January 6, 1942 [State of the Union Address] 1409

FDR Speech File

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Bob Sherwood

You might find a word or two of this interesting

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Samuel I. Rosenman

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Archibald MacLeish

Date: 1/2/42

From: Malcolm Cowley

Subject: Mothers and the War

A great many mothers are panic-stricken, and I gather that they are communicating some of their fears to their sons; this would explain many of the difficulties with morale that the Army had before December 7. Moreover, I would doubt that these difficulties ended by magic when Japan declared war.

The mothers don't talk so much about the fear that their sons will be killed, though certainly that is in the back of their minds. The two things about which they talk most are, first, that their sons will be sent abroad —at this point the America First propaganda had a lasting effect—and, second, that their careers will be ruined, that they will come home after the war, have no jobs, and will perhaps have to go through the whole business again twenty years later. The mothers of the draft army of today were girls or young women during the last war, and they have never forgotten that experience.

To change the attitude of mothers toward the war will be a long process. But I should strongly suggest that the first step in that process would be a speech by the President, or at the very least a long passage in one of his fireside talks. Once he had set the keynote, the campaign could be carried on through women's clubs, newspapers and all the other organizations and media.

Such a speech would probably begin by a tribute to the sacrifice and fortitude of American mothers (using the positive instead of the negative approach). It would point out that boys who are sent abroad are keeping the war from this country; that an expeditionary force will cost fewer lives than a defense of our own cities. It would point out that this is also a war of production--that the more guns and planes and tanks we turn out, the safer our boys will be (thus enlisting mothers in the battle of production). Finally, it would have to promise that after the war, the boys will have jobs, will have a part in the great work of readapting this nation to the tasks of a free world at peace.

OEM-32

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January 6, 1942

THE WHITE HOUSE

S. I. Rosenman.

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(18)

Jan. 6, 1942

First Draft - Torn in two - uncorrected.

First Draft - 3 copies - dictated by F.D.R. - uncorrected.

Second Draft - 2 copies - 14 pages -
one corrected by S.I.R., one corrected by R.E.S.

Third Draft - 2 copies - 20 pages
one corrected by S.I.R. (and doodles), one uncorrected.
Page 20 (22) of original Third Draft corrected by the President and S.I.R.

Fourth Draft - carbon - 18 pages - S.I.R. corrections.

Yellow sheet marked (20) - S.I.R. handwriting.

Yellow sheet marked (21) - R.E.S. handwriting.

Fifth Draft - carbon - 16 pages - Hopkins corrections -
S.I.R. on p. 14, 16.

Sixth Draft - carbon - 17 pages - Rosenman (on his lap)
corrections and doodling.

Reading Copy - carbon - 23 pages - uncorrected.

Memo from MacLeish.

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FIRST DRAFT

Dictated by FDR

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 6, 1942

The fog has lifted. Doubts and fears and selfishnesses and misconceptions have been dispelled by a direct attack upon the people of the United States. Today we face the present and the future, and we can leave the analysis of past years to the historians of the next generation. Nevertheless, in order that we may give true values to present policies, it is right briefly to survey the why and the wherefore of our present situation.

One more step has been taken by the Empire of Japan in carrying forward a long-term plan -- a plan for the ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ conquest of the whole of Eastern Asia and the Pacific Ocean. Some date that plan to the year 1931, when the Japanese commenced the invasion of Manchuria. But the Japanese objective goes much further back than that. It goes back to the formation of a hundred year plan, at least a decade before the close of the last century, soon after Japan had adopted the ways of Western industry, teaching and the military arts.

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The first action called for a successful military lesson to China. Hence the war between Japan and China in 1894. It called for the proof of military and naval superiority over Russia. Hence the war of 1904-1905. It called for the conquest of unarmed Korea. Hence the destruction of the Kingdom of Korea in 1905. It called for the acquisition of far-flung Islands in the Pacific Ocean. Hence the acquisition of the Mandated Islands; the violation of the Treaty which established the mandate and the fortification of the Islands in violation of the Treaty of Washington of 1921. It called for the extension of Japanese destruction of China. Hence the occupation of Manchuria in 1921 and the subsequent occupation of very large portions of Chinese territory in the existing war, which has been going on for four and a half years. Finally, it involved another example of the opportunism which accompanied the long range plan -- the attack on the United States, on the Netherlands East Indies, on the British Empire, on French Indo-China and on the Kingdom of Siam, four weeks ago.

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That plan in Asia is an almost exact duplicate of the Nazi objectives in Europe, in Africa and in the Near East -- yes, in the whole Atlantic and Mediterranean and Baltic and Indian Oceans. It would subjugate and reduce to "leading strings" in Japanese hands, all the people of Eastern Asia, all the peoples of the Islands of the Pacific; it would dominate the use and trade of the whole Pacific area, and it contemplates the establishment of impregnable Japanese fortresses on the mainland of North America, on the Isthmus of Panama and on the western shores of South America.

Some people foresaw that plan and in it the danger to other free and independent nations -- but it seemed so fantastic that none would listen.

It is interesting that chronologically the next broad plan for conquest of other peoples and other nations seems to have originated not in Germany, but in Italy. The dictatorship of Mussolini goes back to the early 1920's and it soon became clear to me and to those who were observing the requirements of dictatorships that he was studying great moves in Northern Africa, in order that conquest might retain him in the saddle of power. Hence

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the building of Libyan strength; hence the conquest of Abyssinia; hence the threat to Egypt, the threat to Tunis, the threat to Corsica and Nice. Those sequences of events ought also to have caused us not merely to stop, look and listen, but also to prepare more greatly against the inevitable.

For in Northern Europe another planner -- the greatest of them all -- was translating dreams, not for the German people alone; not for the conquest of the whole of Europe, and the conquest of all of Africa, but the domination of the world itself.

Most people took Hitler's book to be a fantasy -- the wild imaginings of an inexperienced man who had suddenly been thrown into a place of power for which he had had no training and from which he would disappear in due course.

Nations outside of Germany were indulgent for a while, then worried, then fearful -- and it was not until it was almost too late that they realized the enormity of the peril, and that only through a common unity of defense could they save their homes and their nations. Some of them acted too late, and in many of those cases there exists today a growing flame that soon must and will be

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a part of the fire that will consume the evil thing and save the world from slavery in the years to come.

Hitler has assumed the dominant position in the company of the aggressors. He has made Italy and Japan his tools and -- in spite of boast and desperation -- he knows today that the peoples of all the rest of the world are against him and will never stop until they have gained his utter defeat.

The strategy of this most dangerous of our enemies is obvious. It started with the smaller neighbors, protesting all the time that each advance was the last territorial demand. It sought to divide one country from another, to set one class against another, one race against another. It was the strategy of treachery and surprise, striking on a victim unaware; all the time protesting friendship and peaceful intent.

The aims, too, are clear. If Hitler were to win by dominating the world and enslaving its peoples, the unfortunate dupes of Italy and Japan would be slaves too.

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To accomplish his aim he must destroy the material and the spiritual centers of world civilization. He must wreck the sea power of Britain, the land power of Russia and the industrial power of the United States. And in the process he must surely destroy the very sense of freedom, the institution of democracy, the family, decency, loyalty, religion and patriotism wherever any one of them lives.

We in the United States have always been the ultimate enemy because Hitler knew that he could never win so long as the United States continued to carry the torch of liberty.

But I am inclined to think that the great organizing and planning machine which he has set up — or perhaps it may be the intuition of Hitler himself — has made ever so slight an error of judgment. This little error was, in the first place, one of timing, for if we had been attacked by Hitler or by his chessman — Japan — two years ago, he would have found the going more easy. Or, if his move to attack had been more subtle, he might not have met the united wrath of 130,000,000 people with some ability to strike back.

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In a time like this we know what we want to preserve and we know the broad outlines of the kind of world we want to live in when once more we have the peaceful privilege of working out our future. We need not spend too much time on post war problems.

We face a gripping reality as participants -- wholehearted participants -- in the xixxx greatest of all wars which have befallen the human race.

That is why during the past two weeks we have been setting up the beginnings of a world-wide counter-strategy. That is why we have signed a solemn declaration of policy, together with _____ other nations, and that is why we have signed war conduct agreements to join in the conduct of mutual operations against common foes.

Other agreements, written and unwritten, between the united nations will follow, covering all the decisive points of the globe and seeking to strike Germany, Italy and Japan wherever it will hurt them the most.

We cannot let ourselves be confused or diverted. We cannot for a minute let ourselves enjoy the thought that the enemies can be defeated by piling up our armies and munitions at home in the fatuous thought that that

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will destroy Hitlerism.

Farther afield we have been faced with hard choices, for we must not throw our men or our materials into indecisive encounters where, for geographical reasons, the odds may be temporarily against us. It was bitter not to be able to relieve the historic defenders of Wake Island. It has been bitter not to be able to land a million men and a thousand ships in the Philippine Islands. But we do know that in the days to come the Stars and Stripes will fly over Wake and Guam again; that there will not be a Japanese platoon in all the Philippines, and that we will make good our pledge to give them independence and save them from the enslavement of "would-be conquerors".

(Munitions and ships the vital needs to victory.)

(Raising our sights -- 50% of national income to go to increase in production)

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Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:

Exactly one year ago today in my annual message to the Congress I said that "When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. 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".

We now know their choice of the time; it was a peaceful Sunday morning, December the 7th 1941.

Their choice of the place was Pearl Harbor.

And the method they chose was so perfidious that it out-Hitlered Hitler himself.

At that time and place, and by that method, Japan attempted to play her part in the great, world-wide Axis scheme of conquest.

The act of Japan was the act of Hitler. It was ordered by Hitler for two very definite and simple reasons. First: to knock out in blow, if possible our aggressive military. Second: failing in that, as they have, to terrify us to such an extent that we would divert our vast industrial and military strength to the Pacific area or even to our own continental defense. In either case the object was to stop us from supplying weapons to Britain and Russia - weapons which

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FIRST DRAFT

increasingly are speeding the day of Hitler's doom.

We have not been deceived. We have not been diverted.

Even so, we have been faced with hard choices. We knew that we should not send our armed forces on distant missions where for geographical reasons, the odds have been temporarily against us or where the struggle itself would be indecisive. It was bitter not to be able to relieve the heroic and historic defenders of Wake Island. It was bitter not to be able to land a million men and a thousand ships in the Philippine Islands.

But we do know that the day will come when the Stars and Stripes will fly again over Wake and Guam; when the brave people of the Philippines will be rid of the last threat of Japanese imperialism and will live in freedom, security and independence.

Further hard bitter choices may have to be made in the months to come. We will not shrink from such decisions. We are fighting the combined military might of Japan and Germany.

But we have a formidable combination of military might on our side - and it increases daily in strength. That combination will dispose its forces and strike at the common enemy when and where the need is greatest and the maximum of damage can be done.

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That is the primary purpose of conferences which have been held during the past two weeks in Washington, in Moscow and in Chunking. That is the primary objective of the declaration of solidarity signed on January 2, 1942 in Washington by twenty-six nations arrayed against the Axis powers.

A few militarists in Berlin and Tokyo started this war. But the armed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it.

The peoples of many lands have suffered grievously in this war. Nations have fought gallantly but hopelessly against invasion, and they have been over-run and pillaged and enslaved. Other nations have withstood the fierce attacks against their lands and their homes, and they will fight on with courage and with confidence.

Now it is our turn to pay a heavy price for freedom. We are willing to pay this price, whatever it may be.

So far, we have hardly even begun to pay. We have devoted only 15% of our national income to national defense. We shall have to devote 50% or more of our national income to the gigantic task of winning the war.

Our objectives must be clear to us, because the objectives of our enemies are all too clear to them.

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Destruction of the material and spiritual centers of civilization - that is the purpose of Hitler and his Nazi and Japanese chessmen. They must wreck the sea power of Britain and the land power of Russia - and then they must unite all their forces to achieve their ultimate goal, the conquest of the United States. They have known from the start that until they have conquered us they have not won victory. Japan knew that when she invaded Manchuria in 1931 - and Hitler knew it when he invaded Poland in 1939.

They know that as long as America lives - freedom lives; that as long as America lives - the institution of democracy lives, the ideal of the family, the simple principles of common decency.

They know that as long as America lives - religion lives. And they could not tolerate that. The world is all together too small to provide adequate "living room" for both Hitler and God.

Yes - our objectives are clear, and we shall not stop short of them - nor shall we be satisfied merely to gain them and then call it a day. I know that I speak for the American people when I say that this time we are going to win both the war and the peace which follows the war.

It is a big job - the biggest that any nation has ever undertaken.

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As this powerful nation gets into its full stride of production with which it and its associates will finally destroy the Axis menace, we must always be on guard against misconceptions which will arise naturally or which will be planted among us by our enemies.

We must guard against complacency. We must not underrate the enemy. He is powerful and cunning and cruel and ruthless. He will stop at nothing which gives him a chance to kill. He has trained his people to believe that their highest form of perfection is achieved by waging war. He has prepared for many years for this very conflict — planning, plotting, training, arming, fighting. We have already felt the bitter sting of defeat. We may suffer more. We must face the fact of a hard war, a long war, a bloody, costly war.

We must, on the other hand, guard against defeatism. That has been one of the chief weapons of Hitler's propaganda machine — used time and again with deadly results. It will not be used successfully on the American people. For the American people are ready for the struggle, no matter how hard and long it may be. Their power, their industry and labor, their skill and devotion will make sure the inevitable triumph in the end.

We must guard against divisions among us and among our associates. Hitler will try again to breed mistrust and suspicion. He is

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trying even now. But he will find a unity of will and purpose in the American people and among the allied nations which will persevere until the destruction of all his black designs upon the freedom and safety of the people of the world.

We can not wage this war in a defensive spirit. When our power and our resources have been mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy - we shall hit him and hit him hard wherever and whenever we can reach him.

We must keep him far from our shores, for we don't intend to fight this battle on our own home grounds.

We are not going to concentrate our anti-aircraft defences around New York and Boston, or San Francisco and Seattle. We are going to send the weapons and the men to use them to strategic points in all parts of the world, which will serve as bases for attack.

While civilian defense is of course essential as far as possible, this war will be won ultimately only by launching an offensive against all the Axis powers, by producing now so that a military offensive may be waged as soon as possible by us and our allies in every important theatre of operations in the war.

Thanks to the present state of our preparedness, and thanks to the successful resistance of Russia, Britain and China, the danger of air

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raids upon our cities is not great. If, however, any of our enemies, from Europe or from Asia, attempt long-range raids by "suicide" squadrons of bombing planes, they will do so only in the hope of terrifying our people and disrupting our morale. We are not afraid of that. Whatever in their desperation they attempt to do to us - we will say, as the people of London have said, "We can take it". And what's more, we can give it back, with plenty of interest.

We are now engaged upon a program of production of heavy bombers that is far greater than Hitler ever dreamed of.

We have only just begun to produce. In May 1940 we set ourselves a goal of producing planes at the rate of 50,000 a year. In 1942 we will achieve that rate of production. But now - even that is clearly not good enough. We must raise our sights all along the line. We must produce planes at the rate of 100,000 a year. We cannot afford to delay. We may delude ourselves with the thought that time is on our side but we will learn that that is not true if we permit the Nazis and the Japanese to organize the productive capacity of the occupied territories.

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In addition to heavy bombers and fighting planes of all kinds we need tanks - new and superior tanks - in staggering quantities.

We need guns of all calibers, and we need ammunition.

And - perhaps most important of all - we need ships.

The enemy enjoys the advantage of interior lines - on land and on restricted seas. We must transport materials and men over many thousands of miles of ocean to widely dispersed points of the globe. We must carry supplies to our Allies - and we must carry reinforcements. To do that we must build ships and more ships and still more ships. And we must provide warships and aircraft carriers to guard the life lines across the long, perilous reaches of the seas. Even now I can say that in 1942 we will reach a rate of production of _____ cargo ships per week and _____ fighting ships per week.

Our task is hard - our task is unprecedented - and the time is short. We will have to build some new plants for specialized tasks, but we can do only a small part of the job in this way. There is no time to devote large resources of materials and labor to constructing new industries. We must convert every building and tool to war production. Conversion must proceed at once from the greatest plants to the smallest — from the huge automobile industry to the village machine shops.

Production for war is based on metals — steel, copper, aluminum,

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zinc, tin. Greater and greater quantities of metals will be needed. Civilian uses will have to be cut further and further - and many of them will have to be completely eliminated.

When our enemies challenged our country to stand up and fight, they challenged each and every one of us. And each and every one of us is involved in this battle.

There were only some four hundred United States Marines who defended Wake Island and who inflicted serious injury on the enemy in doing so. Some of those boys were killed in action, and others are now prisoners of war. When the survivors of that great fight are liberated and restored to their homes we must be able to prove to them that a hundred and thirty million of their fellow citizens were willing to render service and sacrifice as they did in the finest American tradition.

Our men on the fighting fronts have already proved that Americans today are just as rugged and just as tough as any of the heroes whose exploits we celebrate on the Fourth of July. Let Americans on the production front and on the home front prove likewise.

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SECOND DRAFT

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:

Exactly one year ago today in my annual message to the Congress I said that "When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part..... 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".

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Their choice of the place was Pearl Harbor.

And the method they chose was so perfidious that it out-Hitlered Hitler himself.

At that time and place, and by that method, Japan began to play her part in the great, world-wide Axis scheme of conquest.

That act of Japan was the act of Hitler. It was ordered by Hitler for two very definite and simple reasons. First: to knock out in one blow, if possible, our aggressive military power. Second: failing in that, as they have, to terrify us to such an extent that we would divert our vast industrial and military strength to the Pacific area or even to our own continental defense. In either case the object was to stop us from supplying the weapons of war to Britain and Russia - weapons which

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SECOND DRAFT

increasingly are speeding the day of Hitler's doom. Although the vicious attack on Pearl Harbor was executed according to plan - the Axis plan - it has failed in both of these purposes.

We have not been deceived. We have not been diverted.

Admittedly, we have been faced with hard choices. We knew that we should not send our armed forces on distant missions where, for geographical reasons, the odds were temporarily against us, or where the struggle itself would be indecisive. It was bitter, for example, not to be able to relieve the heroic and historic defenders of Wake Island. It was bitter not to be able to land a million men and a thousand ships in the Philippine Islands.

But the bitterness which we now feel adds only to our determination to see to it that the Stars and Stripes will fly again over Wake and Guam; and that the brave people of the Philippines will be rid of the last threat of Japanese imperialism, and will live again in freedom, security and independence.

Further hard bitter choices may have to be made in the months to come. We will not shrink from such decisions.

We know that we are fighting the combined military might of Japan and Germany. But we have a formidable combination of military might on our own side - and it grows daily in strength. That combination

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keeps its eye on the main objective; and will dispose its forces and strike at the common enemy when and where the need is greatest and the maximum of damage can be done. This war is being

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SECOND DRAFT

waged on three continents and over seven seas. Our own major battlefields will be chosen by ourselves where we can hit the hardest — not where the enemy chooses to suit his own purpose.

That is the primary purpose of conferences which have been held during the past two weeks in Washington, in Moscow, and in Chungking. That is the primary objective of the declaration of solidarity signed in Washington on January 1, 1942 by twenty-six nations ~~arrayed~~ united against the Axis powers.

A few militarists in Berlin and Tokyo started this war. But the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it.

The peoples of many lands have suffered grievously in this war. Nations have fought gallantly but hopelessly against invasion, and they have been over-run and pillaged and enslaved. Other nations have withstood the fierce attacks against their lands and their homes, and they will fight on with courage and with confidence.

Now it is our turn to pay a heavy price for freedom. We are willing to pay this price, whatever it may be.

Our objectives must be clear to us, because the objectives of our enemies are all too clear to them.

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They know that as long as America lives - freedom lives; that as long as America lives - the institution of democracy lives, the ideal of the family, the simple principles of common decency and humanity.

They know that as long as America lives - religion lives. And they could not tolerate that. The world is too small to provide adequate "living room" for both Hitler and God.

The Nazis have at last officially announced their plan for enforcing their own German, pagan religion throughout the world - the plan by which the Holy Bible and the Cross of Mercy would be displaced by Mein Kampf and the naked sword.

So, our own objectives are also clear - the objective of smashing the militarism imposed by military dictators upon their

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enslaved peoples - the objective of liberating the subjugated nations - the objective of restoring and securing the freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear everywhere in the world. We shall not stop short of these objectives - nor shall we be satisfied

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merely to gain them and then call it a day. I know that I speak for the American people when I say that this time we are determined not only to win the war, but also to obtain the security of the peace which follows the war.

It is a big job - the biggest that any nation has ever undertaken. Modern methods of warfare make it a job not only of shooting and fighting, but an even more urgent job of producing and producing.

We are already engaged upon a program of production of heavy bombers that is far greater than Hitler ever dreamed of.

But we have only just begun to produce. In May 1940 we set ourselves a goal of producing planes at the rate of 50,000 a year. In this year, 1942, we will achieve that rate of production. But now - even that is clearly not good enough. We must raise our sights all along the line. We must produce planes at the rate of 100,000 a year. We cannot afford to delay. We may delude ourselves with the thought that time is on our side, but we will learn that that is not true if we permit the Nazis and the Japanese to organize the productive capacity of the occupied territories.

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In addition to heavy bombers and fighting planes of all kinds we need tanks - new and superior tanks - in staggering quantities.

We need guns of all calibers, and we need ammunition.

And - perhaps most important of all - we need ships.

The enemy enjoys the advantage of interior lines - on land and on restricted seas. We, however, must transport materials and men over many thousands of miles of ocean to widely dispersed points of the globe. We must carry supplies to our Allies - and we must carry reinforcements. To do that we must build ships and more ships and still more ships. And we must provide warships and aircraft carriers to guard the life lines across the long, perilous reaches of the seas. Even now I can say that in 1942 we will reach a rate of production of _____ cargo ships per week and _____ fighting ships per week.

Our task is hard - our task is unprecedented - and the time is short. We will have to build some new plants for specialized tasks, but we can do only a small part of the job in this way. There is no time to devote large resources of materials and labor to constructing new industries. We must convert every building and tool to war production. Conversion must proceed at once from the greatest plants to the

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smallest - from the huge automobile industry to the village machine shops

Production for war is based on metals and raw materials - steel, copper, rubber, aluminum, zinc, tin. Greater and greater quantities of them will be needed. Civilian uses will have to be cut further and further - and many of these uses will have to be completely eliminated.

War costs money. So far, we have hardly even begun to pay for it. We have devoted only 15% of our national income to national defense. We shall have to devote 50% or more of our national income to the gigantic task of victory. This means taxes and bonds and bonds and taxes. It means cutting luxuries and giving up non-essentials. In a word, it means our "all-out" war.

As this powerful nation gets into its full stride of production with which it and its associates will finally destroy the Axis menace, we must always be on guard against misconceptions which will arise naturally or which will be planted among us by our enemies.

We must guard against complacency. We must not underrate the enemy. He is powerful and cunning - and cruel and ruthless. He will stop at nothing which gives him a chance to kill. He has trained his people to believe that their highest form of perfection is achieved by waging war. He has prepared for many years for this very conflict -

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planning, plotting, training, arming, fighting. We have already felt the bitter sting of defeat. We may suffer more. We must face the fact of a hard war, a long war, a bloody, costly war.

We must, on the other hand, guard against defeatism. That has been one of the chief weapons of Hitler's propaganda machine - used time and again with deadly results. It will not be used successfully on the American people. For the American people are ready for the struggle, no matter how hard and long it may be. Their power, their industry and labor, their skill and devotion will make sure the inevitable triumph in the end.

We must guard against divisions among ourselves and among our associates. Hitler will try again to breed mistrust and suspicion between one individual and another, one group and another, one race and another, one nation and another. He will try to use the same technique of falsehood and rumor-mongering with which he divided France from Britain. He is trying to do this with us even now.

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But he will find a unity of will and purpose in the American people and among the united nations standing together against him which will persevere until the destruction of all his black designs upon the freedom and safety of the people of the world.

He will find more than unity - he will find confidence that is based on the connection of unity and of strength.

For the first time since the Japanese and the Fascists and the Nazis started along the bloody course of conquest they now face the fact that superior forces have assembled against them. Gone forever are the days when the aggressors could attack and destroy their victims one by one.

In the past, the Axis powers have had the advantage of unified strategy - Hitler could use the Japanese and even the Italians to further his own plans. But now that advantage has passed to our side, for we too now have a unified strategy, using the best military and naval leadership at our command -- leadership in which the democracies of the world can with safety and confidence follow to victory. And we do not intend to lose this advantage.

We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. When our power and our resources have been fully mobilized, we shall carry the

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attack against the enemy - we shall hit him and hit him hard wherever and whenever we can reach him.

We must keep him far from our shores, for we do not intend to fight this battle on our own home grounds. Therefore, we do not intend to concentrate our anti-aircraft defences around New York and Boston, or San Francisco and Seattle. We are going to send the weapons and the men wherever they are most useful, at strategic points.

In waging such a war on such a world scale we shall give a demonstration of discipline and fighting spirit among our civilians as well as among the gallant men of our armed forces. We have seen, in Britain, in China, in Russia - in many other countries under attack - we have seen how magnificently common men and women and children can meet the severest tests of modern war.

We know that confusion and doubt and despair are all allies of our enemies. We will have none of them on our side.

While civilian defense at home is of course a prime essential as far as possible, this war will be won ultimately only by launching an offensive against all the Axis powers. That is why our rate of production must be so geared now that a military offensive may be waged

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as soon as possible by us and our allies in every important theatre of operations in the war.

Thanks to the present state of our preparedness, and thanks to

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SECOND DRAFT

the successful resistance of Russia, Britain and China, the danger of extensive air raids upon our cities is not great. If, however, any of our enemies, from Europe or from Asia, attempt long-range raids by "suicide" squadrons of bombing planes, they will do so only in the hope of terrifying our people and disrupting our morale. Our people are not afraid of that. Whatever in their desperation they attempt to do to us - we will say, as the people of London have said, "We can take it". And what's more, we can give it back and we will give it back - with plenty of interest.

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When our enemies challenged our country to stand up and fight, they challenged each and every one of us. And each and every one of us is involved in this battle.

There were only some four hundred United States Marines who defended Wake Island, and who inflicted such serious injury on the enemy while they did. Some of those boys were killed in action; and others are now prisoners of war. When the survivors of that great fight are liberated and restored to their homes, we must have proved to them that a hundred and thirty million of their fellow citizens were also willing to render their own full share of service and sacrifice in the finest American tradition.

Our men on the fighting fronts have already proved that American today are just as rugged and just as tough as any of the heroes whose exploits we celebrate on the Fourth of July. Let Americans on the production front and on the home front prove likewise. A people and a soldiery who went through the dark days of Valley Forge are not going to be discouraged or dismayed by early, temporary reverses.

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The number of those reverses, and their seriousness, will depend entirely upon the speed with which we achieve absolute superiority over all the Axis in ships, planes, tanks and guns.

Let each and every one of us remember that this is not only a matter of national pride, national honor; it is a matter of life and death. Any delay in the production of arms - for any cause whatever - will cost the lives of soldiers and sailors.

Many people ask, "When will this war end?" There is only one answer to that. It will end just as soon as we make it end, by our combined efforts, our combined strength, our combined determination to fight through and work through to total victory.

We most certainly shall not settle for less.

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To you Members of the Congress, here assembled, and to all my countrymen, I say this:

For several years past in the annual messages to the Congress on the state of the union, it has been necessary to devote an increasing portion to consideration of foreign affairs and a smaller share to matters of purely national concern. This was obviously due to the growing impact of international events since 1936 upon our own domestic economy. Now, in 1942, everything else has been overshadowed by the one all-pervading and all-controlling fact of war -- war upon the United States. It is clear that all activity at home must be planned and measured with but one single purpose in mind -- to win the war, to win it completely, and to win it as quickly as possible.

But we are not making all this sacrifice of human efforts and human lives to return to the kind of United States we had after the last world war.

We have labored to promote the common good - to further social progress - to keep the peace. Those labors are not now to be written off the record because we are at war.

We are fighting today for further progress, not only for ourselves but for all men, not only for one generation but for all generations. We are fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils.

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Our enemies are guided by brutal cynicism, by unholy contempt for the human race. We are inspired by a faith which goes back through all the years to the first chapter of the first Book of Genesis.

God created man in his own image.

We on our side are striving to be true to that divine heritage. We are fighting, as our fathers have fought, to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God. Those on the other side are striving to destroy this doctrine and to create a world in their own image - a world of tyranny and cruelty and slavery.

That is the struggle now raging between these two opposing forces in conflict. It is a struggle which permits of no compromise. It can end only in victory for the champions of tolerance, and decency, and freedom, and faith.

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Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:

Exactly one year ago today in my annual message to the Congress I said that "When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part..... 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".

We now know their choice of the time; it was a peaceful Sunday morning, December the 7th 1941.

Their choice of the place was Pearl Harbor.

And the method they chose was so perfidious that it out-Hitlered Hitler himself.

At that time and place, and by that method, Japan began to play her part in the great, world-wide Axis scheme of conquest.

That act of Japan was the act of Hitler. It was ordered by Hitler for two very definite and simple reasons. First: to knock out in one blow, if possible, our aggressive military power. Second: failing in that, as they have, to terrify us to such an extent that we would divert our vast industrial and military strength to the Pacific area or even to our own continental defense. In either case the object was to stop us from supplying the weapons of war to Britain and Russia - weapons which

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increasingly are speeding the day of Hitler's doom. Although the vicious attack on Pearl Harbor was executed according to plan - the Axis plan - it has failed in both of these purposes.

We have not been deceived. We have not been diverted.

Admittedly, we have been faced with hard choices. We knew that we should not send our armed forces on distant missions where, for geographical reasons, the odds were temporarily against us, or where the struggle itself would be indecisive. It was bitter, for example, not to be able to relieve the heroic and historic defenders of Wake Island. It was bitter not to be able to land a million men and a thousand ships in the Philippine Islands.

But the bitterness which we now feel adds only to our determination to see to it that the Stars and Stripes will fly again over Wake and Guam; and that the brave people of the Philippines will be rid of the last threat of Japanese imperialism, and will live again in freedom, security and independence.

Further hard bitter choices may have to be made in the months to come. We will not shrink from such decisions.

We know that we are fighting the combined military might of Japan and Germany. But we have a formidable combination of military might on our own side - and it grows daily in strength. That combination

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keeps its eye on the main objective; and will dispose its forces and strike at the common enemy when and where the need is greatest and the maximum of damage can be done. This war is being

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waged on three continents and over seven seas. Our own major battlefields will be chosen by ourselves where we can hit the hardest — not where the enemy chooses to suit his own purpose.

That is the primary purpose of conferences which have been held during the past two weeks in Washington, in Moscow, and in Chungking. That is the primary objective of the declaration of solidarity signed in Washington on January 1, 1942 by twenty-six nations ~~engaged~~ united against the Axis powers.

A few militarists in Berlin and Tokyo started this war. But the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it.

The peoples of many lands have suffered grievously in this war. Nations have fought gallantly but hopelessly against invasion, and they have been over-run and pillaged and enslaved. Other nations have withstood the fierce attacks against their lands and their homes, and they will fight on with courage and with confidence.

Now it is our turn to pay a heavy price for freedom. We are willing to pay this price, whatever it may be.

Our objectives must be clear to us, because the objectives of our enemies are all too clear to them.

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Destruction of the material and spiritual centers of civilization - that is the purpose of Hitler and his ~~Hun~~ Italian and Japanese chessmen. They must wreck the sea power of Britain and the land power of Russia - and then they must unite all their forces to achieve their ultimate goal, the conquest of the United States. They have known from the start that until they have conquered us they have not won victory. Japan knew that when she invaded Manchuria in 1931 - and Hitler knew it when he invaded Poland in 1939.

Russia and China

They knew that as long as America lives - freedom lives; that as long as America lives - the institution of democracy lives, the ideal of the family, the simple principles of common decency and humanity.

They knew that as long as America lives - religion lives. And they could not tolerate that. The world is too small to provide adequate "living room" for both Hitler and God.

The Nazis have at last officially announced their plan for enforcing their own German, pagan religion throughout the world - the plan by which the Holy Bible and the Cross of Mercy would be displaced by Mein Kampf and the naked sword.

So, our own objectives are also clear - the objective of smashing the militarism imposed by military dictators upon their

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enslaved peoples - the objective of liberating the subjugated nations - the objective of restoring and securing the freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear everywhere in the world. We shall not stop short of these objectives - nor shall we be satisfied

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In addition to heavy bombers and fighting planes of all kinds we need tanks - new and superior tanks - in staggering quantities.

We need guns of all calibers, and we need ammunition.

And - perhaps most important of all - we need ships.

The enemy enjoys the advantage of interior lines - on land and on restricted seas. We, however, must transport materials and men over many thousands of miles of ocean to widely dispersed points of the globe. We must carry supplies to our Allies - and we must carry reinforcements. To do that we must build ships and more ships and still more ships. And we must provide warships and aircraft carriers to guard the life lines across the long, perilous reaches of the seas. Even now I can say that in 1942 we will reach a rate of production of _____ cargo ships per week and _____ fighting ships per week.

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We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. When our power and our resources have been fully mobilized, we shall carry the

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SECOND DRAFT

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SECOND DRAFT

When our enemies challenged our country to stand up and fight, they challenged each and every one of us. And each and every one of us is involved in this battle.

There were only some four hundred United States Marines who defended Wake Island, and who inflicted such serious injury on the enemy while they did. Some of those boys were killed in action; and others are now prisoners of war. When the survivors of that great fight are liberated and restored to their homes, we must have proved to them that a hundred and thirty million of their fellow citizens were also willing to render their own full share of service and sacrifice in the finest American tradition.

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THIRD DRAFT

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:

Exactly one year ago today in my annual message to the Congress I said: "When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part..... 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".

We now know their choice of the time; it was a peaceful Sunday morning, December 7th, 1941.

Their choice of the place was Pearl Harbor.

And the method they chose was so perfidious that it out-Hitlered Hitler himself.

At that time and place, and by that method, Japan increased her part in the great, world-wide Axis scheme of conquest.

History records that Japan was the beginner in this modern scheme of conquest.

Japanese conquest goes back for a half-century. It was not merely a plan of territorial expansion. It was a plan which included the subjugation of all the peoples in the Far East and in the Islands of the Pacific, and domination of that

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Ocean by control of the western coasts of North, Central and South America.

The development of this program was marked by the war against China in 1894; the war against Russia in 1904; the taking of Korea in 1905; the acquisition and fortification of the Islands in the Pacific in 1921; the occupation of Manchuria in 1931; and the occupation of North China and the whole seaboard beginning in 1937.

The next nation to adopt a policy of conquest was Italy. It began with the seizing of Abyssinia in 1935 and Albania in 1937. Then followed the great expansions in Lybia and Tripoli, looking toward the domination of all of North Africa, Egypt and the entire Mediterranean world, and the taking of Corsica, Savoy and Nice.

But the dreams of empire by the Japanese and Fascist leaders appeared modest in comparison with the inflated aspirations of Hitler and his Nazi gang. Even before they came to power in 1933, the specifications had been drawn by the architects of Nazi conquest and domination of the whole world.

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The act of Japan at Pearl Harbor was part of the Nazi plan. It expressed the will of Hitler for two definite reasons. First: to knock out in one blow, if possible, our striking force. Second: to terrify us to such an extent that we would divert our vast industrial and military strength to the Pacific area or even to our own continental defense. In either case, the object was to stop us from supplying the weapons of war to Britain and Russia and China -- weapons which increasingly are speeding the day of Hitler's doom. Although the vicious attack on Pearl Harbor was executed according to plan -- the Axis plan -- it has failed in both of these purposes.

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We have not been knocked out. We have not been terrified. We shall not be confused.

Admittedly, we have been faced with hard choices. We knew that we should not send our armed forces on distant missions where, for geographical reasons, the odds were temporarily against us, or where the struggle itself would be indecisive. It was bitter, for example, not to be able to relieve the heroic and historic defenders of Wake Island. It was bitter not to be able to land a million men and a thousand ships in the Philippine Islands.

But the bitterness which we now feel adds only to our determination to see to it that the Stars and Stripes will fly again over Wake and Guam; and that the brave people of the Philippines will be rid of the last threat of Japanese imperialism, and will live again in freedom, security and independance.

Difficult choices may have to be made in the months to come. We will not shrink from such decisions.

We know that we are fighting the combined military might of Japan and Germany. But we have a formidable combination of military might on our own side - and it grows daily in strength. That combination keeps its eye on the main objective; and will dispose its forces and strike at the common enemy when and where the need is greatest and the maximum of damage can be done. This war is being

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waged on three continents and over seven seas. Our own major battlefields will be chosen by ourselves where we can hit the hardest -- not where the enemy chooses to suit his own purpose.

That is the primary purpose of conferences which have been held during the past two weeks in Washington, in Moscow, and in Chungking. That is the primary objective of the declaration of solidarity signed in Washington on January 1, 1942 by twenty-six nations united against the Axis powers.

A few militarists in Berlin and Tokyo started this war. But the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it.

Destruction of the material and spiritual centers of civilization - that is the purpose of Hitler and his Italian and Japanese chessmen. They must wreck the power of Britain and Russia and China and the Netherlands - and then they must unite all their forces to achieve their ultimate goal, the conquest of the United States. They have known from the start that until they have conquered us they have not won victory. Japan knew that when she invaded Manchuria in 1931 - and Hitler knew it when he invaded Poland in 1939.

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They know that as long as America lives - freedom lives; that as long as America lives - the institution of democracy lives, the ideal of the family, the simple principles of common decency and humanity.

They know that as long as America lives - religion lives. And they could not tolerate that. The world is too small to provide adequate "living room" for both Hitler and God. In proof of that, the Nazis have at last officially announced their plan for enforcing their own German, pagan religion throughout the world - the plan by which the Holy Bible and the Cross of Mercy would be displaced by Mein Kampf and the naked sword.

So, our own objectives are also clear - the objective of smashing the militarism imposed by military dictators upon their enslaved peoples - the objective of liberating the subjugated nations - the objective of restoring and securing the freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear everywhere in the world. We shall not stop short of these objectives - nor shall we be satisfied

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THIRD DRAFT

merely to gain them and then call it a day. I know that I speak for the American people when I say that this time we are determined not only to win the war, but also to maintain the security of the peace which follows the war.

It is a big job -- the biggest that any nation has ever undertaken. Modern methods of warfare make it a job not only of shooting and fighting, but an even more urgent job of working and producing.

Victory over the common enemies will be achieved in the field. The bravery, skill and the determination of the United Nations will see to that.

But this victory requires the actual weapons of war and the means of bringing them to a dozen points of attack.

It will not be sufficient for us and the other United Nations to fix a goal of production that is merely slightly superior to the productive capacity of Germany, Japan, Italy and the factories in the countries which they have overrun.

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The superiority of the United Nations in equipment and transportation of every kind must be overwhelming -- so overwhelming that the Axis nations can never catch up with it. In order to attain this overwhelming superiority we must, in the United States, build planes and tanks and guns and ships to the utmost limit of our national capacity. We have the actual ability to produce arms not only for our own forces but also as a supplement to the production of the British Isles, which is already at its peak; as a supplement to the production of Russia whose magnificent advance against the Nazis can be strengthened and speeded with our help; and to provide fresh sinews for the brave people of China, who need vast quantities of munitions which they are unable to manufacture.

This production of ours in the United States must be raised far above its present levels, even if that means the dislocation of the lives and businesses of millions of our own people. We must raise our sights all along the production line.

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There are, of course, thousands of items in the total of our efforts. But a few major examples will illustrate what this expansion is going to mean.

I have just sent a letter of directive to the appropriate departments and agencies of our Government asking that immediate steps be taken:

1. To increase the total of our fighting airplanes from 45,000, which we are producing in this calendar year 1942, to a total of 100,000 to be produced in the calendar year 1943.

2. To increase the total number of 45,000 tanks, which we are producing in this calendar year 1942, to 75,000 tanks, to be produced in the calendar year 1943.

3. To increase the total of 20,000 anti-aircraft guns, which we are producing in this calendar year 1942, to 35,000 anti-aircraft guns, to be produced in the calendar year 1943.

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4. To increase the production of merchant ships from 5,000,000 tons which we are building in this calendar year 1942, to 8,000,000 or even 9,000,000 tons, to be produced in the calendar year 1943.

Our task is hard -- our task is unprecedented -- and the time is short. We will have to build new plants for specialized purposes, but we can do only a small part of the job in this way. There is no time to devote large resources of materials and labor to constructing new industries. We must convert every available plant and tool to war production. Conversion must proceed at once from the greatest plants to the smallest -- from the huge automobile industry to the village machine shops.

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Production for war is based on metals and raw materials - steel, copper, rubber, aluminum, zinc, tin. Greater and greater quantities of them will be needed. Civilian uses will have to be cut further and further - and many of these uses will have to be completely eliminated.

War costs money. So far, we have hardly even begun to pay for it. We have devoted only 15% of our national income to national defense. As will appear in my Budget Message tomorrow, the carrying out of our defense program, as at present planned on a total capacity basis, will cost $56,000,000,000 or, in other words, 56% of an estimated annual national income of $100,000,000,000. This means taxes and bonds and bonds and taxes. It means cutting luxuries and other non-essentials. In a word, it means an "all-out" war.

As the United States gets into its full stride of production with which the United Nations will finally destroy the Axis menace, we must always be on guard against misconceptions which will arise naturally or which will be planted among us by our enemies.

We must guard against complacency. We must not underrate the enemy. He is powerful and cunning - and cruel and ruthless. He will stop at nothing which gives him a chance to kill. He has trained his people to believe that their highest form of perfection is achieved by waging war. He has prepared for many years for this very conflict -

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planning, plotting, training, arming, fighting. We have already felt the bitter sting of defeat. We may suffer more. We must face the fact of a hard war, a long war, a bloody, costly war.

We must, on the other hand, guard against defeatism. That has been one of the chief weapons of Hitler's propaganda machine - used time and again with deadly results. It will not be used successfully on the American people. For the American people are ready for the struggle, no matter how hard and long it may be. Their power, their industry and labor, their skill and devotion will make sure the inevitable triumph in the end.

We must guard against divisions among ourselves and among our associates. Hitler will try again to breed mistrust and suspicion between one individual and another, one group and another, one race and another, one nation and another. He will try to use the same technique of falsehood and rumor-mongering with which he divided France from Britain. He is trying to do this with us even now. But he will find a unity of will and purpose in the American people and among the united nations standing together against him which will persevere until the destruction of all his black designs upon the freedom and safety of the people of the world.

He will find more than unity - he will find confidence that is based on the connection of unity and of strength.

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The peoples of many lands have suffered grievously in this war. Nations have fought gallantly but hopelessly against invasion, and they have been over-run and pillaged and enslaved. Other nations have withstood the fierce attacks against their lands and their homes; and they will fight on with courage and with confidence.

Now it is our turn to pay a heavy price for freedom. We are willing to pay this price, whatever it may be.

For the first time since the Japanese and the Fascists and the Nazis started along the bloody course of conquest they now face the fact that superior forces have assembled against them. Gone forever are the days when the aggressors could attack and destroy their victims one by one.

In the past, the Axis powers have had the advantage of unified strategy - Hitler could use the Japanese and even the Italians to further his own plans. But now that advantage has passed to our side, for we too now have a unified strategy, using the best military and naval leadership at our command -- leadership in which the democracies of the world can with safety and confidence follow to victory. And we do not intend to lose this advantage.

We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. When our power and our resources have been fully mobilized, we shall carry the

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attack against the enemy -- we shall hit him and hit him hard wherever and whenever we can reach him.

We must keep him far from our shores, for we do not intend to fight this battle on our own home grounds. Therefore, we do not intend to concentrate our anti-aircraft defences around New York and Boston, or San Francisco and Seattle. We are going to send the weapons and the men wherever they are most useful, at strategic points.

It is, of course, obvious that American armed forces must be used any place in all the world where it seems advisable to engage the armies of the Axis Powers. In some cases these operations will be defensive, in order to protect key positions. In other cases these operations will be offensive, in order to gain back positions lost and to strike at the common enemy, with a view to his complete encirclement and eventual destruction.

For example, American armed forces will be in the British Isles which constitute an essential fortress in this world struggle. American forces will be at many points in the Far East. American forces will be helping to guard this Hemisphere and bases outside the Hemisphere

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which could be used for an attack on the Americas. American forces will be found on all the oceans -- guarding the essential communications which are so vital to the United Nations.

In waging such a war on such a world scale we shall give a demonstration of discipline and fighting spirit among our civilians as well as among the gallant men of our armed forces. We have seen, in Britain, in China, in Russia -- in many other countries under attack -- we have seen how magnificently common men and women and children can meet the severest tests of modern war.

We know that confusion and doubt and despair are all allies of our enemies. We will have none of them on our side.

While civilian defense at home is, of course, a prime essential as far as possible, this war will be won ultimately only by launching an offensive against all the Axis Powers. That is why our rate of production must be so geared ~~the~~ now that a military offensive may be waged as soon as possible by us and our allies in every important theatre of operations in the war.

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Thanks to the present state of our preparedness, and thanks to the successful resistance of Russia, Britain and China, the danger of extensive air raids upon our cities is not great. If, however, any of our enemies, from Europe or from Asia, attempt long-range raids by "suicide" squadrons of bombing planes, they will do so only in the hope of terrifying our people and disrupting our morale. Our people are not afraid of that. Whatever in their desperation they attempt to do to us -- we will say, as the people of London have said, "We can take it". And what's more, we can give it back and we will give it back -- with plenty of interest.

When our enemies challenged our country to stand up and fight, they challenged each and every one of us. And each and every one of us is involved in this battle.

There were only some four hundred United States Marines who defended Wake Island, and who inflicted such serious injury on the enemy while they did. Some of those boys were killed in action; and others are now prisoners of war.

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When the survivors of that great fight are liberated and restored to their homes, we must have proved to them that a hundred and thirty million of their fellow citizens were also willing to render their own full share of service and sacrifice in the finest American tradition.

Our men on the fighting fronts have already proved that Americans today are just as rugged and just as tough as any of the heroes whose exploits we celebrate on the Fourth of July. Let Americans on the production front and on the home front prove likewise. A people and a soldiery who went through the dark days of Valley Forge are not going to be discouraged or dismayed by early, temporary reverses.

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The number of those reverses, and their seriousness, will depend entirely upon the speed with which we achieve absolute superiority over all the Axis in ships, planes, tanks and guns.

Let each and every one of us remember that this is not only a matter of national pride, national honor; it is a matter of life and death. Any delay in the production of arms - for any cause whatever - will cost the lives of soldiers and sailors.

Many people ask, "When will this war end?" There is only one answer to that. It will end just as soon as we make it end, by our combined efforts, our combined strength, our combined determination to fight through and work through to total victory. We most certainly shall not settle for less.

That is the spirit in which discussions have been conducted during the visit of the Prime Minister of Great Britain to Washington. The whole forward movement of preparation has gained in speed. We understand each other, our motives and our purposes. And together we have fully explored many military and economic problems in the course of our conferences. All in our nation have welcomed Mr. Churchill. We have been deeply stirred by his great message to us. We wish him Godspeed on his return to the island which he and his people have defended with so much gallantry.

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To you Members of the Congress, here assembled, and to all my countrymen, I say this:

For several years past in the annual messages to the Congress on the state of the union, it has been necessary to devote an increasing portion to consideration of foreign affairs and a smaller share to matters of purely national concern. This was obviously due to the growing impact of international events since 1936 upon our own domestic economy. Now, in 1942, everything else has been overshadowed by the one all-pervading and all-controlling fact of war -- war upon the United States. It is clear that all activity at home must be planned and measured with but one single purpose in mind -- to win the war, to win it completely, and to win it as quickly as possible.

But we are not making all this sacrifice of human efforts and human lives to return to the kind of United States we had after the last world war.

We have labored to promote the common good - to further social progress - to keep the peace. Those labors are not now to be written off the record because we are at war.

We are fighting today for further progress, not only for ourselves, but for all men, not only for one generation but for all generations. We are fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils.

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Our enemies are guided by brutal cynicism, by unholy contempt for the human race. We are inspired by a faith which goes back through all the years to the first chapter of the first Book of Genesis.

God created man in his own image.

We on our side are striving to be true to that divine heritage. We are fighting, as our fathers have fought, to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God. Those on the other side are striving to destroy this doctrine and to create a world in their own image - a world of tyranny and cruelty and slavery.

That is the struggle now raging between these two opposing forces in conflict. It is a struggle which permits of no compromise. It can end only in victory for the champions of tolerance, and decency, and freedom, and faith.

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RESOLUTE BODIES ABO MAY

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4. To increase the production of merchant ships from 5,000,000 tons which we are building in this calendar year 1942, to 8,000,000 or even 9,000,000 tons, to be produced in the calendar year 1943.

Our task is hard -- our task is unprecedented -- and the time is short. We will have to build new plants for specialized purposes, but we can do only a small part of the job in this way. There is no time to devote large resources of materials and labor to constructing new industries. We must convert every available plant and tool to war production. Conversion must proceed at once from the greatest plants to the smallest -- from the huge automobile industry to the village machine shops.

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Production for war is based on metals and raw materials - steel, copper, rubber, aluminum, zinc, tin. Greater and greater quantities of them will be needed. Civilian uses will have to be cut further and further - and many of these uses will have to be completely eliminated.

War costs money. So far, we have hardly even begun to pay for it. We have devoted only 15% of our national income to national defense. As will appear in my Budget Message tomorrow, the carrying out of our defense program, as at present planned on a total capacity basis, will cost $56,000,000,000 or, in other words, 56% of an estimated annual national income of $100,000,000,000. This means taxes and bonds and bonds and taxes. It means cutting luxuries and other non-essentials. In a word, it means an "all-out" war.

As the United States gets into its full stride of production with which the United Nations will finally destroy the Axis menace, we must always be on guard against misconceptions which will arise naturally or which will be planted among us by our enemies.

We must guard against complacency. We must not underrate the enemy. He is powerful and cunning - and cruel and ruthless. He will stop at nothing which gives him a chance to kill. He has trained his people to believe that their highest form of perfection is achieved by waging war. He has prepared for many years for this very conflict -

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planning, plotting, training, arming, fighting. We have already felt the bitter sting of defeat. We may suffer more. We must face the fact of a hard war, a long war, a bloody, costly war. and at the end a winning war

We must, on the other hand, guard against defeatism. That has been one of the chief weapons of Hitler's propaganda machine - used time and again with deadly results. It will not be used successfully on the American people. For the American people are ready for the struggle, no matter how hard and long it may be. Their power, their industry and labor, their skill and devotion will make sure the inevitable triumph in the end.

We must guard against divisions among ourselves and among our associates. Hitler will try again to breed mistrust and suspicion between one individual and another, one group and another, one race and another, one nation and another. He will try to use the same technique of falsehood and rumor-mongering with which he divided France from Britain. He is trying to do this with us even now. But he will find a unity of will and purpose in the American people and among the united nations standing together against him which will persevere until the destruction of all his black designs upon the freedom and safety of the people of the world.

He will find more than unity - he will find confidence that is based on the connection of unity and of strength.

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The peoples of many lands have suffered grievously in this war. Nations have fought gallantly but hopelessly against invasion, and they have been over-run and pillaged and enslaved. Other nations have withstood the fierce attacks against their lands and their homes; and they will fight on with courage and with confidence.

Now it is our turn to pay a heavy price for freedom. We are willing to pay this price, whatever it may be.

For the first time since the Japanese and the Fascists and the Nazis started along the bloody course of conquest they now face the fact that superior forces have assembled against them. Gone forever are the days when the aggressors could attack and destroy their victims one by one.

In the past, the Axis powers have had the advantage of unified strategy - Hitler could use the Japanese and even the Italians to further his own plans. But now that advantage has passed to our side, for we too now have a unified strategy, using the best military and naval leadership at our command -- leadership in which the democracies of the world can with safety and confidence follow to victory. And we do not intend to lose this advantage.

We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. When our power and our resources have been fully mobilized, we shall carry the

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attack against the enemy — we shall hit him and hit him again wherever and whenever we can reach him.

We must keep him far from our shores, for we do not intend to fight this battle on our own home grounds. Therefore, we do not intend to concentrate our anti-aircraft defences around New York and Boston, or San Francisco and Seattle. We are going to send the weapons and the men wherever they are most useful, at strategic points.

It is, of course, obvious that American armed forces must be used in any place in all the world where it seems advisable to engage the armies of the Axis Powers. In some cases these operations will be defensive, in order to protect key positions. In other cases these operations will be offensive, in order to gain back positions lost and to strike at the common enemy, with a view to his complete encirclement and eventual destruction.

For example, American armed forces will be in the British Isles which constitute an essential fortress in this world struggle. American forces will be at many points in the Far East. American forces will be helping to guard this Hemisphere and bases outside the Hemisphere

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which could be used for an attack on the Americas. American forces will be found on all the oceans -- guarding the essential communications which are so vital to the United Nations.

In waging such a war on such a world scale we shall give a demonstration of discipline and fighting spirit among our civilians as well as among the gallant men of our armed forces. We have seen, in Britain, in China, in Russia -- in many other countries under attack -- we have seen how magnificently common men and women and children can meet the severest tests of modern war.

We know that confusion and doubt and despair are all allies of our enemies. We will have none of them on our side.

While civilian defense at home is, of course, a prime essential as far as possible, this war will be won ultimately only by launching an offensive against all the Axis Powers. That is why our rate of production must be so geared ~~the~~ now that a military offensive may be waged as soon as possible by us and our allies in every important theatre of operations in the war.

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Thanks to the present state of our preparedness, and thanks to the successful resistance of Russia, Britain and China, the danger of extensive air raids upon our cities is not great. If, however, any of our enemies, from Europe or from Asia, attempt long-range raids by "suicide" squadrons of bombing planes, they will do so only in the hope of terrifying our people and disrupting our morale. Our people are not afraid of that. Whatever in their desperation they attempt to do to us -- we will say, as the people of London have said, "We can take it". And what's more, we can give it back and we will give it back -- with plenty of interest.

When our enemies challenged our country to stand up and fight, they challenged each and every one of us. And each and every one of us is involved in this battle.

There were only some four hundred United States Marines who defended Wake Island, and who inflicted such serious injury on the enemy while they did. Some of those boys were killed in action; and others are now prisoners of war.

When the survivors of that great fight are liberated and restored to their homes, we must have proved to them that a hundred and thirty million of their fellow citizens were also willing to render their own full share of service and sacrifice in the finest American tradition.

Our men on the fighting fronts have already proved that Americans today are just as rugged and just as tough as any of the heroes whose exploits we celebrate on the Fourth of July. Let Americans on the production front and on the home front prove likewise. A people and a soldiery who went through the dark days of Valley Forge are not going to be discouraged or dismayed by early, temporary reverses.

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The number of those reverses, and their seriousness, will depend entirely upon the speed with which we achieve absolute superiority over all the Axis in ships, planes, tanks and guns.

Let each and every one of us remember that this is not only a matter of national pride, national honor; it is a matter of life and death. Any delay in the production of arms - for any cause whatever - will cost the lives of soldiers and sailors.

Many people ask, "When will this war end?" There is only one answer to that. It will end just as soon as we make it end, by our combined efforts, our combined strength, our combined determination to fight through and work through to total victory. We most certainly shall not settle for less.

That is the spirit in which discussions have been conducted during the visit of the Prime Minister of Great Britain to Washington. The whole forward movement of preparation has gained in speed. We understand each other, our motives and our purposes. And together we have fully explored many military and economic problems in the course of our conferences. All in our nation have welcomed Mr. Churchill. We have been deeply stirred by his great message to us. We wish him Godspeed on his return to the island which he and his people have defended with so much gallantry.

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To you Members of the Congress, here assembled, and to all my countrymen, I say this:

For several years past in the annual messages to the Congress on the state of the union, it has been necessary to devote an increasing portion to consideration of foreign affairs and a smaller share to matters of purely national concern. This was obviously due to the growing impact of international events since 1936 upon our own domestic economy. Now, in 1942, everything else has been overshadowed by the one all-pervading and all-controlling fact of war -- war upon the United States. It is clear that all activity at home must be planned and measured with but one single purpose in mind -- to win the war, to win it completely, and to win it as quickly as possible.

But we are not making all this sacrifice of human efforts and human lives to return to the kind of United States we had after the last world war.

We have labored to promote the common good - to further social progress - to keep the peace. These labors are not now to be written off the record because we are at war.

VICTORY

We are fighting today for further progress, not only for ourselves, but for all men, not only for one generation but for all generations. We are fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils.

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Our enemies are guided by brutal cynicism, by unholy contempt for the human race. We are inspired by a faith which goes back through all the years to the first chapter of the first Book of Genesis.

God created man in his own image.

We on our side are striving to be true to that divine heritage. We are fighting, as our fathers have fought, to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God. Those on the other side are striving to destroy this doctrine and to create a world in their own image - a world of tyranny and cruelty and slavery.

That is the struggle now raging between these two opposing forces in conflict. It is a struggle which permits of no compromise. It can end only in victory for the champions of tolerance, and decency, and freedom, and faith.

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THIRD DRAFT

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ROUGH DRAFT

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:

Exactly one year ago today in my annual message to the Congress I said: "When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part..... 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".

We now know their choice of the time; it was a peaceful Sunday morning, December 7th, 1941.

Their choice of the place was Pearl Harbor. — in Hawaiian Island

And the method they chose was so perfidious that it out-Hitlered Hitler himself. — the method of the Axis

At that time, and by that method, Japan took her logical part in the modern scheme of conquest. — that Japan finally was ready to put

History records that Japan herself was the originator of long range plans of conquest.

Her policy goes back for a half-century. It was not merely a policy of territorial expansion: It was a plan which included the subjugation of all the peoples in the Far East and in the Islands of the Pacific, and domination of that ocean by military and naval control of the western coasts of North, Central and South America.

FOURTH DRAFT

The development of this secret long range program was marked by the war against China in 1894; the war against Russia in 1904; the taking of Korea in 1905 (?); the acquisition and fortification of the Islands in the Pacific following 1921; the occupation of Manchuria in 1931; and the occupation of North China and the whole seaboard beginning in 1937. The present attack is like the others — opportunist; but it fitted in well with the demands of Berlin.

The next nation to adopt a policy of conquest was Italy. She began with the seizure of Abyssinia in 1935. Then followed the great expansions in Lybia and Tripoli, looking toward the domination of all of North Africa, Egypt and the entire Mediterranean world.

But the dreams of empire by the Japanese and Fascist leaders appeared modest in comparison with the inflated aspirations of Hitler and his Nazis. Even before they came to power in 1933, their specifications had been drawn for conquest, followed by domination of the whole world.

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The act of Japan at Pearl Harbor was part of the Nazi plan. It was intended to stun us, and to terrify us to such an extent that we would divert our vast industrial and military strength to the Pacific area or even to our own continental defense. The object, of course, was to stop us from supplying the weapons of war to Britain and Russia and China — weapons which increasingly are speeding the day of Hitler's doom. Although the vicious attack on Pearl Harbor was executed according to plan — the Axis plan — it has failed in its purpose.

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FOURTH DRAFT

We have not been stunned. We have not been terrified or confused. This reassembling of the 77th Congress is proof of that. Your mood of quiet, grim resolution — and mine — bodes ill for the leaders of Japan.

Admittedly, we have been faced with hard choices. It was bitter, for example, not to be able to relieve the heroic and historic defenders of Wake Island. It was bitter for us not to be able to land a million men and a thousand ships in the Philippine Islands.

But the sadness which we now feel adds only to our determination to see to it that the Stars and Stripes will fly again over Wake and Guam; and that the brave people of the Philippines will be rid of the last threat of Japanese imperialism, and will live again in freedom, security and independence.

Difficult choices may have to be made in the months to come. We will not shrink from such decisions.

We know that we are fighting the combined military might of Japan and Germany. But we have a formidable combination of military might on our own side — and it grows daily in strength. We of the United [States] Nations keep our eyes on the main objective; and will dispose our forces and strike at the common enemy when and where the need is greatest and the maximum of damage to the enemies can be done. This war is being

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FOURTH DRAFT

waged on all continents and over all seas. Our own major battle-fields will be chosen by ourselves where we can hit the hardest -- not where the enemy chooses, but where we choose.

That is the primary purpose of conferences which have been held during the past two weeks in Washington, in Moscow, and in Chunking. That is the primary objective of the declaration of solidarity signed in Washington on January 1, 1942 by twenty-six nations united against the Axis powers.

A few militarists in Berlin and Tokyo started this war. But the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it.

Plans have been laid for co-ordinated and cooperative action by all the United Nations -- military action and economic action.

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FOURTH DRAFT

Destruction of the material and spiritual centers of civilization — that is the purpose of Hitler and his Italian and Japanese chessmen. They would wreck the power of Britain and Russia and China and the Netherlands — and then combine all their forces to achieve their ultimate goal, the conquest of the United States.

They know that as long as America lives — freedom lives; that as long as America lives — the institution of democracy lives, the ideal of the family, the simple principles of common decency and humanity.

They know that as long as America lives — religion lives. And they could not tolerate that. The world is too small to provide adequate "lebensraum" — "living room" — for both Hitler and God. In proof of that, the Nazis have announced officially at last their plan for enforcing their own German, pagan religion throughout the world — the plan by which the Holy Bible and the Cross of Mercy would be displaced by "Mein Kampf" and the naked sword.

Our own objectives are clear — the objective of smashing the militarism imposed by military dictators upon their enslaved peoples — the objective of liberating the subjugated nations — the objective of restoring and securing freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear everywhere in the world. We shall not step short of these objectives — nor shall we .

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be satisfied merely to gain them and then call it a day. I know that I speak for the American people when I say that this time we are determined not only to win the war, but also to maintain the security of the peace which follows the war.

It is a formidable task. Modern methods of warfare make it a task, not only of shooting and fighting, but an even more urgent one of working and producing.

Victory over the common enemies will be achieved in the field. The bravery, skill and the determination of the United Nations will see to that.

But this victory requires the actual weapons of war and the means of bringing them to a dozen points of ~~attack.~~ contact

It will not be sufficient for us and the other United Nations to fix a goal of production capacity of Germany, Japan, Italy and the factories in the countries which they have overrun.

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FOURTH DRAFT

The superiority of the United Nations in equipment and transportation of every kind must be overwhelming — so overwhelming that the axis nations can never catch up with it. In order to attain this overwhelming superiority we in the United States must build planes and tanks and guns and ships to the utmost limit of our national capacity. We have the actual ability and capacity to produce arms not only for our own forces but also a supplement to the production of the British Isles, which is already at its peak; a supplement to the production of Russia whose magnificent advance against the Nazis can be strengthened and speeded with our help; and to provide fresh sinews for the brave people of China, who need vast quantities of munitions which they are unable to manufacture.

This production of ours in the United States must be raised far above its present levels, even if that means the dislocation of the lives and the businesses of millions of our own people. We must raise our sights all along the production line. Let no man say it cannot be done. It must be done — ~~and it is being done.~~

There are, of course, thousands of separate items in the total of our efforts. But a few major examples will illustrate what this expansion is going to mean.

I have just sent a letter of directive to the appropriate departments and agencies of our Government; for example, ordering that immediate steps be taken:

1. To increase our production rate of fighting airplanes so rapidly that in this year 1942 we shall produce 45,000 dive bombers and combat planes; and to continue that increase, so that next year 1943 we shall produce 100,000 combat planes.

2. To increase our production rate of tanks so rapidly that in this year 1942 we shall produce 45,000 tanks — light tanks, medium tanks, heavy tanks; and to continue that increase so that nextyear 1943 we shall produce 75,000 tanks.

3. To increase our production rate of anti-aircraft guns so rapidly that in this year 1942 we shall produce 20,000 anti-aircraft guns; and to continue that increase so that next year 1943 we shall produce 35,000 anti-aircraft guns.

4. To increase our production rate of merchant ships so rapidly that in this year 1942 we shall build 8,000,000 tons; and to continue that increase so that next year 1943 we shall build 8 or even 9 million tons.

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These figures and similar figures for other implements of war will give the Japanese and Nazis a beginning of an idea of just what they accomplished in the attack on Pearl Harbor.

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FOURTH DRAFT

Our task is hard — our task is unprecedented — and the time is short. We will have to build new plants for specialized purposes, but we can do only a small part of the job in this way. There is no time to devote large quantities of materials and labor to constructing new plants. We must strain every existing armament-producing facility to the utmost to increase its production. We must convert every available plant and tool to war production. Conversion must be effected at once all the way from the greatest plants to the smallest — from the huge automobile industry to the village machine shop.

Production for war is based on metals and raw materials — steel, copper, rubber, aluminum, zinc, tin. Greater and greater quantities of them will be needed. Civilian uses of them will have to be cut further and further — and many of these uses will have to be completely eliminated.

War costs money. So far, we have hardly even begun to pay for it. We have devoted only 15% of our national income to national defense. As will appear in my Budget Message tomorrow, the carrying out of our war program will cost $56,000,000,000 or, in other words, 56% of an estimated annual national income of $100,000,000,000. This means taxes

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FOURTH DRAFT

and bonds and bonds and taxes. It means cutting luxuries and other non-essentials. In a word, it means an "all-out" war.

The quicker we adopt an all-out conception of production, the quicker will come the ultimate and all-out victory. Speed will count. Speed will save lives; speed will save this nation, which is in peril; speed will save our freedom and civilization — and slowness has never been an American characteristic.

As the United States gets into its full stride of production with which the United Nations will finally destroy the Axis menace, we must always be on guard against misconceptions which will arise naturally or which will be planted among us by our enemies.

We must guard against complacency. We must not underrate the enemy. He is powerful and cunning — and cruel and ruthless. He will stop at nothing which gives him a chance to kill. He has trained his people to believe that their highest form of perfection is achieved by waging war. For many years he has prepared for this very conflict — planning, plotting, training, arming, fighting. We have already felt the bitter sting of defeat. We may suffer more. We must face the fact of a hard war, a long war, a bloody war, a costly war.

We must, on the other hand, guard against defeatism. That has been one of the chief weapons of Hitler's propaganda machine — used time

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FOURTH DRAFT

and again with deadly results. It will not be used successfully on the American people. For the American people are ready for the struggle, no matter how hard and long it may be.

We must guard against divisions among ourselves and among our associates. Hitler will try again to breed mistrust and suspicion between one individual and another, one group and another, one race and another, one nation and another. He will try to use the same technique of falsehood and rumor-mongering with which he divided France from Britain. He is trying to do this with us even now. But he will find a unity of will and purpose in the American people and among the united nations standing together against him which will persevere until the destruction of all his black designs upon the freedom and safety of the people of the world.

He will find more than unity — he will find confidence that is based on the conviction of unity and of strength.

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attack against the enemy — we shall hit him and hit him again wherever and whenever we can reach him.

We must keep him far from our shores, for we intend to bring this battle to him on his own home grounds.

It is, of course, obvious that American armed forces must be used at any place in all the world where it seems advisable to engage the armies of the Axis Powers. In some cases these operations will be defensive, in order to protect key positions. In other cases, these operations will be offensive, in order to gain back positions lost and to strike at the common enemy, with a view to his complete encirclement and eventual total defeat.

D. [There will be American armed forces in the British Isles — which constitute an essential fortress in this world struggle.

There will be American forces at many points in the Far East.

There will be American forces helping to protect this Hemisphere and bases outside the Hemisphere which could be used for an attack on the Americas.]

There will be American forces on all the oceans — guarding the essential communications which are so vital to the United Nations.

FOURTH DRAFT

In waging such a war on such a world scale we shall give a demonstration of discipline and fighting spirit among our civilians as well as among the gallant men of our Army and Navy. We have seen, in Britain, in China, in Russia -- in many other countries under attack -- we have seen how magnificently common men and women and children can meet the severest tests of modern war.

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Thanks to the present state of our preparedness, and thanks to the successful resistance of Britain and Russia and China, the danger of extensive air raids upon our cities is not great. If, however, any of our enemies, from Europe or from Asia, attempt long-range raids by "suicide" squadrons of bombing planes, they will do so only in the hope of terrorizing our people and disrupting our morale. Our people are not afraid of that. We know that we may have to pay a heavy price for freedom. We will pay this price with a will. Whatever the price, it is a thousand times worth it. No matter what our enemies, in their desperation may attempt to do to us -- we will say, as the people of London have said, "We can take it." And what's more, we can give it back and we will give it back -- with compound interest.

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When our enemies challenged our country to stand up and fight, they challenged each and every one of us. And each and every one of us in person is in this battle.

There were only some four hundred United States Marines who in the heroic defense of Wake Island inflicted such great losses on the enemy. Some of those men were killed in action; and others are now prisoners of war. When the survivors of that great fight are liberated and restored to their homes, they will learn that a hundred and thirty million of their fellow citizens have been inspired to render their own full share of service and sacrifice.

Our men on the fighting fronts of Hawaii and in the Philippines have already proved that Americans today are just as rugged and just as tough as any of the heroes whose exploits we celebrate on the Fourth of July. Let Americans on the production front and on the home front prove likewise.

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FOURTH DRAFT

Many people ask, "When will this war end?" There is only one answer to that. It will end just as soon as we make it end, by our combined efforts, our combined strength, our combined determination to fight through and work through to total victory. Most certainly, we shall not settle for less. That is the spirit in which discussions have been conducted during the visit of the British Prime Minister to Washington. Mr. Churchill and I understand each other, our motives and our purposes. Together, during the past two weeks, we have faced squarely the major military and economic problems of this disastrous world war. All in our nation have welcomed Mr. Churchill. We have been deeply stirred by his great message to us. We wish him Godspeed on his return to his own land.

For several years past in the annual messages to the Congress on the state of the union, it has been necessary to devote an increasing portion to consideration of foreign affairs and a smaller share to matters of purely national concern. This was obviously due to the growing impact of international events since 1936 upon our own domestic economy. Now, in 1942, everything else has been overshadowed by the one all-pervading and all-controlling fact of war — war upon the United States. It is clear that all activity at home must be planned and measured with but one single purpose in mind — to win the war, to win it completely, and to win it as quickly as possible.

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But we are not making all this sacrifice of human efforts and human lives to return to the kind of United States we had after the last world war.

We have labored to promote the common good - to further social security and human progress. Those labors are not now to be written off the record because we are at war.

We are fighting today for further security, progress and peace, not only for ourselves, but for all men, not only for one generation but for all generations. We are fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils, ancient ills.

We shall fight on the same side as the British, who alone for long, terrible months faced and withstood the enemy with fortitude and tenacity and skill.

We shall fight on the same side as the Russians who have seen the Nazi hordes swarm up to the very gates of Moscow, and who with almost superhuman will and courage have forced the invaders back into retreat.

We shall fight on the same side as the brave people of China who for four and a half long years have withstood bombs and starvation and disease and have whipped the Japanese invaders time and again in spite of superior equipment and arms.

We shall fight on the same side as the indomitable Dutch — and all the other governments in exile whom Hitler and his army and his

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FOURTH DRAFT

Our enemies are guided by brutal cynicism, by unholy contempt for the human race. We are inspired by a faith which goes back through all the years to the first chapter of the first Book of Genesis: God created man in his own image.

We on our side are striving to be true to that divine heritage. We are fighting, as our fathers have fought, to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God. Those on the other side are striving to destroy this deep belief and to create a world in their own image — a world of tyranny and cruelty and serfdom.

That is the strife that day and night now pervades our lives. No compromise can end that strife — for pure good cannot be joined to proven evil. Only victory can reward the champions of tolerance, and decency, and freedom, and faith.

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5th SIXTH DRAFT

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS:

In fulfilling my duty to report upon the state of the Union, I am proud to say to you that the spirit of the American people was never higher than it is today; — the Union was never more closely knit together; — this country was never more deeply determined to face the tasks before it, whatever they may be.

There are moments when men and nations are given the light to see clearly what they face and what they are.

The instant and courageous response of the American people to the attack upon them is convincing proof that the Americans of today are made of the stuff of which Americans have always been made.

The declarations of war made upon us by the Axis powers have shown us clearly what we have to do.

Exactly one year ago today I said to this Congress: "When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part..... They — not we — will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack".

We now know their choice of the time: a peaceful Sunday morning — December 7th, 1941.

We know their choice of the place: outpost in the Pacific.

We know their choice of the method: it was the method of Hitler himself.

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Japan's scheme of conquest goes back for a half-century. It was not merely a policy of seeking living room: it was a plan which included the subjugation of all the peoples in the Far East and in the Islands of the Pacific, and the Japanese domination of that Ocean by military and naval control of the western coasts of North, Central and South America.

The development of this ambitious conspiracy was marked by the war against China in 1894; the war against Russia in 1904; the taking of Korea in 1905 (?); the illegal fortification of the mandated Pacific Islands following 1921; the seizure of Manchuria in 1931; and the invasion of North China and the whole seaboard beginning in 1937.

A similar policy of criminal conquest was adopted by Italy. The Fascists first revealed their imperial designs in Libya and Tripoli. In 1936 they seized Abyssinia. Italy's goal was the domination of all North Africa, Egypt, parts of France and Spain and the entire Mediterranean world.

But the dreams of empire of the Japanese and Fascist leaders appeared modest in comparison with the inflated aspirations of Hitler and his Nazis. Even before they came to power in 1933, their plans for conquest had been drawn. Those plans provided for ultimate domination, not of any one section of the world but of the whole world - Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, the Americas, and all the oceans.

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With the Hitler's formation of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, all these plans of conquest become a single plan. Under this single plan Japan's role was to stop by any means our supply of weapons of war to Britain, Russia and China — weapons which increasingly were speeding the day of Hitler's doom. The act of Japan at Pearl Harbor was intended to stun us -- to terrify us to such an extent that we would divert our industrial and military strength to the Pacific area, or even to our own continental defense.

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The plan failed in its purpose. We have not been stunned. We have not been terrified or confused. This reassembling of the 77th Congress is proof of that; for the mood of quiet, grim resolution which here prevails, bodes ill for those who conspired and collaborated to murder world peace.

Admittedly, we have been faced with hard choices. It was bitter, for example, not to be able to relieve the heroic and historic defenders of Wake Island. It was bitter for us not to be able to land a million men and a thousand ships in the Philippine Islands.

But the sadness which we now feel adds only to our determination to see to it that the Stars and Stripes will fly again over Wake and Guam; and that the brave people of the Philippines will be rid of the last threat of Japanese imperialism, and will live in freedom, security and independence.

Difficult choices may have to be made again in the months to come. We will not shrink from such decisions. We and those united with us will make these decisions with courage and determination.

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The act of Japan at Pearl Harbor was intended to stun us — to terrify us to such an extent that we would divert our industrial and military strength to the Pacific area or even to our own continental defense. The object, of course, was to stop us from supplying weapons of war to Britain and Russia and China — weapons which increasingly are speeding the day of Hitler's doom.

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Difficult choices may have to be made again in the months to come. We will not shrink from such decisions. Powerful offensive actions must and will be taken in proper time. The

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SIXTH DRAFT

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consolidation of the United Nations total war against our enemies is being achieved.

That is the [primary] purpose of conferences which have been held during the past two weeks in Washington, in Moscow, and in Chunking. That is the [primary] objective of the declaration of solidarity signed ~~in~~ Washington on January 1, 1942 by twenty-six nations united against the Axis powers.

The militarists in Berlin and Tokyo started this war. But the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it. As for Japan - I can only say this - we shall bring that Japanese hope to be known - we shall destroy her military machine - we shall see that Harlan a hundred fold.

Plans have been laid here and in the other capitals for co-ordinated [and cooperative] action by all the United Nations -- [military action and economic action.] Arrangements have been made for continued future conferences and consultations among military staffs, so that the plans and [movements] military forces of each will fit into a [broad general] strategy [designed] to crush the enemy. [We shall not] fight [isolated] this wars -- [each nation going its own way.] These twenty-six nations are united -- [not] in spirit [and] determination [alone] but in the day-by-day conduct of the war in all its phases. and battle strategies.

For the first time since the Japanese and the Fascists and the Nazis started along their blood-stained course of conquest they now face the fact that superior forces have assembled against them. Gone forever are the days when the aggressors could attack and destroy their victims one by one. We of the United Nations will dispose our forces and strike at the common enemy whenever the need is greatest and the greatest damage can be done.

FIFTH DRAFT

Destruction of the material and spiritual centers of civilization -- that has been and still is the purpose of Hitler and his Italian and Japanese chessmen. They would wreck the power of [Britain] and Russia and China and the Netherlands -- and then combine all their forces to achieve their [necessary] ultimate goal, the conquest of the United States.

They know that so long as we win -- freedom wins.

They know that so long as we win -- the institution of democracy wins -- the ideal of the family, the simple principles of common decency and humanity.

They know that so long as we win -- religion wins.

And they could not tolerate that. The world is too small to provide adequate "lebensraum" -- "living room" -- for both Hitler and God. In proof of that, the Nazis have at last announced officially their plan for enforcing their own German, pagan religion throughout the world -- the plan by which the Holy Bible and the Cross of Mercy would be displaced by "Mein Kampf" and the naked sword.

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Our own objectives are clear; the objective of smashing the militarism imposed by military dictators upon their enslaved peoples — the objective of liberating the subjugated nations — the objective of establishing and securing freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear everywhere in the world. We shall not stop short of these objectives — nor shall we be satisfied merely to gain them and then call it a day.

I know that I speak for the American people and — I have good reason to believe — also for the British people and all the other people who fight with us, when I say that this time we are determined not only to win the war, but also to maintain the security of the peace which follows the war.

It is a formidable task. Modern methods of warfare make it a task, not only of shooting and fighting, but an even more urgent one of working and producing.

Victory requires the actual weapons of war and the means of bringing them to a dozen points of combat.

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It will not be sufficient for us and the other United Nations to fix a goal of production capacity slightly superior to that of Germany, Japan, Italy and factories in the countries which they have overrun.

The superiority of the United Nations in equipment and transportation of every kind must be overwhelming — so overwhelming that the Axis nations can never catch up with it. In order to attain this overwhelming superiority we in the United States must build planes and tanks and guns and ships to the utmost limit of our national capacity. We have the actual ability and capacity to produce arms not only for our own forces but also as a supplement to the production of the British Isles, which is already approaching its peak; as a supplement to the production of Russia whose magnificent advance against the Nazis can be strengthened and speeded withoour help; and to provide fresh sinews for the brave people of China, who need vast quantities of munitions which they are unable to manufacture.

And this overwhelming superiority must also be adequate to put weapons of war into the hands of those men in the conquered nations, who stand ready to seize the first

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opportunity to revolt against their German and Japanese oppressors, and against the traitors in their own ranks, known by the already infamous name of "Quislings". [If] as we [can] get guns to the patriots in those lands, they too will fire shots heard 'round the world.

This production of ours in the United States must be raised far above its present levels, [even if that] the it will means the dislocation of the lives and the businesses of millions of our own people. [We must raise our sights all along the production line.] Let no man say it cannot be done. It must be done -- and we have undertaken to do it.

[There are, of course, thousands of separate items in the total of our efforts. But a few major examples will illustrate what this expansion is going to mean.]

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FIFTH DRAFT

I have just sent a letter of directive to the appropriate departments and agencies of our Government, for example, ordering that immediate steps be taken:

1. To increase our production rate of airplanes so rapidly that in this year, 1942, we shall produce 45,000 fighting planes - bombers, dive bombers and pursuit planes; and to continue that increase, so that next year, 1943, we shall produce 100,000 combat planes.

2. To increase our production rate of tanks so rapidly that in this year, 1942, we shall produce 45,000 light tanks, medium tanks, and heavy tanks; and to continue that increase so that next year, 1943, we shall produce 75,000 tanks.

3. To increase our production rate of anti-aircraft guns so rapidly that in this year, 1942, we shall produce 20,000 of them; and to continue that increase so that next year, 1943, we shall produce 35,000 anti-aircraft guns.

4. To increase our production rate of merchant ships so rapidly that in this year, 1942, we shall build 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 deadweight tons; and to continue that increase so that next year, 1943, we shall build 8 or even 9 million tons.

These figures and similar figures for a multitude of other implements of war will give the Japanese and Nazis a little idea of just what they accom-

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plished in the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Our task is hard -- our task is unprecedented -- and the time is short. But the field is great. We will have to build new plants for specialized purposes, but we can do only a small part of the job in that way. There is not enough time to devote large quantities of materials and labor to constructing new plants. We must strain every existing armament-producing facility to the utmost to increase its production. We must convert every available plant and tool to war production. That goes all the way from the greatest plants to the smallest -- from the huge plants of the automobile industry to the village machine shop.

Production for war is based on metals and raw materials -- steel, copper, rubber, aluminum, zinc, tin. Greater and greater quantities of them will be needed. Civilian use of them will have to be cut further and still further -- and many of these uses will have to be completely eliminated.

War costs money. So far, we have hardly even begun to pay for it. We have devoted only 13% of our national income to national defense. As will appear in my Budget Message tomorrow our war program for this year will cost fifty-six billion dollars or, in other words, 56% of an estimated annual national income of one hundred billion dollars. This means taxes

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and bonds and bonds and taxes. It means cutting luxuries and other non-essentials. In a word, it means an "all-out" war by a united country.

The quicker we adopt an all-out conception of production, the quicker will come the ultimate and all-out victory. Speed will count. Lost ground can always be regained -- lost time never. Speed will save lives; speed will save this nation which is in peril; speed will save our freedom and civilization -- and slowness has never been an American characteristic.

As the United States gets into its full stride, we must always be on guard against misconceptions which will arise naturally or which will be planted among us by our enemies.

We must guard against complacency. We must not underrate the enemy. He is powerful and cunning -- and cruel and ruthless. He will stop at nothing which gives him a chance to kill. He has trained his people to believe that their highest form of perfection is achieved by waging war. For many years he has prepared for this very conflict -- planning, plotting, training, arming, fighting. We have already felt the bitter sting of defeat. We may suffer more. We must face the fact of a hard war, a long war, a bloody war, a costly war.

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We must, on the other hand, guard against defeatism. That has been one of the chief weapons of Hitler's propaganda machine -- used time and again with deadly results. It will not be used successfully on the American people. For the American people are ready for the struggle, no matter how hard and long it may be.

We must guard against divisions among ourselves and among all the other United Nations. Hitler will try again to breed mistrust and suspicion between one individual and another, one group and another, one race and another, one government and another. He will try to use the same technique of falsehood and rumor-mongering with which he divided France from Britain. He is trying to do this with us even now. But he will find a unity of will and purpose against him, which will persevere until the destruction of all his black designs upon the freedom and safety of the people of the world.

He will find more than unity -- he will find confidence that is based on the conviction of unity and of strength.

We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. When our power and our resources have been fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy -- we shall hit him and

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hit him again wherever and whenever we can reach him.

We must keep him far from our shores, for we intend to bring this battle to him on his own home grounds.

It is, of course, obvious that American armed forces must be used at any place in all the world where it seems advisable to engage the armies of the Axis Powers. In some cases these operations will be defensive, in order to protect key positions. In other cases, these operations will be offensive, in order to gain back positions lost and to strike at the common enemy, with a view to his complete encirclement and eventual total defeat.

American armed forces will operate at many points in the Far East.

American armed forces will be on all the oceans -- helping to guard the essential communications which are vital to the United [States] Nations

American land and air forces will take station in the British Isles -- which constitute ~~the~~ an essential fortress in this world struggle.

American armed forces will help to protect this Hemisphere -- and also bases outside this Hemisphere, which could be used for an attack on the Americas.

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Thanks to the present state of our preparedness, and thanks to the successful resistance of Britain and Russia and China, the danger of extensive air raids upon our cities is not great. If, however, any of our enemies, from Europe or from Asia, attempt long-range raids by "suicide" squadrons of bombing planes, they will do so only in the hope of terrorizing our people and disrupting our morale. Our people are not afraid of that. We know that we may have to pay a heavy price for freedom. We will pay this price with a will. Whatever the price, it is a thousand times worth it. No matter what our enemies, in their desperation may attempt to do to us — we will say, as the people of London have said, "We can take it." And what's more, we can give it back and we will give it back with compound interest.

When our enemies challenged our country to stand up and fight, they challenged each and every one of us. And each and every one of us has accepted the challenge — for himself and for the nation.

There were only some four hundred United States Marines who in the heroic defense of Wake Island inflicted such great losses on the enemy. Some of those men were killed in action; and others are now prisoners of war. When the survivors of that great fight are liberated and restored to their homes, they will learn that a hundred and thirty million of their fellow citizens have been inspired to render their own full share of service and sacrifice.

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Our men on the fighting fronts of Hawaii in the Philippines have already proved that Americans today are just as rugged and just as tough as any of the heroes whose exploits we celebrate on the Fourth of July. [Let] Americans on the production front and on the home front will prove likewise.

Many people ask, "When will this war end?" There is only one answer to that. It will end just as soon as we make it end, by our combined efforts, our combined strength, our combined determination to fight through and work through to total victory. Most certainly we shall not settle for less. [It will end as the hope of the United Nations crush down Hitler and his partners. And then I want another line written to that famous marine song: "from the halls of Montezuma to the Shores of Tripoli."]

That is the spirit in which discussions have been conducted during the visit of the British Prime Minister to Washington. Mr. Churchill and I understand each other, our motives and our purposes. Together, during the past two weeks, we have faced squarely the major military and economic problems of this greatest world war.

All in our nation have welcomed Mr. Churchill. We have been deeply stirred by his great message to us. We wish him [Godspeed on his] safe return to his ~~own land~~ home. He is welcome in our midst, now and in days to come. [His visit symbolizes the close union and complete accord of the United Nations.]

We are fighting on the same side as the British, who alone for long, terrible months faced and withstood the enemy with fortitude and tenacity and skill.

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FIFTH DRAFT

We are fighting on the same side as the Russians who have seen the Nazi hordes swarm up to the very gates of Moscow, and who with almost superhuman will and courage have forced the invaders back into retreat.

We are fighting on the same side as the brave people of China who for four and a half long years have withstood bombs and starvation and disease and have whipped the Japanese invaders time and again in spite of superior equipment and arms.

We are fighting on the same side as the indomitable Dutch. We are fighting on the same side as all the other governments in exile, whom Hitler and his army and his Gestapo have never been able to conquer.

For several years past in the annual messages to the Congress on the state of the union, it has been necessary to devote an increasing portion to consideration of foreign affairs and a smaller share to matters of purely national concern. This was obviously due to the growing impact of international events upon our own nation. Now, in 1942, everything else has been overshadowed by the one all-pervading and all-controlling fact of war — war upon the United States. It is clear that all activity at home must be planned and measured with but one single purpose in mind — to win the war, to win it completely, and to win it as quickly as possible.

FIFTH DRAFT

But we are not making all this sacrifice of human efforts and human lives to return to the kind of United States we had after the last world war.

We are fighting today for security, progress and peace, not only for ourselves, but for all men, not only for one generation but for all generations. We are fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils, ancient ills.

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Our enemies are guided by brutal cynicism, by unholy contempt for the human race. We are inspired by a faith which goes back through all the years to the first chapter of the first Book of Genesis: "God created man in His own image".

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SIXTH DRAFT

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS:

In fulfilling my duty to report upon the state of the Union, I am proud to say to you that the spirit of the American people was never higher than it is today — the Union was never more closely knit together — this country was never more deeply determined to face the solemn tasks before it.

There are moments when men and nations are given the light to see clearly what they face and what they are.

The instant and courageous responses of the American peoplt to the attack upon them is convincing proof that the Americans of today are made of the stuff of which Americans have always been made.

Exactly one year ago today I said to this Congress: "When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part ..... They — not we — will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack".

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We now know their choice of the time: a peaceful Sunday morning — December 7th, 1941.

We know their choice of the place: an American outpost in the Pacific.

We know their choice of the method: the method of Hitler himself.

Japan's scheme of conquest goes back a half-century. It was not merely a policy of seeking living room: it was a plan which included the subjugation of all the peoples in the Far East and in the Islands of the Pacific, and the Japanese domination of that ocean by military and naval control of the western coasts of North, Central and South America.

The development of this ambitious conspiracy was marked by the war against China in 1894; the subsequent occupation of Korea; the war against Russia in 1904; the illegal fortification of the mandated Pacific Islands following 1920; the seizure of Manchuria in 1931; and the invasion of China in 1937.

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A similar policy of criminal conquest was adopted by Italy. The Fascists first revealed their imperial designs in Libya and Trâpoli. In 1935 they seized Abyssinia. Italy's goal was the domination of all North Africa, Egypt, parts of France, and the entire Mediterranean world.

But the dreams of empire of the Japanese and Fascist leaders were modest in comparison with the gargantuan aspirations of Hitler and his Nazis. Even before they came to power in 1933, their plans for conquest had been drawn. Those plans provided for ultimate domination, not of any one section of the world, but of the whole earth and all the oceans on it.

With Hitler's formation of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Pact, alliance all these plans of conquest became a single plan. Under this, Japan's role was to stop by any means our supply of weapons of war to Britain, Russia and China -- weapons which increasingly were speeding the day of Hitler's doom. The act of Japan at Pearl Harbor was intended to stun us -- to terrify us to such an extent that we would divert our industrial and military strength to the Pacific area, or even to our own continental defense.

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SIXTH DRAFT #3A

The plan failed in its purpose. We have not been stunned. We have not been terrified or confused. This reassembling of the Seventy-Seventh Congress is proof of that; for the mood of quiet, grim resolution which here prevails, bodes ill for those who conspired and collaborated to murder world peace.

Admittedly, we have been faced with hard choices. It was bitter, for example, not to be able to relieve the heroic and historic defenders of Wake Island. It was bitter for us not to be able to land a million men and a thousand ships in the Philippine Islands.

But this adds only to our determination to see to it that the Stars and Stripes will fly again over Wake and Guam; and that the brave people of the Philippines will be rid of Japanese imperialism, and will live in freedom, security and independence.

Difficult choices may have to be made again in the months to come. We will not shrink from such decisions. We and those united with us will make these decisions with courage and determination.

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Powerful and offensive actions must and will be taken in proper time. The consolidation of the United Nations total war effort against our common enemies is being achieved.

That is the purpose of conferences which have been held during the past two weeks in Washington, in Moscow, and in Chungking. That is the primary objective of the declaration of solidarity signed in Washington on January 1, 1942 by twenty-six nations united against the Axis powers.

Plans have been laid here and in the other capitals for coordinated and cooperative action by all the United Nations -- military action and economic action. Already we have established coordinated unified command of land, sea, and air forces in the southwestern Pacific theatre of war. There will be a continuation of conferences and consultations among military staffs, so that the plans and operations movements of each will fit into a broad general strategy designed to crush the enemy. We shall not fight isolated wars -- each nation going its own way. These twenty-six nations are united -- not in spirit and determination alone, but in the day-by-day conduct of the war in all its phases.

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For the first time since the Japanese and the Fascists and the Nazis started along their blood-stained course of conquest they now face the fact that superior forces have assembled are assembling against them. Gone forever are the days when the aggressors could attack and destroy their victims one by one. We without quick & practical of the United Nations will so dispose our forces that they we can strike at the common enemy wherever the greatest damage can be done.

The militarists in Berlin and Tokyo started this war. But the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it.

Destruction of the material and spiritual centers of civilization -- that this has been and still is the purpose of Hitler and his Italian and Japanese chessmen. They would wreck the power of the British Commonwealth and Russia and China and the Netherlands -- and then combine all their forces to achieve their ultimate goal, the conquest of the United States.

They know that so long as we win -- freedom wins.

They know that so long as we win -- the institution of democracy wins -- the ideal of the family, the simple principles of common decency and humanity.

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They know that so long as we win -- religion wins.

And they could not tolerate that. The world is too small to provide adequate "living room" for both Hitler and God. In proof of that, the Nazis have now announced officially their plan for enforcing their own German, pagan religion throughout the world -- the plan by which the Holy Bible and the Cross of Mercy would be displaced by "Mein Kampf" and the Swastika and the naked sword.

Our own objectives are clear; the objective of smashing the militarism imposed by military dictators upon their enslaved peoples -- the objective of liberating the subjugated nations -- the objective of establishing and securing freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear everywhere in the world. We shall not stop short of these objectives -- nor shall we be satisfied merely to gain them and then call it a day.

I know that I speak for the American people -- and I have good reason to believe I speak also for all the other people who fight with us -- when I say that this time we are determined not only to win the war, but also to maintain the security of the peace which follows the war.

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It is a formidable task. But Modern methods of warfare make it a task, not only of shooting and fighting, but an even more urgent one of working and producing.

Victory requires the actual weapons of war and the means of transporting them to a dozen points of combat.

It will not be sufficient for us and the other United Nations to produce a slightly superior supply of munitions to that of Germany, Japan, Italy and the stolen industries in the countries which they have overrun.

The superiority of the United Nations in munitions and ships must be overwhelming -- so overwhelming that the Axis nations can never hope to catch up with it. In order to attain this overwhelming superiority the United States must build planes and tanks and guns and ships to the utmost limit of our national capacity. We have the [actual] ability and capacity to produce arms not only for our own forces but also for the fighting men in all the armies, navies and air forces fighting on our side. [waging war against the aggressors.]

And our overwhelming superiority of armament must be adequate to put weapons of war at the proper time into

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the hands of those men in the conquered nations, who stand ready to seize the first opportunity to revolt against their German and Japanese oppressors, and against the traitors in their own ranks, known by the already infamous name of "Quislings". As we ~~xxx~~ get guns to the patriots in those lands, they too will fire shots heard 'round the world.

This production of ours in the United States must be raised far above its present levels, even though it will mean the dislocation of the lives and the businesses of millions of our own people. We must raise our sights all along the production line. Let no man say it cannot be done. It must be done -- and we have undertaken to do it.

I have just sent a letter of directive to the appropriate departments and agencies of our Government, ordering that immediate steps be taken:

1. To increase our production rate of airplanes so rapidly that in this year, 1942, we shall produce 60,000 planes, 10,000 more than the goal set a year and a half ago. This includes 45,000 combat planes -- bombers, dive-bombers, pursuit planes. The rate of increase will be continued, so that next year, 1943,

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These figures and similar figures for a multitude of other implements of war will give the Japanese and Nazis a little idea of just what they accomplished in the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Our task is hard — our task is unprecedented — and the time is short. We must strain every existing armament-producing facility to the utmost. We must convert every available plant and tool to war production. That goes all the way from the greatest plants to the smallest — from the huge automobile industry to the village machine shop.

Production for war is based on metals and raw materials — steel, copper, rubber, aluminum, zinc, tin. Greater and greater quantities of them will have to be diverted to war purposes. Civilian use of them will have to be cut further and still further — and, in many cases, completely eliminated.

War costs money. So far, we have hardly even begun to pay for it. We have devoted only 15% of our national income to national defense. As will appear in my Budget Message tomorrow, our war program for ~~this~~ the coming fiscal year will cost fifty-six billion dollars or, in other words, ~~56%~~ 50% of an estimated annual national income of one hundred and ten billion dollars. 110 to 115

(calendar 1941)

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This means taxes and bonds and bonds and taxes. It means cutting luxuries and other non-essentials. In a word, it means an "all-out" war by a united country.

Only this all-out scale of production will hasten the ultimate all-out victory. Speed will count. Lost ground can always be regained — lost time never. Speed will save lives; speed will save this nation which is in peril; speed will save our freedom and civilization — and slowness has never been an American characteristic.

As the United States goes into its full stride, we must always be on guard against misconceptions which will arise naturally or which will be planted among us by our enemies.

We must guard against complacency. We must not underrate the enemy. He is powerful and cunning — and cruel and ruthless. He will stop at nothing which gives him a chance to kill and to destroy. He has trained his people to believe that their highest perfection is achieved by waging war. For many years he has prepared for this very conflict — planning, plotting, training, arming, fighting. We have already tasted defeat. We may suffer further setbacks. We must face the fact of a hard war, a long war, a bloody war, a costly war.

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We must, on the other hand, guard against defeatism. That has been one of the chief weapons of Hitler's propaganda machine -- used time and again with deadly results. It will not be used successfully on the American people.

We must guard against divisions among ourselves and among all the other United Nations. We must be particularly vigilant against racial discrimination in any of its ugly forms. Hitler will try again to breed mistrust and suspicion between one individual and another, one group and another, one race and another, one government and another. He will try to use the same technique of falsehood and rumor-mongering with which he divided France from Britain. He is trying to do this with us even now. But he will find a unity of will and purpose against him, which will persevere until the destruction of all his black designs upon the freedom and safety of the people of the world.

We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. As our power and our resources are fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy -- we shall hit him and him him again wherever and whenever we can reach him.

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We must keep him far from our shores, for we intend to bring this battle to him on his own home grounds.

American armed forces must be used at any place in all the world where it seems advisable to engage the armies of the Axis Powers. In some cases these operations will be defensive, in order to protect key positions. In other cases, these operations will be offensive, in order to strike at the common enemy, with a view to his complete encirclement and eventual total defeat.

American armed forces will operate at many points in the Far East.

American armed forces will be on all the oceans -- helping to guard the essential communications which are vital to the United Nations.

American land and air forces will take stations in the British Isles -- which constitute the essential fortress in this world struggle.

American armed forces will help to protect this Hemisphere -- and also bases outside this Hemisphere, which could be used for an attack on the Americas.

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If any of our enemies, from Europe or from Asia, attempt long-range raids by "suicide" squadrons of bombing planes, they will do so only in the hope of terrorizing our people and disrupting our morale. Our people are not afraid of that. We know that we may have to pay a heavy price for freedom. We will pay this price with a will. Whatever the price, it is a thousand times worth it. No matter what our enemies, in their desperation may attempt to do to us — we will say, as the people of London have said, "We can take it". And what's more, we can give it back and we will give it back -- with compound interest.

When our enemies challenged our country to stand up and fight, they challenged each and every one of us. And each and every one of us has accepted the challenge — for himself and for the nation.

There were only some four hundred United States Marines who in the heroic and historic defence of Wake Island inflicted such great losses on the enemy. Some of those men were killed in action; and others are now prisoners of war. When the survivors of that great fight are liberated and restored to their homes, they will learn that a hundred and thirty million of their fellow citizens have been inspired to render their own full share of service and sacrifice.

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Our men on the fighting fronts have already proved that Americans today are just as rugged and just as tough as any of the heroes whose exploits we celebrate on the Fourth of July. Americans on the production front and on the home front will prove as much.

Many people ask, "When will this war end"? There is only one answer to that. It will end just as soon as we make it end, by our combined efforts, our combined strength, our combined determination to fight through and work through until we have achieved total victory. Most certainly we shall not settle for less.

That is the spirit in which discussions have been conducted during the visit of the British Prime Minister to Washington. Mr. Churchill and I understand each other, our motives and our purposes. Together, during the past two weeks, we have faced squarely the major military and economic problems of this greatest world war.

All in our nation have been cheered by Mr. Churchill's visit. We have been deeply stirred by his great message to us. We wish him a safe return to his home. He is welcome in our midst, now and in days to come.

We are fighting on the same side with the British people, who, for long, terrible months, faced and withstood the enemy alone with fortitude and tenacity and skill.

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We are fighting on the same side with the Russian people who have seen the Nazi hordes swarm up to the very gates of Moscow, and who with almost superhuman will and courage have forced the invaders back into retreat.

We are fighting on the same side as the brave people of China who for four and a half long years have withstood bombs and starvation and have whipped the invaders time and again in spite of superior Japanese equipment and arms.

We are fighting on the same side as the indomitable Dutch.

We are fighting on the same side as all the other governments in exile, whom Hitler and his army and his Gestapo have never been able to conquer.

But we of the United Nations are not making all this sacrifice of human efforts and human lives to return to the kind of world we had after the last world war.

We are fighting today for security, progress and peace, not only for ourselves, but for all men, not only for one generation but for all generations. We are fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils, ancient ills.

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Our enemies are guided by brutal cynicism, by unholy contempt for the human race. We are inspired by a faith which goes back through all the years to the first chapter of the first Book of Genesis: "God created man in His own image".

We on our side are striving to be true to that divine heritage. We are fighting, as our fathers have fought, to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God. Those on the other side are striving to destroy this deep belief and to create a world in their own image -- a world of tyranny and cruelty and serfdom.

That is the strife that day and night now pervades our lives. No compromise can end that strife. There never has been -- there never can be -- successful compromise between good and evil. Only total victory can reward the champions of tolerance, and decency, and freedom, and faith.

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We shall fight on the same side as the Russians who have seen the Nazi hordes swarm up to the very gates of Moscow, and who with almost superhuman will and courage have forced the invaders back into retreat.

We shall fight on the same side as the British who alone for long terrible months faced the enemy and with fortitude and tenacity and skill.

We shall fight on the same side as the brave people of China who for four and a half long years have withstood bombs and starvation and disease and have whipped the Japanese invaders time and again in spite of superior equipment and arms.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

JANUARY 6, 1942

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

In fulfilling my duty to report upon the state of the Union, I am proud to say to you that the spirit of the American people was never higher than it is today — the Union was never more closely knit together — this country was never more deeply determined to face the solemn tasks before it.

The response of the American people has been instantaneous. It will be sustained until our security is assured.

Exactly one year ago today I said to this Congress: "When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part ..... They — not we — will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack".

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We now know their choice of the time: a peaceful Sunday morning — December 7th, 1941.

We know their choice of the place: an American outpost in the Pacific.

We know their choice of the method: the method of Hitler himself.

Japan's scheme of conquest goes back half a century. It was not merely a policy of seeking living room: it was a plan which included the subjugation of all the peoples in the Far East and in the Islands of the Pacific, and the domination of that ocean by Japanese military and naval control of the western coasts of North, Central and South America.

The development of this ambitious conspiracy was marked by the war against China in 1894; the subsequent occupation of Korea; the war against Russia in 1904;

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the illegal fortification of the mandated Pacific Islands following 1920; the seizure of Manchuria in 1931; and the invasion of China in 1937.

A similar policy of criminal conquest was adopted by Italy. The Fascists first revealed their imperial designs in Libya and Tripoli. In 1935 they seized Abyssinia. Their goal was the domination of all North Africa, Egypt, parts of France, and the entire Mediterranean world.

But the dreams of empire of the Japanese and Fascist leaders were modest in comparison with the gargantuan aspirations of Hitler and his Nazis. Even before they came to power in 1933, their plans for conquest had been drawn. Those plans provided for ultimate domination, not of any one section of the world, but of the whole earth and all the oceans on it.

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With Hitler's formation of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance, all these plans of conquest became a single plan. Under this, in addition to her own schemes of conquest, Japan's role was to cut off our supply of weapons of war to Britain, Russia and China — weapons which increasingly were speeding the day of Hitler's doom. The act of Japan at Pearl Harbor was intended to stun us — to terrify us to such an extent that we would divert our industrial and military strength to the Pacific area, or even to our own continental defense.

The plan failed in its purpose. We have not been stunned. We have not been terrified or confused. This reassembling of the Seventy-Seventh Congress is proof of that; for the mood of quiet, grim resolution which here prevails, bodes ill for those who conspired and collaborated to murder world peace.

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That mood is stronger than any mere desire for revenge. It expresses the will of the American people to make very certain that the world will never so suffer again.

Admittedly, we have been faced with hard choices. It was bitter, for example, not to be able to relieve the heroic and historic defenders of Wake Island. It was bitter for us not be able to land a million men and a thousand ships in the Philippine Islands.

But this adds only to our determination to see to it that the Stars and Stripes will fly again over Wake and Guam; and that the brave people of the Philippines will be rid of Japanese imperialism; and will live in freedom, security and independence.

Powerful and offensive actions must and will be taken in proper time. The consolidation of the United Nations' total war effort against our common enemies is being achieved.

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That is the purpose of conferences which have been held during the past two weeks in Washington, in Moscow and in Chungking. That is the primary objective of the declaration of solidarity signed in Washington on January 1, 1942 by twenty-six nations united against the Axis powers.

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They know that victory for us means victory for freedom.

They know that victory for us means victory for the institution of democracy -- the ideal of the family, the simple principles of common decency and humanity.

They know that victory for us means victory for religion.

And they could not tolerate that. The world is too small to provide adequate "living room" for both Hitler and God. In proof of that, the Nazis have now announced their plan for enforcing their new German, pagan religion throughout the world -- the plan by which the Holy Bible and the Cross of Mercy would be displaced by "Mein Kampf" and the Swastika and the naked sword.

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And our overwhelming superiority of armament must be adequate to put weapons of war at the proper time into the hands of those men in the conquered nations, who stand ready to seize the first opportunity to revolt against their German and Japanese oppressors, and against the traitors in their own ranks, known by the already infamous name of "Quislings". As we get guns to the patriots in those lands, they too will fire shots heard 'round the world.

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Production for war is based on men and women — the human hands and brains which collectively we call Labor. Our workers stand ready to work long hours; to turn out more in a day's work; to keep the wheels turning and the fires burning twenty-four hours a day, and seven days a week. They realize well that on the speed and efficiency of their work depend the lives of their sons and their brothers on the fighting fronts.

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Only this all-out scale of production will hasten the ultimate all-out victory. Speed will count. Lost ground can always be regained -- lost time never. Speed will save lives; speed will save this nation which is in peril; speed will save our freedom and civilization -- and slowness has never been an American characteristic.

As the United States goes into its full stride, we must always be on guard against misconceptions which will arise naturally or which will be planted among us by our enemies.

We must guard against complacency. We must not underrate the enemy. He is powerful and cunning -- and cruel and ruthless. He will stop at nothing which gives him a chance to kill and to destroy. He has trained his people to believe that their highest perfection is achieved by waging war. For many years he has prepared for this very conflict -- planning, plotting, training, arming, fighting.

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We have already tasted defeat. We may suffer further setbacks. We must face the fact of a hard war, a long war, a bloody war, a costly war.

We must, on the other hand, guard against defeatism. That has been one of the chief weapons of Hitler's propaganda machine — used time and again with deadly results. It will not be used successfully on the American people.

We must guard against divisions among ourselves and among all the other United Nations. We must be particularly vigilant against racial discrimination in any of its ugly forms. Hitler will try again to breed mistrust and suspicion between one individual and another, one group and another, one race and another, one government and another. He will try to use the same technique of falsehood and rumor-mongering with which he divided France from Britain. He is trying to do this with us even now. But he will find a unity of will and purpose against him, which will persevere until the destruction of all his black designs upon the freedom and safety of the people of the world.

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We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. As our power and our resources are fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy -- we shall hit him and hit him again wherever and whenever we can reach him.

We must keep him far from our shores, for we intend to bring this battle to him on his own home grounds.

American armed forces must be used at any place in all the world where it seems advisable to engage the forces of the enemy. In some cases these operations will be defensive, in order to protect key positions. In other cases, those operations will be offensive, in order to strike at the common enemy, with a view to his complete encirclement and eventual total defeat.

American armed forces will operate at many points in the Far East.

American armed forces will be on all the oceans -- helping to guard the essential communications which are vital to the United Nations.

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American land and air and sea forces will take stations in the British Isles — which constitute an essential fortress in this world struggle.

American armed forces will help to protect this Hemisphere — and also bases outside this Hemisphere, which could be used for an attack on the Americas.

If any of our enemies, from Europe or from Asia, attempt long-range raids by "suicide" squadrons of bombing planes, they will do so only in the hope of terrorizing our people and disrupting our morale. Our people are not afraid of that. We know that we may have to pay a heavy price for freedom. We will pay this price with a will. Whatever the price, it is a thousand times worth it. No matter what our enemies, in their desperation may attempt to do to us — we will say, as the people of London have said, "We can take it". And what's more, we can give it back — and we will give it back — with compound interest.

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When our enemies challenged our country to stand up and fight, they challenged each and every one of us. And each and every one of us has accepted the challenge -- for himself and for the nation.

There were only some four hundred United States Marines who in the heroic and historic defense of Wake Island inflicted such great losses on the enemy. Some of those men were killed in action; and others are now prisoners of war. When the survivors of that great fight are liberated and restored to their homes, they will learn that a hundred and thirty million of their fellow citizens have been inspired to render their own full share of service and sacrifice.

Our men on the fighting fronts have already proved that Americans today are just as rugged and just as tough as any of the heroes whose exploits we celebrate on the Fourth of July.

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Many people ask, "When will this war end"? There is only one answer to that. It will end just as soon as we make it end, by our combined efforts, our combined strength, our combined determination to fight through and work through until the end — the end of militarism in Germany and Italy and Japan. Most certainly we shall not settle for less.

That is the spirit in which discussions have been conducted during the visit of the British Prime Minister to Washington. Mr. Churchill and I understand each other, our motives and our purposes. Together, during the past two weeks, we have faced squarely the major military and economic problems of this greatest world war.

All in our nation have been cheered by Mr. Churchill's visit. We have been deeply stirred by his great message to us. We wish him a safe return to his home. He is welcome in our midst, now and in days to come.

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We are fighting on the same side with the British people, who fought alone for long, terrible months, and withstood the enemy with fortitude and tenacity and skill.

We are fighting on the same side with the Russian people who have seen the Nazi hordes swarm up to the very gates of Moscow, and who with almost superhuman will and courage have forced the invaders back into retreat.

We are fighting on the same side as the brave people of China who for four and a half long years have withstood bombs and starvation and have whipped the invaders time and again in spite of superior Japanese equipment and arms.

We are fighting on the same side as the indomitable Dutch.

We are fighting on the same side as all the other governments in exile, whom Hitler and all his armies and all his Gestapo have not been able to conquer.

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But we of the United Nations are not making all this sacrifice of human effort and human lives to return to the kind of world we had after the last world war.

We are fighting today for security, for progress and for peace, not only for ourselves, but for all men, not only for one generation but for all generations. We are fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils, ancient ills.

Our enemies are guided by brutal cynicism, by unholy contempt for the human race. We are inspired by a faith which goes back through all the years to the first chapter of the Book of Genesis: "God created man in His own image".

We oneour side are striving to be true to that divine heritage. We are fighting, as our fathers have fought, to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God. Those on the other side are striving to destroy this deep belief and to create a world in their own image — a world of tyranny and cruelty and serfdom.

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That is the conflict that day and night now pervades our lives. No compromise can end that conflict. There never has been -- there never can be -- successful compromise between good and evil. Only total victory can reward the champions of tolerance, and decency, and freedom, and faith.

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