I deeply appreciate the rare privilege and honor of speaking to the American people tonight in this great Tabernacle built for the worship of God.

I wish to talk with you tonight about our greatest domestic issue. It is the problem of the peace of the world. It is one which should only be dealt with entirely without partisanship and in the highest realm of statesmanship.

Just ten years ago, the Pact of Munich was signed. The weary statesmen of honorable European nations had let Adolf Hitler inch his way to power until, in desperation, they accepted this final, futile act of appeasement. History may say that all the evil forces which have rocked this world with ten years of pain and suffering were let loose that night.

Whatever the verdict of history, there is one thing on which I am sure you and I will all agree: There must not be another Munich.

In my heart, as I speak to you tonight, there is a prayer for peace. That prayer is in the heart of every American as the anxious eyes of freedom-loving peoples everywhere are turned toward Paris. There, in the deliberations of the United Nations, lies our hope that cruelty and aggression will yield to the spirit of fairness and justice. For ten tragic years we have gone from crisis to war and back to crisis. Better after Paris has fallen before the steady march of Communist aggression and tonight those of us who repeatedly warned that crisis would follow continued appeasement, are using every effort to maintain a firm but just position in the face of new threats.

The business of statesmanship is to anticipate and solve international problems before they become crises, and to solve crises before they become wars. Statesmanship is the sum total of domestic and foreign policies which make a country strong enough, consistent enough, and respected enough so that it can live at peace in the world. Crisis is the failure of statesmanship and war is the ultimate bankruptcy of statesmanship.

It would serve no useful purpose to recall tonight how the Soviet has conquered millions of people as a result of the failures of statesmanship. It does not advance our purpose to discuss the manner in which the Soviet has been able to stick...
the fruits of diplomatic victories that were yielded up at that series of secret conferences culminating in Potsdam.

In a series of easy victories, the Soviet achieved domination of the Baltic countries, the Balkans, Poland, Czechoslovakia. Now she has moved on to similar conquests in the Far East. It serves no purpose to review the concessions made by our own Government to the Soviet in Manchuria and Northern China at the expense of the Chinese people and without any consultation with them.

These things are done. The tragedies have already occurred. Month after month, the area of human freedom has been pressed back and back, as Communist armies moved on and on. The question is: What lies ahead?

In reading recently, the Memoirs of Winston Churchill, I was reminded of the view he expressed so vigorously when he visited me in Albany, concerning the events leading up to World War II. I was struck again by his emphasis upon the tragic fact that the Second World War need never have happened. It could have been prevented and should have been prevented.

At a dozen points in a half dozen years of the Thirties, he reports, the freedom-loving Nations could have stopped the piecemeal aggression which finally set the world against the Nazi dream. The saddest tragedy of it all is that in those fateful years the free Nations seemed to lack the understanding, the decision, or the leadership to do what was necessary until it was too late. I say with the deepest conviction: That must not happen again.

In shaping our foreign policy from now on, I intend that we shall continuously, peace, unselfishly, every day, remember the lesson of Munich. However much we may desire we cannot buy peace with appeasement. It always leads to greater and greater demands on the part of the aggressor. In the end it can lead only to slavery or to war. That policy the American people will wholeheartedly reject. All the history of aggression, both ancient and modern, teaches one simple and consistent lesson: The best way for us to get along with the Soviet leaders is to deal with them as strong equals and by doing so to restore their respect for us. We shall deal with the Soviet as with all other nations in a spirit of friendship and fairness, but we should make it perfectly plain that now or hereafter we do not intend to be bullied or buffeted.

It is not too late to develop and pursue a consistent and effective foreign policy and to make the Soviet understand that, just as we intend to deal fairly with others, so we insist that others must deal fairly and honestly with us.

Foreign policy is the means we give to principles and purposes which ought to guide us in our dealings with other Nations. The goal of American foreign policy is to establish in the world a just and lasting peace. The means by which we seek to achieve that goal will be, first, the strengthening of all those forces which
make for peace in the world and, second, a firm but even tempered resistance to the forces of aggression wherever they are seeking to break down and tear asunder the structure of human freedom.

Our foreign policy in the troubled world can no longer be a passive thing - a negative thing. We will wage peace with all the vigor, imagination, skill and energy with which we waged war.

Today in the cause of peace and freedom, we are the decisive world power. We did not seek this role. We have been reluctant to accept its immense responsibilities and assume its heavy burdens, but there is no longer any such thing as isolation. Our ocean frontiers are no longer a line of defense. Today, as we contracted with 1914 or 1939, we stand at the outposts of a threatened civilization. We shall have a foreign policy for an America that has come of age, an America that must stand as a bulwark for freedom. That means a foreign policy of competence, decisions and courage. We cannot win the peace by merely wishing it. Faith alone is not enough. We must match our faith with our works. That means these things:

1. We will give our unswerving support to the United Nations. Here is the second great effort in our time to form a council of nations to maintain peace and to establish among the nations of the world a rule of justice and decency. Like every human institution the United Nations is still imperfect, but like all the institutions of free men and women, it can be perfected. Firmly, patiently, wholeheartedly, we will work to perfect it.

Through it, we will mobilize and give backing to the decent opinion of mankind. Through it, we will seek to make a united front of the world's peace-loving nations against aggression, wherever and whenever it raises its head.

2. We will extend the hand of friendship and help to freedom-loving people everywhere. Many of the free people have been desperately weakened by the long exhausting years of war and the strain of post-war reconstruction. In their ruins and poverty, some of them find the utter profit of keeping alive so exhausting that they barely have strength to join in the struggle to preserve their own freedom. But the peace of the world can be secure when the forces that make for peace are stronger than the forces that make for war, when the free Nations are strong enough to stand upright and with self-confidence face the future. It is a part, a very essential part, of our foreign policy that we shall give to these friendly and like-minded nations all reasonable aid to restore their shattered economic system.

The great adventure of the European Recovery Program is already launched. To that program many Americans have made notable contributions, and foremost among these Senator Arthur Vandenberg. As developed and enacted it is a program to which I invite our people to give their wholehearted support.

3. This program of European aid must, however, have another and greater purpose. It must not be just relief. We shall use it as the means for purpose.
producing and encouraging the Nations of Western Europe toward the goal of European union. Three times within the past 20 years, the American people have been called upon to make a mighty effort to save Western Europe from totalitarian dictatorships. We have waged two wars and now three years after the second war, we are having to pour out our resources to reinforce a Europe once more threatened by aggression. The United States and Communist Russia confront each other across a devastated and divided Europe. What is needed is a third great, peaceable power which will be so strong that no despotic ruler of a totalitarian Nation will think the cause of freedom so weak that he dares to wage war. What is needed to restore stability in the world is a united Europe—a strong third power devoted to the cause of peace.

What is needed is a United States of Europe.

Let us squarely face one fact. So long as Europe is divided into more than a score of weak nations, it will be a tempting invitation for any aggressor. The differences in language and background are no barriers to unity. Joined in a great federation, free Europe can become a bulwark for peace.

The 15 Nations involved in the European Recovery Program plus Western Germany, have a population nearly twice that of the United States. They have great material resources.

Take for one example, the Ruhr. This is the industrial heart of Europe. It was Hitler's arsenal. I proposed four years ago that we make it a workshop for peace. Instead it has been partially stripped and is still partially paralyzed. So to tame the pride of what the Ruhr should be producing for all Europe, we are still shipping precious American steel and coal and industrial products we need at home. We shall bring a demilitarized Ruhr to life, put it under international control and see that it serves the peaceful needs of a great European Federation.

To build such a Federation of free countries must be a major objective of our American foreign policy. The enactment of our European Recovery Program is a step along the road, but it must be used and used effectively for more than a program of relief. It must be used creatively for this great permanent good. Unless we vitally use our generosity with this practical purpose, we shall be simply frittering away the billions we are sending overseas. It is useless to review the failure to make sufficient progress in the three years since V-J Day. What is important is that we start to make greater progress now.

European unity has been the dream of far-sighted statesmen for 50 years. To achieve that dream will be a major objective of our foreign policy. A Federation of Western Europe's 370 million people into one strong, economic, political union would be the greatest triumph of statesmanship in history. It would be the firmer guarantee of peace in all history.
4. Even as we move forward our progress to restore and strengthen and unify the free nations of Europe, we shall bring an end to the tragic neglect of our ancient friend and ally, China. The menace to peace is world wide and our efforts to create a peace must also be world-wide. As the last war taught us that a two-ocean navy is essential, so we can and will recognize the obvious truth that we need a two-ocean foreign policy.

5. It is my solemn judgment that we in this troubled world have no choice but to remain strong and grow stronger. We must have air, land and sea forces that are capable of protecting us in this new Atomic Age. We pray God that we may never again be the object of unprovoked attack. But if it should come there will be no time this time to improvise our defense. We shall keep ourselves ready at all times to protect our land and our liberties. We shall be so strong that no nation will again risk attacking us.

6. Military strength alone is not enough. It was the tremendous power of American industry, American agriculture, and American labor, working together in freedom that overwhelmed the might of the world's foremost military nations. If we are to have an effective foreign policy and to play effectively the great role in world events that Providence has marked out for us, we must continue to be a vigorous, flourishing Nation. Our policies will encourage an abundant, increasingly productive Nation. We shall see to it that depression and mass unemployment -- which the Communists and their allies have been hopefully predicting -- never return to blot our land, to productive, united America, increasing in well-being is a bulwark for our foreign policy, a bulwark for the world's peace.

7. As a cornerstone of our foreign policy, we shall continue to strengthen the close and cordial cooperation with our neighbors in the American continent. This is a great American policy with a history of over 250 years, dating back to the Monroe Doctrine.

Out of this long friendship has recently come the Pact of Rio de Janeiro by which the ancient association among our countries in the New World was cemented upon a new and firmer basis.

I look forward to continued progress in the spirit of this pact so that the United States and our Latin-American friends shall move ahead, not simply as good neighbors, but as full partners. We will be partners not only in preventing our unified strength against external aggression but in developing our material and spiritual resources as an inspiration to all the world.

8. In these troubled times, foreign policy means more than dealing with other governments. Our foreign policy will be the expression of the ideals, traditions and aspirations of the American people. Our foreign policy will tell the people of every land the story of this America. Ours is the cause of justice,
of religion, of the dignity of the individual, of common decency. Our country is
the hope of the world. Our influence will be effective because we will be spiritually
strong in the cause of liberty, physically strong enough to be respected and
united in our purpose before all the world.

Never before have we needed more earnestly to make our influence felt in the
world. Never before was there a greater need to tell the world the American
story. It is a story without parallel in human history.

In the war just ended American arms won victories in many lands. But we have
claimed no part of the land belonging to any people. We have not sought to impose
our way of life on any people. We have exacted no tribute from those who were our
enemies. Instead, we are feeding and clothing them, healing their wounds and re-
viving their spirit. We are helping them win back their integrity so that they may
again become useful partners in a free society.

Wherever America has come, she has brought, not fear but hope. Wherever
America has been, there is, not slavery, but an increase of freedom. We have
sought to make all nations our friends; we seek to make none our enemies. This
is America's record. It is the best of our sincerity. It is the blessed proof of
freedom under God.

9. We shall enlist the spiritual resources of mankind in a great moral
awakening. We are resolved to wage the peace with such courage, such unity, such
great uncompromising devotion to the right that mankind will take heart again, that
hope and determination and self-reliance will be reborn, that out of these present
shadows we will move together toward the fulfillment of tomorrow's promise. That
is America's purpose. It is a purpose worthy of the greatness that is America.

All this shall be part of a foreign policy, shaped to bring peace with
justice to the world. The hope that our land holds high shall be so bright that
peoples everywhere will see its light and feel their hearts kindled by the precious
fire of freedom.

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