

President Roosevelt's First Address to a Nation at War

The text of President Roosevelt's address Tuesday night follows: "The sudden criminal attacks perpetrated by the Japanese in the Pacific provide the climax of a decade of international morality."

"The congress and the people of the United States have accepted that challenge. We are now fighting to maintain our right to live among our world neighbors in freedom and in common decency, without fear of assault."

"I have prepared the full record of our past relations with Japan, and it will be submitted to the congress. It begins with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan 80 years ago. It ends with the visit of two Japanese emissaries to the secretary of state last Sunday, an hour after Japanese forces had bombed their bombs and machine guns against our flag, our forces and our citizens."

"I can say with utmost confidence that no Americans today or a thousand years hence need feel anything but pride in our patience and our efforts thru all the years toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special envoys in our midst."

"The course that Japan has followed for the last ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and Africa. Today it has become more than a parallel. It is collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield."

"In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria—without warning. In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia—without warning. In 1938, Hitler occupied Austria—without warning. In 1939, Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia—without warning. Later in 1939, Hitler invaded Poland—without warning. In 1940 Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg—without warning. In 1940 Italy attacked France and later Greece—without warning. In 1941 the axis powers attacked Yugoslavia and Greece, and they dominated the Balkans—without warning. In 1941 Hitler invaded Russia—without warning. And now Japan has attacked Malaya and Thailand—and the United States—without warning. It is all of one pattern."

"We are now in this way. We are all in it—the way. Every single man, woman, and child is a partner in the most tremendous undertaking of our American history. We must share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats and the victories—then changing fortunes of war."

"So far, the news has all been bad. We have suffered a serious setback in Hawaii. Our forces in the Philippines, which include the brave people of that commonwealth, are taking punishment, but are defending themselves vigorously. The reports from Guam, Wake and Midway islands are still confused, but we must be prepared for the announcement that these three outposts have been seized. The casualty lists of these first few days will undoubtedly be large. I deeply feel the anxiety of all families of the men in our armed forces and the relatives of people in cities which have been bombed. I can only give them by solemn promise that they will get news just as quickly as possible."

"This government will put its trust in the stamina of the American people, and will give the facts to the public as soon as two conditions have been fulfilled: first, that the information has been definitely and officially confirmed; and second, that the release of the information at the time it is received will not prove valuable to the enemy directly or indirectly."

"I earnestly urge my countrymen to reject all rumors. These little hints of complete disaster, thick and fast in wartime. They have to be examined and appraised. As an example, I can tell you frankly that until further surveys are made, I have not sufficient information to state the exact damage which has been done to our naval vessels at Pearl Harbor. Admittedly the damage is serious. But no one can say how serious, until we know how much of this damage can be repaired, and how quickly the necessary repairs can be made."

"Cities Under Rumor. I cite as another example a statement made on Sunday night that a Japanese carrier had been spotted and sunk off the Canal Zone. And when you hear state-

Wendell L. Willkie to Talk on 'Fight for Freedom'

Wendell L. Willkie, the Republican party's 1940 presidential candidate, will speak on "The Fight for Freedom" over WIBA at 8:30 tonight. His address from St. Louis, Mo., will replace the previously-scheduled program by the Chamber Music Society of Lower Basin st.

Other attractions tonight: 8:30 p. m.—Recreation Program (WIBA): basketball quiz with University of Wisconsin, Madison high school, and former municipal players. Under these war circumstances the "authoritative source" was not any person in authority. "Many rumors and reports which we now hear originate with enemy sources. For instance, today the Japanese are claiming that as a result of their one action against Hawaii they have gained naval supremacy in the Pacific. This is an old trick of propaganda which has been used innumerable times by the Nazis. The purposes of such fantastic claims are, of course, to spread fear and confusion among us, and to goad us into revealing military information which our enemies are desperately anxious to obtain."

"Our government will not be caught in this obvious trap—and neither will our people. Information Restricted. "It must be remembered by each and every one of us that our free and rapid communication must be greatly restricted in wartime. It is not possible to receive full, speedy, accurate reports from distant areas of combat. This is particularly true where naval operations are concerned. For in these days of the marvels of radio it is often impossible for the commanders of various units to report their activities by radio, for the very simple reason that this information would become available to the enemy, and would disclose their position and their plan of defense or attack. "I am sure that our government is not disclosing enough of the truth, you have every right to say so. But in the absence of all the facts, as revealed by official sources—you have no right to deal out unconfirmed reports in such a way as to make people believe they are gospel truth. "Every citizen, in every walk of life, shares this same responsibility. The lives of our soldiers and sailors—the whole future of this nation—depend upon the manner in which each and every one of us fulfills his obligation to our country."

"There will be a clear and definite shortage of metals of many kinds for civilian use, for the very good reason that in our increased program we shall need for war purposes more than half of that portion of the principal metals which during the past year have gone into articles for civilian use. We shall have to give up many things entirely. "I am sure that the people in every part of the nation are prepared in their individual living to win this war. I am sure they will cheerfully help to pay a large part of its financial cost while it goes on. I am sure they will cheerfully give up those material things they are asked to give up. "I am sure that they will retain all those great spiritual things without which we cannot win through. Must Have Victory. "I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken. "In my message to the congress yesterday, I said that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again. In order to achieve that certainty we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity. "In these past few years—and most violently, in the past few days—we have learned a terrible lesson. "It is our obligation to our dead and our children and our hidden ones that we must never forget what we have learned. Lists 'Lessons'. "And what we all have learned is this: "There is no such thing as security for any nation—or any individual—in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism. "There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning. "We have learned that our ocean gift hemisphere is not immune from severe attack—that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on any map. "We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed a brilliant feat of deception, perfectly timed and executed with great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed, but we must face the fact that modern warfare, as conducted in the Nazi manner is a dirty business. We don't like it—we didn't want to get in it—but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got. "I don't think any American has any doubt of our ability to administer proper punishment to the perpetrators of these crimes. Two Polls. "I have been working today on the subject of production. Your government has decided on two basic policies. "The first is to speed up all existing production by working on a seven day week basis in every war industry, including the production of essential raw materials. "The second policy, now being put into form, is to rush additions to the capacity of production by building more new plants, by adding to old plants, and by using the many smaller plants for war needs. "Over the hard road of the past months, we have at times met obstacles and difficulties, divisions and disputes, indifference and callousness. That is now all past—and, I am sure, forgotten. "The fact is that the country now has an organization in Washington built around men and women who are recognized experts in their own fields. I think the country knows that the people who are actually responsible in each and every one of these many fields are pulling together with a teamwork that has never before been exceeded. Much to Do. "On the road ahead there lies hard work—gruelling work—day and night, every hour and every minute. "I was about to add that ahead there lies sacrifice for all of us. "But it is not correct to use that word, The United States does not consider it a sacrifice to do all one can, to give one's best to our nation, when the nation is fighting for its existence and its future life. "It is not a sacrifice for any man, old or young, to be in the army or the navy of the United States. Rather it is a privilege. "It is not a sacrifice to do without many things to which we are accustomed if the national defense calls for doing without. "A review of this morning's press to the conclusion that at present we shall not have to curtail the normal articles of food. There is enough food for all of us and enough left over to send to those who are fighting on the same side with us. U. S. Used Time. "Now a word about the recent past—and the future. A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France, when the whole world first realized the mechanized might which the axis nations had been building for so many years. America has used that year and a half to great advantage. Knowledge that the attack might reach us in all too short a time, we immediately began greatly to increase our industrial strength and our capacity to meet the demands of modern warfare. "Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of our war material to the nations of the world still able to resist axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth that the defense of any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country. That policy has been justified. It has given us time, invaluable time, to build our American assembly lines of production. "Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being rushed to completion. A steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns and ships, of shells and equipment—that is what these 18 months have given us. Face Long War. "But it is all only a beginning of what has to be done. We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bands. The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points in both oceans and along both our coast lines and against all the rest of the hemisphere. "It will not only be a long war,

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