

January 6, 1942

[State of the Union Address]

1409 ³

FDR Speech File

Jan 6, 1942

FIRST DRAFT

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 ~~expansion~~ 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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From: Mr. Secretary of
State
Date: January 6, 1942
To: Mr. L. Hopkins

The first action called for a successful military lesson to China. Hence the war between Japan and China in 1894. It involved the proof of military and naval superiority over Russia. Hence the war of 1904-1905. It involved the conquest ~~expedition~~ of unarmed Korea. Hence destruction of the Kingdom of Korea in 1905. It involved 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 involved 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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West Park, New YorkHenry L. Hopkins
27th May 1945

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 Europe, 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.



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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

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 — whole-hearted participants — in the ~~mixxx~~ 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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FIRST DRAFT

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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 in-
decisive 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 in-
dependence and save them from the enslavement of "would-
be conquerors".



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Dec 6, 1942

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Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:
Exactly one year ago to-day 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 Philippines 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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keep its eye on the main objectives; 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

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waged on three continents and over seven seas. Our own major battlefield will be chosen by ourselves where we can hit the hardest -- set 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 Chunking.

That is the primary objective of the declaration of solidarity signed in Washington on January 2, 1942 by twenty-six nations arrayed 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 Nazi and Japanese chieftains. 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 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 Mercury 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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SECOND DRAFT

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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 those 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 specialised 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 defection. 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 techniques 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 Americas 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 defenses 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 gaured 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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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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SECOND DRAFT

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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 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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SECOND DRAFT

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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PROFESSOR OF POLITICS

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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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[Jan 6, 1942]

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: "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 by that method, Japan took her logical part in the modern scheme of conquest.

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.



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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 Libya 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 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

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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 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.

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



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Arrangements have been made for continued conferences and consultations among their military staffs, so that the plans and movements of each will fit into general strategy designed to crush the enemy. We shall not fight isolated wars -- each nation going its own way. These nations are united -- not in spirit and determination alone, but in the day by day conduct of the war in all its phases.

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.



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HARRY L. Hopkins

FIFTH 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 Crâes of Mercy would be displaced by "Heim 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 stop short of these objectives — nor shall we



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JAMES L. Hopkins

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.

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



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DRAFT 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 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 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.



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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 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 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 30,000 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 5,000,000 tons; and to continue that increase so that next year 1943 we shall build 8 or even 9 million tons.



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Harry L. Hopkins
From the Projects of

FIFTH DRAFT

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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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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

FOURTH DRAFT

Our task is hard -- our task is unprecedented -- and the time is short. We will have to build new plants for specialised 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 1% 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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From the Papers of
HARRY L. Hopkins

EIGHTH 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-spreading 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.

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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Harry L. Hopkins
Executive Director

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.

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.



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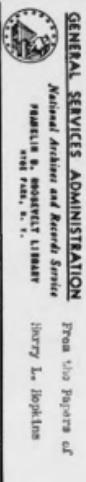
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FIFTH DRAFT

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.

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

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 ~~know that we may have to pay a heavy price for freedom~~ 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.



FOURTH DRAFT

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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 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.

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.



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From the Papers of
HARRY S. TRUMAN

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.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Kinney, Director and Research Director
H. R. Hopper, Director

Harry L. Hopkins
Executive Secretary

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.

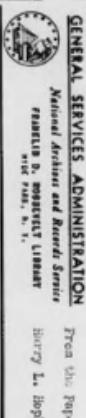
We are fighting today for further security, progress and peace, not only for ourselves, but for all men, not only for one generation but for all generations. We are fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils, ancient illus.

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



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 servitude.

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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From the Papers of
HARRY L. Hopkins

[Jan 6, 1942]

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 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.

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 Trápoli. 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, 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

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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 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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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.

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 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.

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 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 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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Harry T. Hopkins
Administrator
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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 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 so dispose our forces that they 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 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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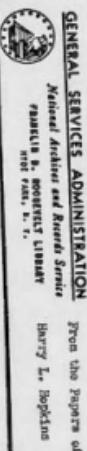
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Administrator
From the files
of

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.



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 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 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 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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Henry L. Hopkins
From the papers of

SIXTH DRAFT

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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 ~~will~~ 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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APRIL 1942

HARRY L. HOPKINS
Administrator
for War Production
and Resources Control

← we shall produce 125,000 airplanes, including
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; 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 8,000,000 deadweight tons as compared with a 1941 production of 1,100,000. We shall continue that increase so that next year, 1943, we shall build 10,000,000 tons.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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From the People
to the People
Harry L. Hopkins

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 year will cost fifty-six billion dollars or, in other words, 56% of an estimated annual national income of one hundred billion dollars.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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From the Papers of
HARRY L. Hopkins

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.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service
Washington, D. C.
April 1942

From the Papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

We must, on the other hand, guard against defeatism.

That has been one of the chief weapons of Hitler's propaganda machine -- used tire 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 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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HARRY L. Hopkins

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 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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Harry L. Hopkins

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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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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 servitude.

That is the strife that day and night now pervades our lives. No compromise can end that strife. There has never 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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