

February 23, 1942

[Fireside #19]

FDR Speech File

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DRAFT #3



RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
FEBRUARY 23, 1942

The celebration of Washington's Birthday in the midst of our initial military and naval reverses in this world-wide struggle is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future. What made Washington the predominant, symbolic figure of his time was not only his generalship, his philosophy, his physical courage or his sacrifice. It was something more important even than these. Something which we refer to simply as character -- moral stamina.

General Washington led our colonies in a war which lasted eight years. During those years his armies were defeated and strategic positions were lost, more often than he won victories or captured key strongholds.

In those years, the continental army was faced continually with formidable odds. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed a Fifth Column -- witting or unwitting. Selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he



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From the Papers of
General J. B. Roseman

must lay down his arms and ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in these hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. Washington held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. Washington and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, or worth securing, without the establishment of freedom and free institutions.

That was true of the thirteen colonies. It became true of the forty-eight states. In later years huge armaments have made it apply more and more to the whole world. The present great struggle has taught us that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depends upon world-wide security of the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilisation.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past not only in its methods and implements but also in its geography. It is hard for us who have studied or read about localised warfare through the centuries to visualise what it means in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

DRAFT #2

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That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole world; and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world encircling battle lines of this war. We must all understand that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe. And the reason we have to fight at such distances is that we must protect our supply lines, our lines of communication, our ability to use the seas — protect them from enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia and isolate them one from another so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements.

Separating the twenty-six United Nations, one from the other, is, of course, the Axis policy of "divide and conquer". To those who still cling to the sailing ship days' belief that we should pull our war ships and our merchant ships into the western Atlantic and the American side of the Pacific, let me illustrate what might happen.



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DRAFT #3

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1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. Even if we are thinking only of our own selfish point of view, we must help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter offense when it comes.

2. The whole of the southwest Pacific, including Australia^{and}, New Zealand, the Malay Peninsula and Burma would probably fall under Japanese domination. Japan could thereby release hundreds of ships and hundreds of thousands of men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of North, Central and South America, including Alaska, and, at the same time, to extend her conquests to India and through the Indian Ocean to Africa and the Near East. A glance at your map will show you this.

3. If by pulling our heads within our own shells we are compelled to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we will help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iran, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.



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From the Papers of
Samuel T. Rosenberg

4. If by a fatuous policy advocated by a few, we cease to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we help to cripple the splendid comeback by Russia against the Nazis, and we help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions. And anyone who thinks the American people would favor such a policy as that is not a very keen student of public opinion.

← (4) p. 6.

The maintenance of lines of communications between the United Nations is vital.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets — for the ships which carry our goods to our allies bring back essential raw materials for our own use.

The defense of these lines requires control of the sea and of the air along the various routes, and this depends upon control of the strategic bases. Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes — the long range heavy bomber and the lighter and shorter-range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and the bombers themselves.



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DRAFT #1

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When we were trying to live under the illusion of isolationism, it appeared that the American eagle was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, some people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is flying high and striking hard.

We are going to continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters — as far as possible from our own home grounds.

Bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific, but pursuit planes can range only a few hundred miles. Therefore, pursuit planes have to be sent to the southwest Pacific in crates on board freight steamers. To send freight steamers through either the Atlantic route or the Pacific route to the southwest Pacific is an operation of many weeks under convoy — so that a vessel or a group of vessels can make a complete round trip in about four months, or, in other words, three round trips in a whole year. The route to the southwest Pacific from New York round the Cape of Good Hope is about the same distance and takes about the same amount of time as the route from San Francisco to the southwest Pacific direct.

Although we have been in the war for only two months and a half, we already have a very large number of bombers and pursuit



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planes, flown by American pilots, which are in daily contact with the enemy in the Netherlands Indies themselves. Every plane needs an average of ten men on the ground at some base for its continued operation. Therefore thousands of Americans are today in the southwest Pacific in charge of ground operations including the operation of anti-aircraft guns.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war started the Philippine Islands were surrounded on three sides by Japan. On the west Japan was in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the north lay the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east ~~the Philippine Islands are~~ are the so-called Mandated Islands which Japan had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

Immediately after this war started the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them -- thereby completely encircling the Philippine Islands from all four directions -- north, south, east and west.



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From the Papers of
Franklin D. Roosevelt
Samuel I. Rosenbaum

DRAFT #3

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It is that complete barrier which has prevented us from sending reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of Bataan Peninsula.

For many years it has been obvious to our military and naval experts that in the event of war with Japan we could not retain military or naval control of the Islands.

During this whole time we have figured that in the event of war with Japan, we would fight a delaying action with American and Filipino forces, retiring slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor and that the war would eventually be won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. Nothing that has occurred in the past two months changes in the least bit the soundness of those obvious plans. As a matter of simple fact, the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates, and he and his men deserve eternal glory and credit therefor.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Categorically and simply, I tell you that this is not so.



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Even if the attack had not been made, we could not have sent the fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean where all the bases were under the control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor have been fantastically exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations come from Axis propagandists and are repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life. They are spread through conversation, speeches, the radio and the press — and always with the ^{assurance} ~~certainty~~ that they came from what they call undisclosed authoritative sources. It has been said that the reason no one had heard anything about our Pacific Fleet for several weeks after Pearl Harbor was that there was no Pacific Fleet — that it had all been sunk or destroyed on December 7th.

It has even been said that not 3,000 men were killed and wounded there, but 11,000 or 12,000 men. Some of them have gone on to say that several boat-loads of bodies of the dead were due to arrive in New York harbor to be interred in a large common grave.

For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses. The very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the time was right. To those who have been spreading the tale that the American Fleet was destroyed, and to the American people as a whole I state the following facts: ^PThe casualty lists show that 3,000 officers and men were killed or wounded there.



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 General I. MacArthur

At 7.50 in the morning of December seventh there were based on Pearl Harbor _____ combatant ships. A relatively small number of them were in Pearl Harbor, and the great majority of them were at sea or in or near various parts of the Hawaiian Islands. Of this total of _____ combatant ships, including battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines, only _____ were unable to proceed to sea and fight, or to stay at sea and fight, at 11 o'clock on the morning of December seventh, after the attack had been ended. In other words, _____ of the combat ships of the Pacific Fleet were still in fighting trim and only _____ had been damaged.

Of these damaged ships, a goodly number are back in full commission and are operating against the enemy. Another goodly number of them are under repair; and it now seems probable that of all the ships damaged, only three of them are beyond repair.

I can, without disclosing names of ships, point out that the total loss will probably involve only one ship; and that the other ships which were damaged are either finishing their repairs or will be completely ready in a relatively short time.



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From the Papers of
General L. B. Rowan

DRAFT #3

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So much for those false Americans who spread false

news.



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenzweig

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Why have the true official figures not been revealed by our government before this? For the very simple reason that it was information which the enemy did not have and which it wanted very much to have. That is true and will be true of many items of war information. They are kept secret not because your government believes that the people of the United States and their allies will be seriously depressed by bad news — or made dangerously complacent by good news. Your government has mistakeable confidence in your ability to bear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must in turn have confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his fight upon us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion.

It is very easy for a newspaper owner or a commentator to demand that some piece of news be immediately given to the public. But the public very well understands that the newspaper owner or commentator has very little knowledge of the reasons that lie behind temporary official withholding of the information in any given case. The average American understands and approves the action of his government. The fact that the American people have not had all the details of Pearl Harbor has made no difference in their determination to produce what they can and to fight as hard as they can.



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From the Papers of
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Rumors and gossip are rife in every crisis. In war time they always become worse. Government cannot and will not undertake to answer them all. It should not be necessary to deny them. For war is above all a matter of discipline; and the very essence of democracy is self-discipline. That is why I urge you all to disregard rumor and gossip and amateur comments, and above all not to spread them -- for when you do you are unwittingly serving the Nazi and Japanese enemy.

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area -- all the way from the Philippines and

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area -- all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands. "We have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism in Japan and in Germany. We will not stop short of total destruction of this militarism. The fortunes of war have been against us thus far, and they will continue against us until our full strength is mustered. But then we not they will have the offensive, we not they will win the final battle and we not they will make the peace."



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From the Papers of
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Let these words of solemn assurance be heard also by the people of India -- by Hindus and Moslems alike -- whose great land may well be threatened by the Japanese from the East and the Nazis from the West. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us, the world over, that future depends entirely on victory of the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

Millions of human beings in the vast Pacific area, like other millions in Europe, have seen what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerors. [They have watched the fate of the peaceful populace who once made up the Kingdom of Korea, and the people of Manchuria, and the people of Holland, and Poland, and Norway.]

When we look at these conquered peoples -- and when we study the further course of conquest which the Nazis and the Japanese plan to follow -- we know that this all one war and that the world is all one battlefield.

And in that war -- throughout the whole battlefield in which it is raging -- we are preparing to carry the fight to the enemy. Americans have never been willing, and never will be willing, to fight a defensive war. We do not propose to remain on the defensive for one day more than is absolutely necessary. We reject the counsel of despair of those who urge us to pull our forces in to our own waters and along our



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DRAFT #3

own shores to wait for the attack here. At every outpost on the far-flung lines of communication, at every strategic stronghold of war in the world, there lies a part of our defense. To those points of defense we shall send our weapons and our men. For to win, we know that we shall have to hit and hit hard. We cannot stand still in our corner dodging the blows which come our way. We shall have to carry the attack to the enemy and deliver our blows whenever and wherever we can find him.

Since the fateful day when France fell in 1940, there have been two definite phases of this war.

In the first phase, the British Empire stood almost alone but helped by the men and ships of conquered nations and by an increasing supply of munitions from the United States. The opponents of the aggressors were greatly out-numbered and were literally fighting with their backs against the wall.

The second phase commenced when Russia entered the war last June and was fortified when we came in last December. This second phase is still a defensive phase — for in most theatres of the war the Axis powers still have a superiority in trained men and in munitions. The exception is the magnificent counter-attack now being staged on the Russian-German front. In men the Russians have an undoubted superiority, and in



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Samuel I. Rosenthal

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DRAFT 3

munitions and machines they have sufficient volume to inflict vast losses of German planes, tanks and equipment of all kinds.

All of the United Nations are now confidently relying on the third phase of the war — the time when on every front, not the Russian alone, the United Nations will have such a clear superiority in trained men and in munitions, that they will be able to wrest control from the enemy and assume the offensive all along the line.

Therefore, in order to arrive at this third phase the one all-important present part of this tremendous struggle is the battle of production. It is a battle we must win undramatically and without trumpets, in mines and shops and factories all across the land. It is a battle we must win by sweating and sacrificing; a battle in which we must never pause to count the cost — this battle of production on the winning of which all our other battles depend.

In that battle this is the "crucial" spring. A plane now is worth a dozen next year. We cannot wait for a year or two for our weapons.

The fighting is going on today.

The Nation's danger exists today.

We must have the fighting equipment today.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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Therefore, even in the midst of converting our peace-time factories to arsenals of war, even in the midst of retooling our factories for war production, we must each day make ^{more} war materials than we made the day before.

On January 6th of this year I set certain definite goals of production of airplanes, tanks, and merchant ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight nearly two months later and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and all others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will all be attained — and on schedule.

And for that production, we shall need more and more of every kind of raw material — not next summer or next year, but now — today's *more rubber.*
more aluminum, more magnesium, more steel, more chemicals, more copper, [^]
More and more, we must deny ourselves the use of these things. More sharply than ever before we must ration ourselves in our daily lives.



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DRAFT #8

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No factory has any right to work only 50% of the time. New methods and new techniques must be found to cut delays. There are still other ways to boost production now. At one point we may be able to do it by asking ownership to operate beyond the point where diminishing returns set in -- that point where greater output means smaller net profit. At another point we may be able to do it by asking labor to forego for the duration some hard-won privilege. In such cases we must go boldly for greater volumes; we can work out the necessary adjustments for capital and for labor at our leisure. The only limit we can recognize now is the absolute physical limit of productive capacity. As long as we remain below that limit we are not doing enough.

While we are doing all of these things, we must of course plan so that tomorrow's production will exceed today's. Every shop and factory in America which can possibly make military goods or parts of military goods, and which is not absolutely needed to keep our civilian economy alive, must be converted to full military production. Every consideration which stands in the way of that must be swept aside; every device which will speed that along must be adopted. Every civilian use of a needed material must be stopped if it can possibly be done without wrecking our civilian life.



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This cannot be done easily. It will require of all of us great endurance, great determination, great eagerness to do our very utmost. Sacrifices will be demanded of capital, of labor and of consumers. Every last one of us will have some part of the price to pay. None of that counts now. We have no time whatever to lose.

For production is not a matter merely of voting money or placing orders or drawing blueprints. It means individual work and effort and sacrifice for you and me and all other loyal Americans.

The quality of our production and of our entire war effort will depend on the true temper of our people. And I can say that none of us need be doubtful about that.

The Axis propagandists have tried and are still trying to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they try to destroy our confidence in our allies. At the same time, they are trying to destroy the confidence of the British, the Russians, the Chinese and the Dutch in us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda, German and Japanese.

The theme has been that Americans ^{are} admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans cannot and will not fight.



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From the Papers of
General T. Roosevelt

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a
nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or
Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who rallied from Pearl

Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands.

Let them tell that to the American pilots in the Flying
Fortresses ~~in the Philippines~~.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

For many years we have tried to prevent this war. We did
our very best to avoid getting into the fight. We were put into the fight
by a traitorous attack upon us made under cover of peaceful negotiations.
But now that we are in - we are in for the finish and it will be a knock-
out finish. For Nazism and Fascism wherever it has raised its ugly standards
of slavery must be put out of business.

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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenbaum

As quickly as we assemble sufficient strength at any strategic point — whether in Europe or Africa or Asia — we shall use that strength aggressively to strike the enemy.

We shall exploit each situation to the utmost. We shall use the best command available in each area. The spirit in which the United Nations are fighting this war was splendidly demonstrated in the Netherlands Indies area when our own Admiral Hart yielded the naval command to the Hollander Admiral Helfrich, who knows every current and eddy of the waters around those islands. Today American, British and Dutch naval units are serving under Admiral Helfrich and they are making the Japanese pay an enormous price for their gains.

Ultimately our forces will be fighting together with the Chinese in the drive which will go straight through to Tokyo. And I should like particularly to call that promise to the attention of the Japanese Admiral who has announced that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

We have great allies in this war, and the greatest strength of all of them has been their ability to rally from defeat. The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Hitler's onslaught.

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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

There have been times when the fate of both London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield, no matter how great the suffering imposed upon them. And when the day of retribution comes, the British and Russian armies and air forces will dispose of German militarism once and for all.

The collaboration of the United Nations is vital to the winning of this war, and it is vital to the security of the peaceful world in which our children are to live and grow and prosper.

The shape of the future always is suggested by the action of today. But an action taken today does not limit the future. The agreement reached in the first Atlantic Meeting with Prime Minister Churchill laid down certain broad principles for peace. That Agreement has been called the Atlantic Charter, but no one should assume that its principles apply only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic. They are principles on which the well-being of all the families of peoples everywhere depends.

Not only that, but the promise in this agreement belongs to the oppressed people everywhere, to those under the yoke of the Nazis in Europe, and to those like the Koreans and the Chinese of Manchuria, who know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan.

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[The promise is given too, with full thought to the peoples whose governments have been directed by members of the United Nations. For the victory will be won for freedom, else it will not be victory.] It is not for you and me to propose all the precise ways and means by which ~~these~~ freedom shall be obtained in every part of the world, but it is for us to say that ^{it} ~~they~~ must be obtained. It is only for the broadest goal that American men will lay down their lives. We know that we fight first and last, for our own preservation. But we know too, that we are not to be preserved in a world any part of which is shut off from the free civilisation which alone makes for enduring peace.

Since the United States entry into the war, very far-reaching agreements have been made for pooling resources with those united in fighting the aggressors. The ~~only~~ two nations possessing a great and expanding industrial capacity and owning the shipping which must distribute the munitions of war, are the United States and Great Britain. So, a beginning in pooling has been made first by these two governments. But this essential step in organising an effective use of our joint resources does not fix, and was not intended to fix, the future control of international effort.



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

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Far from being the foundation of an Anglo-American hierarchy, it is the organization for victory for the United Nations. The victory finally will be won by all the United Nations, by their men and their heroic human sacrifices, still more than by the equipment now so much needed from American and British factories.

In the community of sacrifice we establish a comradeship which can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. And from that community there can and will develop a better, freer, fairer world.

We look forward to that world with hope and confidence. We know that the road which leads to that world is long and hard and we must work and fight every inch of the way. But work and fight we shall, and we shall not be stopped from moving steadily forward.

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We are now entering a new phase of this war -- a temporary phase, but one which will test us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat. But Washington ordered that

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the words written by Tom Paine he read ^{to the men} ~~admonished~~ of every regimney in the Continental Army.

These are some of the great words of our history:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today.

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FROM THE PAPERS OF

SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

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DRAFT #3

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

FEBRUARY 23, 1942

The celebration of Washington's Birthday in the midst of our initial military and naval reverses in this world-wide struggle is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future. What made Washington the predominant, symbolic figure of his time was not only his generalship, his philosophy, his physical courage or his sacrifice. It was something more important even than these. Something which we refer to simply as character -- moral stamina.

General Washington led our colonies in a war which lasted eight years. During those years his armies were defeated and strategic positions were lost, more often than he won victories or captured key strongholds.

In those years, the continental army was faced continually with formidable odds. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed a Fifth Column -- witting or unwitting. Selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he



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From the Papers of
SAMUEL I. ROOSEVELT

DRAFT #3

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must lay down his arms and ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in these hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. Washington held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. Washington and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, or worth securing, without the establishment of freedom and free institutions.

That was true of the thirteen colonies. It became true of the forty-eight states. In later years huge armaments have made it apply more and more to the whole world. The present great struggle has taught us that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depends upon world-wide security of the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilisation.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past not only in its methods and implements but also in its geography. It is hard for us who have studied or read about localized warfare through the centuries to visualize what it means in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

DRAFT 23

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That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole world; and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world encircling battle lines of this war. We must all understand that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe. And the reason we have to fight at such distances is that we must protect our supply lines, our lines of communication, our ability to use the seas -- protect them from enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia and isolate them one from another so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements.

Separating the ~~twenty-six~~ United Nations, ~~one from the other~~, is, of course, the Axis policy of "divide and conquer". To those who still cling to the sailing ship days' belief that we should pull our war ships and our merchant ships into the western Atlantic and the American side of the Pacific, let me illustrate what ^{would undoubtedly} might happen, if we followed such foolish advice:



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1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. Even if we are thinking only of our own selfish point of view, we must help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter offense when it comes.

2. The whole of the southwest Pacific, including Australia, New Zealand, the Malay Peninsula and Burma would probably fall under Japanese domination. Japan could thereby release hundreds of ships and hundreds of thousands of men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of North, Central and South America, including Alaska, and, at the same time, to extend her conquests to India and through the Indian Ocean to Africa and the Near East. A glance at your map will show you this.

3. If by pulling our heads within our own shells we are compelled to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we will help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iran, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.



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4. If by a fatuous policy advocated by a few, we cease to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we help to cripple the splendid comeback by Russia against the Nazis, and we help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions. And anyone who thinks the American people would favor such a policy as that is not a very keen student of public opinion.

The maintenance of lines of communications between the United Nations is vital.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets — for the ships which carry our goods to our allies bring back essential raw materials for our own use.

The defense of these lines requires control of the sea and of the air along the various routes, and this depends upon control of the strategic bases. Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes — the long range heavy bomber and the lighter and shorter-range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and the bombers themselves.



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WIDE WORLD, N. Y.

From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

DRAFT #3

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Then we were trying to live under the illusion of isolationism, it appeared that the American eagle was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, some people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is flying high and striking hard.

We are going to continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters -- as far as possible from our own home grounds.

Bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific, but pursuit planes can range only a few hundred miles. Therefore, pursuit planes have to be sent to the southwest Pacific in crates on board freight steamers. To send freight steamers through either the Atlantic route or the Pacific route to the southwest Pacific is an operation of many weeks under convoy -- so that a vessel or a group of vessels can make a complete round trip in about four months, or, in other words, three round trips in a whole year. The route to the southwest Pacific from New York round the Cape of Good Hope is about the same distance and takes about the same amount of time as the route from San Francisco to the south Pacific direct.

Although we have been in the war for only two months and a half, we already have a very large number of bombers and pursuit



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Samuel I. Rosenman

DRAFT #3

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planes, flown by American pilots, which are in daily contact with the enemy in the Netherlands Indies themselves. Every plane needs an average of ten men on the ground at some base for its continued operation. Therefore thousands of Americans are today in the southwest Pacific in charge of ground operations including the operation of anti-aircraft guns.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war started the Philippine Islands were surrounded on three sides by Japan. On the west Japan was in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the north lay the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east ~~the Philippines are~~ are the so-called Mandated Islands which Japan had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

Immediately after this war started the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them -- thereby completely encircling the Philippine Islands from all four directions -- north, south, east and west.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

It is that complete barrier which has prevented us from sending reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of Bataan Peninsula.

For many years it has been obvious to our military and naval experts that in the event of war with Japan we could not retain military or naval control of the Islands.

During this whole time we have figured that in the event of war with Japan, we would fight a delaying action with American and Filipino forces, retiring slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor and that the war would eventually be won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. Nothing that has occurred in the past two months changes in the least bit the soundness of those obvious plans. As a matter of simple fact, the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates, and he and his men deserve eternal glory and credit therefor.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Categorically and simply, I tell you that this is not so.



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DRAFT #3

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So much for those false Americans who spread false
news.



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From the Papers of
Samuel T. Rosenberg

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DRAFT 3

Why have the true official figures not been revealed by our government before this? For the very simple reason that it was information which the enemy did not have and which it wanted very much to have. That is true and will be true of many items of war information. They are kept secret not because your government believes that the people of the United States and their allies will be seriously depressed by bad news -- or made dangerously complacent by good news. Your government has mistakeable confidence in your ability to bear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must in turn have confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his fight upon us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion.

It is very easy for a newspaper owner or a commentator to demand that some piece of news be immediately given to the public. But the public very well understands that the newspaper owner or commentator has very little knowledge of the reasons that lie behind temporary official withholding of the information in any given case. The average American understands and approves the action of his government. The fact that the American people have not had all the details of Pearl Harbor has made no difference in their determination to produce what they can and to fight as hard as they can.



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Samuel I. Rosenbaum

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DRAFT #3

Rumors and gossip are rife in every crisis. In war time they always become worse. Government cannot and will not undertake to answer them all. It should not be necessary to deny them. For war is above all a matter of discipline; and the very essence of democracy is self-discipline. That is why I urge you all to disregard rumor and gossip and amateur comments, and above all not to spread them — for when you do you are unwittingly serving the Nazi and Japanese enemy.

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area — all the way from the Philippines and

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area — all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands. "We have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism in Japan and in Germany. We will not stop short of total destruction of this militarism. The fortunes of war have been against us thus far, and they will continue against us until our full strength is mustered. But then we not they will have the offensive, we not they will win the final battle and we not they will make the peace."



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From the Papers of
General I. Rosenman

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Let these words of solemn assurance be heard also by the people of India -- by Hindus and Moslems alike -- whose great land may well be threatened by the Japanese from the East and the Axis from the West. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us, the world over, that future depends entirely in victory of the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

Millions of human beings in the vast Pacific area, like other millions in Europe, have seen what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Axis conquerors. They have watched the fate of the peaceful populace who once made up the Kingdom of Korea, and the people of Manchuria, and the people of Holland, and Poland, and Norway.

When we look at these conquered peoples -- and when we study the further course of conquest which the Axis and the Japanese plan to follow -- we know that this ^{is} all one war and that the world is all one battlefield.

And in that war -- throughout the whole battlefield in which it is raging -- we are preparing to carry the fight to the enemy. Americans have never been willing, and never will be willing, to fight a defensive war. We do not propose to remain on the defensive for one day more than is absolutely necessary. We reject the counsel of despair of those who urge us to pull our forces in to our own waters and along our



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own shores to wait for the attack here. At every outpost on the far-flung lines of communication, at every strategic stronghold of war in the world, there lies a part of our defense. To those points of defense we shall send our weapons and our men. For to win, we know that we shall have to hit and hit hard. We cannot stand still in our corner dodging the blows which come our way. We shall have to carry the attack to the enemy and deliver our blows whenever and wherever we can find him.

Since the fateful day when France fell in 1940, there have been two definite phases of this war.

In the first phase, the British Empire stood almost alone but helped by the men and ships of conquered nations and by an increasing supply of munitions from the United States. The opponents of the aggressors were greatly out-numbered and were literally fighting with their backs against the wall.

The second phase commenced when Russia entered the war last June and was fortified when we came in last December. This second phase is still a defensive phase — for in most theatres of the war the Axis powers still have a superiority in trained men and in munitions. The exception is the magnificent counter-attack now being staged on the Russian-German front. In men the Russians have an undoubted superiority; and in



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From the Papers of
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munitions and machines they have sufficient volume to inflict vast losses of German planes, tanks and equipment of all kinds.

All of the United Nations are now confidently relying on the third phase of the war — the time when on every front, not the Russian alone, the United Nations will have such a clear superiority in trained men and in munitions, that they will be able to wrest control from the enemy and assume the offensive all along the line.

Therefore, in order to arrive at this third phase the one all-important present part of this tremendous struggle is the battle of production. It is a battle we must win undramatically and without trumpets, in mines and shops and factories all across the land. It is a battle we must win by sweating and sacrificing; a battle in which we must never pause to count the cost — this battle of production on the winning of which all our other battles depend.

Insert & force → In that battle this is the "crucial" spring. A plane now is worth a dozen next year. We cannot wait for a year or two for our weapons.

The fighting is going on today.

The Nation's danger exists today.

We must have the fighting equipment today.



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General L. B. Rowan



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From the Papers of
General I. Rosenman

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DRAFT #3

Therefore, even in the midst of converting our peace-time factories to arsenals of war, even in the midst of retooling our factories for war production, we must each day make ^{more} war materials than we made the day before.

On January 6th of this year I set certain definite goals of production of airplanes, tanks, and merchant ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight nearly two months later and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and all others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will all be attained -- and on schedule.

And for that production, we shall need more and more of every kind of raw material -- not next summer or next year, but now -- today more aluminum, more magnesium, more steel, more chemicals, more copper ^{more} ~~more~~ _{inches}. More and more, we must deny ourselves the use of these things. More sharply than ever before we must ration ourselves in our daily lives.

DRAFT #2

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No factory has any right to work only 50% of the time. New methods and new techniques must be found to cut delays. There are still other ways to boost production now. At one point we may be able to do it by asking ownership to operate beyond the point where diminishing returns set in — that point where greater output means smaller net profit. At another point we may be able to do it by asking labor to forego for the duration some hard-won privilege. In such cases we must go boldly for greater volume; we can work out the necessary adjustments for capital and for labor at our leisure. The only limit we can recognize now is the absolute physical limit of productive capacity. As long as we remain below that limit we are not doing enough.

While we are doing all of these things, we must of course plan so that tomorrow's production will exceed today's. Every shop and factory in America which can possibly make military goods or parts of military goods, and which is not absolutely needed to keep our civilian economy alive, must be converted to full military production. Every consideration which stands in the way of that must be swept aside; every device which will speed that along must be adopted. Every civilian use of a needed material must be stopped if it can possibly be done without wrecking our civilian life.



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DRAFT #8

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This cannot be done easily. It will require of all of us great endurance, great determination, great eagerness to do our very utmost. Sacrifices will be demanded of capital, of labor and of consumers. Every last one of us will have some part of the price to pay. None of that counts now. We have no time whatever to lose.

For production is not a matter merely of voting money or placing orders or drawing blueprints. It means individual work and effort and sacrifice for you and me and all other loyal Americans.

The quality of our production and of our entire war effort will depend on the true temper of our people. And I can say that none of us need be doubtful about that.

The Axis propagandists have tried and are still trying to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they try to destroy our confidence in our allies. At the same time, they are trying to destroy the confidence of the British, the Russians, the Chinese and the Dutch in us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda, German and Japanese.

The theme has been that Americans ^{are} admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans cannot and will not fight.



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Sumner I. Rosenbaum

DRAFT #2

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From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who rallied from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands.

Let them tell that to the American pilots in the Flying Fortresses in combat over Rangoon.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

For many years we have tried to prevent this war. We did our very best to avoid getting into the fight. We were put into the fight by a traitorous attack upon us made under cover of peaceful negotiations. But now that we are in -- we are in for the finish and it will be a knock-out finish. For Nazism and Fascism wherever it has raised its ugly standards of slavery must be put out of business.



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General L. B. Roperman

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As quickly as we assemble sufficient strength at any strategic point — whether in Europe or Africa or Asia — we shall use that strength aggressively to strike the enemy.

We shall exploit each situation to the utmost. We shall use the best command available in each area. ^(B) The spirit in which the United Nations are fighting this war was splendidly demonstrated in the Netherlands Indies area when our own Admiral Hart yielded the naval command to the Hollander Admiral Helfrich, who knows every current and eddy of the waters around those islands. Today American, British and Dutch naval units are serving under Admiral Helfrich and they are making the Japanese pay an enormous price for their gains. ^(C)

Ultimately our forces will be fighting together with the Chinese in the drive which will go straight through to Tokyo. And I should like particularly to call that promise to the attention of the Japanese Admiral who has announced that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

We have great allies in this war, and the greatest strength of all of them has been their ability to rally from defeat. The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Hitler's onslaught.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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There have been times when the fate of both London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield, no matter how great the suffering imposed upon them. And when the day of retribution comes, the British and Russian armies and air forces will dispose of German militarism once and for all.

The collaboration of the United Nations is vital to the winning of this war, and it is vital to the security of the peaceful world in which our children are to live and grow and prosper.

The shape of the future always is suggested by the action of today. But an action taken today does not limit the future. The agreement reached in the first Atlantic Meeting with Prime Minister Churchill laid down certain broad principles for peace. That Agreement has been called the Atlantic Charter, but no one should assume that its principles apply only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic. They are principles on which the well-being of all the families of peoples everywhere depends.

Not only that, but the promise in this agreement belongs to the oppressed people everywhere, to those under the yoke of the Nazis in Europe, and to those like the Koreans and the Chinese of Manchuria, who know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

A-23

The promise is given too, with full thought to the peoples whose governments have been directed by members of the United Nations. For the victory will be won for freedom, else it will not be victory. It is not for you and me to propose all the precise ways and means by which these freedoms shall be obtained in every part of the world, but it is for us to say that they must be obtained. It is only for the broadest goal that American men will lay down their lives. We know that we fight first and last, for our own preservation. But we know too, that we are not to be preserved in a world any part of which is shut off from the free civilization which alone makes for enduring peace.

Since the United States entry into the war, very far-reaching agreements have been made for pooling resources with those united in fighting the aggressor. The ~~only~~ two nations possessing a great and expanding industrial capacity and owning the shipping which must distribute the munitions of war, are the United States and Great Britain. So, a beginning in pooling has been made first by these two governments. But this essential step in organizing an effective use of our joint resources does not fix, and was not intended to fix, the future control of international effort.



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General I. Rosenman

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Far from being the foundation of an Anglo-American hierarchy, it is the organization for victory for the United Nations. The victory finally will be won by all the United Nations, by their men and their heroic human sacrifices, still more than by the equipment now so much needed from American and British factories.

In the community of sacrifice we establish a comradeship which can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. And from that community there can and will develop a better, freer, fairer world.

We look forward to that world with hope and confidence. We know that the road which leads to that world is long and hard and we must work and fight every inch of the way. But work and fight we shall, and we shall not be stopped from moving steadily forward.

We are now entering a new phase of this war -- a temporary phase, but one which will test us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat. But Washington ordered that



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the words written by Tom Paine be read at the head of every regiment.

These are some of the great words of our history:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenberg

Harry Hopkins

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 23, 1942

NOTE FOR FILE/SE
FEBRUARY 23, 1942

MEMO. JAH:MA

I looked on this speech with
Cm, Bob and the President most of
the day yesterday until about midnight.

The President had included in the
speech what amounted to a defense of
the British position in regard to the
strike that recently escaped from breath
through the English Channel to Iceland.
It seemed to me that this was a
dead issue and would stay still up
unless controversy and he agreed to
take it out.

He also alluded to the reference
to the number of ships at Pearl Harbor.

The speech is now getting into
pretty good shape and should be
finished by noon.

H.L.H.

World depend upon the security of you people
liberty and justice everywhere in the world.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from
all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons
but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every con-
tinent, every island, every city, every airplane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and
spread before you the map of the whole world, and to follow with
me the ridiculous what I shall make to the world-destroying
bullet line of this war. Many questions will, I fear, remain
unanswered but I trust you will realize I cannot cover everything
in any one report to the people.

The broad ocean which have been harried in the past
as our protection from attack have become deadly battlegrounds on
which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

To meet all understand and face the hard fact that our
job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around
the globe.

We fight at these vast distances because that is where
our enemies are. Until our line of supplies gives us clear
superiority we must keep on striking our enemies in the rear and
then we can meet them, even if, for a while, we have to yield
ground. Actually we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every
day that goes by.



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Harry L. Hopkins

DRAFT #4

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

FEBRUARY 23, 1942

The celebration of Washington's Birthday [in the midst of [our initial] military and naval reverses in this world-wide struggle] is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

That made Washington the predominant, symbolic figure of his time was not only his generalship, his philosophy, his physical courage or his devotion to the [great] cause he served. It was something more important even than these -- something which we refer to simply as character -- moral stamina.

General Washington led our first armed forces in a war which lasted eight years.

In those years, the continental army was faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- witting or unwitting -- selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's



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From the Papers of
Barry T. Hopkins



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

DRAFT #4

- 2 -

cause was hopeless, that he should lay down his arms and ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. Washington held to his course, as it had been enerted in the Declaration of Independence. ~~Washington~~ and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, [or worth securing] without the establishment of freedom and free institutions. ~~3~~

That was true of the thirteen colonies. It became true of the forty-eight states. In later years huge armaments and swift communications have made it apply more and more to the whole world. The present great struggle has taught us that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon world-wide security for the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilization.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past not only in its methods and implements and objectives but also in its geography. It is hard for us to visualize what this warfare means in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole ^{world} [earth] and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world encircling battle lines of this war.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

Those broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become almost endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must fight at such distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication to our allies -- protect them from the enemies who are bending every ounce



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of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another so that each will be [surrounded and] cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements.

2 aspect
[Separating] the United Nations is, of course, the old Axis policy of "divide and conquer". There are those who still cling to the sailing-ship days' belief that we should pull our war ships and our planes and our merchant ships into the Western Atlantic and into the American side of the Pacific. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. [Even if we are thinking only of our own selfish point of view, we *we would be unable to* must help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter offense *against Japan* [as soon as it comes.]



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2. The whole of the southwest Pacific, including Australia and New Zealand would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of North, Central and South America, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East. A glance at your map will show you how this would be done.

3. If by pulling our heads within our own shells we are compelled to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we will help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iraq^k, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If by a fatuous policy advocated by a few, we cease to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we help to cripple the splendid comeback by Russia against the Nazis, and we help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions. And anyone who thinks



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the American people would favor such a policy as that is not a very keen student of public opinion.]

Then we were trying to live under the illusion of isolationism, it appeared that the American eagle was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, some people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is -- flying high and striking hard.

I know that I speak for all of the people when I say that we will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters -- as far as possible from our home grounds.

The maintenance of all the lines of communications between the United Nations is vital.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets -- for the ships which carry our ^{troops and munitions} goods to our allies bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.



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The defense of these lines demands control by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control of the strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- first, the long range heavy bomber, and second the lighter and shorter-range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific, but pursuit planes can not, [because their range is only a few hundred miles.] Therefore, pursuit planes have to be sent to the southwest Pacific [in crates] on board freight steamers. The route to the southwest Pacific from New York across the South Atlantic around South Africa is about the same distance and takes about the same amount of time as the route from San Francisco to the south Pacific direct. To send ^{Cargo ships by} freight steamers through either [the Atlantic] route [or the Pacific route to the southwest Pacific] is an operation of many weeks [under convoy.] [In fact] A vessel can make a [complete] round trip in about four months, or, in other



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words, only three round trips in a whole year.

Although we have been in the war for only two months and a half, we already have a very large number of bombers and pursuit planes, flown by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy [in the Netherlands Indies themselves.] Furthermore every plane needs an average of ten men on the ground at some base for its continued operation. And I can tell you that thousands of Americans are today in the southwest Pacific engaged in [ground] operations, ^{not only in the air} including the operation of anti-aircraft guns, ^{but on the ground as well.}

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started the Philippine Islands were surrounded on three sides by Japan. On the west, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the north, lay the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east are the [so-called] Mandated Islands which Japan had occupied exclusively and fortified in [absolute] violation of her written word.



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Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them -- thereby completely encircling the Islands from all four directions -- north, south, east and west.

It is that complete barrier on all four sides ^{Japanese} ^{with control of the air by land based aircraft}

which has prevented us from sending reinforcements to ^{substantiated} ^{the Philippines} and material to the gallant defenders of [Bataan Peninsula.]

While this may have shocked many Americans the fact is that for many years it has been obvious to our military and naval experts that in the event of war with Japan we could not retain military or naval control of the Islands.]

[During this whole time] it has always been our strategy that in the event of a full scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we would fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor. We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy -- except that the defense put up by



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General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates, and he and his men are gaining eternal glory and credit therefor.

[When I spoke to the American people last May, I said that our Bunker Hill of tomorrow may be thousands of miles from Boston. We now know that our modern Bunker Hill is Bataan Peninsula.]

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. [Categorically and simply, I tell you that this is not so.] *can* *just say it*

Even if the attack had not been made your map will show that it would have been folly to send the fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean where all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- *even* [tragic] as they were -- have been [wildly] exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations came originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life. They are spread through conversation, speeches, the radio and the press -- and always



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DRAFT #4

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with the assurance that they come from what are called
"undisclosed authoritative sources".

It has been said, for example, that the reason no
one heard anything about our Pacific Fleet for several weeks
after Pearl Harbor was that there was no longer any Pacific
Fleet -- that it had all been sunk or destroyed on December 7th.

It has even been said that not 3,000 men were killed
there, but 11,000 or 12,000 men. [Some have even gone on to
say that several boat-loads of bodies of the dead were due
to arrive in New York harbor to be buried in a large common grave.]

For obvious reasons it was important [for many weeks]
not to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our
losses. The very fact that the Japanese announcement of those
losses was so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our
decision [at the time] was right.

To those who have been spreading the tale that the
American Fleet was destroyed, and to the American people as
a whole, however, I state the following facts.

The number of our officers and men killed at Pearl
Harbor was _____. You can be absolutely sure that all state-
ments of casualties by your Army and Navy are correct and complete.



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As to losses of ships: at 7:50 in the morning of December seventh there were based on Pearl Harbor _____ combatant ships -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines. A relatively small number of them were in Pearl Harbor itself; the great majority of them were at sea or in or near various parts of the Hawaiian Islands. Of this total of _____ combatant ships, only _____ were unable to proceed to sea and fight at 11 o'clock on the morning of December seventh, after the attack had been ended. In other words, _____% of the combat ships of the Pacific Fleet were still in fighting trim and _____% had been put out of commission, temporarily or permanently.

Of these damaged ships, a goodly number are back in full commission and are even now operating against the enemy. Others of them are under repair; and it now seems probable that of all the ships damaged, only three of them are judged beyond repair.

Why have these official figures not been revealed by our government before this? For the very simple reason that it was information which the enemy did not have, and

which it wanted very much to have. That is true and will be true of many other items of war information. They are kept secret not because your government believes that the people of the United States and their allies will be seriously depressed by bad news -- or made dangerously complacent by good news. Your government has unmistakable confidence in your ability to hear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion.

It is very easy to demand that some piece of news be immediately given to the public. But the public very well understands the reasons that lie behind temporary official withholding of the information in any given case. The average American understands and approves the action of his government. The fact that the American people have not previously had all the details of Pearl Harbor has made no difference in their determination to produce as fast as they can and to fight as hard as they can.



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Rumors and gossip are rife in every crisis. In war time they always become worse. Your government cannot, and will not, undertake to deny them all. It is not necessary to deny them; for war is above all a matter of discipline; and the very essence of democracy is self-discipline.

I suggest that when you hear any rumor of some hidden disaster, you should ask your informant to prove his statement. If he mentions some "authority" as his source, insist that he name this "authority", publicly, so that this so-called "authority" shall have a chance to speak up for himself.

Discarding rumors, however, and concentrating on the official reports, we still find very little to cheer about in the present grim situation. We have suffered grievous defeats and we shall suffer more of them before the inevitable turn of the tide.

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the southwestern Pacific area -- all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands. -- let me say this:



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We have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism in Japan and in Germany. We are now assembling our total strength. When that task is accomplished, we, not they, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battle; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Let these words of solemn assurance be heard also by the people of India -- by Hindus and Moslems alike -- whose great land may well be threatened by the Japanese from the East and the Nazis from the West. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us, the world over, that future depends entirely upon victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

Millions of human beings in the vast Pacific area, like other millions in Europe, have seen what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerors.

When we look at the conquered peoples all over the earth -- and when we study the further course of conquest which the Nazis and the Japanese plan to follow -- we know that this is all one war and that the world is all one battlefield.



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From the Report of
Henry L. Hopkins

Since the fateful day when France fell in 1940, there have been two definite phases of this war.

In the first phase, the British Empire stood almost alone -- helped only by the men and ships of conquered nations and by an increasing supply of munitions from the United States. The opponents of the aggressors were overwhelmingly out-numbered, and were then literally fighting with their backs against the wall.

And what a magnificent fight they made
The second phase commenced when Russia was attacked last June and was intensified last December when Japan, Germany and Italy declared war on us. This second phase is still a defensive phase -- for in most theatres of the war the Axis powers still have a superiority in trained men and in munitions. The exception is the magnificent counter-attack now being staged on the Russian-German front. There the Russians have an undoubted superiority in men; and in munitions and machines they have sufficient volume to inflict vast continuing destruction on German planes, tanks and equipment of all kinds.

All of the United Nations are now confidently relying on the third phase of the war to come -- the time when on every front, not the Russian front alone, the United Nations will have



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such a clear superiority in trained men and in munitions, that they will be able to assume the offensive all along the line.

In order to arrive at this third phase as quickly as possible the one all-important part of this tremendous struggle is the battle of production. It is a battle we must win unceremoniously and without trumpets -- in mines and shops and factories all across the land. It is a battle we must win by sweating and sacrificing. It is a battle in which we must never pause to count the cost -- this battle of production on the winning of which all our other battles depend.

In that battle huge additional production next year is essential. But increased production tomorrow and the next day and next day and next month are even more important. In the battle of production, this is the crucial spring.

On January 6th of this year I set certain definite goals of production of airplanes, tanks, and merchant ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight nearly two months later and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and all others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will all be attained -- and on schedule.



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And for that production, we shall need more and more of every kind of raw material -- not next summer or next year, but now -- today: more aluminum, more magnesium, more steel, more chemicals, more rubber, more copper. More and more, we must deny ourselves the use of these things. More sharply than ever before we must ration ourselves in our daily lives.

I can give you a very simple example of the many ways in which each individual can contribute.

The American people spend more than two billion dollars a year on automotive maintenance. That includes all servicing and repairs on private cars and trucks of all kinds.

You can help to save the materials and the skilled labor needed for this maintenance. When you make purchases at stores, carry them home yourself if you possibly can. That saves delivery. If you own a car, drive it sparingly and avoid speeding. That adds to the life of the car and the tires and reduces the need for servicing and repairs.

By reducing our annual expenditure for maintenance by only twenty-five per cent, we can release enough skilled



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labor and materials to build 10,000 tanks for our fighting forces.

Every shop and factory in America which can possibly make military goods or parts of military goods, and which is not absolutely needed to keep our civilian economy alive, must be converted to full military production. Every consideration which stands in the way of that must be swept aside; every device which will speed that along must be adopted.

This cannot be done easily. Sacrifices will be demanded of capital, of labor and of consumers. Every last one of us will have some part of the price to pay.

For production is not a matter merely of voting money or placing orders or drawing blueprints. It means individual work and effort and sacrifice for you and me and all other loyal Americans.

The quality of our production and of our entire war effort will depend on the true temper of our people. And I can say that none of us need be doubtful about that.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own



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allies. At the same time, they are trying to destroy the confidence of the British in us -- and of the Russians, the Chinese and the Dutch in us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda -- German and Japanese.

The theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that we cannot and will not fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who rallied from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.



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Let them tell that to the Barinesi

We certainly tried to avoid this war. But we were forced into it by our enemies, and we have gone in fighting. We are in to the finish and it will be a knock-out finish.

Our airmen, in their first experience in actual combat, have knocked down at least four Japanese planes for every one of our own that has been lost. This is an established fact and the Japanese know it. And they also know how their rate of airplane production compares with ours. That is why they're in such a tremendous hurry to deprive us of all possible bases from which our planes can operate.

The great fight of the United Nations today is to defend existing bases -- and the great fight of tomorrow is to regain the bases we have already lost and to gain new bases from which to launch the offensive.

As quickly as we assemble sufficient strength at any strategic point -- whether in Europe or Africa or Asia -- we must use that strength aggressively to strike the enemy.



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We must exploit each situation to the utmost.

We must use the best command -- the best specialists -- available in each area.

The spirit in which all the United Nations are fighting this war is one of complete cooperation and comradeship. Unified commands and unified striking forces -- those are the symbols of a united determination to win through to the end.

Since the United States entry into the war, very far-reaching agreements have been made for pooling resources with those united in fighting the aggressors. Two nations possessing a great and expanding industrial capacity and at the same time owning the shipping which must distribute the munitions of war, are the United States and Great Britain. So, a beginning in pooling has been made first by these two governments. But this essential step in organizing an effective use of our joint resources does not fix, and was not intended to fix, the future control of international effort.

Far from being the foundation of an Anglo-American hierarchy, it is the organization for victory for the United Nations. The victory finally will be won by all the United Nations,



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by their men and their heroic human sacrifices, still more than by the equipment now so much needed from Americans and British factories.

In the community of sacrifice we establish a comradeship which can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. And from that community there can and will develop a better, freer, fairer world.

Ultimately our forces will be fighting together with the Chinese in the drive which will go straight through to Tokyo. And I should like particularly to call that promise to the attention of the Japanese Admiral who has announced that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

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We have great allies in this war, and the greatest strength of all of them has been their ability to carry on. The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Hitler's onslaught. There have been times when the fate of both London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield, no matter how great the suffering imposed upon them. And when the day of retribution comes, the British



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and Russian armies and air forces will dispose of German militarism once and for all. *28*

The collaboration of the United Nations is vital to the winning of this war, and it is vital to the security of the peaceful world in which our children are to live and grow and prosper.

The shape of the future always is suggested by the action of today. But an action taken today does not limit the future. The agreement reached in the first Atlantic Meeting with Prime Minister Churchill laid down certain broad principles for peace. That Agreement has been called the Atlantic Charter, but no one should assume that its principles apply only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic. They are principles on which the well-being of all the families of peoples everywhere depends.

Not only that, but the promise in this agreement belongs to the oppressed people everywhere, to those under the yoke of the Nazis in Europe, and to those like the Koreans and the people of Manchuria, who know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan.



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It is not for you and me to propose all the precise ways and means by which freedom shall be established and secured in every part of the world, but it is for us to say that it must be established and secured. It is only for the broadest goal that American men will lay down their lives. We know that we fight, first and last, for our own preservation. But we know, too, that we are not to be preserved in a world any part of which is shut off from the free civilization which alone makes for enduring peace.

Sooner or later the Axis powers had to attack us because as long as we are free and powerful we stand in the way of their dream of world domination -- the subjugation of mankind by the so-called two master races of the earth.-- the Nazis and the Japs. For this is not merely a war for colonies, or gold, or land, or trade. It is a war for the loot of human souls -- a war to enslave all the human beings of the world and to make them all work, think, speak and pray only as the war lords of the earth dictate.



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The United Nations fight for self-preservation -- but they fight for more. For the free man -- unlike the animal -- thinks beyond his own body; he lives and fights and, if need be, dies to preserve a life that is not of the body alone. We are fighting not only against ruthless military might but also against those ideas which make the dictators want to destroy us and the rest of civilization. We are fighting to maintain ideas which will in the end destroy the dictators themselves and all their hideous doctrines.

Even after we destroy the military power of Germany and Japan, we shall have striven in vain unless we establish everywhere in the world the freedoms which spring from a true conception of the dignity and integrity of the individual man and woman. For we conceive of human beings not as soulless slaves of an almighty state but as part of a state created to serve the well-being of the people themselves.

When we speak of freedom, liberty, democracy we speak of the system of government which recognizes the dignity of the individual -- which recognizes the all important fact that the individual is greater than the state.



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We look forward to the future with hope and confidence. We know that the road which leads to that better future is long and hard and we must work and fight every inch of the way. But work and fight we shall, and we shall not be stopped from moving steadily forward.

The task which we now confront will test us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was then Washington's little army was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat. But Washington ordered that the words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army.

These are some of the great words of our history:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have



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this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the
more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!



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THE WHITE HOUSE

Important

February 23, 1942

SPEECH

Saw in ...

Judge Rosenman



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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Radio Address - Feb. 21, 1942

An incomplete draft without corrections and 3 inserts uncorrected.

Draft 3 - Carbon - 25 pages - Sherwood corrections and doodles.

Draft 3 - Carbon - 25 pages - Sherwood and Rosenman corrections.

Draft 4 - Carbon - 28 pages - Rosenman corrections and doodles.

Draft 5 - Carbon - 21 pages - Rosenman corrections.

Draft 6 - Carbon - 20 pages - Rosenman corrections.

Draft 7 - Carbon - 21 pages - no corrections.

Draft 6 - Carbon - 20 pages - Sherwood corrections



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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
FEBRUARY 23, 1942

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

I chose tonight to talk with you for two reasons. *first*, that the celebration of Washington's Birthday may serve as a reminder to some people that General Washington led our nation in a war which lasted eight years, and during that time was defeated and lost battles and key places more often than he won battles or conquered strongholds. During most of that long period he faced an important minority in each one of the thirteen States that was constantly telling him to seek an honorable peace. His supplies were short and, in a true sense, every Winter was a Valley Forge. He had traitors in his own ranks -- not Benedict Arnold alone -- but many others whose petty jealousies, whose personal selfishness, whose inability to take punishment and whose back seat driving would have caused a weaker and less honorable man to throw up the sponge in the early part of the Revolutionary War.

The other reason I chose tonight to talk with you is that I have been observing for several weeks -- and from vast sources of information -- the temper of the American people and their reactions to current events.



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First of all, I am definitely certain that the American people have become more and more aroused as each week has passed to the seriousness of the threat against our kind of civilization. They realize that things in our death struggle against Nazism -- and by that I mean the methods and purposes of Germany, Italy and Japan -- have not gone well. The American people do not yet know their geography -- in the sense that they can visualize the problem of our fighting at distances that extend half way round the globe. Nor do they yet wholly understand that it is necessary for the United States to carry on this fighting at great distances in order to prevent the United States and Britain and the other twenty-four United Nations from being driven by their enemies into such a small area that they would be surrounded and cut off piecemeal from great areas necessary to their support and from the power to dominate the oceans and their lines of communications.

That is why I asked the Press and the Radio three days ago to suggest that every family circle and every gathering should have a map of the whole world in front of them, in order more easily to understand references which I shall make to places and especially to distances.



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From the Papers of
General I. Rosenbaum

DRAFT #1

-3-

Prior to the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor, it was a wholly natural thing for Americans in every part of this Hemisphere to think of the ~~war~~^{war} as somewhat remote from us -- a war, which by wishful thinking, we hoped we could stay out of. At that time the whole area of the Pacific was at peace; the whole area of the Indian Ocean was at peace and we hoped that we and the British and the Dutch could continue to bring vast supplies of rubber and tin and manganese and other necessities from the areas in the other half of the world.

December seventh changed all that. Most people thought of the treachery of the act, grew quietly and deeply more and more angry and assumed that vengeance would be sure and reasonably swift.

It is in relation to Pearl Harbor that I use the first illustration of deliberate attempts to deceive and disunite this nation by a small minority of citizens who are today doing more deliberate harm to their nation and bringing more danger to their nation than all the alien fifth columnists in this country put together. Typical of these unworthy Americans is the story that has been passed around from mouth to mouth and spoken from the public platforms --



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From the Papers of
SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

You all know by this time that this is essentially a war of munitions -- that each munition is a component part of a whole; that pursuit planes need bomber planes to blast the enemy; that bomber planes need pursuit planes to protect them, going and coming, to the scene of the fight; that both kinds of planes need anti-aircraft guns to protect their bases; that the bases call for ships to protect them against sea attack; that ships are needed to make sea attacks on outlying enemy bases and sea borne enemy transports; that soldiers are needed to hold bases -- military, naval and air -- and that tanks and many other kinds of modern equipment are needed to carry the war into enemy territory.

Australia and New Zealand form a bastion against the continuing Japanese drive from the North; but they also stand firm as jumping-off places when the counter-attack begins, as it inevitably will. They lie far to the south -- _____ miles from California, _____ miles from New York and _____ miles from Japan itself, so that the Japanese line of communication is already becoming over-extended. It will take Japan two weeks to get men or



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munitions all the way down there, but it will take us twice as long. We can do it because we have the man-power and the air-power and the sea-power to do it in the long run. That is the key of the Far Eastern situation. It is neccessary that even if, unlike the Confederate General, we do not get there "fustust" with the most men, we will get there in the end with the most men. That is why it has been well said that speed of production on our part is the key of the victorious end of this war. That speed depends on the individual American.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Robertson

INSERT FOR RADIO ADDRESS ON FEBRUARY 23RD

There is one other point to note on what might be called the morale front, as opposed to the military front. Prior to our entrance into the war, the Axis propaganda machine fed to their public daily references of disunity in the United States, based on quoted statement by certain Americans at that time in the limelight. The names of these Americans were household heroes in Germany, in Italy, and to a less extent in Japan. You will remember that they represented a small minority in this country but made more noise than the whole of the majority put together.

It is a simple fact that today, more than two months after Pearl Harbor, many of these same individuals are being once more quoted with approval in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo. They may proclaim their patriotism but the fact remains that things they are saying today are once more giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States.



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It is true that in certain areas such as the southwest Pacific we are, at this time, waging a defensive campaign but at the same time while we are slowly but very surely building up our forces, we are taking a much greater toll of ships and men and planes of the enemy than they are taking of ours. It is approximately conservative to say that American planes manned by American pilots have brought down three or four times as many Japanese planes as they have lost themselves. That is an excellent example of how attrition will work in the long run because any child knows that the total monthly output of Japanese planes is even today vastly slower than the American output of planes which can be and are being assigned to the southwest Pacific area.



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Here is another suggested "don't" when you start giving your own values to war comments. I cite the example of the three German ships which successfully ran the narrow channel from Brest back to a German port. This was not a British defeat even though many good people in England and the United States assume that it was a British defeat. If I had been the German admiral I would have figured on getting odds of two to one on returning to Germany by choosing thick weather and taking the shortest route. Therefore, it would have been a stroke of very good luck if the British had overcome these odds and sunk one or more of the German ships.

Furthermore, on this strategical side there are many officers who believe that the presence of these ships in one place -- on the German side of the North Sea is far better for the British and American Navies than the former situation. When these three ships were in Brest in France they constituted a direct menace to the North Atlantic lane, the South African lane, the South American lane and the entrance to the Mediterranean. Ships of the United Nations were so disposed as to cover that menace and other ships were so disposed as to cover the other German navy ships which were based on Emden and Kiel. From my own point of view, it is rather an advantage than a disadvantage to have those German ships all together in one place. As between having them in a German port or at the bottom



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(Insert B - page 2)

of the sea, there can be no argument. But as between having them two different places or one place, there is a fairly sound argument to the latter.

Some people might call this a weak argument but they are setting up their judgment against the considered expert opinion. As one man put it who had the true facts explained to him: "It seems to me that the worst that can be said of the trip of those three German ships is that the situation is not one bit worse than it was before. It may be better. And the British had hard luck in not overcoming two to one odds against them."



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

DRAFT #3

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

FEBRUARY 23, 1942.

Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

The predominant trait of Washington was moral stamina.

For eight years, his continental army was faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. He held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, without freedom and free institutions.

What was true for the thirteen colonies is today true for the forty-eight states and indeed of the entire world.



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From the Papers of
General I. Rosenbaum

DRAFT #

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The present great struggle has taught us that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon world-wide security for the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilization.

This ~~war~~ ^{is} is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth, and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.



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From the Papers of
SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

Those broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become almost endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication to our allies -- protect them from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements -- the old Axis policy of "divide and conquer".



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800 7200, 20, 10From the papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

Because that is where
the enemy is. 102
figs. 102

There are those who still cling to the belief of sailing-ship days that we should pull our war ships and our planes and our merchant ships into the Western Atlantic and to our own Pacific Coast to concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North, Central and South America.

What, I ask you, would happen in all these great ~~regions~~ reservoirs of power if they were cut off from each other either by enemy action or self imposed isolation? You know very well what would happen. The Axis powers would win this war, because:

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundred of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense



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From the Papers of

Franklin D. Roosevelt

DRAFT #3

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and in her inevitable counter-offensive as soon as it comes -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East. A glance at your map will show you how this would be done.

3. If by pulling our heads within our own shells we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If by such a fatuous policy advocated by a few, we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid comeback by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions.



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DRAFT #5

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When we were trying to live under the illusion of isolationism, it appeared that the American eagle was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, some people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is -- flying high and striking hard.

I know that I speak for all of the people when I say that we reject the turtle policy and will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters -- as far as possible from our home grounds.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets -- for the ships which carry our troops and munitions out-bound bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.

The maintenance of all these lines of communications between the United Nations is vital.



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The defense of these lines demands relatively safe use by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control by the United Nations of the strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- first, the long-range heavy bomber, and second light bombers, dive bombers, torpedo planes and short-range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific; but the smaller planes can not. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be sent to the southwest Pacific packed in crates on board cargo ships. Look at your map again; and you will see that the route to the southwest Pacific from New York across the South Atlantic around South Africa, is about the same distance and takes about the same amount of time as the route from San Francisco to the south Pacific direct. To send cargo ships by either route is an operation of many weeks. A vessel can make a round trip in about four months, or, in other words, only three round trips in a whole year.



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From the Papers of
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[Handwritten signature]

DRAFT #5

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Although we have been in the war for only two months and a half, I can tell you that we already have a very large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific.

[Furthermore, every plane needs an average of ten men on the ground at some base for its continued operation.] And I can tell you that thousands of Americans are today in that area engaged in operations not only in the air but on the ground as well.

In this battle area Japan has had a clear advantage. For she can fly even her short-range planes to the points of attack by using many stepping stones open to her -- bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China, Indo-China and Thailand ^{Malay} coasts. Japanese troop transports can go south from Japan and China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started, the Philippines Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japanese power. On the west, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-



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DRAFT #3

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China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the North, lay the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east, are the Mandated Islands which Japan had occupied exclusively, and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps. They cover an ^{enormous} area from north to south and from east to west. Guam lies in the middle of them -- a lone outpost which we never fortified.

Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them -- thereby completely encircling the Islands from all four directions -- north, south, east and west.

It is that complete barrier on all four sides, with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft, which has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines. While this may have shocked many Americans, it has always been the strategy born of necessity that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we should fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor.



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DRAFT #3

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Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we had solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippine Islands. We had no safe naval base there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations. We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself.

For we know that, with our greater resources, we can outbuild Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea, on land and in the air. In the meantime, in defense and in attack, we shall continue to destroy the Japanese and their implements of warfare.

Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy in the Philippines -- except that the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory therefor.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.



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Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would have been folly to send the fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean while all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- serious as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations came originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life. They are spread through conversation, speeches, the radio and the press -- and always with the assurance that they come from what are called "undisclosed authoritative sources".

I suggest that when you hear any rumor of some hidden disaster, you ask your informant to prove his statement. If he mentions some "authority" as his source, ask him to name this "authority". Nine times out of ten the authority is the office boy or else his own imagination.

You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who since Pearl Harbor have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th. They claimed that the government has withheld the truth about



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casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They even claimed that shiploads of bodies of the dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

You and I can rest assured that all the major facts have been and will be disclosed to the American people. We might as well make up our minds that in many cases -- most cases -- the details of those facts will not be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give important military information to the enemy.

Your government has unmistakeable confidence in your ability to bear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people but there must also always be a full use of discretion -- and that word discretion applies to government and to the critics of government as well.



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General I. H. Hosenbaum

DRAFT #5

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This is war. Today and throughout its whole course your government will conduct it with full realization of its seriousness and with the sole objective of winning it. The American people understand and approve this purpose. They want to know and will be told the general trend of how the war is going. They do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do and they will pay little attention to the birds of ill omen in our midst.

To wvewert to Pearl Harbor: the number of our officers and men killed that day was 2,340 and 946 were wounded. As to the losses of ships, referring to all combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines -- only three were permanently put out of commission.

Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. Some of those that were there were hit very slightly; and others that were more seriously damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. When the repairs of the latter are completed the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.



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From the papers of
Samuel T. Rosenman

DRAFT #5

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We have suffered losses -- and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the southwestern Pacific area -- all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands -- let me say this: "We have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism in Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon, we and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battle; and we, not they, will make the final peace."

Millions of human beings in India, China and the Pacific area, like other millions in Europe, know well what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerors.

Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. So do the Koreans and the people of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us the world over, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.



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From the Papers of
Seward I. Rosenberg

If a just and durable peace is to be attained, even if all of us are to save our own skins, there is one thought for us at home to keep uppermost -- the fulfillment of the task of production.

Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.

Our first job is to build up production so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January 6th of this year, I set certain definite goals of production for airplanes, tanks and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and ^{James} ~~all~~ others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained -- and on schedule.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or



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From the Papers of
General I. Rosenbaum

to gain special advantages, one over the other.

We are calling for new plants and additions to old plants; we are seeking more men and women to man them. We are working longer hours. People in every walk of life are coming more and more to realize that if we lost this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again.

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, conciliation or arbitration -- until the war is won.
2. We shall not demand special gains or special privileges for any one group or occupation to gain special advantages over other groups or occupations -- in business, labor, and agriculture alike.
3. We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of our lives if our country asks us to do so. We will do it cheerfully, remembering that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of our land.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenzweig

DRAFT #3

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The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own allies.



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From the Papers of
SAMUEL I. ROOSEVELT

They say that the British are finished -- that the Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. But, before we listen to any of this propaganda, let us remember some of the things they have said and are still saying about us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend-Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda -- German and Japanese.

The theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that we cannot and will not fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who rallied from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

DRAFT #5

- 18 -

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples of equal dignity and importance. The United Nations are dedicated to a common cause. They share equally and with equal zeal the ^{anguish and} awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise they must share participation in a unified plan in which each of us must play our several parts, each be equally indispensable and each of us dependent on one another.

We have unified cooperation and comradeship.

We have unity of command at home.

Americans are counting on unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. The American people expect that much from themselves. And the American people will find ^{ways and means} of expressing their determination to their enemies, including the Japanese Admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of enemy onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. Holland was overrun within a few days. But the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully. The Chinese people have suffered great losses. Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

That is the indomitable spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

~~We can not spend too much time now debating the details of the future of the world when we have won this war. Let us first win this war.~~



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From the Papers of
General L. B. Beane

If we do not win -- and we can lose only if we slow up our effort or waste our ammunition sniping at each other -- there will not be very much left to argue about.

Now, folks, put away your Maps and take out your Atlantic Charters.

We are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world: disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms -- freedom of information, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The United Nations, including the United States of America, fight for self-preservation. The task tests us to the uttermost.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat.

But Washington ordered that these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!



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