

Text of President Roosevelt's Message to Congress on State of the Union

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6 (U.P.)—The text of President Roosevelt's message to the 77th Congress on the state of the Union follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

I address you, the members of the 77th Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the union. It uses 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, 130 million Americans in 48 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 have even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce. In no case, however, had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our independence.

OPPOSES 'CHINESE WALL'

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

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

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

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

BRITISH STRENGTH FRIENDLY

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

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

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

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

During 16 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.

SEES INVOLVED FUTURE

Therefore, as your President, performing my Constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information

on the state of the Union," I find it necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelming 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 Australia will be dominated by the conquerors. The total of those populations and their resources greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere—many times over.

In times like these it is immature—and incidentally untrue—for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand 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."

CAN'T BE SOFT MINDED

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

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

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

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

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

CITES TREACHERY IN NORWAY

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 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—we—will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

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

That is why this annual message to the Congress is unique in our history.

POLICY BASED ON RESPECT

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and dignity of 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 moral and legal 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 will commit to full support of all those who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation.

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

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

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

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not seri-

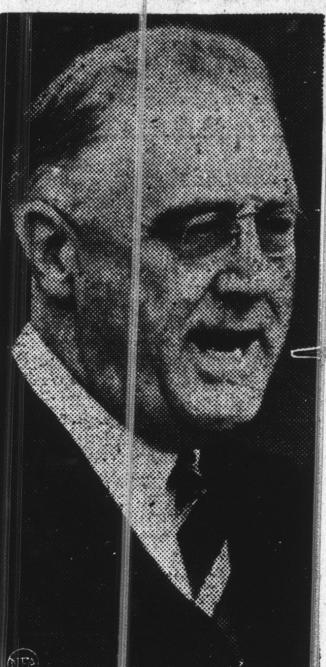
Now Many Wear FALSE TEETH

With More Comfort

FASTERTEETH, a pleasant alkaline (non-dust) powder, holds false teeth firmly. To eat and talk in more comfort, just sprinkle a little FASTERTEETH on your plates. No gummy, gooey taste or feeling. Checks "plate odor," denture breath. Get FASTERTEETH at any drug store.

A trial will convince you.

Now many wear FASTERTEETH wanting giving it a trial. Dentists know of its amazing benefits... dentists have proved it, too. Available in two convenient sizes... ask for the big 20 oz. bottle... at a saving. \$2.50. Co.



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

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

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.

INGENOUS NUMBES

ing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our pledge.

DICTATOR THREATS USELESS

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

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

TO GIVE TWO ILLUSTRATIONS:

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

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

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

WE MUST BE ARSENAL

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

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

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