.
our policy should be devoted
ign peril. For all our domes-
has been based upon a decent
low men within our gates, so
ed on a decent respect for the
ed the justice of morality must

lic will and without regard to
ional defense.
lic will and without regard to
all those resolute peoples,
thereby keeping war away
ss our determination that the
he defense and the security of
lic will and without regard to
that principles of morality and
mit us to acquiesce in a peace
ers. We know that enduring
s freedom.

... Today it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are
demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvi-
ous danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our arm-
ament production.

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

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

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

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

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 they must surrender, merely because
of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

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

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

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

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

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

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law 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, . . .

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:
Equality of opportunity for youth and for others. Jobs for those who can work. Security for those who need it. The ending of special privilege for the few. The preservation of civil liberties for all. The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living. These are the simple, basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

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

As examples:
We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.
We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.
We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.
I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.
A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my Budget Message I 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.

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.

READING AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Examine the argument Roosevelt made to Congress regarding the threats America faced from the war in Europe. How was America’s security tied to events overseas?

2. How did Roosevelt define America’s interest in the war in Europe? What were the freedoms at stake that he challenged Congress and the American people to defend?

24-2 | Soldiers Describe D-Day Experience


The June 1944 Normandy invasion began the liberation of Europe from German control. Planned by General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the amphibious assault of German-occupied France, known as Operation Overlord, resulted in the landing of 160,000 soldiers along France’s coastline. Nine thousand of them died there. Their comrades, including Sergeant Claud C. Woodring and Private First Class Jay S. Adams, pushed forward, with the goal of capturing Germany and ending the war. These excerpts of interviews done as part of the Library of Congress’s Veterans History Project vividly evoke the soldier’s experience of war.

Interview with Jay S. Adams, July 5, 2001

The order came on the sixth for us ... to go across the channel. ... I went across on an LCT [landing craft tank], with my crane and my dozer on there. I was a dozer operator ... and when we got out in the channel it got pretty rough, and I had to chain my dozer down because it was sliding down the deck. I was afraid it’d punch a hole in the side and we’d sink before we got there. [M]any of the men on the boats were ... seasick because that channel was very rough. It was a storm, really, when we was going over, and as we approached the coastline in the morning, Navy was shelling the coast, and it was just like a fog on the coast. ... [O]n the left, our Rangers are trying to get up the cliff there with pillboxes to step on the cliff, and we was coming right into the pillboxes, and we was...