

Pages 17-18, Fifth Draft, Annual Message to Congress (the 'Four Freedoms' speech), January 6, 1941. FDR's 'Four Freedoms' speech is among the most memorable of his presidency. Like many presidential addresses, it went through a number of drafts before it was delivered. In these pages from the fifth draft, the President's handwritten revisions are visible-adding emphasis to the principles he defined as the 'four essential human freedoms.' Roosevelt's revisions were incorporated into the final draft of the speech.

FIFTH DRAFT

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~~We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care in many parts of the country. With it we must make better provision for the care of those who are handicapped in life by physical or mental causes or by personal conditions which make them exceptions to the normal.~~

~~We must go further than ever before in planning a nationwide system by which all persons desiring gainful employment may obtain it in private or in government work.~~

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 response involves harder work and the giving up of certain things in life which are not essentials.~~

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I 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. The principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation. *HMA*

→ That is the kind of system which we have been seeking to build. That is the kind of system which we shall continue to build for the future. *The days which we seek to make secure*
In ~~that~~ future, we look forward to a world founded fundamentally upon four essential human freedoms.

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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 ~~international~~ terms means economic understandings which will secure to every nation ~~everywhere~~ a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants. — *everywhere in the world*

The fourth is freedom from fear — which translated into world ~~international~~ terms means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation ~~anywhere~~ will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor. — *anywhere in the world.*

A-17A. That kind of a world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new order" which the dictators seek to create ~~at the point of a gun~~ *with the crash of a bomb* in Europe and in Asia.

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. It has no need either for the one or for the other.