Franklin D. Roosevelt — "The Great Communicator"

The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

Series 3: "The Four Freedoms" and FDR in World War II

File No. 1419-A

1942 April 28

Fireside Chat #20 –
Our National Economic Policy

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

APRIL 28, 1942.

My Fellow Americans -

It is nearly five months since we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. For the two years prior to that attack this country had been gearing itself up to a high level of production of munitions. Yet our war efforts had done little to dislocate the normal lives of most of us.

Since then we have dispatched strong forces of our Army and Navy several hundred thousand of them to bases and battle-fronts, thousands of miles from home. We have stepped up our war production on a scale that is testing our industrial power and our engineering genius and our economic structure to the utmost. We have had no illusions about the fact that this ~~would be~~ is a tough job -- and a long one.

American warships are now in combat in the North and South Atlantic, in the Arctic, in the Mediterranean, in the Indian Ocean, and in the North and South Pacific. American troops have taken stations in South America, Greenland, Iceland,

the British Isles, the Near East, the Middle East, the Far East, the Continent of Australia, and many islands of the Pacific. American war planes, manned by Americans, are flying in actual combat over all the continents and all the oceans.

On the European front the most important development of the past year has been the crushing counter offensive on the part of the great armies of Russia against the powerful German army. These Russian forces have destroyed and are destroying more armed power of our enemies -- troops, planes, tanks and guns -- than all the other United Nations put together.

In the Mediterranean area, mattters remain, on the surface much as they were. But the situation there is receiving very careful attention.

Recently we have received news of a change in government in what we used to know as the Republic of France -- a name dear to the hearts of all lovers of liberty -- a name and an institution which we hope will soon be restored to full dignity.

Throughout the Nazi occupation of France, we have hoped for the maintenance of a French Government which would strive to regain independence, to reestablish the principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", and to restore the historic culture of France. Our policy has been consistent from the very beginning. However, we are now greatly concerned lest those who have recently come to power may seek to force the brave French people into submission to Nazi despotism.

The United Nations will take measures, if necessary, to prevent the use of French territory in any part of the world for military purposes by the Axis powers.

10.05

The good people of France will readily understand that such action is essential for the United Nations to prevent assistance to the armies or navies or air forces of Germany, Italy ~~and~~ or Japan. The overwhelming majority of the French people understand that the fight of the United Nations is fundamentally their fight, that our victory means the restoration of a free and independent France -- and the saving of France from the slavery which would be imposed upon her by her external enemies and her internal traitors.

We know how the French people really feel. We know that a deep-seated determination to obstruct every step in the Axis plan extends from occupied France through Vichy France all the way to the people of their colonies in every ocean and on every continent.

Our planes are helping in the defense of French colonies today, and soon American Flying Fortresses will be fighting for the liberation of the darkened continent of Europe itself.

10.05

In all the occupied countries there are men, women and even little children who have never stopped fighting, never stopped resisting, never stopped proving to the Nazis that their so-called "New Order" can never be enforced upon free peoples.

In the German and Italian peoples themselves there is a growing conviction that the cause of Nazism and Fascism is hopeless -- that their political and military leaders have led them along the bitter road which leads not to world conquest but to final defeat. They cannot fail to contrast the present frantic speeches of these leaders with their arrogant boastings of a year ago, and two years ago.

On the other side of the world, in the Far East, we have passed through a phase of serious losses.

We have inevitably lost control of a large portion of the Philippine Islands. But this whole nation pays tribute to the Filipino and American officers and men who held out so long on Bataan Peninsula, to those grim and gallant fighters who still hold Corregidor, and to the forces which are still striking effectively at the enemy on Mindanao and other islands.

The Malayan Peninsula and Singapore are in the hands of the enemy; the Netherlands East Indies are almost entirely occupied, though resistance there continues. Many other islands are in the possession of the Japanese. But there is good reason to believe that their southward advance has been checked. Australia, New Zealand and much other territory will be bases for offensive action -- and we are determined that the territory which has been lost will be regained.

10.10

The Japanese are pressing their northward advance in Burma with considerable power, driving toward India and China. They have been opposed with great bravery by small British and Chinese forces, aided by American fliers.

The news in Burma tonight is not good. The Japanese may cut the Burma Road; but I want to say to the gallant people of China that no matter what advances the Japanese may make, ways will be found to deliver airplanes and munitions of war to the armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

We remember that the Chinese people were the first to stand up and fight against the aggressors in this war; and in the future a still unconquerable China will play its proper role in maintaining peace and prosperity not only in Eastern Asia but in the whole world.

For every advance that the Japanese have made since they started their frenzied career of conquest, they have had to pay a very heavy toll in warships, in transports, in planes and in men. They are feeling the effects of those losses.

It is even reported from Japan that somebody has dropped bombs on Tokyo and on other principal centers of Japanese war industries. If this be true, it is the first time in history that Japan has suffered such indignities.

Although the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor was the immediate cause of our entry into the war, that event found the American people spiritually prepared for war on a world-wide scale. We went into this war fighting. We know what we are fighting for. We realize that the war has become what Hitler originally proclaimed it to be -- a total war.

10.10

Not all of us can have the privilege of fighting our enemies in distant parts of the world.

Not all of us can have the privilege of working in a munitions factory or shipyard, or on the farms or in oil fields or mines, producing the weapons or the raw materials which are needed by our armed forces.

But there is one front and one battle where everyone in the United States -- every man, woman, and child -- is in action, and will be privileged to remain in action throughout this war. That front is right here at home, in our daily lives and in our daily tasks. Here at home everyone will have the privilege of making whatever self-denial is necessary, not only to supply our fighting men, but to keep the economic structure of our country fortified and secure during the war and after the war.

This will require the abandonment not only of luxuries but many other creature comforts.

#

Every loyal American is aware of his individual responsibility. Whenever I hear anyone saying "The American people are complacent -- they need to be aroused", I feel like asking him to come to Washington and read the mail that floods into the White House and into all departments of this government. The one question that recurs through all these thousands of letters and messages is "What more can I do to help my country in winning this war"?

To build the factories, and buy the materials, and pay the labor, and provide the transportation, and equip and feed and house the soldiers, sailors and marines, and to do all the thousands of things necessary in a war -- all cost a lot of money, more money than has ever been spent by any nation at any time in the history of the world.

We are now spending, solely for war purposes, the sum of about one hundred million dollars every day in the week. But, before this year is over, that almost unbelievable rate of expenditure will be doubled.

All of this money has to be spent -- and spent quickly -- if we are to produce within the time now available the enormous quantities of weapons of war which we need. But the spending of these tremendous sums presents grave danger of disaster to our national economy.

When your Government continues to spend these unprecedented sums for munitions month by month and year by year, that money goes into the pocketbooks and bank accounts of the people of the United States. At the same time raw materials and many manufactured goods are necessarily taken away from civilian use; and machinery and factories are being converted to war production.

You do not have to be a professor of economics to see that if people with plenty of cash start bidding against each other for scarce goods, the price of them goes up.

Yesterday I submitted to the Congress of the United States a seven point program of general principles which together could be called the national economic policy for attaining the great objective of keeping the cost of living down.

I repeat them now in substance:

1. We must, through heavier taxes, keep personal and corporate profits at a low reasonable rate.

2. We must fix ceilings on prices and rents.

3. We must stabilize wages.

4. We must stabilize farm prices.

5. We must put more billions into War Bonds.

6. We must ration all essential commodities which are scarce.

7. We must discourage instalment buying, and encourage paying off debts and mortgages.

10.15

I do not think it is necessary to repeat what I said yesterday to the Congress in discussing these general principles.

The important thing to remember is that each one of these points is dependent on the others if the whole program is to work.

Some people are already taking the position that every one of the seven points is correct except the one point which steps on their own individual toes. A few seem very willing to approve self-denial -- on the part of their neighbors. The only effective course of action is a simultaneous attack on all of the factors which increase the cost of living, in one comprehensive, all-embracing program covering prices, profits, wages, taxes and debts.

The blunt fact is that every single person in the United States is going to be affected by this program. Some of you will be affected more directly by one or two of these restrictive measures, but all of you will be affected indirectly by all of them.

Are you a business man, or do you own stock in a business corporation? Your profits are going to be cut down to a reasonably low level by taxation. Your income will be subject to higher taxes. Indeed in these days, when every available dollar should go to the war effort, I do not think that any American citizen should have a net income in excess of $25,000 per year after payment of taxes.

Are you a retailer or a wholesaler or a manufacturer or a farmer or a landlord? Ceilings are being placed on the prices at which you can sell your goods or rent your property.

Do you work for wages? You will have to forego higher wages for your particular job for the duration of the war.

All of us are used to spending money for things we want but which are not absolutely essential. We will all have to forego that spending. Because we must put every dime and every dollar we can possibly spare out of our earnings into War Bonds and Stamps. Because the demands of the war

effort require the rationing of goods of which there is not enough to go around. Because the stopping of purchases of non-essentials will release thousands of workers who are needed in the war effort.

As I told the Congress yesterday, "sacrifice" is not the proper word with which to describe this program of self-denial. When, at the end of this great struggle we shall have saved our free way of life, we shall have made no "sacrifice".

The price for civilization must be paid in hard work and sorrow and blood. The price is not too high. If you doubt it, ask those millions who live today under the tyranny of Hitlerism.

Ask the workers of France and Norway and the Netherlands, whipped to labor by the lash, whether the stabilization of wages is too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the farmers of Poland and Denmark, of Czechoslovakia and France, looted of their livestock, starving while their own crops are stolen from their land, whether "parity" prices are too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the business men of Europe, whose enterprises have been stolen from their owners, whether the limitation of profits and personal incomes is too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the women and children whom Hitler is starving whether the rationing of tires and gasoline and sugar is too great a "sacrifice".

We do not have to ask them. They have already given us their agonized answers.

This great war effort must be carried through to its victorious conclusion by the indomitable will and determination of the people as one great whole

It must not be impeded by the faint of heart.

10.20

It must not be impeded by those who put their own selfish interests above the interests of the nation.

It must not be impeded by those who pervert honest criticism into falsification of fact.

It must not be impeded by self-styled experts either in economics or military problems who know neither true figures nor geography itself.

It must not be impeded by a few bogus patriots who use the sacred freedom of the press to echo the sentiments of the propagandists in Tokyo and Berlin.

And, above all, it shall not be imperiled by the handful of noisy traitors -- betrayers of America and of Christianity itself -- would-be dictators, who in their hearts and souls have yielded to Hitlerism and would have this Republic do likewise.

I shall use all of the executive power that I have to carry out the policy laid down. If it becomes necessary to ask for any additional legislation in order to attain our objective of preventing a spiral in the cost of living,

I shall do so.

I know the American farmer, the American workman, the American business man. I know that they will gladly embrace this economy and equality of sacrifice -- satisfied that it is necessary for the most vital and compelling motive in all their lives -- winning through to victory.

Never in the memory of man has there been a war in which the courage, the endurance and the loyalty of civilians played so vital a part.

Many thousands of civilians all over the world have been and are being killed or maimed by enemy action. Indeed, it was the fortitude of the common people of Britain under fire which enabled that island to stand, and prevented Hitler from winning the war in 1940. The ruins of London and Coventry and other cities are today the proudest monuments to British heroism.

Our own American civilian population is now relatively safe from such disasters. And, to an ever increasing extent, our soldiers, sailors and marines are fighting with great bravery and great skill on far distant fronts to make sure that we shall remain safe.

I should like to tell you one or two stories about the men we have in our armed forces:

There is, for instance, Dr. Corydon M. Wassell. He was a missionary, well known for his good works in China. He is a simple, modest, retiring man, nearly sixty years old, but he entered the service of his country and was commissioned a Lieutenant Commander in the Navy.

Dr. Wassell was assigned to duty in Java caring for wounded officers and men of the cruisers Houston and Marblehead which had been in heavy action in the Java seas.

When the Japanese advanced across the island, it was decided to evacuate as many as possible of the wounded to Australia. But about twelve of the men were so badly wounded that they could not be moved. Dr. Wassell remained with these men, knowing that he would be captured by the enemy. But he decided to make a desperate attempt to get the men out of Java. He asked each of them if he wished to take the chance, and every one agreed.

He first had to get the twelve men to the sea coast -- fifty miles away. To do this, he had to improvise stretchers for the hazardous journey. The men were suffering severely, but Dr. Wassell kept them alive by his skill, and inspired them by his own courage.

As the official report said, Dr. Wassell was "almost like a Christ-like shepherd devoted to his flock".

10.25

On the sea coast, he embarked the men on a little Dutch ship. They were bombed and machine-gunned by waves of Japanese planes. Dr. Wassell took virtual command of the ship, and by great skill avoided destruction, hiding in small bays and inlets.

A few days later, Dr. Wassell and his little flock of wounded men reached Australia safely.

And Today, Dr. Wassell ~~now~~ wears the Navy Cross.

Another story concerns a ship rather than an individual man.

You may remember the tragic sinking of the submarine SQUALUS off the New England coast in the summer of 1939. Some of the crew were lost, but others were saved by the speed and efficiency of the surface rescue crews. The SQUALUS itself was tediously raised from the bottom of the sea.

Eventually she sailed again under a new name, the U.S.S. SAILFISH. Today, she is a potent and effective unit of our submarine fleet.

The SAILFISH has covered many thousands of miles in operations in the far western Pacific.

She has sunk a Japanese destroyer.

She has torpedoed a Japanese cruiser.

She has made two torpedo hits on a Japanese aircraft carrier.

Three of the enlisted men of our Navy who went down with the SQUALUS in 1939 are today serving on the same ship, the SAILFISH, in this war.

It is heartening to know that the SQUALUS, once given up as lost, rose from the depths to fight for our country in time of peril.

One more story, which I heard only this morning:

This is a story of one of our Army Flying Fortresses operating in the Western Pacific. The pilot of this plane is a modest young man, proud of his crew for one of the toughest fights a bomber has yet experienced.

The bomber departed from its base, as part of a flight of five, to attack Japanese transports which were landing troops in the Philippines. When they had gone about half way to their destination, one of the motors of this bomber went out of commission. The young pilot lost contact with the other bombers. The crew, however, got the motor working again and the plane proceeded on its mission alone.

By the time it arrived at its target the other four Flying Fortresses had already passed over, had dropped their bombs, and had stirred up the Japanese "Zero" planes. Eighteen of them attacked our one Flying Fortress. Despite this mass attack, our plane proceeded on its mission, and dropped all of its bombs on six Japanese transports which were lined up along the docks.

As it turned back on its homeward journey a running fight between the bomber and the eighteen Japanese pursuit planes continued for seventy-five miles. Four pursuit ships attacked simultaneously at each side, and were shot down

with the side guns. During this fight, the bomber's radio operator was killed, the engineer's right hand was shot off, and one gunner was crippled, leaving only one man available to operate both side guns. Although wounded in one hand, this gunner alternately manned both side guns, bringing down three more Japanese "Zero" planes. While this was going on, one engine on the American bomber was shot out, one gas tank was hit, the radio was shot off, and the oxygen system was entirely destroyed. Out of eleven control cables all but four were shot away. The rear landing wheel was blown off, and the two front wheels were both shot flat.

The fight continued until the remaining Japanese pursuit ships exhausted their ammunition and turned back. With two engines gone and the plane practically out of control, the American bomber returned to its base after dark and made an emergency landing. The mission had been accomplished.

10.30

The name of that pilot is Captain Hewitt T. Wheless, of the United States Army. He comes from Menard, Texas -- population 2,375. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. I hope he is listening.

These stories I have told you are not exceptional. They are typical examples of individual heroism and skill.

¶ As we here, at home, contemplate our own duties, our own responsibilities, let us think and think hard of the example which is being set for us by our fighting men.

Our soldiers and sailors are members of well disciplined units. But they are still and forever individuals -- free individuals. They are farmers, workers, business men, professional men, artists clerks.

They are the United States of America.

That is why they fight.

We too are the United States of America.

That is why we must work and sacrifice.

It is for them. It is for us. It is for victory.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

****

Orig. reading copy

HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE

April 28, 1942

2257

CAUTION: The following address of the President MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:00 P.M., E.W.T., April 28, 1942. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

It is nearly five months since we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. For the two years prior to that attack this country had been rearing itself up to a high level of production of munitions. Yet our war efforts had done little to dislocate the normal lives of most of us.

Since then we have dispatched strong forces of our Army and Navy to bases and battle-fronts thousands of miles from home. We have stepped up our war production on a scale that is testing our industrial power and our engineering genius and our economic structure to the utmost. We have had no illusions about the fact that this would be a tough job — and a long one.

American warships are now in combat in the North and South Atlantic, in the Arctic, in the Mediterranean, and in the North and South Pacific. American troops have taken stations in South America, Greenland, Iceland, the British Isles, the Near East, the Middle East, the Far East, the Continent of Australia, and many islands of the Pacific. American war planes, manned by Americans, are flying in actual combat over all the continents and all the oceans.

On the European front the most important development of the past year has been the crushing offensive on the part of the great armies of Russia against the powerful German army. These Russian forces have destroyed and are destroying more armed power of our enemies — troops, planes, tanks and guns — than all the other United Nations put together.

In the Mediterranean area, matters remain, on the surface much as they were. But the situation there is receiving very careful attention.

Recently we have received news of a change in government in what we used to know as the Republic of France — a name dear to the hearts of all lovers of liberty — a name and an institution which we hope will soon be restored to full dignity.

Throughout the Nazi occupation of France, we have hoped for the maintenance of a French Government which would strive to regain independence, to reestablish the principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", and to restore the historic culture of France. Our policy has been consistent from the very beginning. However, we are now concerned lest those who have recently come to power may seek to force the brave French people to submission to Nazi despotism.

The United Nations will take measures, if necessary, to prevent the use of French territory in any part of the world for military purposes by the Axis powers. The good people of France will readily understand that such action is essential for the United Nations to prevent assistance to the armies or navies or air forces of Germany, Italy and Japan. The overwhelming majority of the French people understand that the fight of the United Nations is fundamentally their fight, that our victory means the restoration of a free and independent France -- and the saving of France from the slavery which would be imposed upon her by her external enemies and her internal traitors.

We know how the French people really feel. We know that a deep-seated determination to obstruct every step in the Axis plan extends from occupied France through Vichy France to the people of their colonies in every ocean and on every continent.

Our planes are helping in the defense of French colonies today, and soon American Flying Fortresses will be fighting for the liberation of the darkened continent of Europe.

In all the occupied countries there are men, women and even little children who have never stopped fighting, never stopped resisting, never stopped proving to the Nazis that their so-called "New Order" can never be enforced upon free peoples.

In the German and Italian peoples themselves there is a growing conviction that the cause of Nazism and Fascism is hopeless -- that their political and military leaders have led them along the bitter road which leads not to world conquest but to final defeat. They cannot fail to contrast the present frantic speeches of these leaders with their arrogant boastings of a year ago, and two years ago.

On the other side of the world, in the Far East, we have passed through a phase of serious losses.

We have inevitably lost control of a large portion of the Philippine Islands. But this whole nation pays tribute to the Filipino and American officers and men who held out so long on Bataan Peninsula, to those grim and gallant fighters who still hold Corregidor, and to the forces which are still striking effectively at the enemy on Mindanao and other islands.

The Malayan Peninsula and Singapore are in the hands of the enemy; the Netherlands East Indies are almost entirely occupied, though resistance there continues. Many other islands are in the possession of the Japanese. But there is good reason to believe that their southward advance has been checked. Australia, New Zealand and much other territory will be bases for offensive action -- and we are determined that the territory which has been lost will be regained.

The Japanese are pressing their northward advance in Burma with considerable power, driving toward India and China. They have been opposed with great bravery by small British and Chinese forces aided by American fliers.

The news in Burma tonight is not good. The Japanese may cut the Burma Road; but I want to say to the gallant people of China that no matter what advances the Japanese may make, ways will be found to deliver airplanes and munitions of war to the armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

We remember that the Chinese people were the first to stand up and fight against the aggressors in this war; and in the future an unconquerable China will play its proper role in maintaining peace and prosperity not only in Eastern Asia but in the whole world.

For every advance that the Japanese have made since they started their frenzied career of conquest, they have had to pay a very heavy toll in warships, in transports, in planes and in men. They are feeling the effects of those losses.

It is even reported from Japan that somebody has dropped bombs on Tokyo and on other principal centers of Japanese war industries. If this be true, it is the first time in history that Japan has suffered such indignities.

Although the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor was the immediate cause of our entry into the war, that event found the American people spiritually prepared for war on a world-wide scale. We went into this war fighting. We know what we are fighting for. We realize that the war has become what Hitler originally proclaimed it to be -- a total war.

Not all of us can have the privilege of fighting our enemies in distant parts of the world.

Not all of us can have the privilege of working in a munitions factory or shipyard, or on the farms or in oil fields or mines, producing the weapons or the raw materials which are needed by our armed forces.

But there is one front and one battle where everyone in the United States -- every man, woman, and child -- is in action, and will be privileged to remain in action throughout this war. That front is right here at home, in our daily lives and in our daily tasks. Here at home everyone will have the privilege of making whatever self-denial is necessary, not only to supply our fighting men, but to keep the economic structure of our country fortified and secure during the war and after the war.

This will require the abandonment not only of luxuries but many other creature comforts.

Every loyal American is aware of his individual responsibility. Whenever I hear anyone saying "The American people are complacent -- they need to be aroused", I feel like asking him to come to Washington and read the mail that floods into the White House and into all departments of this government. The one question that recurs through all these thousands of letters and messages is "What more can I do to help my country in winning this war"?

To build the factories, and buy the materials, and pay the labor, and provide the transportation, and equip and feed and house the soldiers, sailors and marines, and to do all the thousands of things necessary in a war -- all cost money, more money than has ever been spent by any nation at any time in the history of the world.

We are now spending, solely for war purposes, the sum of about one hundred million dollars every day in the week. But, before this year is over, that almost unbelievable rate of expenditure will be doubled.

All of this money has to be spent -- and spent quickly -- if we are to produce within the time now available the enormous quantities of weapons of war which we need. But the spending of these tremendous sums presents grave danger of disaster to our national economy.

When your Government continues to spend these unprecedented sums for munitions month by month and year by year, that money goes into the pocketbooks and bank accounts of the people of the United States. At the same time raw materials and many manufactured goods are necessarily taken away from civilian use; and machinery and factories are being converted to war production.

You do not have to be a professor of economics to see that if people with plenty of cash start bidding against each other for scarce goods, the price of them goes up.

Yesterday I submitted to the Congress of the United States a seven point program of general principles which together could be called the national economic policy for attaining the great objective of keeping the cost of living down.

I repeat them now in substance:

1. We must, through heavier taxes, keep personal and corporate profits at a low reasonable rate.

2. We must fix ceilings on prices and rents.

3. We must stabilize wages.

4. We must stabilize farm prices.

5. We must put more billions into War Bonds.

6. We must ration all essential commodities which are scarce.

7. We must discourage instalment buying, and encourage paying off debts and mortgages.

I do not think it is necessary to repeat what I said yesterday to the Congress in discussing these general principles.

The important thing to remember is that each one of these points is dependent on the others if the whole program is to work.

Some people are already taking the position that every one of the seven points is correct except the one point which steps on their own individual toes. A few seem very willing to approve self-denial — on the part of their neighbors. The only effective course of action is a simultaneous attack on all of the factors which increase the cost of living, in one comprehensive, all-embracing program covering prices, profits, wages, taxes and debts.

The blunt fact is that every single person in the United States is going to be affected by this program. Some of you will be affected more directly by one or two of these restrictive measures, but all of you will be affected indirectly by all of them.

Are you a business man, or do you own stock in a business corporation? Your profits are going to be cut down to a reasonably low level by taxation. Your income will be subject to higher taxes. Indeed in these days, when every available dollar should go to the war effort, I do not think that any American citizen should have a net income in excess of $25,000 per year after payment of taxes.

Are you a retailer or a wholesaler or a manufacturer or a farmer or a landlord? Ceilings are being placed on the prices at which you can sell your goods or rent your property.

Do you work for wages? You will have to forego higher wages for your particular job for the duration of the war.

All of us are used to spending money for things we want but which are not absolutely essential. We will all have to forego that spending. Because we must put every dime and every dollar we can possibly spare out of our earnings into War Bonds and Stamps. Because the demands of the war effort require the rationing of goods of which there is not enough to go around. Because the stopping of purchases of non-essentials will release thousands of workers who are needed in the war effort.

As I told the Congress yesterday, "sacrifice" is not the proper word with which to describe this program of self-denial. When, at the end of this great struggle we shall have saved our free way of life, we shall have made no "sacrifice".

The price for civilization must be paid in hard work and sorrow and blood. The price is not too high. If you doubt it, ask those millions who live today under the tyranny of Hitlerism.

Ask the workers of France and Norway, whipped to labor by the lash, whether the stabilization of wages is too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the farmers of Poland and Denmark, of Czechoslovakia and France, looted of their livestock, starving while their own crops are stolen from their land, whether "parity" prices are too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the business men of Europe, whose enterprises have been stolen from their owners, whether the limitation of profits and personal incomes is too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the women and children whom Hitler is starving whether the rationing of tires and gasoline and sugar is too great a "sacrifice".

We do not have to ask them. They have already given us their agonized answers.

This great war effort must be carried through to its victorious conclusion by the indomitable will and determination of the people.

It must not be impeded by the faint of heart.

It must not be impeded by those who put their own selfish interests above the interests of the nation.

It must not be impeded by those who pervert honest criticism into falsification of fact.

It must not be impeded by self-styled experts either in economics or military problems who know neither true figures nor geography itself.

It must not be impeded by a few bogus patriots who use the sacred freedom of the press to echo the sentiments of the propagandists in Tokyo and Berlin.

And, above all, it shall not be imperiled by the handful of noisy traitors -- betrayers of America and of Christianity itself -- would-be dictators who in their hearts and souls have yielded to Hitlerism and would have this Republic do likewise.

I shall use all of the executive power that I have to carry out the policy laid down. If it becomes necessary to ask for any additional legislation in order to attain our objective of preventing a spiral in the cost of living, I shall do so.

I know the American farmer, the American workman, the American business man. I know that they will gladly embrace this economy of sacrifice -- satisfied that it is necessary for the most vital and compelling motive in all their lives -- winning through to victory.

Never in the memory of man has there been a war in which the courage, the endurance and the loyalty of civilians played so vital a part.

Many thousands of civilians all over the world have been and are being killed or maimed by enemy action. Indeed, it was the fortitude of the common people of Britain under fire which enabled that island to stand and prevented Hitler from winning the war in 1940. The ruins of London and Coventry and other cities are today the proudest monuments to British heroism.

Our own American civilian population is now relatively safe from such disasters. And, to an ever increasing extent, our soldiers, sailors and marines are fighting with great bravery and great skill on far distant fronts to make sure that we shall remain safe.

I should like to tell you one or two stories about the men we have in our armed forces:

There is, for instance, Dr. Corydon M. Wassell. He was a missionary, well known for his good works in China. He is a simple, modest, retiring man, nearly sixty years old, but he entered the service of his country and was commissioned a Lieutenant Commander in the Navy.

Dr. Wassell was assigned to duty in Java caring for wounded officers and men of the cruisers Houston and Marblehead which had been in heavy action in the Java seas.

When the Japanese advanced across the island, it was decided to evacuate as many as possible of the wounded to Australia. But about twelve of the men were so badly wounded that they could not be moved. Dr. Wassell remained with these men, knowing that he would be captured by the enemy. But he decided to make a desperate attempt to get the men out of Java. He asked each of them if he wished to take the chance, and every one agreed.

He first had to get the twelve men to the sea coast -- fifty miles away. To do this, he had to improvise stretchers for the hazardous journey. The men were suffering severely, but Dr. Wassell kept them alive by his skill, and inspired them by his own courage.

As the official report said, Dr. Wassell was "almost like a Christ-like shepherd devoted to his flock".

On the sea coast, he embarked the men on a little Dutch ship. They were bombed and machine-gunned by waves of Japanese planes. Dr. Wassell took virtual command of the ship, and by great skill avoided destruction, hiding in small bays and inlets.

A few days later, Dr. Wassell and his little flock of wounded men reached Australia safely.

...

Dr. Wassell now wears the Navy Cross.

Another story concerns a ship rather than an individual man.

You may remember the tragic sinking of the submarine SQUALUS off the New England coast in the summer of 1939. Some of the crew were lost, but others were saved by the speed and efficiency of the surface rescue crews. The SQUALUS itself was tediously raised from the bottom of the ocean.

Eventually she sailed again under a new name, the U.S.S. SAILFISH. Today, she is a potent and effective unit of our submarine fleet.

The SAILFISH has covered many thousands of miles in operations in the far western Pacific.

She has sunk a Japanese destroyer.

She has torpedoed a Japanese cruiser.

She has made two torpedo hits on a Japanese aircraft carrier.

Three of the enlisted men of our Navy who went down with the SQUALUS in 1939 are today serving on the same ship, the SAILFISH, in this war.

It is heartening to know that the SQUALUS, once given up as lost, rose from the depths to fight for our country in time of peril.

One more story, which I heard only this morning:

This is a story of one of our Army Flying Fortresses operating in the Western Pacific. The pilot of this plane is a modest young man, proud of his crew for one of the toughest fights a bomber has yet experienced.

The bomber departed from its base, as part of a flight of five, to attack Japanese transports which were landing troops in the Philippines. When they had gone about half way to their destination, one of the motors of this bomber went out of commission. The young pilot lost contact with the other bombers. The crew, however, got the motor working again and the plane proceeded on its mission alone.

By the time it arrived at its target the other four Flying Fortresses had already passed over, had dropped their bombs, and had stirred up the Japanese "Zero" planes. Eighteen of them attacked our one Flying Fortress. Despite this mass attack, our plane proceeded on its mission, and dropped all of its bombs on six Japanese transports which were lined up along the docks.

As it turned back on its homeward journey a running fight between the bomber and the eighteen Japanese pursuit planes continued for seventy-five miles. Four pursuit ships attacked simultaneously at each side, and were shot down with the side guns. During this fight, the bomber's radio operator was killed, the engineer's right hand was shot off, and one gunner was crippled, leaving only one man available to operate both side guns. Although wounded in one hand, this gunner alternately manned both side guns, bringing down three more Japanese "Zero" planes. While this was going on, one engine on the bomber was shot out, one gas tank was hit, the radio was shot off, and the oxygen system was entirely destroyed. Out of eleven control cables all but four were shot away. The rear landing wheel was blown off, and the two front wheels were both shot flat.

The fight continued until the remaining Japanese pursuit ships exhausted their ammunition and turned back. With two engines gone and the plane practically out of control, the American bomber returned to its base after dark and made an emergency landing. The mission had been accomplished.

The name of that pilot is Captain Howitt T. Wheless, of the United States Army. He comes from Menard, Texas -- population 2,375. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. I hope he is listening.

These stories I have told you are not exceptional. They are typical examples of individual heroism and skill.

As we here at home contemplate our own duties, our own responsibilities, let us think and think hard of the example which is being set for us by our fighting men.

Our soldiers and sailors are members of well disciplined units. But they are still and forever individuals -- free individuals. They are farmers, workers, business men, professional men, artists, clerks.

They are the United States of America.

That is why they fight.

We too are the United States of America.

That is why we must work and sacrifice.

It is for them. It is for us. It is for victory.

- - - - - - -

EXCERPTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S RADIO ADDRESS

SELECTED FOR THE NEWSREELS

FDR

Throughout the Nazi occupation of France, we have hoped for the maintenance of a French Government which would strive to regain independence, to reestablish the principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", and to restore the historic culture of France. Our policy has been consistent from the very beginning. However, we are now concerned lest those who have recently come to power may seek to force the brave French people to submission to Nazi despotism.

The United Nations will take measures, if necessary, to prevent the use of French territory in any part of the world for military purposes by the Axis powers. The good people of France will readily understand that such action is essential for the United Nations to prevent assistance to the armies or navies or air forces of Germany, Italy and Japan. The overwhelming majority of the French people understand that the fight of the United Nations is fundamentally their fight, that our victory means the restoration of a free and independent France -- and the saving of France from the slavery which would be imposed upon her by her external enemies and her internal traitors.

STOP

Not all of us can have the privilege of fighting our enemies in distant parts of the world.

Not all of us can have the privilege of working in a munitions factory or shipyard, or on the farms or in oil fields or mines, producing the weapons or the raw materials which are needed by our armed forces.

But there is one front and one battle where everyone in the United States -- every man, woman and child -- is in action, and will be privileged to remain in action throughout this war. That front is right here at home, in our daily lives and in our daily tasks. Here at home everyone will have the privilege of making whatever self-denial is necessary, not only to supply our fighting men, but to keep the economic structure of our country fortified and secure during the war and after the war.

This will require the abandonment not only of luxuries but many other creature comforts.

STOP

When your Government continues to spend unprecedented sums for munitions month by month and year by year, that money goes into the pocketbooks and bank accounts of the people of the United States. At the same time raw materials and many manufactured goods are necessarily taken away from civilian use; and machinery and factories are being converted to war production.

You do not have to be a professor of economics to see that if people with plenty of cash start bidding against each other for scarce goods, the price of them goes up.

Yesterday I submitted to the Congress of the United States a seven point program of general principles which together could be called the national economic policy for attaining the great objective of keeping the cost of living down.

I repeat them now in substance:

1. We must, through heavier taxes, keep personal and corporate profits at a low reasonable rate.
2. We must fix ceilings on prices and rents.
3. We must stabilize wages.
4. We must stabilize farm prices.
5. We must put more billions into War Bonds.
6. We must ration all essential commodities which are scarce.
7. We must discourage instalment buying, and encourage paying off debts and mortgages.

The blunt fact is that every single person in the United States is going to be affected by this program. Some of you will be affected more directly by one or two of these restrictive measures, but all of you will be affected indirectly by all of them.

STOP

This great war effort must be carried through to its victorious conclusion by the indomitable will and determination of the people.

It must not be impeded by the faint of heart.

It must not be impeded by those who put their own selfish interests above the interests of the nation.

individuals -- free individuals. They are farmers, workers, business men, professional men, artists, clerks.

They are the United States of America.

That is why they fight.

We too are the United States of America.

That is why we must work and sacrifice.

It is for them. It is for us. It is for victory.

END

March 22, 1942.

SPEECH MATERIAL

When I talked with you last I said that I felt sure that that the overwhelming majority of Americans did not seek to gain any special personal advantage from the fact that we are engaged in a great war.

Therefore, it seems not only a pity but very harmful toward the carrying on of the war at top speed that a very small minority of people have been doing a dishonest thing.

Because they have been doing it, millions of people have received false information and, in good faith, have believed what they have read or what they have been told.

I am referring to the dishonest campaign of the very few to make the majority of people believe that the forty-hour week should be sbolished, on the ground that it keeps war workers from working more than forty hours a week. A very simple reference to the law shows the simplicity of this provision -- it shows no employer shall employ any of his employees in the production of goods for commerce longer than forty hours a week unless the employee receives

compensation for excess hours of not less than one and a half times the regular rate. In other words, these dishonest people are telling you the first half of the sentence but not the second half of the sentence.

Actually and practically it may interest you to know that in the average of the war industries the workers in those industries are working fifty-one and a half hours a week. That is the average. In a few industries they are working more hours than that, and again, in some industries, they are working even less than forty hours a week because of the fact that the materials on which they work are today not being produced in sufficient volume. This applies to certain raw materials and to certain processed materials out of which the actual finished product is made.

For many years the forty hour week has been the standard, together with the provision for time and a half pay for excess hours worked. In other words, the Saturday pay envelope has been based, in almost every part of the

country, on that basis and if time and a half for overtime were eliminated today, the pay envelopes of nearly all war workers would be definitely smaller in a period of rising prices.

Personally I do not think that in view of all this, the industrial workers should be asked to receive less in their pay envelopes from now on than they have been receiving for several years past, any more than I think farmers should get less for their crops than they are getting now.

The country is facing a rise in the cost of living which is much too steep. It is going up at the rate of about 1½% a month or 18% a year. I do not say this because I believe that it is possible to eliminate the rise in the cost of living altogether, but I do think that the rate rise ought to be cut down very greatly -- let us say to a goal of only half of one per cent increase a month, or a total of 6% a year.

Whether you are a farmer or an industrial worker, I think that nearly all of you will agree with me in working for that goal. And the same thing applies to capital and business. I believe that they, too, should be very definitely limited in their earnings.

That is why I believe that all of us should work not for a fixed ceiling, for that is well night impossible, but for a limitation or curtailment of increases of all kinds.

Many years ago we adopted a goal for farm prices -- a thing called "parity", which was based on a formula of the cost of the things which the agricultural population had to buy on the outside. That goal of parity took us eight or nine years to reach and we are in most products only up to that point now. If this parity index is maintained, the price of farm products will probably rise -- but rise very slowly -- and I think that the average farmer does not want to profiteer by any legislation which

would take advantage of the present situation by giving him 110% or 125% of the 100% goal we have taken so long in reaching.

If we retain the old goal there will be very little actual sacrifice on the part of the farm population, but if we raise prices 10% or 25% by changing the parity objective, the farm population can very rightly be accused of profiteering -- and, furthermore, we know from long experience that if prices go up too steeply, they will some day come down too steeply and hurt everybody.

If we apply the same general rule to industrial workers as is applied to farmers, we shall really be getting a labor policy that affects everybody in the country, no matter what his particular occupation may be. There is no real reason why we should not recognize that labor, with certain exceptions of under-standard units, is pretty well paid today. We might as well recognize that their pay envelopes should not be decreased and

that wages in the future could well conform to some system similar to the farmers' parity. Then we would all be in the same boat.

Many of you will say that figures do not tell the truth -- that in one part of the country in a given plant the same amount of pay goes much less far than in some other part of the country. I think that is truein many cases but I am sure none of you would want to have a different rate of pay either for industrial work or for farm prices in one thousand different parts of the country. That would be chaos -- and, furthermore, even if there is a bit of hardship in some communities, it is right for all of us to work toward a standardization in every part of the country -- in other words, a national scale instead of a thousand local scales.

Many of these dishonest people are spreading inherently false reports in regard to stoppages of work. I have mentioned on several occasions that since the beginning

of this year we have made some notable gains in production. Labor as a whole has made a definite promise not to strike but to submit disagreements to mediation and, if necessary, to arbitration. As a result, the number of workers on strike has been negligible -- a far lower number of hours lost than are lost through common colds or industrial accidents or sickness or death in the family of the worker.

Yet these dishonest people have told you directly or by innuendo that war production is being greatly slowed down by strikes. What a pity that these dishonest people continue those tactics! They are losing their reputation for veracity because when the average citizen begins to analyse he finds that the facts do not accord with these false tales.

There are some matters which I think call for common sense -- you might even call it a labor policy for the whole country.

I have pointed out that time and a half for a long

time has been the standard of pay for excess of work beyond forty hours a week. I think that standard should continue because if we abolish it there will be a great deal of chaos and a much smaller pay envelope.

I think that we ought to end the closing of any war production factory on holidays. This is no time to close on holidays, and that includes Federal holidays and State holidays for the balance of the war.

I think, too, that we should not pay double time for work on Sundays. There are many cases, both in England and here, where factories which try to run on Sundays are flooded with employees on that day, followed by a Monday or Tuesday when very few of them show up.

On the other hand, it has been amply demonstrated that the average worker in a factory turns out more in the course of the week if he has one day or rest in seven, rather than if he tries to work seven days out of seven. One day of rest ought to be encouraged for practical

reasons as well as humanitarian reasons. Seven days work a week ought to be discouraged and I, therefore, suggest that double time be paid any worker only in those rare cases of special emergency where the employee is called on to work the seventh consecutive day -- no matter which day of the week happens to be the seventh consecutive day.

****

March 22, 1942.

SPEECH MATERIAL

When I talked with you last I said that I felt sure that that the overwhelming majority of Americans did not seek to gain any special personal advantage from the fact that we are engaged in a great war.

Therefore, it seems not only a pity but very harmful toward the carrying on of the war at top speed that a very small minority of people have been doing a dishonest thing.

Because they have been doing it, millions of people have received false information and, in good faith, have believed what they have read or what they have been told.

I am referring to the dishonest campaign of the very few to make the majority of people believe that the forty-hour week should be sbolished, on the ground that it keeps war workers from working more than forty hours a week. A very simple reference to the law shows the simplicity of this provision -- it shows no employer shall employ any of his employees in the production of goods for commerce longer than forty hours a week unless the employee receives

compensation for excess hours of not less than one and a half times the regular rate. In other words, these dishonest people are telling you the first half of the sentence but not the second half of the sentence.

Actually and practically it may interest you to know that in the average of the war industries the workers in those industries are working fifty-one and a half hours a week. That is the average. In a few industries they are working more hours than that, and again, in some industries, they are working even less than forty hours a week because of the fact that the materials on which they work are today not being produced in sufficient volume. This applies to certain raw materials and to certain processed materials out of which the actual finished product is made.

For many years the forty hour week has been the standard, together with the provision for time and a half pay for excess hours worked. In other words, the Saturday pay envelope has been based, in almost every part of the

country, on that basis and if time and a half for overtime were eliminated today, the pay envelopes of nearly all war workers would be definitely smaller in a period of rising prices.

Personally I do not think that in view of all this, the industrial workers should be asked to receive less in their pay envelopes from now on than they have been receiving for several years past, any more than I think farmers should get less for their crops than they are getting now.

The country is facing a rise in the cost of living which is much too steep. It is going up at the rate of about 1½% a month or 18% a year. I do not say this because I believe that it is possible to eliminate the rise in the cost of living altogether, but I do think that the rate rise ought to be cut down very greatly -- let us say to a goal of only half of one per cent increase a month, or a total of 6% a year.

Whether you are a farmer or an industrial worker, I think that nearly all of you will agree with me in working for that goal. And the same thing applies to capital and business. I believe that they, too, should be very definitely limited in their earnings.

That is why I believe that all of us should work not for a fixed ceiling, for that is well night impossible, but for a limitation or curtailment of increases of all kinds.

Many years ago we adopted a goal for farm prices -- a thing called "parity", which was based on a formula of the cost of the things which the agricultural population had to buy on the outside. That goal of parity took us eight or nine years to reach and we are in most products only up to that point now. If this parity index is maintained, the price of farm products will probably rise -- but rise very slowly -- and I think that the average farmer does not want to profiteer by any legislation which

would take advantage of the present situation by giving him 110% or 125% of the 100% goal we have taken so long in reaching.

If we retain the old goal there will be very little actual sacrifice on the part of the farm population, but if we raise prices 10% or 25% by changing the parity objective, the farm population can very rightly be accused of profiteering -- and, furthermore, we know from long experience that if prices go up too steeply, they will some day come down too steeply and hurt everybody.

If we apply the same general rule to industrial workers as is applied to farmers, we shall really be getting a labor policy that affects everybody in the country, no matter what his particular occupation may be. There is no real reason why we should not recognize that labor, with certain exceptions of under-standard units, is pretty well paid today. We might as well recognize that their pay envelopes should not be decreased and

that wages in the future could well conform to some system similar to the farmers' parity. Then we would all be in the same boat.

Many of you will say that figures do not tell the truth -- that in one part of the country in a given plant the same amount of pay goes much less far than in some other part of the country. I think that is true in many cases but I am sure none of you would want to have a different rate of pay either for industrial work or for farm prices in one thousand different parts of the country. That would be chaos -- and, furthermore, even if there is a bit of hardship in some communities, it is right for all of us to work toward a standardization in every part of the country -- in other words, a national scale instead of a thousand local scales.

Many of these dishonest people are spreading inherently false reports in regard to stoppages of work. I have mentioned on several occasions that since the beginning

of this year we have made some notable gains in production. Labor as a whole has made a definite promise not to strike but to submit disagreements to mediation and, if necessary, to arbitration. As a result, the number of workers on strike has been negligible -- a far lower number of hours lost than are lost through common colds or industrial accidents or sickness or death in the family of the worker.

Yet these dishonest people have told you directly or by innuendo that war production is being greatly slowed down by strikes. What a pity that these dishonest people continue those tactics! They are losing their reputation for veracity because when the average citizen begins to analyse he finds that the facts do not accord with these false tales.

There are some matters which I think call for common sense -- you might even call it a labor policy for the whole country.

I have pointed out that time and a half for a long

time has been the standard of pay for excess of work beyond forty hours a week. I think that standard should continue because if we abolish it there will be a great deal of chaos and a much smaller pay envelope.

I think that we ought to end the closing of any war production factory on holidays. This is no time to close on holidays, and that includes Federal holidays and State holidays for the balance of the war.

I think, too, that we should not pay double time for work on Sundays. There are many cases, both in England and here, where factories which try to run on Sundays are flooded with employees on that day, followed by a Monday or Tuesday when very few of them show up.

On the other hand, it has been amply demonstrated that the average worker in a factory turns out more in the course of the week if he has one day or rest in seven, rather than if he tries to work seven days out of seven. One day of rest ought to be encouraged for practical

reasons as well as humanitarian reasons. Seven days work a week ought to be discouraged and I, therefore, suggest that double time be paid any worker only in those rare cases of special emergency where the employee is called on to work the seventh consecutive day -- no matter which day of the week happens to be the seventh consecutive day.

****

a simple, modest, retiring man,

I should like to tell you ~~about one or two~~ about one or two stories ~~illustrating~~ about ~~you an idea of~~ the ~~kind of~~ men we have in our armed forces:

There is for, instance, Dr. Wassel. He was a missionary, well known for his good works ~~throughout~~ in China. He is over fifty years old, but he offered his services to his country and was commissioned a Lieutenant Commander in the Navy.

Dr. Wassel was ~~in command of a hospital~~ assigned to duty in ~~in~~ Java ~~when the Japanese attacked. He had under his care~~ caring for wounded officers and men of the cruisers ~~of the~~ Houston and Marblehead, ~~many badly wounded, the hospital had to be evacuated and moved~~ which had been in action in the Java seas.

When the Japanese advanced across the island, it was decided to evacuate as many as possible of the wounded to Australia. But about twelve of the men were so badly wounded that they couldn't be moved. They had to be left behind. Dr. Wassel remained with these men, ~~fully~~ knowing that he would be captured by the enemy. But he decided to make a desperate attempt to get the men out of Java. He asked each of them if he wished to take the chances, and each one agreed.

He first had to get the twelve men to the sea coast, ~~across~~ some fifty miles away. To do

this, he had to improvise stretchers and requisition automobiles for the hazardous journey. The men were suffering severely, but Dr. Wasser kept them alive by his skill, and he kept them cheerful by his own inspiring courage.

As Admiral Blanford said in his report, Dr. Wasser was "almost like a Christ-like shepherd devoted to his flock."

On the sea-coast, he embarked the men on a little Dutch ship. Hardly had they put to sea before they were bombed and machine-gunned by waves of Japanese planes. These attacks were repeated again and again. Dr. Wasser took virtual command of the ship, and by great skill avoided destruction, hiding in small bays and inlets.

A few days later Dr. Wasser and his little flock of wounded men reached Australia safely. Dr. Wasser now wears the Navy Cross. But what is more important, he is still hard at work, serving his country and all of civilization with all his great devotion.

Another story concerns a ship rather than any individual men.

You may remember the tragic sinking of the submarine "Squalus" off the New England coast in the summer of 1939. Some of the crew were lost, but others were saved by the

speed and efficiency of the surface rescue crews. The "Squalus" itself was tediously raised from the ~~floor~~ bottom of the ocean and eventually brought into port for refitting.

Eventually she sailed again under a new name, the U.S.S. Sailfish. Today, she is a potent and effective unit of our submarine fleet.

The Sailfish has covered many thousands of miles in operations in the far western Pacific.

She has sunk a Japanese destroyer.

She has torpedoed a Japanese cruiser.

She has ~~fired~~ made two torpedo hits on a Japanese ~~a~~ aircraft carrier, severely damaging this big ship and possibly sinking her.

~~She continues the fight against our enemies.~~

It is good to know that the "Squalus", once given up as lost, arose from the depths to ~~the~~ fight for our country in time of peril.

Three of the men of our Navy who went down with the "Squalus" in 1939 are today serving on the same ship, the Sailfish, in this war.

One more story, which I heard only this morning:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 11, 1942

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT:

This is a draft of the proposed radio talk on prices, wages, etc. There is not complete agreement on all of the items contained in this speech so far as the group which met here on Friday is concerned.

As to one matter, compulsory savings, I have indicated two alternatives. The compulsory savings idea is that of Wallace, Eccles, Henderson and Smith. The voluntary plan is that of the Treasury.

I have four extra carbon copies of the speech but have not distributed them to anyone. If you want them distributed, please let me know.

Sam

SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

SECOND DRAFT
S.I.R.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

In January of this year the American people set before themselves certain goals for the production of all the modern weapons of war. It was a program, unprecedented for any Nation in the history of the world; but it was a program which had to be attained in order to make ultimate victory possible.

There were some skeptics at home, and many abroad, who questioned the possibility of our ever approaching the goals which we then set.

Now that four months have passed, I can report to you that they definitely will be achieved. As a result of the cooperation and enthusiasm of management and labor, we shall succeed in producing what we set out to do this year.

I need hardly tell you that to build the factories, and buy the materials, and pay the labor, and provide the transportation, and equip and feed and house the soldiers, sailors and marines, and to do all the thousands of things necessary in a war -- all cost money, a lot of money.

The figures are staggering.

For example, solely for war expenditures, we are now spending every month the sum of three billion dollars. That is about one hundred million dollars every day in the week. But war expenditures are going to increase even beyond that almost unbelievable figure. Before this year is over, they will go above five billion dollars every month thereafter, and they will not be reduced until victory is won.

To give some idea of the size of these expenditures, we ought to compare them with the amount of our entire national income. By national income, I mean all of the money which all of the corporations, partnerships and individuals in all the United States receive in the form of profits, wages, rents, dividends, or any other kind of income. Right now, the war is taking about one-third of that entire national income. Next year it will increase to more than one-half of the entire national income. In other words, out of every dollar that is made by any business or any individual in the United States, one-half is going to be spent in the war effort.

All of this money has to be spent, if we are to produce, within the time now available, the enormous quantities of weapons of war which we need. All of this money is therefore essential

to winning the war. With that object in mind, I am sure that no American will want us to reduce that sum of money by one dollar.

But the spending of these tremendous sums also presents grave danger of disaster to our national economy at home. Unless steps are taken boldly and quickly to counteract the overwhelming effect of these vast expenditures, the dislocation of the economic structure of the country may well be serious enough to undermine our entire war effort. To that extent, a threat is presented as serious in many respects as any physical attack from the enemy.

That is the chief matter which I wish to discuss with you tonight.

When your Government spends these unprecedented sums of money for war materials, and continues to do so month by month, and year by year, it means that more and more money will be finding its way into the pocketbooks and bank accounts of nearly every civilian in the United States. At the same time that this is going on, we all know that the supply of goods in the United States, both luxuries and necessities, which you and I might ordinarily buy, is being constantly cut down day by day. It is being cut down every time raw materials are taken away from civilian use and put into war production; every time that

machinery and factories are turned into war use by the Government; every time that our normal sources of supply from countries abroad are cut down by enemy action.

In other words, the supply of money available for spending by the people of the United States is going up at a tremendous pace, while the supply of goods is constantly going down. In certain so-called durable consumer's goods, such as automobiles, household appliances and many others, there will be none at all for sale.

It does not take an economist to see that with this increased supply of money available to be spent and with this decrease of all kinds of goods which can possibly be bought, the prices of all goods are bound to rise. As soon as the prices go up, the cost of living goes up and there will naturally be a demand for higher wages and perhaps higher profits. All costs will increase. This, in turn, will cause a further rise in the prices of these limited supplies. And so the endless circle becomes a disastrous spiral of inflation, ending, unless checked, in distortion and chaos in the entire economy.

The important thing to remember is that when prices go up, an increase in wages does not do any good. In the first place, the increased

wage does not buy any more merchandise than it did before the rise in prices, and, in the second place, the increased wages themselves inevitably bring about a further increase in prices. Those of us who lived through the last War remember very well what happened then, and know very well what to expect now.

Today our price position is somewhat similar to our position in the summer of 1916. In the first two years after the outbreak of the first World War there was only a moderate increase in prices. The reason for that was that no appreciable scarcities had developed. But by 1916 the supply of civilian goods could no longer be kept up; and there came a scarcity which brought about an explosive rise in prices. In fact, in just ten months following July, 1916, wholesale prices rose as much as 45 per cent.

Things have happened pretty much the same in this war. Today in April 1942, just as in July, 1916, the point has been reached where a lack of balance between the amount of goods and the amount of money available to buy goods is set to start the same vicious spiral.

As we look back to the summer of 1916 we all realize that a great rise in prices could have been stopped then. But the necessary drastic action to stop it was not taken.

SECOND DRAFT

You and I have to learn by that experience, and to make up our minds to do now what we failed to do back in 1916. To do that successfully will require foresight, courage and the willingness to forego many things to which we have become accustomed. Indeed, it will involve a willingness to accept a general economy of sacrifice. For an economy of sacrifice must now be considered to be the policy of our Government for the duration of the War.

This economy of sacrifice, in justice, must fall as equally as possible upon all classes of Americans. The burden must be borne as equally as it is humanly possible to arrange in our complicated economic structure.

An economy of sacrifice involves several considerations. It means that the ultimate cost of the war will, in the long run, be much less for the American people if we stabilize things now instead of letting them run on in their normal course. It will mean a much lighter burden for future generations of Americans to bear after the war. It will prevent the complete upset of our price system which is, of course, responsible for the cost of living.

Past experience in the post-war economy of the twenties has shown, when the cost of living succeeds in doubling itself, how difficult it

is and how many heartaches are required to bring it down to a normal level again. We certainly are determined to avoid a repetition of those days when so many American people lost their property, their savings, their homes, and their farms by that kind of process, which in effect was an attempt to lift themselves by their own boot-straps.

An economy of sacrifice will mean that by stabilizing things now there will be less interest in getting rich quickly and more interest in saving great hardships later on.

Such an economy means foregoing large profits as a result of the war; it means that the prices of all kinds of materials must be stabilized; that the cost of hiring labor must be stabilized. In this way business and agriculture and labor alike — all will have the privilege of contributing their share of sacrifice to the winning of the war, and to the saving of the peace which will follow. Unless each group is willing to share in the sacrifice, the problem cannot be adequately met. No piecemeal approach will suffice. No single action alone on prices or on wages or on fiscal policy will, by itself, do the job.

For example, a rise in prices now, in April 1942, cannot possibly be prevented as long as wage rates are permitted to increase.

Yet if prices do rise, it would be an injustice to ask labor to forego higher wages with which to meet that rise. Even drastic taxation, which would have as its purpose draining off the extra supply of money and purchasing power, would be completely ineffective by itself, just as long as such taxes could be offset by higher prices, higher wages, higher profits, or the ability to buy more things on credit.

There are those who say that the only thing necessary is to freeze all prices. There are others who say that the only trouble is the increasing scale of wages, and that if only labor could be curbed everything else would cure itself. There are others who would rely on increased income taxes and on other taxes of all kinds. But none of these alone would be enough. For action on one would be offset by inaction on all the others. I am confident that the only effective course of action is a simultaneous attack on all of these problems in one comprehensive, all-embracing program -- aimed at wages, prices, profits, hours of labor, farm commodities, taxes, and control of credit buying. We must act at once if we would avoid having to issue a future communique from the home front reading "too little and too late".

Those among us who are particularly fortunate financially must bear their burden proportionate to the need of sacrifices. That involves the objective that profits which have been made, and which will be made out of the war -- that is to say, out of the national peril -- should be taxes to the economic limit consistent with continued production. This is not only a matter of pure justice;

it is an effective means of taking out of the purchasing power of the nation, that is out of the supply of money available for spending, a vast amount which would otherwise be a great impetus to inflation.

The profits of many corporations are unjustifiably high at the present time and should not all be allowed to be retained by the corporations earning them. Excess profits can be cut down in one of two ways. The first way is by a direct limitation directing that no corporation shall make more than a certain percentage each year. The other way is by taxing the profits in a drastic, resolute manner. Much has been said and written in favor of each of these theories. The prevailing view, and the policy of this administration, is to tax excess profits, rather than to place artificial limitations on them which are too easy to evade.

The tax proposals which were submitted last month by the Treasury to the Congress accomplishes the objective of making

corporations and individuals with large incomes pay their proportionate share, and at the same time, removing all of this great revenue from the plunging stream of purchasing power.

The statute which we have proposed would drastically increase the corporation taxes on all corporations. The rate of taxation goes up steeply and quickly. In addition to a normal and surtax of 55%, a tax on excess war profits is imposed, ranging from 50 to 75%. For example, a corporation making more than a half million of excess profits pays a federal tax of 88 3/4 cents on every additional dollar. The fact is that the excess profits tax proposed by this Administration after four months of war, is equal to the tax on excess profits now in effect in Great Britain and Canada after two and a half months of war.

The same drastic increases have been proposed for individual taxes. The new tax bill will raise the annual income tax of American individuals from five billion dollars last year to more than eight billion dollars this year. These rates of taxation go up so fast that a taxpayer receiving an income of one hundred thousand dollars a year will pay sixty-nine thousand in federal income tax alone, to say nothing of state taxes. For every dollar over that amount, he will have to pay ninety cents in federal taxes.

SECOND DRAFT

In addition, the tax bill would plug up certain loop holes through which a great deal of income, especially income in the higher brackets, has escaped its fair share of the tax burden.

I hope that the Congress will pass this tax bill as soon as possible. It is the minimum of what is required in a comprehensive all-out attack on the present threat of inflation.

As a further method of requiring participation by the great industrial units of the country in this economy of sacrifice, the agencies of the government should be authorized to renegotiate any war contract which has allowed unexpected and unconscionable profits. There have been several examples of this (Give Examples). For the same reason, governmental agencies should be empowered to disallow excessive salaries, bonuses or reserves in making cost estimates.

The next point of attack at which to launch this campaign against the dislocation of our economy, is the price structure of the country. By price structure I mean not merely the price of a few commodities, but the price of all commodities -- practically without exception. The great objective of this attack is so to stabilize things that the amount of money which is in your pay envelope and in mine will mean the same tomorrow that it did yesterday.

Retail prices have risen _____ per cent since the start of the war, and if nothing is done about them now, will probably continue to rise _____ per cent during the next year. It is clear that if this goes on, the pay envelopes and the salary checks and the farmers' income of today, will not buy as much two months from now as it bought two months ago.

The strong arm of the government must be used to protect its citizens from this depletion of their pay envelopes.

At the same time it is essential that the supply of the actual necessities of life will always be adequate for the American people; and every branch of the Government will strain every effort to see to it that that is brought about.

Authority has been given to the Price Administrator by the Emergency Price Control Act to fix practically all prices, with the exception of certain agricultural commodities. I have today instructed the Price Administrator to establish a ceiling for all of the commodities under his jurisdiction to be based on the prices prevailing between and .

The process of price maintenance should be applied not only to retail prices but also to wholesale and manufacturing prices. Only in this way can injustices between them be prevented.

Your Government confidently expects its citizens to support and sustain the prices fixed by it, and to assure the success of the program through a policy of self-policing. Every buyer can help, for every housewife knows the prices that she has been paying, and will be able to tell whether or not price gouging is being done by any unpatriotic merchant who is willing to put self-interest above patriotism. Local Boards have been set up by the Price Administrator to help in the administration of this Act; and I ask every citizen to cooperate with the local office in his region.

I am sure you will all realize the numerous and difficult problems involved in fixing prices for all sellers and all buyers. It will take time to set up general machinery. It will take more time to work out individual difficulties and to make individual adjustments. Here, we must ask you for good will and patience. These are part of the game. I am sure that every business man, large and small, will gladly accept the inconveniences which the next few months may bring him, for he knows that the alternative is a rising spiral which may invite disaster.

We are confident that an over-all price ceiling will work. Other countries have made it work. If every seller and every buyer will cooperate and help, it will work in the United States.

We cannot adequately control the cost of living, however, unless we can also control the cost of products which come from the farm. Under the present law we are not permitted to fix these prices until they have risen substantially above certain levels which are technically called "parity." Most farm products are now near this legal limit or beyond it. As to these prices I have directed the Price Administrator to place definite ceilings so that further increases will not be possible.

There are some farm commodities, however, which have not yet reached the levels above parity as set forth in the law. The more important of these commodities are butter, cheese, poultry, wheat and various other animal feeds. The danger is that if these products, particularly the feed products, begin to rise in price too much, then the whole structure of farm costs may rise and threaten the very stability in the cost of living which our program is designed to insure.

SECOND DRAFT

I am very anxious that the principle of parity for agriculture which we first enunciated in 1933 should be maintained, but I am opposed to permitting further farm commodities to rise to the prescribed levels above parity. I would not reduce those which have already gone to such higher levels, but I suggest that authority should be given to the Price Administrator to establish ceilings on the other commodities once they reach parity.

It is also clear that we should not abandon the principle which we have established ~~for~~ of an ever-normal granary. The very purpose of this principle was that in time of plenty we could build up a supply of farm products which could then be used in emergencies like the present one in order to assure an ever adequate supply at a fair price. The Government now owns substantial quantities of farm products which could be sold and should be sold at fair prices. Restrictions on the sale of these stocks of commodities should be lifted, and I hope that the Congress will not adopt the measures now pending which would limit the power of the Government to sell these stocks. Such sales are not inconsistent with a parity return to the farmer, and I am sure that the American farmer will not choose to profit by artifically-created shortages of this kind.

I realize fully that what I am asking involves a substantial contribution by the farmers of the Nation to our economy of sacrifice. I am sure, however, that they must realize that their duty to contribute to the welfare of the country is as great as the man who works in the shops, or the man who owns a business -- to say nothing of the man who is fighting in distant lands. But apart from any consideration of service and patriotism, the farmer knows what it would mean to his farm income if the prices of the things he buys begin to skyrocket. The farmer has been through too many years of disaster before 1933 not to know that for him to survive and prosper there must be a balanced economy in the Nation in which he plays his own interdependent part but in which he cannot play a lone hand.

Of course, one of the great items which go into the cost of living is the amount paid by you and your family for rent. Under existing law the Price Administrator has enough authority to control rents in substantially every urban area in the United States. I have today instructed him to enter upon a program to stabilize rents wherever he is authorized to do so. Under this authority, practically every city and suburban dweller will be protected against artificial rent advances.

Unless these various prices which go into the cost of living are stabilized the contents of the worker's pay envelope will mean practically nothing because the value of those contents, measured in terms of what they can buy, will become less and less. But the reverse is equally true. It is impossible to expect a business man to continue in business if the price of his commodity is fixed but the cost of labor, which is a substantial part of his cost of doing business, is not fixed. In other words, in order successfully to stabilize the cost of living at existing levels, it is absolutely necessary to stabilize wages as well as the prices of other commodities.

As long as prices are fixed, it is fair to expect labor to stabilize wages, whereas it would not have been fair to expect labor to do so unless prices had been fixed. Consequently, I have this day directed the War Labor Board to approve no further increases in basic wages or salaries except in cases where compensation is now below 40 cents per hour. I am also instructing other governmental agencies dealing with wages, production and government contracts that increases in wages granted in violation of this policy should not be considered in estimating costs for price-fixing or for any other purpose.

Where wage rates are now below 40 cents an hour they should be free to rise. This is only a matter of justice for the smallest wage earners, and it also carries out the national policy of the Fair Labor Standards Act, under which pay has been raised to the minimum of 40 cents per hour in many industries. Even above the 40 cents per hour level, exceptions should be made and increases allowed in those rare instances where no increases at all have been received for several years, creating an unjust situation. Exception should also be allowed where readjustments are necessary to obtain or retain an adequate supply of labor in war industries.

In this connection it is necessary for employers to cooperate with their Government by refraining from the practice of "raiding" plants for their labor supply. In other words, the practice of offering increased pay in order to induce workers to leave one plant for another, should be discouraged as unpatriotic in order to carry out our common effort in a cooperative manner.

The fixing of wage rates for the duration of the war applies to jobs rather than to individuals. That means, for example, that if a man holding a certain job now is promoted to a higher position, his rate of pay can be increased for the new position to which he has been promoted. Otherwise, individual workers would be discouraged from seeking

SECOND DRAFT

promotion to new positions or transfers to different and higher-paid jobs.

You cannot consider the question of wages without also considering the matter of hours of labor. In spite of the clear language of the statute, many of our citizens are still being deceived by some of our newspapers, radio commentators and anti-labor agitators into believing that workers are now prohibited by law from working more than 40 hours per week. I repeat what I have said many times before -- there is no such law, and there is no such policy. In fact, in some war industries they are working as high as 56 hours per week; and more than half of the workers in the leading war industries are now working more than 40 hours per week.

The standard working week in war industries should be one which will result in the production of the greatest quantity of war weapons. The best expert opinion is that, with rare exceptions, a 48-hour week will produce the greatest output. Beyond that, a man's working efficiency drops; and additional hours of work by him do not result in a corresponding additional production. The national policy should therefore be fixed at a 48-hour work week.

SECOND DRAFT

However, under the present law, time-and-a-half must be paid for work above 40 hours. Within recent weeks there has been a suggestion that this premium for overtime work should be repealed. I am opposed to this action. To do that would be to force a substantial reduction in pay for millions of workers. It would mean that the value of the contents of the pay envelope would be materially cut. It would mean taking away a powerful incentive to production. Time and a half for overtime above 40 hours should be continued.

The question of double time for Sunday, however, is a very different one. It is true that one day of rest in seven should be given to every worker. But, if we are going to keep our plants going seven days a week, that seventh day of rest will have to be staggered, and it will therefore not fall on a Sunday for every worker. Under such circumstances, there is no reason why working on Sunday should be paid for by double overtime. On the other hand, working seven days a week should be definitely discouraged for the sake of the worker. Therefore, when a seven day work week is insisted upon — the seventh day — whether it be Sunday or not — should pay double wages in order to encourage at least one day's rest per week.

Our economy of sacrifice also requires us all to do without many of the things that we used to buy on the installment plan. In fact, it requires that a great deal of purchase-by-credit should be cut down. Unless this is done it is possible that much of our effort to reduce purchasing power will fail if people can go on buying on liberal credit instead of for cash.

I am, therefore, calling upon the various agencies of Government to tighten control over credit of all kinds now being extended to consumers. I also am urging them to encourage rapid payment of present debts -- mortgage debts, installment debts, charge-account debts, and debts due to the banks. Now when there is a more liberal supply of money is the time for all of us to pay off what we owe. In this way we not only protect ourselves against days when money will not be so plentiful; but we actually help in the concerted attack on this whole problem of inflation.

There is one large remaining area in which all of us must contribute our share in this economy of sacrifice. The vast increase of wages and farm income requires us to do something over and above all that I have mentioned, if we would prevent the purchasing power

of the country from getting out of balance with the supply of goods and from bringing about a disastrous inflation.

(Note to the President: The following discussion of compulsory savings is an alternative to what follows it; viz., voluntary savings.)

It is a drastic measure which I suggest. I indicated in my message to the Congress last January that the threat of inflation might compel us to adopt very drastic measures to reduce the amount of available purchasing power. I am convinced that the time has now come when those measures are essential. Conditions today are very different from what they were even last January. Unless we are willing to adopt a strong policy in meeting them at once, our efforts may not be adequate.

I am therefore going to suggest to the Congress that they adopt a universal savings plan for all citizens, except only the very lowest income groups. Under this plan there would be deducted from everybody's income, except those of very small incomes, 5% which would be invested in war stamps or bonds and which would be redeemable in cash at the end of the war. In other

SECOND DRAFT

words, instead of receiving all your income in cash you would receive 95% in cash and 5% in war stamps or bonds.

This will provide an investment for every citizen or family. It will give every citizen a financial stake in the government and in the winning of the war. It will be a nest egg for everybody after the war is over, and when the prospect of difficult times returns. Above all, it will put a ~~break~~ brake on inflation now when it is needed most.

Of course, this is a heavy sacrifice to ask. It means that many of us will do without things that we otherwise would buy. But it means that everybody contributes to the war effort. ~~— everybody in accordance with his means.~~ Of course, this method of investment in war saving stamps and bonds will not, and should not, interfere with the voluntary sale of these bonds now being carried on by the Treasury Department. Every one should continue to buy them to the last of his ability. Every dollar so invested not only helps win the war, but reduces an added threat to dislocation of our economy.

It is much easier to voluntarily do without things that we do not absolutely need than it would be to have those things placed beyond our reach by inflation of prices far beyond the wages of the vast majority of us.

SECOND DRAFT

(Note to the President: The following in brackets is an alternative to the foregoing.)

[A year ago I had the privilege of buying the first United States Defense Bond. It marked the beginning of a great savings program which has enlisted billions of thepeople's dollars in the defense of their country.

We are now no longer a peace as we were then, preparing for some future dread eventuality. We are now actually waging war on far-flung battle lines. Defense Savings Bonds have now become War Savings Bonds; and the savings campaign has become an indispensable part of the nation's war effort.

Time is short. The demands of war, we cannot escape or evade. To raise the billions which we now need to pay for the war, and at the same time to prevent a disastrous rise in the cost of living, we must double and more than double the scale of our savings.

To the production goals of last January, I am now adding a new goal -- a war savings goal. That goal is twelve billion dollars a year for the people of the United States. There will be monthly quotas set for the nation as a whole, and for every State and every county.

I have said that we can attain our production goals. In the same way we can, we will, we must, reach our war savings goals.

The goals I have set are large. To reach them we shall have to set aside one-tenth of our entire national income and, on the average, one-tenth of our individual earnings.

To reach them, every man and woman who earns regular income will have to dig deep into those earnings, every pay day.

To reach them, it will not be enough to invest our spare change. Every dime and dollar not vitally needed for absolute necessities must go into War Savings Bonds and Stamps, to become an ally of our heroic men in uniform.

All of us must cut down our spending. We must learn the habit of saving. By saving, we serve our country today, and postpone our own comfort until tomorrow. By saving, we can keep planes up and prices down. By saving, we can enlist our dollars, as our soldiers and sailors have enlisted their lives, in the greatest cause in which any people has been privileged to serve.

The most convenient method for the purchase of War Savings Bonds is the payroll allotment plan. Under this system the worker

authorizes his employer to set aside a portion of his pay each pay day for the purchase of War Savings Bonds. Already over 50,000 firms employing some 20 million people have adopted such plans. I am asking these, and all others, to exert every effort to see that at least 10% of their gross payroll is set aside by their employees for the purchase of War Savings Bonds.

We are still a long way from that goal. Of the larger companies in private industry, hundreds have not yet made such savings plans available to their employees. Of the 20 million employees for whom payroll allotment plans are now available, less than half are now purchasing bonds in this way. This record must be more than doubled.

The average monthly allotment of those who are now taking part in this method of regular, systematic bond-buying is still far too low. This, too, must be more than doubled.

In pushing our drive to reach the war savings goals, the friendly, active cooperation of the workers themselves is of the utmost importance. Labor has already pledged its all-out, whole-hearted support of this program. Employers, too, have shown their willingness to cooperate by installing payroll allotment plans, at considerable

cost and inconvenience to themselves. Labor and management have already demonstrated a spirit of partnership in laying the foundations of the war savings program. Working together, they can insure the success of this indispensable war effort.

There have been proposals made for some system of forced savings in War Bonds and Stamps. I do not believe that we are as yet under any necessity to adopt such methods. I have faith in the voluntary cooperation of the American people. I know that when called upon to do a job they have never flinched or run away. Until it is clear, therefore, that voluntary methods cannot achieve the goals that we have set, compulsory savings will not be required.

I have used all of the executive power that I have to carry out a policy which will bring the results and objectives which I have outlined. To attain them fully it is necessary for Congress to act, and I shall ask Congress to adopt a statement of policy in conformity with our objective. The urgency of the program is apparent. With the additional legislation necessary, it can be completely and quickly carried out.

When we were forced into this war we knew that great sacrifice would be our lot as it was the lot of others who stood against aggressors. Sacrifice in the cause for which we fight has now become a great privilege for free men all over the world.

Thousands of brave men are dying every day for the undying principles for which we fight. Shall we at home shrink from doing those things which are as nothing compared with their "last full measure of devotion"?

I know the American farmer, the American workman, the American business man. I know that for freedom's sake they will stop at nothing. I know that this economy of sacrifice they will gladly embrace — satisfied that it is necessary for the most vital and compelling motive in their lives -- winning through to victory.

THIRD DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

APRIL 28, 1942

Yesterday I sent to the Congress of the United States a Message on the very important subject of the economy within our own nation during the continuation of the war in which we are now engaged.

It is nearly five months since in true Nazi style we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. For the two years prior to that attack this country had been slowly gearing itself up to a high level of production of munitions; and our people had come to realize more and more that the future of our nation was threatened by the spreading successes of nations bent on world conquest. Yet our war efforts had done little to dislocate the normal lives of most of us.

After Pearl Harbor, however, we became an active fighting part of the war itself; we have initiated programs that took people's breaths away; we did this with our eyes open and we have come to realize that the fulfillment of the objectives will be felt in every home throughout the land.

One short year ago anyone would have been laughed at if he had prophesied that in April of 1942 American ships would have been engaged in combat in the North and South Atlantic, in the Arctic, in the Mediterranean, in the Indian Ocean, and in the North and South Pacific. The same would hold true if he had prophesied that American troops would have been ferried to South America, to Greenland and Iceland, and Ireland, to the Near East and the Middle East and the Far East, to the Continent of Australia and to very many Islands of the Pacific; and that American men and American manned aircraft would be flying in actual combat in many of these areas.

You are being kept informed of the progress of the war in all these theatres even though military necessity compels the withholding of some items of news for a short time.

On the European front the most important development in the whole war has been the offensive on the part of the great armies of Russia -- an offensive which seized the initiative after the long retiring action of last Summer and Fall. It is worthwhile for us to remember that these armies of Russia have destroyed and are destroying more armed power -- troops, planes, tanks and other munitions of war of the Axis

Powers than all the twenty-five other United Nations put together are accomplishing. We say more power to their armies; and we say we will send you all the help that we can possibly manage to get to you.

On the Mediterranean front matters remain very much as they were.

On the Far Eastern and Western Pacific Islands, we have inevitably lost control of a large portion of the Philippine Islands and we pay tribute to their gallant defense, to the officers and men who held out so long on Bataan Peninsula, and to those gallant souls who still hold Corregidor. The Malayan Peninsula and Singapore are gone; the Netherlands East Indies are most occupied though resistance there continues. Many other Islands are in the possession of the Japanese but it is believed that there is every good prospect that their southward advance has been stopped and that Augtralia, New Zealand and the other Islands will be held and become the bases of a xxx future offensive.

On the other side of the picture in this vast theatre, very heavy tolls have been taken on the enemy -- in warships, in transports in men and in planes. It is

even reported from Japan that somebody has dropped bombs on Tokyo and their principal centers. If this be true it is the first time in history that Japan has suffered such indignities.

Very recently we have received news of a change in government in what we knew as the Republic of France -- a name dear to the history of culture and progress -- a name which we hope soon will be restored in its full meaning.

(work in part I dictated re France)

On the seas our navies and those of Britain and others of the United Nations are, of necessity, spread thin over vast areas and while the problem of keeping the lanes open is difficult and losses have been high, the shipbuilding programs are going well and may indeed call for substantial increases. A new form of warfare -- amphibious warfare has developed, sea born troops specially trained in the art of landing either as raiders or as permanent occupying forces. The feats of the British Commandos thrill us to further efforts.

Never will the American people forget the attack on Pearl Harbor and that the killing of several thousand Americans

took place one hour before the Japanese Ambassador and his colleague went to our State Department to present a polite note saying that the Japanese Government could not accede to the suggestions sent to Japan by our own Secretary of State nearly two weeks before.

At the moment of attack, this country was actually better prepared than we had been at the outbreak of any previous war. I think that history will write that the Army-Navy oligarchy which dominates the Japanese people made a blunder of the first order in the method they chose. The utter downfall of that group sooner or later will be taken care of by the United States.

The unity of America has been assured. In physical strength we have undertaken all-out effort. But of far greater importance is the fact that we are spiritually prepared. We went into this war fighting. We know what we are fighting for. We realize that the war has become what Hitler originally proclaimed it to be -- a total war -- and we accept his definition.

We propose to end the vandalism of Hitlerism throughout the world including Germany and Italy and Japan. "It can be done, it must be done, it will be done" and it is being done.

(take up at middle of page 5)

(Repeat the seven points. After the simplified 7 points go on with the following)

I will not go into the many explanations of these seven principles or objectives which I gave to the Congress yesterday. You will readily see that the important part of these seven points is that each one is dependent on every other one.

Naturally this will occur to nearly all of us to ask how each of the seven points affects him or her individually. The gist of it is that everyone is affected directly by one or two or three of the points, but indirectly by all of the others.

Each and every one of us is being called on by me for some form of self-denial.

If you live on an income derived from investments for example you are hit several ways: your corporations will have to pay more higher taxes and you yourself will have to pay more higher income taxes.

If you are a wage-earner you will have to forego higher wages for the duration of the war unless yourpay is now inequitable or at a sub-standard level.

If you are a farmer, you will get for your products prices that are within the limit of what we call parity.

And in addition you are being asked -- all of you -- each and every one of you -- to buy more war bonds, to forego competing for articles of which there are not enough to go round.

On the other side of the picture, your Government is trying to stabilize the cost of living -- and that means a great boon to all uf us during the war period and for many years thereafter. And finally, we are going to ration some scarce articles in order that they may be distributed equitably to rich and poor alike.

FOURTH DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

APRIL 28, 1942

Yesterday I sent to the Congress of the United States a Message on the very important subject of the economy within our own nation during the continuation of the war in which we are now engaged.

It is nearly five months since in true Nazi style we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. For the two years prior to that attack this country had been slowly gearing itself up to a high level of production of munitions; and our people had come to realize more and more that the future of our nation was threatened by the spreading successes of nations bent on world conquest. Yet our war efforts had done little to dislocate the normal lives of most of us.

After Pearl Harbor, however, we became an active fighting part of the war itself; we have initiated programs that took people's breaths away; we did this with our eyes open; we did it knowing that the fulfillment of our objectives would be felt in every home throughout the land. We have had no illusions about the fact that this would be a tough job, and a long one.

A

(A) page 1

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~those~~ We have despatched strong forces of our Army and Navy to bases and battle fronts thousands of miles from home, and we have stepped up our war production on a scale that has tested our industrial power and our engineering genius and our economic structure to the utmost.

FOURTH DRAFT

It would have seemed incredible one short year ago if anyone had prophesied that in April of 1942 American war ships would be are now engaged in combat in the North and South Atlantic, in the Arctic, in the Mediterranean, in the Indian Ocean, and in the North and South Pacific, — or that American troops would have been ferried to have taken stations in South America, ~~the~~ Greenland, ~~and~~ Iceland, ~~and Ireland,~~ ~~to~~ the British Isles, the Near East, ~~and~~ the Middle East ~~and~~ the Far East, ~~to~~ the Continent of Australia and ~~numerous~~ the many Islands of the Pacific, — or that American war planes ~~American manned~~ by American are ~~would be~~ flying in actual combat over all the continents and all the oceans.

On the European front the most important development of the past year has been the counter-crushing offensive on the part of the great armies of Russia against the powerful German army, — an offensive launched suddenly and with devastating effect after the long retiring action of last Summer and Fall. It is worthwhile for us to remember that these Russian forces have destroyed and are destroying more armed power — troops, planes, tanks, guns and other munitions of war of our enemies than all the other United Nations put together are accomplishing. We say more power to the magnificent Russian armies; and we say that we are doing and shall continue to do our level best to supply more

(A) p3

However the known character of those ~~[illegible] change~~ ~~by the government of Com~~ ~~Meant~~ who have recently come to power can mean only that a determined attempt will be made to force

FOURTH DRAFT

The United Nations ~~must~~ will take forcible measures if necessary, to prevent the use for military purposes by the Axis powers of French territory, at home, and in ~~many~~ any parts of the world. The good people of France, wherever they may be, will readily understand that such action is essential for the United Nations in preventing assistance to the armies or navies or ~~aircraft~~ airforces of Germany, Italy and Japan.

The overwhelming majority of the French people understand that the United Nations have it well in mind that in so doing they are working for the restoration of a free and independent France — and the saving of France from the subjection and the slavery which would be imposed upon her by her own enemies and her own traitors.

We know how the French people really feel. We know because they tell us by their own heroic actions in defiance of Hitler and his Gestapo. They do all in their power to slow up work, to sabotage production in their factories which have been perverted to the service of the Nazi war machine. They cheer the R.A.F. when these factories are bombed. ~~And I am confident that~~ They will have occasion to cheer our own American ~~bombers~~ Flying Fortresses and Liberators when we have joined in force with

FOURTH DRAFT

the British over the darkened continent of Europe.

The same holds true of all the occupied countries. In Norway, Belgium, The Netherlands, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Greece there are men, women and even little children who have never stopped fighting, never stopped resisting, never stopped proving to the Nazis that their so-called "New Order" can never be enforced upon free peoples. They work and they pray for the day of deliverance. It is for us of the United Nations to speed that day.

Nor would I limit this to the occupied countries. In the German and Italian peoples themselves there is a growing conviction that the cause of Nazism and Fascism is hopeless — that their political and military leaders have led them along the bitter road which leads not to world conquest but to final defeat.

The despairing people of Germany and Italy are silenced by ruthless censorship enforced by the guns and the whips of the Gestapo. But the people's voices can be heard. They can be heard, strangely enough, in the hysterical words that have recently been uttered by their own leaders. ~~When we~~ They cannot fail to contrast the present defensive speeches of these leaders with their arrogant boastings of a year ago, and two years

FOURTH DRAFT

ago, we can know that the war has taken a new and, for us, a far better turn.

On the seas our fleets and those of Britain and others of the United Nations are, of necessity, ranging over vast areas and while the problem of keeping the lanes open is difficult and losses have been high, the shipbuilding programs are going well, and, indeed, we may well make substantial increases in these programs.

A new form of warfare -- amphibious warfare -- has developed. This is conducted by sea born troops specially trained in the art of landing either as raiders or as permanent occupying forces. The feats of the British Commandos thrill us to further efforts.

On the other side of the world, in the Far East, we have passed through a phase of serious losses.

We have inevitably lost control of a large portion of the Philippine Islands. But this whole Nation pays tribute to their heroic defense, to the officers and men who held out so long on Bataan Peninsula, to those grim and gallant fighters who still hold Corregidor, and to the Filipino and American forces who are still striking effectively at the enemy on Mindanao and other islands.

The Malayan Peninsula and Singapore are in the hands of the enemy; the Nether-

FOURTH DRAFT

lands East Indies are almost entirely occupied, though resistance there continues. Many other Islands are in the possession of the Japanese. But there is good reason to believe that their southward advance has been checked and that Australia, New Zealand and the Islands along our lines of communication will be held, and will be bases for offensive action.

Insert A p7

The Japanese are pressing their northward advance in Burma with considerable power, driving toward India. They have been opposed so far and with great bravery by small British and Chinese forces, aided by American fliers. But much greater forces are being massed by the United Nations — and American equipment and American fighting men are adding to this gathering strength. This is a vital front in this world-encircling war, for here is a life-line of communication to China, and that life-line must be kept open.

For every advance that the Japanese have made since they started their frenzied career of conquest, they have had to pay a very heavy toll in warships, in transports, in planes and in men. They are feeling the effects of those losses. The inevitable results of the ambition and the greed of the Japanese Army-Navy oligarchy

INSERT A

PAGE 7

The Japanese are pressing their northward advance in Burma with considerable power, driving toward India and China. They have been opposed with great bravery by small British and Chinese forces, aided by American fliers.

The news in Burma tonight is not good. The Japanese may cut the Burma Road, but I want to say to the gallant people of China that no matter what advances the Japanese may make, ways will be found to deliver airplanes and munitions of war to the armies of the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

We remember that the Chinese people were the first to stand up and fight against the aggressors in this war, and in the future an unconquerable China will play its proper role in maintaining peace and prosperity not only in Eastern Asia but in the whole world.

FOURTH DRAFT

~~Lessons~~ are being brought home to the Japanese people.

It is even reported from Japan that somebody has dropped bombs on Tokyo and in other principal centers of Japanese war industries. If this be true, it is the first time in history that Japan has suffered such indignities.

Never will the American people forget the attack on Pearl Harbor and that the killing of several thousand Americans took place one hour before the Japanese Ambassador and his colleague went to our State Department to present a polite note saying that the Japanese Government could not accede to the suggestions sent to Japan by our own Secretary of State nearly two weeks before.

The unity of America, ~~has been assured~~. In physical strength we have undertaken all-out effort. But of far greater importance is the fact that we are spiritually prepared. We went into this war fighting. We know what we are fighting for. We realize that the war has become what Hitler originally proclaimed it to be — a total war, and we accept his definition.

The American people have given their traditional answer to a major challenge: "It can be done, it must be done, it will be done". And it is being done.

(A) p 8

Although the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor was the immediate cause of our entry into the war that event found the American people spiritually prepared for war on a world-wide scale.

FOURTH DRAFT

Not all of us will have the privilege of fighting ~~taking part in~~ the physical attacks which we are now making and will continue to make upon our enemies in distant parts of the world.

Not all of us will have the privilege of working in a munitions factory or shipyard, which turns out the weapons of war which will bring us victory in battle.

~~Not all of us will have the privilege of working~~ or on the farms or in oil fields or mines, producing the weapons or the raw materials which are needed by our armed forces. ~~our armies and war workers need.~~

But there is one front and one battle where everyone in the United States -- every man, woman, and child -- is in ~~uniform,~~ action and will be privileged to remain in ~~uniform~~ action for the duration. That front is right here at home, in our daily lives and in our daily tasks. Here at home everyone will have the privilege of making whatever ~~sacrifices~~ individual is necessary, not only to ~~keep~~ supply our fighting men, supplied with weapons and equipment and food, but also to keep our own the economic structure of our country life stable and fortified and secure so as to prevent undue hardship and suffering for everybody -- civilians and soldiers -- during the war and after the war.

This will require the abandonment not only of not only giving up luxuries but many other creature comforts, which our old American standard of living had begun to consider as almost basic necessities.

FOURTH DRAFT

I know that every one of us will welcome any chance to help in any way at any place and at any time — to become partners in this all-out effort.

For we all know that statistics of production are not enough to win the war. Even the heroic exploits of our fighting men are not enough. Victory can be won only by the application of every ounce of energy of every man, woman, and child in the United States, and indeed throughout the United Nations.

Every loyal American is aware of his individual responsibility. Whenever I hear anyone saying, "The American people are complacent — they need to be aroused", I feel like asking him to come to Washington and read the mail that floods into the White House and into all departments of this government. The one question that recurs through all these thousands of letters and messages is "What more can I do to help my country in winning this war?"

I need hardly tell you that to build the factories, and buy the materials, and pay the labor, and provide the transportation, and equip and feed and house the soldiers, sailors and marines, and to do all the thousands of things necessary in a war -- all cost money, more money than has ever been spent by any nation at any one time in the

FOURTH DRAFT

history of the world.

We are now spending, solely for war purposes, the sum of about one hundred million dollars every day in the week. But, before this year is over, that almost unbelievable rate of expenditure will be very nearly doubled.

To give some idea of the size of these expenditures, we ought to compare them with the amount of our entire national income. By national income, I mean all of the money which all of the corporations, partnerships and individuals in all the United States receive in the form of profits, wages, rents, dividends, or any other kind of income. Right now, the war is taking about one-third of that entire national income. Next year it will increase to more than one-half of the entire national income.

All of this money has to be spent -- and spent quickly -- if we are to produce within the time now available the enormous quantities of weapons of war which we need. With that object in mind, I am sure that no American will want us to reduce that sum of money by one red cent.

But the spending of these tremendous sums also presents grave danger of disaster to our national economy, ~~at home -- a threat as serious~~

~~in many respects as any physical attack from the enemy.~~

When your Government continues to spend these unprecedented sums of money for war materials — month by month, and year by year, it means that more and more money will be finding its way into the pocketbooks and bank accounts of nearly every civilian in the United States. At the same time that this is going on, we all know that the supply of goods in the United States, both luxuries and necessities, which you and I might ordinarily buy, is being constantly reduced. It is being reduced because raw materials must be taken away from civilian use and put into war use; because machinery and factories must be converted to war production by the Government; because our normal sources of supply from countries abroad are cut down by enemy action.

You don't have to be a Professor of Economics to see that when the amount of available money increases, and the supply of available goods decreases at the same time, the demand will be greater than the supply. And when that happens, the cost of living goes up. As soon as the cost of living goes up there is naturally a demand for higher wages and perhaps higher profits. All costs increase. This, in turn, causes a further rise in the prices of these limited supplies. And so

(B)

when people have enough
ready cash to buy all the
~~sugar~~ goods they want & but the
supply of goods is limited,
the people begin to bid
against each other and the
price of the goods goes up.

FOURTH DRAFT

the endless circle becomes an ascending spiral. It will go up and up, and, unless it is checked, it will end in the stratosphere of economic chaos.

The important thing to remember is that when prices increase, a proportionate increase in wages does not meet the situation. In the first place, the increased wage does not buy any more merchandise than it did before the rise in prices; and, in the second place, the increased wages themselves inevitably bring about a further increase in prices.

Those of us who lived through the last War remember very well what happened then. We know all too well what the consequences were then. And so we know just what we must guard against now.

As we look back to the summer of 1916 we all realize that a great rise in the cost of living could have been stopped then. But the necessary drastic action to stop it was not taken. You and I must make up our minds to do now what our country failed to do back in 1916.

Yesterday I submitted to the Congress of the United States a seven point program of general principles which together could be called the national economic policy for attaining the great objective of keeping the cost of living down.

I repeat them now:

FOURTH DRAFT

1. We must tax heavily, and in that process keep personal and corporate profits at a reasonable rate, the word "reasonable" being defined at a low level.

2. We must fix ceilings on the prices which consumers, retailers, wholesalers and manufacturers pay for the things they buy; and ceilings on rents for dwellings in all areas affected by war industries.

3. We must stabilize the remuneration received by individuals for their work.

4. We must stabilize the prices received by growers for the products of their lands.

5. We must encourage all citizens to contribute to the cost of winning this war by purchasing War Bonds with their earnings instead of using those earnings to buy articles which are not essential.

6. We must ration all essential commodities of which there is a scarcity, so that they may

FOURTH DRAFT

be distributed fairly among consumers and not merely in accordance with financial ability to pay high prices for them.

7. We must discourage credit and instalment buying, and encourage the paying off of debts, mortgages, and other obligations; for this promotes savings, retards excessive buying and adds to the amount available to the creditor for the purchase of War Bonds.

I do not think it is necessary to repeat what I said yesterday to the Congress in discussing these general principles.

The important thing to remember is that each one of these points is dependent on the others if the whole program is to work.

There are those who say that the only thing necessary is to freeze all prices. There are others who say that the only ~~trouble is~~ thing necessary is to freeze wages. ~~the increasing scale of wages, and that if only labor could be curbed everything else would cure itself~~ There are others who ~~would rely on~~ say that the only thing necessary is to increase ~~income~~ taxes, ~~and on other taxes of all kinds~~. But none of these alone would be enough. For action on one, would be offset by inaction on all the others. I am confident that the only effective

FOURTH DRAFT

course of action is a simultaneous attack on all of these problems in one comprehensive, all-embracing program -- aimed at wages, prices, profits, [hours of labor,] [farm commodities,] taxes, and control of ~~credit~~ consumer buying on credit.

The blunt fact is that every single person in the United States is going to be affected by this program. Some of you will be affected more directly by one or two of ~~the points~~ these prediction measures, but all of you will be affected indirectly by all of ~~the points.~~ them.

Are you ~~in~~ a business man, or do you own stock in a business corporation? Your profits are going to be cut down to a reasonably low level by taxation. Your income will be subject to higher taxes. Indeed, (A) I do not think that any American citizen ~~in these days~~ should have a net income in excess of $25,000 per year after payment of taxes.

Are you a retailer or a wholesaler or a manufacturer or a farmer or a landlord? Ceilings ~~will be~~ are being placed on the prices at which you can sell your goods or rent your ~~apartments~~ property.

in these days, when every ~~[illegible]~~
available dollar should
go to the war effort,

FOURTH DRAFT

Do you work for wages? You will have to forego higher wages for your particular job for the duration of the war, unless your pay now is sub-standard or is unjust in view of any ~~extraordinary~~ exceptional circumstances.

Insert (X)

~~Are you~~ All of us are used to spending money for things you want which are not absolutely essential to life. You will be called upon to stop that. Because ~~you are being asked to~~ we must put every dime and every dollar ~~you~~ we can possibly spare out of ~~your~~ our earnings into War Bonds and Stamps. Because you are being asked to stop instalment buying and are being asked to pay off your debts now when money is becoming plentiful. Because ~~your government is going to ration~~ the demands of the war effort require the rationing of goods of which there is not enough to go around. Because ~~your~~ this government is determined to stop competition for goods which are becoming scarce, for that always sends the

(A)

(B)

(A)

We will all have to forego that spending.

(B)

Because the
stopping of ~~such~~ purchases of
~~for~~ non-essentials will
release thousands of workers
who are needed in the
war effort

INSERT X

PAGE 17

There may be exceptional circumstances where injustices in wage rates prevail and where corrections are obviously needed.

This great war effort must be carried through to its victorious conclusion by the indomitable will and determination of the people. It must be impeded by the faint of heart. It must not be impeded by those who put their own selfish interests above those of the nation. It must not be impeded by the ~~disloyal few who by their words, pictures, speeches or spirit give aid and comfort to the enemy~~ bogus patriots who use the sacred freedom of the press to echo the sentiments of the propagandists in Tokyo and Berlin.

And, above all, it shall not be ~~impeded~~ imperilled by the handful of noisy traitors — the would-be ~~[illegible]~~ dictators who in their hearts and souls have ~~[illegible]~~ yielded to Hitlerism and would have this ~~nation~~ republic do likewise.

the betrayers of America and of Christianity itself —

FOURTH DRAFT

cost of living soaring.

This economy of sacrifice is based not only on patriotism and devotion to duty. It is based on foresight, on prudence, on justice and equality of privilege. It is based on a repugnance to the idea of making money out of the war or of life-as-usual during the war.

There may be some faithless few who will seek to throw sand in the gear box of our economy through selfish or political motives. This handful of "sand throwers" will try to confuse the economic issue as they have sought to slow our war effort in other ways. They will seek again to try to upset the objective of parity for the farmer. They will seek again to try to make people believe that strikes throughout the country have been seriously impairing our munitions output, although our war production has been slowed down less than half of one per cent by strikes since January as compared to eight times that amount by colds, illness and industrial accidents. There are a few in the ranks of labor who seek to gain advantage through war by demanding exorbitant initiation fees and even by seeking to slow down output for selfish reasons. And there are those in business who will still try to make outrageous profits out of war contracts.

FOURTH DRAFT

We all appreciate the fact that in any group or occupation there exists a small percentage of chiselers and black sheep. But, the overwhelming majority of workers on the farms and in industry, and business men and professional men, are public spirited and patriotic, and they reject the opportunity to line their pockets or gain advantage over their fellow men or their Government in war time.

For example, I realize that our program calls for a substantial contribution by the farmers of the nation to our economy of sacrifice. But I feel certain that most farmers -- nearly all of them -- do not want to blow up the whole cost of living of the country. If the farmer gets too high prices, the cost of the things he buys will go up and he himself will seek higher prices with which to meet it -- the old vicious spiral again. I know that the farmers will remember what happened to them in 1920. They were the first to suffer when, in seeking to recover from grossly excessive prices, our foot slipped and we slid down hill and landed with a thud. And very much the same thing happened when the bottom dropped out of the abnormal prices in the Fall of 1929. Our whole economic structure crashed, and the farmer ended up very close to the bottom of the heap.

FOURTH DRAFT

The workers of the nation are also being asked to make substantial contributions to the economy of sacrifice. But no one suffers more quickly from a rise in the cost of living than the wage-earner.

I am sure you will all realize the numerous and difficult problems involved in fixing ceilings for prices for sellers and buyers and farmers and rent-payers and in stabilizing the wage levels of workers. It will take more time to work out individual difficulties and to make individual adjustments. Here, we must ask you for good will and patience. These are part of the game. The housewives of the nation can all help in seeing that the government's policy is followed. I am sure that every business man, large and small, will gladly accept the inconveniences which the next few months may bring him, for he knows that the alternative is a rising spiral which will invite disaster.

I shall use all of the executive power that I have to carry out the policy laid down. If it becomes necessary to ask for any additional legislation in order to attain our objective of preventing a spiral in the cost of living, I shall do so.

I know the American farmer, the American workman, the American business man. I know that for freedom's sake they will stop at nothing.

FOURTH DRAFT

I know that this economy of sacrifice they will gladly embrace — satisfied that it is necessary for the most vital and compelling motive in their lives — winning through to victory.

Never in the memory of man has there been a war in which the courage, the endurance and the loyalty of civilians played so vital a part.

Many thousands of civilians all over the world in Britain, China, Russia, Holland and Poland have been and are being killed or maimed by enemy action. Today, in France, Belgium, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Greece, civilians are gallantly giving their lives in their continued fight for freedom.

Our own American civilian population is now relatively safe from such disasters. enemy attack. And, to an ever increasing extent, our soldiers, sailors and marines are fighting with great bravery and great skill on far distant fronts to make sure that we shall remain safe.

~~We cannot let them down. We will not let them down.~~

When, with victory, our men come home, we will be able to look them in the eye and say, "To the very best of our various abilities, and to the very limit of our opportunities, we too have served."

FIFTH DRAFT

2738 words

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

APRIL 28, 1942

It is nearly five months since, in true Nazi style, we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. For the two years prior to that attack this country had been gearing itself up to a high level of production of munitions. Yet our war efforts had done little to dislocate the normal lives of most of us.

Since then ~~We~~ have dispatched strong forces of our Army and Navy to bases and battle-fronts thousands of miles from home. ~~and~~ We have stepped up our war production on a scale that [has tested] is testing our industrial power and our engineering genius and our economic structure to the utmost. We did this with our eyes open; we did it knowing that the fulfillment of our objectives would be felt in every home throughout the land. We have had no illusions about the fact that this would be a tough job — and a long one.

American war ships are now in combat in the North and South Atlantic, in the Arctic, in the Mediterranean, and in the North and South Pacific. American troops have taken stations in South America, Greenland, Iceland, the British Isles, the Near East,

the Middle East, the Far East, the Continent of Australia, and the many islands of the Pacific. American war planes, manned by Americans, are flying in actual combat over all the continents and all the oceans.

On the European front the most important development of the past year has been the crushing offensive on the part of the great armies of Russia against the powerful German army. These Russian forces have destroyed and are destroying more armed power of our enemies -- troops, planes, tanks, guns and other munitions of war -- than all the other United Nations put together.

In the Mediterranean area, matters remain, on the surface, very much as they were. But the situation here is receiving very careful attention.

Very recently we have received news of a change in government in what we ~~knew~~ used to know as the Republic of France -- a name dear to the hearts of all lovers of liberty -- a name and an institution which we hope will soon be restored to full dignity.

Throughout the Nazi occupation of France, we have hoped for the maintenance of a French Government which would strive to regain independence, to reestablish the principles of "Liberty,

Equality and Fraternity", and resume the historic culture of France. However, ~~the known character of~~ we are concerned that those who have recently come to power ~~can hope only that a determined attempt will be made to~~ may seek to force the brave French people to ~~complete surrender~~ submission to ~~the~~ Nazi despotism. overlordship and

The United Nations will take measures, if necessary, to prevent the use of French territory in any part of the world for military purposes by the Axis powers. The good people of France, wherever they may be, will readily understand that such action is essential for the United Nations [in preventing] to prevent assistance to the armies or navies or air forces of Germany, Italy and Japan. The overwhelming majority of the French people understand that the fight of the United Nations is fundamentally their fight, that our victory ~~over the United Nations~~ means the restoration of a free and independent France -- and the saving of France from the [~~subjection and the~~] slavery which would be imposed upon her by her [illegible] external enemies and her ~~own~~ internal traitors. Our policy has been consistent from the very beginning.

We know how the French people really feel. We know because they tell it to us by their heroic actions in defiance of Hitler and his Gestapo. They do all in their power to slow up work, to

sabotage production in their factories which have been perverted to the service of the Nazi war machine. They cheer the R.A.F. when these factories are bombed. They will have occasion to cheer our own American Flying Fortresses and Liberators when we have joined in force with the British over the darkened continent of Europe.

A ~~The same holds true of~~ In all the occupied countries. ~~In Norway, Belgium, The Netherlands, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia and Greece~~ there are men, women and even little children who have never stopped fighting, never stopped resisting, never stopped proving to the Nazis that their so-called "New Order" can never be enforced upon free peoples.

In the German and Italian peoples themselves there is a growing conviction that the cause of Nazism and Fascism is hopeless -- that their political and military leaders have led them along the bitter road which leads not to world conquest but to final defeat. They cannot fail to contrast the present defensive speeches of these leaders with their arrogant boastings of a year ago, and two years ago.

A. p. 4

~~our~~ that deep-seated determination to make harder every step in the Axis flow extends from occupied France through Vichy France to the people of their colonies in every ~~ocean~~ and on every continent.

Our planes are helping in the defense of French colonies today and soon American ~~flying~~ Fortresses ~~and~~ Liberators will ~~have joined with the British on the darkened continent~~ be fighting for the liberation of the darkened continent of Europe as ~~we a~~

~~as we would for any other country under similar circumstances;~~

~~This has been our policy from the very beginning of the war.~~

On the other side of the world, in the Far East, we have passed through a phase of serious losses.

We have inevitably lost control of a large portion of the Philippine Islands. But this whole nation pays tribute to the Filipino and American officers and men who held out so long on Bataan Peninsula, to those grim and gallant fighters who still hold Corregidor, and to the forces which are still striking effectively at the enemy on Mindanao and other islands.

The Malayan Peninsula and Singapore are in the hands of the enemy; the Netherlands East Indies are almost entirely occupied, though resistance there continues. Many other Islands are in the possession of the Japanese. But there is good reason to believe that their southward advance has been checked. Australia, New Zealand and much other territory will be bases for offensive action.

The Japanese are pressing their northward advance in Burma with considerable power, driving toward India and China. They have been opposed with great bravery by small British and Chinese forces, aided by American fliers.

The news in Burma tonight is not good. The Japanese may cut the Burma Road; but I want to say to the gallant people of China that no matter what advances the Japanese may make, ways will be found to deliver airplanes and munitions of war to the armies of [redacted] Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

We remember that the Chinese people were the first to stand up and fight against the aggressors in this war; and in the future an unconquerable China will play its proper role in maintaining peace and prosperity not only in Eastern Asia but in the whole world.

For every advance that the Japanese have made since they started their frenzied career of conquest, they have had to pay a very heavy toll in warships, in transports, in planes and in men. They are feeling the effects of those losses. The inevitable results of the ambition and the greed of the Japanese Army-Navy oligarchy are being brought home to the Japanese people.

It is even reported from Japan that somebody has dropped bombs on Tokyo and on other principal centers of Japanese war industries. If this be true, it is the first time in history that Japan has suffered such indignities.

Although the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor was the immediate cause of our entry into the war that event found the American people spiritually prepared for war on a world-wide scale. We went into this war fighting. We know what we are fighting for. We realize that the war has become what Hitler originally proclaimed it to be -- a total war.

Not all of us can have the privilege of fighting our enemies in distant parts of the world.

Not all of us can have the privilege of working in a munitions factory or shipyard, or on the farms or in oil fields or mines, producing the weapons or the raw materials which are needed by our armed forces.

But there is one front and one battle where everyone in the United States -- every man, woman, and child -- is in action and will be privileged to remain in action for the duration. That front is right here at home, in our daily lives and in our daily tasks. Here at home everyone will have the privilege of making whatever self-denial is necessary, not only to supply our fighting men, but to keep the economic structure of our country fortified and secure during the war and after the war.

This will require the abandonment not only of luxuries

but many other creature comforts.

Every loyal American is aware of his individual responsibility. Whenever I hear anyone saying "The American people are complacent -- they need to be aroused", I feel like asking him to come to Washington and read the mail that floods into the White House and into all departments of this government. The one question that recurs through all these thousands of letters and messages is "What more can I do to help my country in winning this war"?

To build the factories, and buy the materials, and pay the labor, and provide the transportation, and equip and feed and house the soldiers, sailors and marines, and to do all the thousands of things necessary in a war -- all cost money, more money than has ever been spent by any nation at any time in the history of the world.

We are now spending, solely for war purposes, the sum of about one hundred million dollars every day in the week. But, before this year is over, that almost unbelievable rate of expenditure will be very nearly doubled.

All of this money has to be spent -- and spent quickly -- if we are to produce within the time now available the enormous quantities of weapons of war which we need. But the spending

of these tremendous sums presents grave danger of disaster to our national economy.

When your Government continues to spend these unprecedented sums of money for war materials -- month by month, and year by year, it means that more and more money will be finding its way into the pocketbooks and bank accounts of nearly every civilian in the United States. At the same time that this is going on, the supply of goods in the United States, which you and I might ordinarily buy, is being constantly reduced. It is being reduced because raw materials must be taken away from civilian use and put into war use; because machinery and factories must be converted to war production by the Government; because our normal sources of supply from countries abroad are cut down by enemy action.

B

You do not have to be a Professor of Economics to see that when people have enough ready cash to buy all the goods they want but the supply of goods is limited, the people begin to bid against each other and the price of the goods goes up.

Yesterday I submitted to the Congress of the United States a seven point program of general principles which together could be called the national economic policy for

attaining the great objective of keeping the cost of living down.

I repeat them now in substance:

1. We must through drawer Taxes ~~tax heavily, and in that process~~ keep personal and corporate profits at a low reasonable rate, ~~the word "reasonable" being defined at a low level.~~

2. We must fix ceilings on ~~the~~ prices and rents. ~~which consumers, retailers, wholesalers and manufacturers pay for the things they buy, and the rents they pay. ceilings on rents for dwellings in all areas affected by war industries.~~

3. We must stabilize wages. ~~the remuneration received by individuals for their work.~~

4. We must stabilize ~~the~~ farm prices. ~~received by growers for the products of their lands.~~

5. We must ~~encourage all citizens to contribute to the cost of winning this war by purchasing~~ get more billions into War Bonds, ~~with their earnings instead of using those earnings to buy articles which are not essential.~~

6. We must ration all essential commodities which are scarce. ~~of which there is a scarcity, so that they may be distributed fairly among consumers and not merely in accordance with financial ability to pay high prices for them.~~

7. We must discourage ~~credit and~~ instalment buying, and encourage ~~the~~ paying off ~~the~~ debts, and mortgages, ~~and other obligations; for this promotes savings, retards excessive buying and adds to the amount available to the creditor for the purchase of War Bonds.~~

I do not think it is necessary to repeat what I said yesterday to the Congress in discussing these general principles.

The important thing to remember is that each one of these points is dependent on the others if the whole program is to work.

There are those who say that the only thing necessary is to freeze all prices. There are others who say that the only thing necessary is to freeze wages. There are others who say that the only thing necessary is to increase taxes. But none of these alone would be enough. The only effective course of action is a simultaneous attack on all of these problems in one comprehensive,

all-embracing program covering prices, profits, wages, taxes, and debts.

The blunt fact is that every single person in the United States is going to be affected by this program. Some of you will be affected more directly by one or two of these restrictive measures, but all of you will be affected indirectly by all of them.

Are you a business man, or do you own stock in a business corporation? Your profits are going to be cut down to a reasonably low level by taxation. Your income will be subject to higher taxes. Indeed in these days, when every available dollar should go to the war effort, I do not think that any American citizen should have a net income in excess of $25,000 per year after payment of taxes.

Are you a retailer or a wholesaler or a manufacturer or a farmer or a landlord? Ceilings are being placed on the prices at which you can sell your goods or rent your property.

Do you work for wages? You will have to forego higher wages for your particular job for the duration of the war.

~~in wage rates prevail and where corrections are obviously needed.~~

All of us are used to spending money for things we want which are not absolutely essential. We will all have to forego that spending.

Because we must put every dime and every dollar we can possibly spare out of our earnings into War Bonds and Stamps.

Because the demands of the war effort require the rationing of good of which there is not enough to go around.

Because the stopping of purchases of non-essentials will release thousands of workers who are needed in the war effort.

This great war effort must be carried through to its victorious conclusion by the indomitable will and determination of the people. It must not be impeded by the faint of heart. It must not be impeded by those who put their own selfish interests above the interests of the nation. It must not be impeded by the bogus patriots who use the sacred freedom of the press to echo the sentiments of the propagandists in Tokyo and Berlin.

(D) p13

It must not be impeded by those who confuse ~~[honest criticism]~~ false statements with honest criticism.

It must not be impeded by amateur photogrist who know neither problems of transportation nor geography itself

And, above all, it shall not be imperilled by the handful of noisy traitors -- the betrayers of America and of Christianity itself -- the would-be dictators who in their hearts and souls have yielded to Hitlerism and would have this republic do likewise.

I shall use all of the executive power that I have to carry out the policy laid down. If it becomes necessary to ask for any additional legislation in order to attain our objective of preventing a spiral in the cost of living, I shall do so.

I know the American farmer, the American workman, the American business man. I know that for freedom's sake they will stop at nothing. I know that this economy of sacrifice they will gladly embrace -- satisfied that it is necessary for the most vital and compelling motive in their lives -- winning through to victory.

Never in the memory of man has there been a war in which the courage, the endurance and the loyalty of civilians played so vital a part.

Many thousands of civilians all over the world have been and are being killed or maimed by enemy action.

Our own American civilian population is now relatively safe from such disasters. And, to an ever increasing extent, our soldiers, sailors and marines are fighting with great bravery and great skill on far distant fronts to make sure that we shall remain safe.

INSERT A - page 15

I should like to tell you one or two stories about the men we have in our armed forces:

There is, for instance, Dr. Corydon M. Wassel. He was a missionary, well known for his good works in China. He is a simple, modest, retiring man, nearly sixty years old, but he entered the service of his country and was commissioned a Lieutenant Commander in the Navy.

Dr. Wassel was assigned to duty in Java caring for wounded officers and men of the cruisers Houston and Marblehead which had been in every action in the Java seas.

When the Japanese advanced across the island, it was decided to evacuate as many as possible of the wounded to Australia. But about twelve of the men were so badly wounded that they couldn't be moved. They had to be left behind. Dr. Wassel remained with these men, knowing that he would be captured by the enemy. But he decided to make a desperate attempt to get the men out of Java. He asked each of them if he wished to take the chance, and each one agreed.

He first had to get the twelve men to the sea coast, some fifty miles away. To do this, he had to improvise stretchers and requisition automobiles for the hazardous journey. The men were

suffering severely, but Dr. Wassel kept them alive by his skill, and he kept them cheerful by his own inspiring courage.

As Admiral Glassford said in his report, Dr. Wassel was "almost like a Christ-like shepherd devoted to his flock".

On the sea coast, he embarked the men on a little Dutch ship. Hardly had they put to sea before they were bombed and machine-gunned by waves of Japanese planes. Dr. Wassel took virtual command of the ship, and by great skill avoided destruction, hiding in small bays and inlets.

A few days later Dr. Wassel and his little flock of wounded men reached Australia safely.

Dr. Wassel now wears the Navy Cross. But what is more important, he is still hard at work, serving his country and all of civilization with all his great devotion.

Another story concerns a ship rather than any individual man.

You may remember the tragic sinking of the submarine "Squalus" off the New England coast in the summer of 1939. Some of the crew were lost, but others were saved by the speed and efficiency of the surface rescue crews. The "Squalus"

itself was tediously raised from the bottom of the ocean and eventually brought into port for refitting.

Eventually she sailed again under a new name, the U.S.S. SAILFISH. Today, she is a potent and effective unit of our submarine fleet.

The SAILFISH has covered many thousands of miles in operations in the far western Pacific.

She has sunk a Japanese destroyer.

She has torpedoed a Japanese cruiser.

She has made two torpedo hits on a Japanese aircraft carrier, severely damaging this big ship and possibly sinking her.

Three of the enlisted men [redacted] of our Navy who went down with the "Squalus" in 1939 are today serving on the same ship, the "Sailfish", in this war.

It is heartening [redacted] to know that the "Squalus", once given up as lost, arose from the depths to fight for our country in time of peril.

One more story, which I heard only this morning:

This ~~morning I heard~~ is a story ~~[redacted]~~ one of our Flying Fortresses operating in the Western Pacific. According to the report which came to me, the pilot of this ship is a young fellow with rosy cheeks which service in the tropics have tanned to a light brown color. He looks little more than 20 years of age. This modest young man is proud of his crew for the successful accomplishment of one of the toughest fights a bomber has yet experienced.

A short time ago, the bomber departed from a base in the Western Pacific as part of a flight of ~~[redacted]~~ five to attack Japanese transports landing troops in the Philippines. When they had gone about ~~[redacted]~~ half way to their destination, ~~This bomber became separated from the other in heavy clouds, a heavy overcast separated the flight and one of the motors~~ one of the motors of this particular bomber went out of commission. ~~in the bomber of which I am speaking ceased to function. The plane was~~ The young pilot had to bring her down ~~[redacted]~~ to an altitude of about 10,000 feet and lost contact with the ~~[redacted]~~ other bombers. Members of the crew got ~~Shortly thereafter~~ the motor ~~began to function~~ working again and the plane proceeded on its mission alone.

By the time it arrived at its target the other ~~[redacted]~~ four Flying Fortresses had passed over, dropped their bombs, and had stirred up the Japanese ~~[redacted]~~ Zero planes. ~~As this bomber approached, it was attacked by 18 Japanese Zero fighters~~, which, as you know, are the best Japanese fighting ships. Despite this mass attack, the plane proceeded on its mission and dropped all of its bombs on 6 transports which were lined up along the docks.

Eighteen of them attacked our one Flying Fortress.

As it turned back on its homeward journey a running fight between the bomber and the 18 Japanese pursuit ships continued for 75 miles. 4 pursuit ships attacked simultaneously at each side -- right and left -- and were shot down with the side guns. During this fight ~~attack~~ the bomber's radio operator was killed, the engineer's right hand was shot off, and one gunner was crippled, leaving only one man available to operate both side guns. Although wounded in one hand, this gunner alternately manned both side guns bringing down three more Japanese Zero planes. ~~pursuit ships~~. While this was going on, one engine on the bomber was shot out, one gas tank was hit by an explosive bullet knocking a hole in it about 6 inches in diameter and allowing all the gas to run out. In the cockpit of the plane, the radio was shot off by an explosive bullet from a 20mm. cannon. The oxygen system was entirely destroyed. Out of 11 control cables all but 4 were shot away, leaving only the right rudder, 2 aileron controls and one elevator control which made it difficult to manoeuver the ship and almost impossible to turn it. The rear landing wheel was blown off and the two front wheels were both shot flat. Each gas tank had approximately 15 bullet holes in it, but were not damaged because they were of the self-sealing type.

remaining

as Thomp- unable to believe that anyone in that riddled ship was still alive. The Japanese then

The fight continued until the Japanese pursuit ships exhausted their ammunition. They then flew in close, peered into the bomber ~~and~~ ~~then~~ returned to their base. With two engines gone and the plane practically out of control, the bomber returned to its base after dark and made an emergency landing on two flat tires and with no tail wheel. The landing was rough but without further injury to the occupants. The wounded were immediately taken to a hospital for treatment. The bomber was so badly damaged that few parts could be salvaged, but the mission had been accomplished. ~~This is the sort of stuff of which our soldiers are made today!~~

The name of that "rosy-cheeked" pilot is Capt. Merritt T. Wheless, of the United States Army. He comes from Maenard, Texas - population 2,375. ~~[illegible]~~

He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross.

He is now in Tacoma, Washington, and I hope he is listening.

These stories I have told you are not exceptional. They are typical. There are thousands of other instances of individual heroism and individual skill under the terrible conditions of modern war.

As we ~~[illegible]~~ here at home contemplate our own duties, our own responsibilities, let us think and think hard of the example which is being set for us by our fighting men.

Our soldiers and sailors are members and from of well disciplined units. But they are still individuals - free individuals. They are farmers - workers - business men - professional men - artists - clerks.

They are Americans the United States of America,

That is why they fight. That is why they will go on fighting until we have gained victory in this war and in the peace that is to come.

3400 or less
fact

188

SIXTH DRAFT

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

APRIL 28, 1942

It is nearly five months since, in true Nazi style, we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. For the two years prior to that attack this country had been gearing itself up to a high level of production of munitions. Yet our war efforts had done little to dislocate the normal lives of most of us.

Since then we have dispatched strong forces of our Army and Navy to bases and battle-fronts thousands of miles from home. We have stepped up our war production on a scale that is testing our industrial power and our engineering genius and our economic structure to the utmost. We did this with our eyes open; we did it knowing that the fulfillment of our objectives would be felt in every home throughout the land. We have had no illusions about the fact that this would be a tough job -- and a long one.

American warships are now in combat in the North and South Atlantic, in the Arctic, in the Mediterranean, and in the North and South Pacific. American troops have taken stations in South America, Greenland, Iceland, the British Isles, the Near East,

the Middle East, the Far East, the Continent of Australia, and the many islands of the Pacific. American war planes, manned by Americans, are flying in actual combat over all the continents and all the oceans.

On the European front the most important development of the past year has been the crushing offensive on the part of the great armies of Russia against the powerful German army. These Russian forces have destroyed and are destroying more armed power of our enemies -- troops, planes, tanks and guns and other munitions of war -- than all the other United Nations put together.

In the Mediterranean area, matters remain, on the surface, very much as they were. But the situation there is receiving very careful attention.

Very Recently we have received news of a change in government in what we used to know as the Republic of France -- a name dear to the hearts of all lovers of liberty -- a name and an institution which we hope will soon be restored to full dignity.

Throughout the Nazi occupation of France, we have hoped for the maintenance of a French Government which would strive to regain independence, to reestablish the principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", and ~~resume~~ to restore the historic culture of France. However, we are now concerned lest those who have recently come to power may seek to force the brave French people to submission to Nazi [overlordship and] despotism.

The United Nations will take measures, if necessary, to prevent the use of French territory in any part of the world for military purposes by the Axis powers. The good people of France[, wherever they may be,] will readily understand that such action is essential for the United Nations to prevent assistance to the armies or navies or air forces of Germany, Italy and Japan. The overwhelming majority of the French people understand that the fight of the United Nations is fundamentally their fight, that our victory means the restoration of a free and independent France -- and the saving of France from the slavery which would be imposed upon her by her external enemies and her internal traitors. Our policy has been consistent from the very beginning.

We know how the French people really feel. We know that a deep-seated determination to make harder every step in the Axis plan extends from occupied France through Vichy France to the people of their colonies in every ocean and on every continent.

Our planes are helping in the defense of French colonies today, and soon American Flying Fortresses will be fighting for the liberation of the darkened continent of Europe

In all the occupied countries there are men, women and even little children who have never stopped fighting, never stopped resisting, never stopped proving to the Nazis that their so-called "New Order" can never be enforced upon free peoples.

In the German and Italian peoples themselves there is a growing conviction that the cause of Nazism and Fascism is hopeless -- that their political and military leaders have led them along the bitter road which leads not to world conquest but fo final defeat. They cannot fail to contrast the present ~~defensive~~ frantic speeches of these leaders with their arrogant boastings of a year ago, and two years ago.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SUGGESTED INSERT A - Page 5

And we ~~know~~ are determined that the territory which has been lost will ~~eventually~~ be regained.

On the other side of the world, in the Far East, we have passed through a phase of serious losses.

We have inevitably lost control of a large portion of the Philippine Islands. But this whole nation pays tribute to the Filipino and American officers and men who held out so long on Bataan Peninsual, to those grim and gallant fighters who still hold Corregidor, and to the forces which are still striking effectively at the enemy on Mindanao and other islands.

The Malayan Peninsula and Singapore are in the hands of the enemy; the Netherlands East Indies are almost entirely occupied, though resistance there continues. Many other Islands are in the possession of the Japanese. But there is good reason to believe that their southward advance has been checked. Australia, New Zealand and much other territory will be bases for offensive action.

The Japanese are pressing their northward advance in Burma with considerable power, driving toward India and China. They have been opposed with great bravery by small British and Chinese forces, aided by American fliers.

The news in Burma tonight is not good. The Japanese may cut the Burma Road; but I want to say to the gallant people of China that no matter what advances the Japanese may make, ways will be found to deliver airplanes and munitions of war to the armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

We remember that the Chinese people were the first to stand up and fight against the aggressors in this war; and in the future an unconquerable China will play its proper role in maintaining peace and prosperity not only in Eastern Asia but in the whole world.

For every advance that the Japanese have made since they started their frenzied career of conquest, they have had to pay a very heavy toll in warships, in transports, in planes and in men. They are feeling the effects of those losses. The inevitable results of the ambition and the greed of the Japanese Army-Navy oligarchy are being brought home to the Japanese people.

It is even reported from Japan that somebody has dropped bombs on Tokyo and on other principal centers of Japanese war industries. If this be true, it is the first time in history that Japan has suffered such indignities.

Although the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor was the immediate cause of our entry into the war, that event found the American people spiritually prepared for war on a world-wide scale. We went into this war fighting. We know what we are fighting for. We realize that the war has become what Hitler originally proclaimed it to be -- a total war.

Not all of us can have the privilege of fighting our enemies in distant parts of the world.

Not all of us can have the privilege of working in a munitions factory or shipyard, or on the farms or in oil fields or mines, producing the weapons or the raw materials which are needed by our armed forces.

But there is one front and one battle where everyone in the United States -- every man, woman, and child -- is in action, and will be privileged to remain in action throughout this war. [for the duration.] That front is right here at home, in our daily lives and in our daily tasks. Here at home everyone will have the privilege of making whatever self-denial is necessary, not only to supply our fighting men, but to keep the economic structure of our country fortified and secure during the war and after the war.

This will require the abandonment not only of luxuries but many other creature comforts.

Every loyal American is aware of his individual responsibility. Whenever I hear anyone saying "The American people are complacent -- they need to be aroused", I feel like asking him to come to Washington and read the mail that floods into the White House and into all departments of this government. The one question that recurs through all these thousands of letters and messages is "What more can I do to help my country in winning this war"?

To build the factories, and buy the materials, and pay the labor, and provide the transportation, and equip and feed and house the soldiers, sailors and marines, and to do all the thousands of things necessary in a war -- all cost money, more money than has ever been spent by any nation at any time in the history of the world.

We are now spending, solely for war purposes, the sum of about one hundred million dollars every day in the week. But, before this year is over, that almost unbelievable rate of expenditure will be [very nearly] doubled.

All of this money has to be spent -- and spent quickly -- if we are to produce within the time now available the enormous quantities of weapons of war which we need. But the spending of these tremendous sums presents grave danger of disaster to our national economy.

When your Government continues to spend these unprecedented sums for munitions month by month and year by year, that money goes into the pocketbooks and bank accounts of the people of the United States. At the same time raw materials and many manufactured goods [put into war use,] are necessarily taken away from civilian use; and machinery and factories are being converted to war production.

You do not have to be a Professor of Economics to see that if people with plenty of cash start bidding against each other for scarce goods, the price of them goes up.

Yesterday I submitted to the Congress of the United States a seven point program of general principles which together could be called the national economic policy for attaining the great objective of keeping the cost of living down.

I repeat them now in substance:

1. We must, through heavier taxes, keep personal and corporate profits at a low reasonable rate.

2. We must fix ceilings on prices and rents.

3. We must stabilize wages.

4. We must stabilize farm prices.

5. We must ~~get~~ put more billions into War Bonds.

6. We must ration all essential commodities which are scarce.

7. We must discourage instalment buying, and encourage paying off debts and mortgages.

I do not think it is necessary to repeat what I said yesterday to the Congress in discussing these general principles.

The impotant thing to remeber is that each one of these points is dependent on the others if the whole program is to work.

Some people are already taking the position that every one of the seven points is correct except the one point which steps on [his or her] their own individual toes. A few seem very willing to approve self-denial on the part of their neighbors. The only effective course of action is a simultaneous attack on all of [these problems] the factors which increase the cost of living, in one comprehensive, all-embracing

program covering prices, profits, wages, taxes and debts.

The blunt fact is that every single person in the United States is going to be affected by this program. Some of you will be affected more directly by one or two of these restrictive measures, but all of you will be affected indirectly by all of them.

Are you a business man, or do you own stock in a business corporation? Your profits are going to be cut down to a reasonably low level by taxation. Your income will be subject to higher taxes. Indeed in these days, when every available dollar should go to the war effort, I do not think that any American citizen should have a net income in excess of $25,000 per year after payment of taxes.

Are you a retailer or a wholesaler or a manufacturer or a farmer or a landlord? Ceilings are being placed on the prices at which you can sell your goods or rent your property.

Do you work for wages? You will have to forego higher wages for your particular job for the duration of the war.

All of us are used to spending money for things we want but which are not absolutely essential. We will all have to forego that spending. Because we must put every dime and every dollar we can possibly spare out of our earnings into War Bonds and Stamps. Because the demands of the war effort require the rationing of goods of which there is not enough to go around. Because the stopping of purchases of non-essentials will release thousands of workers who are needed in the war effort.

Insert X

This great war effort must be carried through to its victorious conclusion by the indomitable will and determination of the people.

It must not be impeded by the faint of heart.

It must not be impeded by those who put their own selfish interests above the interests of the nation.

It must not be impeded by those who ~~confuse~~ pervert honest criticism into falsification of facts ~~statements with honest criticism~~.

It must not be impeded by ~~amateur strategists who know~~ self-styled experts either in economics or military problems who know neither ~~problems of transportation~~ true figures nor geography itself.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PROPOSED INSERT X

As I told the Congress yesterday, "sacrifice" is not the proper word with which to describe this program of self-denial. When, at the end of this great struggle we shall have saved our free way of life, we shall have made no "sacrifice".

Mr. Justice Holmes' secretary once asked that wise American: Don't you hate to pay taxes"? "No!" the old Justice answered hotly, "I like

~~to pay taxes. With them I buy civilization".~~

~~Unhappily, our civilization cannot be bought today with taxes.~~ The price must be paid in hard work and sorrow and blood. The price is not too high. If you doubt it, ~~so~~ ask those millions who live today under the tyranny of Hitler. ~~They will translate our so-called "sacrifices" into the language of their slavery.~~

Ask the workers of France and Norway, whipped to labor by the lash, whether the stabilization of wages is too great a

"sacrifice".

Ask the farmers of Poland and Denmark, of Czechoslovakia and France, looted of their livestock, starving while their own crops are stolen from their land, whether "parity" prices are too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the business men of Europe, whose enterprises have been stolen from their owners, whether the limitation of profits and personal incomes is too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the women and children whom Hitler is starving whether the rationing of tires

and gasoline and sugar is too great a "sacrifice". We do not have to ask them. They will tell us. They have already given us their agonized answers.

It must not be impeded by ~~the~~ a few bogus patriots who use the sacred freedom of the press to echo the sentiments of the propagandists in Tokyo and Berlin.

And, above all, it shall not be imperiled by the handful of noisy traitors -- ~~the~~ betrayers of America and of Christianity itself -- ~~the~~ would-be dictators who in their hearts and souls have yielded to Hitlerism and would have this Republic do likewise.

I shall use all of the executive power that I have to carry out the policy laid down. If it becomes necessary to ask for any additional legislation in order to attain our objectives of preventing a spiral in the cost of living, I shall do so.

I know the American farmer, the American workman, the American business man. ~~I know that for freedom's sake they will stop at nothing.~~ I know that this economy of sacrifice they will gladly embrace -- satisfied that it is necessary for the most vital and compelling motive in all their lives -- winning through to victory.

Never in the memory of man has there been a war in which the courage, the endurance and the loyalty of civilians played so vital a part.

Many thousands of civilians all over the world have been and are being killed or maimed by enemy action. A.M.

Our own American civilian population is now relatively safe from such disasters. And, to an ever increasing extent, our soldiers, sailors and marines are fighting with great bravery and great skill on far distant fronts to make sure that we shall remain safe.

I should like to tell you one or two stories about the men we have in our armed forces:

There is, for instance, Dr. Corydon M. Wassell. He was a missionary, well known for his good works in China. He is a simple, modest, retiring man, nearly sixty years old, but he entered the service of his country and was commissioned a Lieutenant Commander in the Navy.

Dr. Wassell was assigned to duty in Java caring for wounded officers and men of the cruisers Houston and Marblehead which had been in ~~[illegible]~~ Navy action in the Java seas.

Insert A – Page 14

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Indeed, it was the fortitude under fire of the common people of Britain which enabled that island to ~~stand~~ and ~~this~~ prevented Hitler from winning the war in 1940. The ruins of London and Coventry and other cities are ~~s[redacted]~~ today ~~[redacted]~~ the proudest monuments to British heroism.

When the Japanese advanced across the island, it was decided to evacuate as many as possible of the wounded to Australia. But about twelve of the men were so badly wounded that they could not be moved. They had to be left behind. Dr. Wassell remained with these men, knowing that he would be captured by the enemy. But he decided to make a desperate attempt to get the men out of Java. He asked each of them if he wished to take the chance, and every one agreed.

He first had to get the twelve men to the sea coast, fifty miles away. To do this, he had to improvise stretchers and requisition automobiles for the hazardous journey. The men were suffering severely, but Dr. Wassell kept them alive by his skill, and inspired them he kept them cheerful by his own inspiring courage.

As the official report Admiral Glassford said in his report, Dr. Wassell was "almost like a Christ-like shepherd devoted to his flock".

On the sea coast, he embarked the men on a little Dutch ship. Hardly had they put to sea before they were bombed and machine-gunned by waves of Japanese planes. Dr. Wassell took virtual command of the ship, and by great skill avoided destruction, hiding in small bays and inlets.

A few days later, Dr. Wassell and his little flock of wounded men reached Australia safely.

Dr. Wassell now wears the Navy Cross. But what is more important, he is still hard at work, serving his country and all of civilization with all his great devotion.

Another story concerns a ship rather than ~~any~~ an individual man.

You may remember the tragic sinking of the submarine SQUALUS off the New England coast in the summer of 1939. Some of the crew were lost; but others were saved by the speed and efficiency of the surface rescue crews. The SQUALUS itself was tediously raised from the bottom of the ocean, and ~~[illegible]~~ brought into port for refitting.

Eventually she sailed again under a new name, the U.S.S. SAILFISH. Today, she is a potent and effective unit of our submarine fleet.

The SAILFISH has covered many thousands of miles in operations in the far western Pacific.

She has sunk a Japanese destroyer.

She has torpedoed a Japanese cruiser.

She has made two torpedo hits on a Japanese aircraft carrier, severely damaging this big ship and possibly sinking her.

Three of the enlisted men of our Navy who went down with the "Squalus" in 1939 are today serving on the same ship, the "Sailfish", in this war.

It is heartening to know that the "Squalus", once given up as lost, rose from the depths to fight for our country in time of peril.

One more story, which I heard only this morning:

This is a story of one of our Army Flying Fortresses operating in the Western Pacific. ~~[illegible] which came to me,~~ The pilot of this plane was ~~[illegible] fellow with rosy cheeks which service in the tropics have tanned to a light brown color. He looks little more than twenty years of age.~~ ~~This~~ a modest young man, ~~[illegible]~~ proud of his crew for the successful accomplishment of one of the toughest fights a bomber has yet experienced.

A short time ago, the bomber departed from its base, in the Western Pacific as part of a flight of five, to attack Japanese transports which were landing troops in the

Philippines. When they had gone about half way to their destination, one of the motors of this ~~particular~~ bomber went out of commission. The young pilot had to bring her down to an altitude of about 10,000 feet and lost contact with the other bombers. ~~Members of~~ The crew however, got the motor working again and the plane proceeded on its mission alone.

By the time it arrived at its target the other four Flying Fortresses had already passed over, had dropped their bombs, and had stirred up the Japanese "Zero" planes, which, as you know, are the best Japanese fighting ships. Eighteen of them attacked our one Flying Fortress. Despite this mass attack, ~~the~~ our plane proceeded on its mission, and dropped all of its bombs on ~~a~~ six Japanese transports which were lined up along the docks.

As it turned back on its homeward journey a running fight between the bomber and the ~~20~~ eighteen Japanese pursuit ~~ships~~ planes, continued for ~~45~~ seventy-five miles. ~~2~~ Four pursuit ships attacked simultaneously at each side, -- right and left -- and were shot down with the side guns. During this fight, the bomber's radio operator was killed, the engineer's right hand was shot off, and one gunner was crippled, leaving only one man available to operate

both side guns. Although wounded in one hand, this gunner alternately manned both side guns, bringing down three more Japanese "Zero" planes. While this was going on, one engine on the bomber was shot out, one gas tank was hit by an explosive bullet knocking a hole in it about 6 inches in diameter and allowing all the gas to run out. In the cockpit of the plane, the radio was shot off and ~~by an explosive bullet from a 20mm. cannon~~ the ogygen system was entirely destroyed. Out of seven control cables all but four were shot away, leaving only the right rudder, 2 aileron controls and one elevator control, making it difficult to maneuver the ship and almost impossible to turn it. The rear landing wheel was blown off, and the two front wheels were both shot flat. Each gas tank had approximately 15 bullet holes in it, but were not destroyed because they were of the self-sealing type.

The fight continued until the remaining Japanese pursuit ships exhausted their ammunition. Their pilots then flew in close, peered into the bomber as though unable to believe that anyone in that riddled ship was still alive. The Japanese then turned back and turned back. With two engines gone and the

plane practically out of control, the American bomber returned ~~to its~~ home ~~base~~ after dark and made an emergency landing on two flat tires and no tail wheel. The landing was rough but without further injury to the occupants. The wounded were immediately taken to a hospital for treatment. The bomber was so badly damaged that few parts could be salvaged. But the mission had been accomplished.

The name of that pilot is Captain Hewitt T. Wheless, of the United States Army. He comes from Menard, Texas -- population 2,375. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. He is now on duty in Tacoma, Washington, and I hope he is listening.

These stories I have told you are not exceptional. They are typical examples. There are thousands of other instances of individual heroism and individual skill under the terrible conditions of modern war.

As we here at home contemplate our own duties, our own responsibilities, let us think and think hard of the example which is being set for us by our fighting men.

Our soldiers and sailors are members of well disciplined units. But they are still and forever individuals -- free individuals. They are farmers, workers, business men, professional men, artists, clerks,

They are the United States of America.

That is why they fight. That is why they will go on fighting until we have gained victory in this war, ~~and in the peace that is to come.~~

****

¶ We too are the United States of America.
¶ That is why they fight.
That is why we must work and sacrifice. It is for them. It is for us. It is for victory.

3681

Final Draft '53

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

APRIL 28, 1942.

It is nearly five months since we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. For the two years prior to that attack this country had been gearing itself up to a high level of production of munitions. Yet our war efforts had done little to dislocate the normal lives of most of us.

Since then we have dispatched strong forces of our Army and Navy to bases and battle-fronts thousands of miles from home. We have stepped up our war production on a scale that is testing our industrial power and our engineering genius and our economic structure to the utmost. We have had no illusions about the fact that this would be a tough job -- and a long one.

American warships are now in combat in the North and South Atlantic, in the Arctic, in the Mediterranean, and in the North and South Pacific. American troops have taken stations in South America, Greenland, Iceland,

the British Isles, the Near East, the Middle East, the Far East, the Continent of Australia, and many islands of the Pacific. American war planes, manned by Americans, are flying in actual combat over all the continents and all the oceans.

On the European front the most important development of the past year has been the crushing offensive on the part of the great armies of Russia against the powerful German army. These Russian forces have destroyed and are destroying more armed power of our enemies -- troops, planes, tanks and guns -- than all the other United Nations put together.

In the Mediterranean area, mattters remain, on the surface much as they were. But the situation there is receiving very careful attention.

Recently we have received news of a change in government in what we used to know as the Republic of France -- a name dear to the hearts of all lovers of liberty -- a name and an institution which we hope will soon be restored to full dignity.

Throughout the Nazi occupation of France, we have hoped for the maintenance of a French Government which would strive to regain independence, to reestablish the principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", and to restore the historic culture of France. Our policy has been consistent from the very beginning. However, we are now concerned lest those who have recently come to power may seek to force the brave French people to submission to Nazi despotism.

The United Nations will take measures, if necessary, to prevent the use of French territory in any part of the world for military purposes by the Axis powers.

The good people of France will readily understand that such action is essential for the United Nations to prevent assistance to the armies or navies or air forces of Germany, Italy and Japan. The overwhelming majority of the French people understand that the fight of the United Nations is fundamentally their fight, that our victory means the restoration of a free and independent France — and the saving of France from the slavery which would be imposed upon her by her external enemies and her internal traitors.

We know how the French people really feel. We know that a deep-seated determination to obstruct every step in the Axis plan extends from occupied France through Vichy France to the people of their colonies in every ocean and on every continent.

Our planes are helping in the defense of French colonies today, and soon American Flying Fortresses will be fighting for the liberation of the darkened continent of Europe.

In all the occupied countries there are men, women and even little children who have never stopped fighting, never stopped resisting, never stopped proving to the Nazis that their so-called "New Order" can never be enforced upon free peoples.

In the German and Italian peoples themselves there is a growing conviction that the cause of Nazism and Fascism is hopeless — that their political and military leaders have led them along the bitter road which leads not to world conquest but to final defeat. They cannot fail to contrast the present frantic speeches of these leaders with their arrogant boastings of a year ago, and two years ago.

On the other side of the world, in the Far East, we have passed through a phase of serious losses.

We have inevitably lost control of a large portion of the Philippine Islands. But this whole nation pays tribute to the Filipino and American officers and men who held out so long on Bataan Peninsula, to those grim and gallant fighters who still hold Corregidor, and to the forces which are still striking effectively at the enemy on Mindanao and other islands.

The Malayan Peninsula and Singapore are in the hands of the enemy; the Netherlands East Indies are almost entirely occupied, though resistance there continues. Many other islands are in the possession of the Japanese. But there is good reason to believe that their southward advance has been checked. Australia, New Zealand and much other territory will be bases for offensive action -- and we are determined that the territory which has been lost will be regained.

The Japanese are pressing their northward advance in Burma with considerable power, driving toward India and China. They have been opposed with great bravery by small British and Chinese forces, aided by American fliers.

The news in Burma tonight is not good. The Japanese may cut the Burma Road; but I want to say to the gallant people of China that no matter what advances the Japanese may make, ways will be found to deliver airplanes and munitions of war to the armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

We remember that the Chinese people were the first to stand up and fight against the aggressors in this war; and in the future an unconquerable China will play its proper role in maintaining peace and prosperity not only in Eastern AsiA but in the whole world.

For every advance that the Japanese have made since they started their frenzied career of conquest, they have had to pay a very heavy toll in warships, in transports, in planes and in men. They are feeling the effects of those losses.

It is even reported from Japan that somebody has dropped bombs on Tokyo and on other principal centers of Japanese war industries. If this be true, it is the first time in history that Japan has suffered such indignities.

Although the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor was the immediate cause of our entry into the war, that event found the American people spiritually prepared for war on a world-wide scale. We went into this war fighting. We know what we are fighting for. We realize that the war has become what Hitler originally proclaimed it to be -- a total war.

Not all of us can have the privilege of fighting our enemies in distant parts of the world.

Not all of us can have the privilege of working in a munitions factory or shipyard, or on the farms or in oil fields or mines, producing the weapons or the raw materials which are needed by our armed forces.

But there is one front and one battle where everyone in the United States -- every man, woman, and child -- is in action, and will be privileged to remain in action throughout this war. That front is right here at home, in our daily lives and in our daily tasks. Here at home everyone will have the privilege of making whatever self-denial is necessary, not only to supply our fighting men, but to keep the economic structure of our country fortified and secure during the war and after the war.

This will require the abandonment not only of luxuries but many other creature comfort.

Every loyal American is aware of his individual responsibility. Whenever I hear anyone saying "The American people are complacent — they need to be aroused", I feel like asking him to come to Washington and read the mail that floods into the White House and into all departments of this government. The one question that recurs through all these thousands of letters and messages is "What more can I do to help my country in winning this war"?

To build the factories, and buy the materials, and pay the labor, and provide the transportation, and equip and feed and house the soldiers, sailors and marines, and to do all the thousands of things necessary in a war -- all cost money, more money than has ever been spent by any nation at any time in the history of the world.

We are now spending, solely for war purposes, the sum of about one hundred million dollars every day in the week. But, before this year is over, that almost unbelievable rate of expenditure will be doubled.

All of this money has to be spent -- and spent quickly -- if we are to produce within the time now available the enormous quantities of weapons of war which we need. But the spending of these tremendous sums present grave danger of disaster to our national economy.

When your Government continues to spend these unprecedented sums for munitions month by month and year by year, that money goes into the pocketbooks and bank accounts of the people of the United States. At the same time raw materials and many manufactured goods are necessarily taken away from civilian use; and machinery and factories are being converted to war production.

You do not have to be a professor of economics to see that if people with plenty of cash start bidding against each other for scarce goods, the price of them goes up.

Yesterday I submitted to the Congress of the United States a seven point program of general principles which together could be called the national economic policy for attaining the great objective of keeping the cost of living down.

I repeat them now in substance:

1. We must, through heavier taxes, keep personal and corporate profits at a low reasonable rate.

2. We must fix ceilings on prices and rents.

3. We must stabilize wages.

4. We must stabilize farm prices.

5. We must put more billions into War Bonds.

6. We must ration all essential commodities which are scarce.

7. We must discourage instalment buying, and encourage paying off debts and mortgages.

I do not think it is necessary to repeat what I said yesterday to the Congress in discussing these general principles.

The important thing to remember is that each one of these points is dependent on the others if the whole program is to work.

Some people are already taking the position that every one of the seven points is correct except the one point which steps on their own individual toes. A few seem very willing to approve self-denial -- on the part of their neighbors. The only effective course of action is a simultaneous attack on all of the factors which increase the cost of living, in one comprehensive, all-embracing program covering prices, profits, wages, taxes and debts.

The blunt fact is that every single person in the United States is going to be affected by this program. Some of you will be affected more directly by one or two of these restrictive measures, but all of you will be affected indirectly by all of them.

Are you a business man, or do you own stock in a business corporation? Your profits are going to be cut down to a reasonably low level by taxation. Your income will be subject to higher taxes. Indeed in these days, when every available dollar should go to the war effort, I do not think that any American citizen should have a net income in excess of $25,000 per year after payment of taxes.

Are you a retailer or a wholesaler or a manufacturer or a farmer or a landlord? Ceilings are being placed on the prices at which you can sell your goods or rent your property.

Do you work for wages? You will have to forego higher wages for your particular job for the duration of the war.

All of us are used to spending money for things we want but which are not absolutely essential. We will all have to forego that spending. Because we must put every dime and every dollar we can possibly spare out of our earnings into War Bonds and Stamps. Because the demands of the war

effort require the rationing of goods of which there is not enough to go around. Because the stopping of purchases of non-essentials will release thousands of workers who are needed in the war effort.

As I told the Congress yesterday, "sacrifice" is not the proper word with which to describe this program of self-denial. When, at the end of this great struggle we shall have saved our free way of life, we shall have made no "sacrifice".

The price for civilization must be paid in hard work and sorrow and blood. The price is not too high. If you doubt it, ask those millions who live today under the tyranny of Hitlerism.

Ask the workers of France and Norway, whipped to labor by the lash, whether the stabilization of wages is too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the farmers of Poland and Denmark, of Czechoslovakia and France, looted of their livestock, starving while their own crops are stolen from their land, whether "parity" prices are too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the business men of Europe, whose enterprises have been stolen from their owners, whether the limitation of profits and personal incomes is too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the women and children whom Hitler is starving whether the rationing of tires and gasoline and sugar is too great a "sacrifice".

We do not have to ask them. They have already given us their agonized answers.

This great war effort must be carried through to its victorious conclusion by the indomitable will and determination of the people.

It must not be impeded by the faint of heart.

It must not be impeded by those who put their own selfish interests above the interests of the nation.

It must not be impeded by those who pervert honest criticism into falsification of fact.

It must not be impeded by self-styled experts either in economics or military problems who know neither true figures nor geography itself.

It must not be impeded by a few bogus patriots who use the sacred freedom of the press to echo the sentiments of the propagandists in Tokyo and Berlin.

And, above all, it shall not be imperiled by the handful of noisy traitors -- betrayers of America and of Christianity itself -- would-be dictators who in their hearts and souls have yielded to Hitlerism and would have this Republic do likewise.

I shall use all of the executive power that I have to carry out the policy laid down. If it becomes necessary to ask for any additional legislation in order to attain our objective of preventing a spiral in the cost of living,

I shall do so.

I know the American farmer, the American workman, the American business man. I know that they will gladly embrace this economy of sacrifice -- satisfied that it is necessary for the most vital and compelling motive in all their lives -- winning through to victory.

Never in the memory of man has there been a war in which the courage, the endurance and the loyalty of civilians played so vital a part.

Many thousands of civilians all over the world have been and are being killed or maimed by enemy action. Indeed, it was the fortitude of the common people of Britain under fire which enable that island to stand and prevented Hitler from winning the war in 1940. The ruins of London and Coventry and other cities are today the proudest monuments to British heroism.

Our own American civilian population is now relatively safe from such disasters. And, to an ever increasing extent, our soldiers, sailors and marines are fighting with great bravery and great skill on far distant fronts to make sure that we shall remain safe.

I should like to tell you one or two stories about the men we have in our armed forces:

There is, for instance, Dr. Corydon M. Wassell. He was a missionary, well known for his good works in China. He is a simple, modest, retiring man, nearly sixty years old, but he entered the service of his country and was commissioned a Lieutenant Commander in the Navy.

Dr. Wassell was assigned to duty in Java caring for wounded officers and men of the cruisers Houston and Marblehead which had been in heavy action in the Java seas.

When the Japanese advanced across the island, it was decided to evacuate as many as possible of the wounded to Australia. But about twelve of the men were so badly wounded that they could not be moved. Dr. Wassell remained with these men, knowing that he would be captured by the enemy. But he decided to make a desperate attempt to get the men out of Java. He asked each of them if he wished to take the chance, and every one agreed.

He first had to get the twelve men to the sea coast,--fifty miles away. To do this, he had to improvise stretchers for the hazardous journey. The men were suffering severely, but Dr. Wassell kept them alive by his skill, and inspired them by his own courage.

As the official report said, Dr. Wassell was "almost like a Christ-like shepherd devoted to his flock".

SQUALUS itself was tediously raised from the bottom of the ocean.

On the sea coast, he embarked the men on a Dutch ship. They were bombed and machine-gunned by waves of Japanese planes. Dr. Wassell took virtual command of the ship, and by great skill avoided destruction, hiding in small bays and inlets.

A few days later, Dr. Wassell and his little flock of wounded men reached Australia safely.

Dr. Wassell now wears the Navy Cross.

Another story concerns a ship rather than an individual man.

You may remember the tragic sinking of the submarine SQUALUS off the New England coast in the summer of 1939. Some of the crew were lost, but others were saved by the speed and efficiency of the surface rescue crews. The SQUALUS itself was tediously raised from the bottom of the ocean.

Eventually she sailed again under a new name, the U.S.S. SAILFISH. Today, she is a potent and effective unit of our submarine fleet.

The SAILFISH has covered many thousands of miles in operations in the far western Pacific.

She has sunk a Japanese destroyer.

She has torpedoed a Japanese cruiser.

She has made two torpedo hits on a Japanese aircraft carrier.

Three of the enlisted men of our Navy who went down with the SQUALUS in 1939 are today serving on the same ship, the SAILFISH, in this war.

It is heartening to know that the SQUALUS, once given up as lost, rose from the depths to fight for our country in time of peril.

One more story, which I heard only this morning:

This is a story of one of our Army Flying Fortresses operating in the Western Pacific. The pilot of this plane is a modest young man, proud of his crew for one of the toughest fights a bomber has yet experienced.

The bomber departed from its base, as part of a flight of five, to attack Japanese transports which were landing troops in the Philippines. When they had gone about half way to their destination, one of the motors of this bomber went out of commission. The young pilot lost contact with the other bombers. The crew, however, got the motor working again and the plane proceeded on its mission alone.

By the time it arrived at its target the other four Flying Fortresses had already passed over, had dropped their bombs, and had stirred up the Japanese "Zero" planes. Eighteen of them attacked our one Flying Fortress. Despite this mass attack, our plane proceeded on its mission, and dropped all of its bombs on six Japanese transports which were lined up along the docks.

As it turned back on its homeward journey a running fight between the bomber and the eighteen Japanese pursuit planes continued for seventy-five miles. Four pursuit ships attacked simultaneously at each side, and were shot down

with the side guns. During this fight, the bomber's radio operator waskkilled, the engineer's right hand was shot off, and one gunner was crippled, leaving only one man available to operate both side guns. Although wounded in one hand, this gunner alternately manned both side guns, bringing down three more Japanese "Zero" planes. While this was going on, one engine on the bomber was shot out, one gas tank was hit, the radio was shot off, and the oxygen system was entirely destroyed. Out of eleven control cables all but four were shot away. The rear landing wheel was blown off, and the two front wheels were both shot flat.

The fight continued until the remaining Japanese pursuit ships exhausted their ammunition and turned back. With two engines gone and the plane practically out of control, the American bomber returned to its base after dark and made an emergency landing. The mission had been accomplished.

The name of that pilot is Captain Hewitt T. Wheless, of the United States Army. He comes from Menard, Texas — population 2,375. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. I hope he is listening.

These stories I have told you are not exceptional. They are typical examples of individual heroism and skill.

As we here at home contemplate our own duties, our own responsibilities, let us think and think hard of the example which is being set for us by our fighting men.

Our soldiers and sailors are members of well disciplined units. But they are still and forever individuals — free individuals. They are farmers, workers, business men, professional men, artists clerks.

They are the United States of America.

That is why they fight.

We too are the United States of America.

That is why we must work and sacrifice.

It is for them. It is for us. It is for victory.

****

R.P.F.

1-F

File

HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE

April 28, 1942

CAUTION: The following address of the President MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:00 P.M., E.W.T., April 28, 1942. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

- -

Mr. [redacted]

Page 8 had to be re-done according to this - lines just reversed at the last paragraph.

The fight continued until the remaining Japanese pursuit ships exhausted their ammunition and turned back. With two engines gone and the plane practically out of control, the American bomber returned to its base after dark and made an emergency landing. The mission had been accomplished.

The name of that pilot is Captain Hewitt T. Wheless, of the United States Army. He comes from Menard, Texas -- population 2,375. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. I hope he is listening.

These stories I have told you are not exceptional. They are typical examples of individual heroism and skill.

As we here at home contemplate our own duties, our own responsibilities, let us think and think hard of the example which is being set for us by our fighting men.

Our soldiers and sailors are members of well disciplined units. But they are still and forever individuals -- free individuals. They are farmers, workers, business men, professional men, artists, clerks.

They are the United States of America.
~~That is why they fight~~.
That is why they fight.

We too are the United States of America.

That is why we must work and sacrifice.

It is for them. It is for us. It is for victory.

- - - - - - -

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

APRIL 28, 1942.

It is nearly five months since we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. For the two years prior to that attack this country had been gearing itself up to a high level of production of munitions. Yet our war efforts had done little to dislocate the normal lives of most of us.

Since then we have dispatched strong forces of our Army and Navy to bases and battle-fronts thousands of miles from home. We have stepped up our war production on a scale that is testing our industrial power and our engineering genius and our economic structure to the utmost. We have had no illusions about the fact that this would be a tough job — and a long one.

American warships are now in combat in the North and South Atlantic, in the Arctic, in the Mediterranean, and in the North and South Pacific. American troops have taken stations in South America, Greenland, Iceland,

the British Isles, the Near East, the Middle East, the Far East, the Continent of Australia, and many islands of the Pacific. American war planes, manned by Americans, are flying in actual combat over all the continents and all the oceans.

On the European front the most important development of the past year has been the crushing offensive on the part of the great armies of Russia against the powerful German army. These Russian forces have destroyed and are destroying more armed power of our enemies -- troops, planes, tanks and guns -- than all the other United Nations put together.

In the Mediterranean area, mattters remain, on the surface much as they were. But the situation there is receiving very careful attention.

Recently we have received news of a change in government in what we used to know as the Republic of France -- a name dear to the hearts of all lovers of liberty -- a name and an institution which we hope will soon be restored to full dignity.

Throughout the Nazi occupation of France, we have hoped for the maintenance of a French Government which would strive to regain independence, to reestablish the principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", and to restore the historic culture of France. Our policy has been consistent from the very beginning. However, we are now concerned lest those who have recently come to power may seek to force the brave French people to submission to Nazi despotism.

The United Nations will take measures, if necessary, to prevent the use of French territory in any part of the world for military purposes by the Axis powers.

The good people of France will readily understand that such action is essential for the United Nations to prevent assistance to the armies or navies or air forces of Germany, Italy and Japan. The overwhelming majority of the French people understand that the fight of the United Nations is fundamentally their fight, that our victory means the restoration of a free and independent France -- and the saving of France from the slavery which would be imposed upon her by her external enemies and her internal traitors.

We know how the French people really feel. We know that a deep-seated determination to obstruct every step in the Axis plan extends from occupied France through Vichy France to the people of their colonies in every ocean and on every continent.

Our planes are helping in the defense of French colonies today, and soon American Flying Fortresses will be fighting for the liberation of the darkened continent of Europe.

In all the occupied countries there are men, women and even little children who have never stopped fighting, never stopped resisting, never stopped proving to the Nazis that their so-called "New Order" can never be enforced upon free peoples.

In the German and Italian peoples themselves there is a growing conviction that the cause of Nazism and Fascism is hopeless -- that their political and military leaders have led them along the bitter road which leads not to world conquest but to final defeat. They cannot fail to contrast the present frantic speeches of these leaders with their arrogant boastings of a year ago, and two years ago.

On the other side of the world, in the Far East, we have passed through a phase of serious losses.

We have inevitably lost control of a large portion of the Philippine Islands. But this whole nation pays tribute to the Filipino and American officers and men who held out so long on Bataan Peninsula, to those grim and gallant fighters who still hold Corregidor, and to the forces which are still striking effectively at the enemy on Mindanao and other islands.

The Malayan Peninsula and Singapore are in the hands of the enemy; the Netherlands East Indies are almost entirely occupied, though resistance there continues. Many other islands are in the possession of the Japanese. But there is good reason to believe that their southward advance has been checked. Australia, New Zealand and much other territory will be bases for offensive action — and we are determined that the territory which has been lost will be regained.

The Japanese are pressing their northward advance in Burma with considerable power, driving toward India and China. They have been opposed with great bravery by small British and Chinese forces, aided by American fliers.

The news in Burma tonight is not good. The Japanese may cut the Burma Road; but I want to say to the gallant people of China that no matter what advances the Japanese may make, ways will be found to deliver airplanes and munitions of war to the armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

We remember that the Chinese people were the first to stand up and fight against the aggressors in this war; and in the future an unconquerable China will play its proper role in maintaining peace and prosperity not only in Eastern Asia but in the whole world.

For every advance that the Japanese have made since they started their frenzied career of conquest, they have had to pay a very heavy toll in warships, in transports, in planes and in men. They are feeling the effects of those losses.

It is even reported from Japan that somebody has dropped bombs on Tokyo and on other principal centers of Japanese war industries. If this be true, it is the first time in history that Japan has suffered such indignities.

Although the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor was the immediate cause of our entry into the war, that event found the American people spiritually prepared for war on a world-wide scale. We went into this war fighting. We know what we are fighting for. We realize that the war has become what Hitler originally proclaimed it to be -- a total war.

Every loyal American is aware of his individual responsibility. Whenever I hear anyone saying "The American people are complacent -- they need to be aroused", I feel like asking him to come to Washington and read the mail that floods into the White House and into all departments of this government. The one question that recurs through all these thousands of letters and messages is "What more can I do to help my country in winning this war"?

To build the factories, and buy the materials, and pay the labor, and provide the transportation, and equip and feed and house the soldiers, sailors and marines, and to do all the thousands of things necessary in a war -- all cost money, more money than has ever been spent by any nation at any time in the history of the world.

We are now spending, solely for war purposes, the sum of about one hundred million dollars every day in the week. But, before this year is over, that almost unbelievable rate of expenditure will be doubled.

Yesterday I submitted to the Congress of the United States a seven point program of general principles which together could be called the national economic policy for attaining the great objective of keeping the cost of living down.

I repeat them now in substance:

1. We must, through heavier taxes, keep personal and corporate profits at a low reasonable rate.

2. We must fix ceilings on prices and rents.

3. We must stabilize wages.

4. We must stabilize farm prices.

5. We must put more billions into War Bonds.

6. We must ration all essential commodities which are scarce.

7. We must discourage instalment buying, and encourage paying off debts and mortgages.

I do not think it is necessary to repeat what I said yesterday to the Congress in discussing these general principles.

The important thing to remember is that each one of these points is dependent on the others if the whole program is to work.

Some people are already taking the position that every one of the seven points is correct except the one point which steps on their own individual toes. A few seem very willing to approve self-denial -- on the part of their neighbors. The only effective course of action is a simultaneous attack on all of the factors which increase the cost of living, in one comprehensive, all-embracing program covering prices, profits, wages, taxes and debts.

The blunt fact is that every single person in the United States is going to be affected by this program. Some of you will be affected more directly by one or two of these restrictive measures, but all of you will be affected indirectly by all of them.

Are you a business man, or do you own stock in a business corporation? Your profits are going to be cut down to a reasonably low level by taxation. Your income will be subject to higher taxes. Indeed in these days, when every available dollar should go to the war effort, I do not think that any American citizen should have a net income in excess of $25,000 per year after payment of taxes.

Are you a retailer or a wholesaler or a manufacturer or a farmer or a landlord? Ceilings are being placed on the prices at which you can sell your goods or rent your property.

Do you work for wages? You will have to forego higher wages for your particular job for the duration of the war.

All of us are used to spending money for things we want but which ~~xx~~ are not absolutely essential. We will all have to forego that spending. Because we must put every dime and every dollar we can possibly spare out of our earnings into War Bonds and Stamps. Because the demands of the war

effort require the rationing of goods of which there is not enough to go around. Because the stopping of purchases of non-essentials will release thousands of workers who are needed in the war effort.

As I told the Congress yesterday, "sacrifice" is not the proper word with which to describe this program of self-denial. When, at the end of this great struggle we shall have saved our free way of life, we shall have made no "sacrifice".

The price for civilization must be paid in hard work and sorrow and blood. The price is not too high. If you doubt it, ask those millions who live today under the tyranny of Hitlerism.

Ask the workers of France and Norway, whipped to labor by the lash, whether the stabilization of wages is too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the farmers of Poland and Denmark, of Czechoslovakia and France, looted of their livestock, starving while their own crops are stolen from their land, whether "parity" prices are too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the business men of Europe, whose enterprises have been stolen from their owners, whether the limitation of profits and personal incomes is too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the women and children whom Hitler is starving whether the rationing of tires and gasoline and sugar is too great a "sacrifice".

We do not have to ask them. They have already given us their agonized answers.

This great war effort must be carried through to its victorious conclusion by the indomitable will and determination of the people.

It must not be impeded by the faint of heart.

It must not be impeded by those who put their own selfish interests above the interests of the nation.

It must not be impeded by those who pervert honest criticism into falsification of fact.

It must not be impeded by self-styled experts either in economics or military problems who know neither true figures nor geography itself.

It must not be impeded by a few bogus patriots who use the sacred freedom of the press to echo the sentiments of the propagandists in Tokyo and Berlin.

And, above all, it shall not be imperiled by the handful of noisy traitors -- betrayers of America and of Christianity itself -- would-be dictators who in their hearts and souls have yielded to Hitlerism and would have this Republic do likewise.

I shall use all of the executive power that I have to carry out the policy laid down. If it becomes necessary to ask for any additional legislation in order to attain our objective of preventing a spiral in the cost of living,

Our own American civilian population is now relatively safe from such disasters. And, to an ever increasing extent, our soldiers, sailors and marines are fighting with great bravery and great skill on far distant fronts to make sure that we shall remain safe.

I should like to tell you one or two stories about the men we have in our armed forces:

There is, for instance, Dr. Corydon M. Wassell. He was a missionary, well known for his good works in China. He is a simple, modest, retiring man, nearly sixty years old, but he entered the service of his country and was commissioned a Lieutenant Commander in the Navy.

Dr. Wassell was assigned to duty in Java caring for wounded officers and men of the cruisers Houston and Marblehead which had been in heavy action in the Java seas.

When the Japanese advanced across the island, it was decided to evacuate as many as possible of the wounded to Australia. But about twelve of the men were so badly wounded that they could not be moved. Dr. Wassell remained with these men, knowing that he would be captured by the enemy. But he decided to make a desperate attempt to get the men out of Java. He asked each of them if he wished to take the chance, and every one agreed.

He first had to get the twelve men to the sea coast,--fifty miles away. To do this, he had to improvise stretchers for the hazardous journey. The men were suffering severely, but Dr. Wassell kept them alive by his skill, and inspired them by his own courage.

As the official report said, Dr. Wassell was "almost like a Christ-like shepherd devoted to his flock".

On the sea coast, he embarked the men on a little Dutch ship. They were bombed and machine-gunned by waves of Japanese planes. Dr. Wassell took virtual command of the ship, and by great skill avoided destruction, hiding in small bays and inlets.

A few days later, Dr. Wassell and his little flock of wounded men reached Australia safely.

Dr. Wassell now wears the Navy Cross.

Another story concerns a ship rather than an individual man.

You may remember the tragic sinking of the submarine SQUALUS off the New England coast in the summer of 1939. Some of the crew were lost, but others were saved by the speed and efficiency of the surface rescue crews. The SQUALUS itself was tediously raised from the bottom of the ocean.

Eventually she sailed again under a new name, the U.S.S. SAILFISH. Today, she is a potent and effective unit of our submarine fleet.

The SAILFISH has covered many thousands of miles in operations in the far western Pacific.

She has sunk a Japanese destroyer.

She has torpedoed a Japanese cruiser.

She has made two torpedo hits on a Japanese aircraft carrier.

Three of the enlisted men of our Navy who went down with the SQUALUS in 1939 are today serving on the same ship, the SAILFISH, in this war.

It is heartening to know that the SQUALUS, once given up as lost, rose from the depths to fight for our country in time of peril.

One more story, which I heard only this morning:

This is a story of one of our Army Flying Fortresses operating in the Western Pacific. The pilot of this plane was a modest young man, proud of his crew for one of the toughest fights a bomber has yet experienced.

The bomber departed from its base, as part of a flight of five, to attack Japanese transports which were landing troops in the Philippines. When they had gone about half way to their destination, one of the motors of this bomber went out of commission. The young pilot lost contact with the other bombers. The crew, however, got the motor working again and the plane proceeded on its mission alone.

By the time it arrived at its target the other four Flying Fortresses had already passed over, had dropped their bombs, and had stirred up the Japanese "Zero" planes. Eighteen of them attacked our one Flying Fortress. Despite this mass attack, our plane proceeded on its mission, and dropped all of its bombs on six Japanese transports which were lined up along the docks.

As it turned back on its homeward journey a running fight between the bomber and the eighteen Japanese pursuit planes continued for seventy-five miles. Four pursuit ships attacked simultaneously at each side, and were shot down

with the side guns. During this fight, the bomber's radio operator waskkilled, the engineer's right hand was shot off, and one gunner was crippled, leaving only one man available to operate both side guns. Although wounded in one hand, this gunner alternately manned both side guns, bringing down three more Japanese "Zero" planes. While this was going on, one engine on the bomber was shot out, one gas tank was hit, the radio was shot off, and the oxygen system was entirely destroyed. Out of eleven control cables all but four were shot away. The rear landing wheel was blown off, and the two front wheels were both shot flat.

The fight continued until the remaining Japanese pursuit ships exhausted their ammunition and turned back. With two engines gone and the plane practically out of control, the American bomber returned to its base after dark and made an emergency landing. The mission had been accomplished.

The name of that pilot is Captain Hewitt T. Wheless, of the United States Army. He comes from Menard, Texas — population 2,375. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. I hope he is listening.

These stories I have told you are not exceptional. They are typical examples of individual heroism and skill.

As we here at home contemplate our own duties, our own responsibilities, let us think and think hard of the example which is being set for us by our fighting men.

Our soldiers and sailors are members of well disciplined units. But they are still and forever individuals — free individuals. They are farmers, workers, business men, professional men, artists, clerks.

They are the United States of America.

We too are the United States of America.

That is why they fight. That is why we must work and sacrifice. It is for them. It is for us. It is for victory.

****

The name of that pilot is Captain Hewitt T. Wheless, of the United States Army. He comes from Kenard, Texas — population 2,375. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. I hope he is listening.

These stories I have told you are not exceptional. They are typical examples of individual heroism and skill.

As we here at home contemplate our own duties, our own responsibilities, let us think and think hard of the example which is being set for us by our fighting men.

Our soldiers and sailors are members of well disciplined units. But they are still and forever individuals -- free individuals. They are farmers, workers, business men, professional men, artists clerks.

They are the United States of America.

That is why they fight.

We too are the United States of America.

That is why we must work and sacrifice.

It is for them. It is for us. It is for victory.

****

HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE

April 28, 1942

CAUTION: The following address of the President MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:00 P.M., E.W.T., April 28, 1942. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

It is nearly five months since we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. For the two years prior to that attack this country had been gearing itself up to a high level of production of munitions. Yet our war efforts had done little to dislocate the normal lives of most of us.

Since then we have dispatched strong forces of our Army and Navy to bases and battle-fronts thousands of miles from home. We have stepped up our war production on a scale that is testing our industrial power and our engineering genius and our economic structure to the utmost. We have had no illusions about the fact that this would be a tough job — and a long one.

American warships are now in combat in the North and South Atlantic, in the Arctic, in the Mediterranean, and in the North and South Pacific. American troops have taken stations in South America, Greenland, Iceland, the British Isles, the Near East, the Middle East, the Far East, the Continent of Australia, and many islands of the Pacific. American war planes, manned by Americans, are flying in actual combat over all the continents and all the oceans.

On the European front the most important development of the past year has been the crushing offensive on the part of the great armies of Russia against the powerful German army. These Russian forces have destroyed and are destroying more armed power of our enemies — troops, planes, tanks and guns — than all the other United Nations put together.

In the Mediterranean area, matters remain, on the surface much as they were. But the situation there is receiving very careful attention.

Recently we have received news of a change in government in what we used to know as the Republic of France — a name dear to the hearts of all lovers of liberty — a name and an institution which we hope will soon be restored to full dignity.

Throughout the Nazi occupation of France, we have hoped for the maintenance of a French Government which would strive to regain independence, to reestablish the principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", and to restore the historic culture of France. Our policy has been consistent from the very beginning. However, we are now concerned lest those who have recently come to power may seek to force the brave French people to submission to Nazi despotism.

The United Nations will take measures, if necessary, to prevent the use of French territory in any part of the world for military purposes by the Axis powers. The good people of France will readily understand that such action is essential for the United Nations to prevent assistance to the armies or navies or air forces of Germany, Italy and Japan. The overwhelming majority of the French people understand that the fight of the United Nations is fundamentally their fight, that our victory means the restoration of a free and independent France -- and the saving of France from the slavery which would be imposed upon her by her external enemies and her internal traitors.

We know how the French people really feel. We know that a deep-seated determination to obstruct every step in the Axis plan extends from occupied France through Vichy France to the people of their colonies in every ocean and on every continent.

Our planes are helping in the defense of French colonies today, and soon American Flying Fortresses will be fighting for the liberation of the darkened continent of Europe.

In all the occupied countries there are men, women and even little children who have never stopped fighting, never stopped resisting, never stopped proving to the Nazis that their so-called "New Order" can never be enforced upon free peoples.

In the German and Italian peoples themselves there is a growing conviction that the cause of Nazism and Fascism is hopeless -- that their political and military leaders have led them along the bitter road which leads not to world conquest but to final defeat. They cannot fail to contrast the present frantic speeches of these leaders with their arrogant boastings of a year ago, and two years ago.

On the other side of the world, in the Far East, we have passed through a phase of serious losses.

We have inevitably lost control of a large portion of the Philippine Islands. But this whole nation pays tribute to the Filipino and American officers and men who held out so long on Bataan Peninsula, to those grim and gallant fighters who still hold Corregidor, and to the forces which are still striking effectively at the enemy on Mindanao and other islands.

The Malayan Peninsula and Singapore are in the hands of the enemy; the Netherlands East Indies are almost entirely occupied, though resistance there continues. Many other islands are in the possession of the Japanese. But there is good reason to believe that their southward advance has been checked. Australia, New Zealand and much other territory will be bases for offensive action -- and we are determined that the territory which has been lost will be regained.

The Japanese are pressing their northward advance in Burma with considerable power, driving toward India and China. They have been opposed with great bravery by small British and Chinese forces aided by American fliers.

The news in Burma tonight is not good. The Japanese may cut the Burma Road; but I want to say to the gallant people of China that no matter what advances the Japanese may make, ways will be found to deliver airplanes and munitions of war to the armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

We remember that the Chinese people were the first to stand up and fight against the aggressors in this war; and in the future an unconquerable China will play its proper role in maintaining peace and prosperity not only in Eastern Asia but in the whole world.

For every advance that the Japanese have made since they started their frenzied career of conquest, they have had to pay a very heavy toll in warships, in transports, in planes and in men. They are feeling the effects of those losses.

It is even reported from Japan that somebody has dropped bombs on Tokyo and on other principal centers of Japanese war industries. If this be true, it is the first time in history that Japan has suffered such indignities.

Although the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor was the immediate cause of our entry into the war, that event found the American people spiritually prepared for war on a world-wide scale. We went into this war fighting. We know what we are fighting for. We realize that the war has become what Hitler originally proclaimed it to be -- a total war.

Not all of us can have the privilege of fighting our enemies in distant parts of the world.

Not all of us can have the privilege of working in a munitions factory or shipyard, or on the farms or in oil fields or mines, producing the weapons or the raw materials which are needed by our armed forces.

But there is one front and one battle where everyone in the United States -- every man, woman, and child -- is in action, and will be privileged to remain in action throughout this war. That front is right here at home, in our daily lives and in our daily tasks. Here at home everyone will have the privilege of making whatever self-denial is necessary, not only to supply our fighting men, but to keep the economic structure of our country fortified and secure during the war and after the war.

This will require the abandonment not only of luxuries but many other creature comforts.

Every loyal American is aware of his indiviuual responsibility. Whenever I hear anyone saying "The American people are complacent -- they need to be aroused", I feel like asking him to come to Washington and read the mail that floods into the White House and into all departments of this government. The one question that recurs through all these thousands of letters and messages is "What more can I do to help my country in winning this war"?

To build the factories, and buy the materials, and pay the labor, and provide the transportation, and equip and feed and house the soldiers, sailors and marines, and to do all the thousands of things necessary in a war -- all cost money, more money than has ever been spent by any nation at any time in the history of the world.

We are now spending, solely for war purposes, the sum of about one hundred million dollars every day in the week. But, before this year is over, that almost unbelievable rate of expenditure will be doubled.

All of this money has to be spent -- and spent quickly -- if we are to produce within the time now available the enormous quantities of weapons of war which we need. But the spending of these tremendous sums presents grave danger of disaster to our national economy.

When your Government continues to spend these unprecedented sums for munitions month by month and year by year, that money goes into the pocketbooks and bank accounts of the people of the United States. At the same time raw materials and many manufactured goods are necessarily taken away from civilian use; and machinery and factories are being converted to war production.

You do not have to be a professor of economics to see that if people with plenty of cash start bidding against each other for scarce goods, the price of them goes up.

Yesterday I submitted to the Congress of the United States a seven point program of general principles which together could be called the national economic policy for attaining the great objective of keeping the cost of living down.

I repeat them now in substance:

1. We must, through heavier taxes, keep personal and corporate profits at a low reasonable rate.

2. We must fix ceilings on prices and rents.

3. We must stabilize wages.

4. We must stabilize farm prices.

5. We must put more billions into War Bonds.

6. We must ration all essential commodities which are scarce.

7. We must discourage instalment buying, and encourage paying off debts and mortgages.

I do not think it is necessary to repeat what I said yesterday to the Congress in discussing these general principles.

The important thing to remember is that each one of these points is dependent on the others if the whole program is to work.

Some people are already taking the position that every one of the seven points is correct except the one point which steps on their own individual toes. A few seem very willing to approve self-denial — on the part of their neighbors. The only effective course of action is a simultaneous attack on all of the factors which increase the cost of living, in one comprehensive, all-embracing program covering prices, profits, wages, taxes and debts.

The blunt fact is that every single person in the United States is going to be affected by this program. Some of you will be affected more directly by one or two of these restrictive measures, but all of you will be affected indirectly by all of them.

Are you a business man, or do you own stock in a business corporation? Your profits are going to be cut down to a reasonably low level by taxation. Your income will be subject to higher taxes. Indeed in these days, when every available dollar should go to the war effort, I do not think that any American citizen should have a net income in excess of $25,000 per year after payment of taxes.

Are you a retailer or a wholesaler or a manufacturer or a farmer or a landlord? Ceilings are being placed on the prices at which you can sell your goods or rent your property.

Do you work for wages? You will have to forego higher wages for your particular job for the duration of the war.

All of us are used to spending money for things we want but which are not absolutely essential. We will all have to forego that spending. Because we must put every dime and every dollar we can possibly spare out of our earnings into War Bonds and Stamps. Because the demands of the war effort require the rationing of goods of which there is not enough to go around. Because the stopping of purchases of non-essentials will release thousands of workers who are needed in the war effort.

As I told the Congress yesterday, "sacrifice" is not the proper word with which to describe this program of self-denial. When, at the end of this great struggle we shall have saved our free way of life, we shall have made no "sacrifice".

The price for civilization must be paid in hard work and sorrow and blood. The price is not too high. If you doubt it, ask those millions who live today under the tyranny of Hitlerism.

Ask the workers of France and Norway, whipped to labor by the lash, whether the stabilization of wages is too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the farmers of Poland and Denmark, of Czechoslovakia and France, looted of their livestock, starving while their own crops are stolen from their land, whether "parity" prices are too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the business men of Europe, whose enterprises have been stolen from their owners, whether the limitation of profits and personal incomes is too great a "sacrifice".

Ask the women and children whom Hitler is starving whether the rationing of tires and gasoline and sugar is too great a "sacrifice".

We do not have to ask them. They have already given us their agonized answers.

This great war effort must be carried through to its victorious conclusion by the indomitable will and determination of the people.

It must not be impeded by the faint of heart.

It must not be impeded by those who put their own selfish interests above the interests of the nation.

It must not be impeded by those who pervert honest criticism into falsification of fact.

It must not be impeded by self-styled experts either in economics or military problems who know neither true figures nor geography itself.

It must not be impeded by a few bogus patriots who use the sacred freedom of the press to echo the sentiments of the propagandists in Tokyo and Berlin.

And, above all, it shall not be imperiled by the handful of noisy traitors -- betrayers of America and of Christianity itself -- would-be dictators who in their hearts and souls have yielded to Hitlerism and would have this Republic do likewise.

Dr. Wassell now wears the Navy Cross.

Another story concerns a ship rather than an individual man.

You may remember the tragic sinking of the submarine SQUALUS off the New England coast in the summer of 1939. Some of the crew were lost, but others were saved by the speed and efficiency of the surface rescue crews. The SQUALUS itself was tediously raised from the bottom of the ocean.

Eventually she sailed again under a new name, the U.S.S. SAILFISH. Today, she is a potent and effective unit of our submarine fleet.

The SAILFISH has covered many thousands of miles in operations in the far western Pacific.

She has sunk a Japanese destroyer.

She has torpedoed a Japanese cruiser.

She has made two torpedo hits on a Japanese aircraft carrier.

Three of the enlisted men of our Navy who went down with the SQUALUS in 1939 are today serving on the same ship, the SAILFISH, in this war.

It is heartening to know that the SQUALUS, once given up as lost, rose from the depths to fight for our country in time of peril.

One more story, which I heard only this morning:

This is a story of one of our Army Flying Fortresses operating in the Western Pacific. The pilot of this plane is a modest young man, proud of his crew for one of the toughest fights a bomber has yet experienced.

The bomber departed from its base, as part of a flight of five, to attack Japanese transports which were landing troops in the Philippines. When they had gone about half way to their destination, one of the motors of this bomber went out of commission. The young pilot lost contact with the other bombers. The crew, however, got the motor working again and the plane proceeded on its mission alone.

By the time it arrived at its target the other four Flying Fortresses had already passed over, had dropped their bombs, and had stirred up the Japanese "Zero" planes. Eighteen of them attacked our one Flying Fortress. Despite this mass attack, our plane proceeded on its mission, and dropped all of its bombs on six Japanese transports which were lined up along the docks.

As it turned back on its homeward journey a running fight between the bomber and the eighteen Japanese pursuit planes continued for seventy-five miles. Four pursuit ships attacked simultaneously at each side, and were shot down with the side guns. During this fight, the bomber's radio operator was killed, the engineer's right hand was shot off, and one gunner was crippled, leaving only one man available to operate both side guns. Although wounded in one hand, this gunner alternately manned both side guns, bringing down three more Japanese "Zero" planes. While this was going on, one engine on the bomber was shot out, one gas tank was hit, the radio was shot off, and the oxygen system was entirely destroyed. Out of eleven control cables all but four were shot away. The rear landing wheel was blown off, and the two front wheels were both shot flat.

The fight continued until the remaining Japanese pursuit ships exhausted their ammunition and turned back. With two engines gone and the plane practically out of control, the American bomber returned to its base after dark and made an emergency landing. The mission had been accomplished.

The name of that pilot is Captain Howitt T. Wheless, of the United States Army. He comes from Menard, Texas -- population 2,375. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. I hope he is listening.

These stories I have told you are not exceptional. They are typical examples of individual heroism and skill.

As we here at home contemplate our own duties, our own responsibilities, let us think and think hard of the example which is being set for us by our fighting men.

Our soldiers and sailors are members of well disciplined units. But they are still and forever individuals -- free individuals. They are farmers, workers, business men, professional men, artists, clerks.

They are the United States of America.

That is why they fight.

We too are the United States of America.

That is why we must work and sacrifice.

It is for them. It is for us. It is for victory.

- - - - - - -

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE SUBJECT OF
TOTAL WAR AND TOTAL EFFORT
APRIL 28, 1942, AT 10.00 P.M., E.W.T.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

It is nearly five months since we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. For the two years prior to that attack this country had been gearing itself up to a high level of production of munitions. And yet our war efforts had done little to dislocate the normal lives of most of us.

Since then we have dispatched strong forces of our Army and Navy, several hundred thousand of them, to bases and battle-fronts thousands of miles from home. We have stepped up our war production on a scale that is testing our industrial power, (and) our engineering genius and our economic structure to the utmost. We have had no illusions about the fact that this (would be) is a tough job -- and a long one.

American warships are now in combat in the North and South Atlantic, in the Arctic, in the Mediterranean, in the Indian Ocean, and in the North and South Pacific. American troops have taken stations in South America, Greenland, Iceland, the British Isles, the Near East, the Middle East and the Far East, the Continent of Australia, and many islands of the Pacific. American war planes, manned by Americans, are flying in actual combat over all the continents and all the oceans.

On the European front the most important development of the past year has been without question the crushing counter-offensive on the part of the great armies of Russia against the powerful German army. These Russian forces have destroyed and are destroying more armed power of our enemies -- troops, planes, tanks and guns -- than all the other United Nations put together.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

In the Mediterranean area, matters remain on the surface much as they were. But the situation there is receiving very careful attention.

Recently we (have) received news of a change in government in what we used to know as the Republic of France -- a name dear to the hearts of all lovers of liberty -- a name and an institution which we hope will soon be restored to full dignity.

Throughout the Nazi occupation of France, we have hoped for the maintenance of a French Government which would strive to regain independence, to reestablish the principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," and to restore the historic culture of France. Our policy has been consistent from the very beginning. However, we are now greatly concerned lest those who have recently come to power may seek to force the brave French people into submission to Nazi despotism.

The United Nations will take measures, if necessary, to prevent the use of French territory in any part of the world for military purposes by the Axis powers. The good people of France will readily understand that such action is essential for the United Nations to prevent assistance to the armies or navies or air forces of Germany, or Italy (and) or Japan. The overwhelming majority of the French people understand that the fight of the United Nations is fundamentally their fight, that our victory means the restoration of a free and independent France -- and the saving of France from the slavery which would be imposed upon her by her external enemies and by her internal traitors.

We know how the French people really feel. We know that a deep-seated determination to obstruct every step in the Axis plan extends from occupied France through Vichy France all the way to the people of their colonies in every ocean and on every continent.

Our planes are helping in the defense of French colonies today, and soon American Flying Fortresses will be fighting for the liberation of the darkened continent of Europe itself.

In all the occupied countries there are men and women, and even little children who have never stopped fighting, never stopped resisting, never stopped proving to the Nazis that their so-called "New Order" (can) will never be enforced upon free peoples.

In the German and Italian peoples themselves there is a growing conviction that the cause of Nazi-ism and Fascism is hopeless -- that their political and military leaders have led them along the bitter road which leads not to world conquest but to final defeat. They cannot fail to contrast the present frantic speeches of these leaders with their arrogant boastings of a year ago, and two years ago.

And, on the other side of the world, in the Far East, we have passed through a phase of serious losses.

We have inevitably lost control of a large portion of the Philippine Islands. But this whole nation pays tribute to the Filipino and American officers and men who held out so long on Bataan Peninsula, to those grim and gallant fighters who still hold Corregidor, where the flag flies, and to the forces (which) that are still striking effectively at the enemy on Mindanao and other islands.

The Malayan Peninsula and Singapore are in the hands of the enemy; the Netherlands East Indies are almost entirely occupied, though resistance there continues. Many other islands are in the possession of the Japanese. But there is good reason to believe that their southward advance has been checked. Australia, New Zealand, and much other territory will be bases for offensive action -- and we are determined that the terri-

tory (which) that has been lost will be regained.

The Japanese are pressing their northward advance (in) against Burma with considerable power, driving toward India and China. They have been opposed with great bravery by small British and Chinese forces aided by American fliers.

The news in Burma tonight is not good. The Japanese may cut the Burma Road; but I want to say to the gallant people of China that no matter what advances the Japanese may make, ways will be found to deliver airplanes and munitions of war to the armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

We remember that the Chinese people were the first to stand up and fight against the aggressors in this war; and in the future (an) a still unconquerable China will play its proper role in maintaining peace and prosperity, not only in Eastern Asia but in the whole world.

For every advance that the Japanese have made since they started their frenzied career of conquest, they have had to pay a very heavy toll in warships, in transports, in planes, and in men. They are feeling the effects of those losses.

It is even reported from Japan that somebody has dropped bombs on Tokyo, and on other principal centers of Japanese war industries. If this be true, it is the first time in history that Japan has suffered such indignities.

Although the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor was the immediate cause of our entry into the war, that event found the American people spiritually prepared for war on a world-wide scale. We went into this war fighting. We know what we are fighting for. We realize that the war has become what Hitler originally proclaimed it to be -- a total war.

Not all of us can have the privilege of fighting our enemies in distant parts of the world.

Not all of us can have the privilege of working in a munitions factory or a shipyard, or on the farms or in oil fields or mines, producing the weapons or the raw materials (which) that are needed by our armed forces.

But there is one front and one battle where everyone in the United States -- every man, woman, and child -- is in action, and will be privileged to remain in action throughout this war. That front is right here at home, in our daily lives, (and) in our daily tasks. Here at home everyone will have the privilege of making whatever self-denial is necessary, not only to supply our fighting men, but to keep the economic structure of our country fortified and secure during the war and after the war.

This will require, of course, the abandonment not only of luxuries but of many other creature comforts.

Every loyal American is aware of his individual responsibility. Whenever I hear anyone saying "The American people are complacent -- they need to be aroused," I feel like asking him to come to Washington (and) to read the mail that floods into the White House and into all departments of this Government. The one question that recurs through all these thousands of letters and messages is "What more can I do to help my country in winning this war"?

To build the factories, (and) to buy the materials, (and) to pay the labor, (and) to provide the transportation, (and) to equip and feed and house the soldiers, sailors and marines, (and) to do all the thousands of things necessary in a war -- all cost a lot of money, more money than has ever been spent by any nation at any time in the long history of the world.

We are now spending, solely for war purposes, the sum of about

one hundred million dollars every day in the week. But, before this year is over, that almost unbelievable rate of expenditure will be doubled.

All of this money has to be spent -- and spent quickly -- if we are to produce within the time now available the enormous quantities of weapons of war which we need. But the spending of these tremendous sums presents grave danger of disaster to our national economy.

When your Government continues to spend these unprecedented sums for munitions month by month and year by year, that money goes into the pocketbooks and bank accounts of the people of the United States. At the same time raw materials and many manufactured goods are necessarily taken away from civilian use; and machinery and factories are being converted to war production.

You do not have to be a professor of mathematics or economics to see that if people with plenty of cash start bidding against each other for scarce goods, the price of those goods (them) goes up.

Yesterday I submitted to the Congress of the United States a seven-point program, a program of general principles which taken together could be called the national economic policy for attaining the great objective of keeping the cost of living down.

I repeat them now to you in substance:

(1.) First. We must, through heavier taxes, keep personal and corporate profits at a low reasonable rate.

(2.) Second. We must fix ceilings on prices and rents.

(3.) Third. We must stabilize wages.

(4.) Fourth. We must stabilize farm prices.

(5.) Fifth. We must put more billions into War Bonds.

(6.) Sixth. We must ration all essential commodities which are scarce.

(7.) Seventh. We must discourage instalment buying, and encourage paying off debts and mortgages.

I do not think it is necessary to repeat what I said yesterday to the Congress in discussing these general principles.

The important thing to remember is that each one of these points is dependent on the others if the whole program is to work.

Some people are already taking the position that every one of the seven points is correct except the one point which steps on their own individual toes. A few seem very willing to approve self-denial -- on the part of their neighbors. The only effective course of action is a simultaneous attack on all of the factors which increase the cost of living, in one comprehensive, all-embracing program covering prices, and profits, and wages, and taxes and debts.

The blunt fact is that every single person in the United States is going to be affected by this program. Some of you will be affected more directly by one or two of these restrictive measures, but all of you will be affected indirectly by all of them.

Are you a business man, or do you own stock in a business corporation? Well, your profits are going to be cut down to a reasonably low level by taxation. Your income will be subject to higher taxes. Indeed in these days, when every available dollar should go to the war effort, I do not think that any American citizen should have a net income in excess of $25,000 per year after payment of taxes.

Are you a retailer or a wholesaler or a manufacturer or a farmer or a landlord? Ceilings are being placed on the prices at which you can sell your goods or rent your property.

Do you work for wages? You will have to forego higher wages for

your particular job for the duration of the war.

All of us are used to spending money for things that we want, (but) things, however, which are not absolutely essential. We will all have to forego that kind of spending. Because we must put every dime and every dollar we can possibly spare out of our earnings into War Bonds and Stamps. Because the demands of the war effort require the rationing of goods of which there is not enough to go around. Because the stopping of purchases of non-essentials will release thousands of workers who are needed in the war effort.

As I told the Congress yesterday, "sacrifice" is not exactly the proper word with which to describe this program of self-denial. When, at the end of this great struggle we shall have saved our free way of life, we shall have made no "sacrifice."

The price for civilization must be paid in hard work and sorrow and blood. The price is not too high. If you doubt it, ask those millions who live today under the tyranny of Hitlerism.

Ask the workers of France and Norway and the Netherlands, whipped to labor by the lash, whether the stabilization of wages is too great a "sacrifice."

Ask the farmers of Poland and Denmark, of Czechoslovakia and France, looted of their livestock, starving while their own crops are stolen from their land, ask them whether "parity" prices are too great a "sacrifice."

Ask the business men of Europe, whose enterprises have been stolen from their owners, whether the limitation of profits and personal incomes is too great a "sacrifice."

Ask the women and children whom Hitler is starving whether the rationing of tires and gasoline and sugar is too great a "sacrifice."

We do not have to ask them. They have already given us their agonized answers.

This great war effort must be carried through to its victorious conclusion by the indomitable will and determination of the people as one great whole.

It must not be impeded by the faint of heart.

It must not be impeded by those who put their own selfish interests above the interests of the nation.

It must not be impeded by those who pervert honest criticism into falsification of fact.

It must not be impeded by self-styled experts either in economics or military problems who know neither true figures nor geography itself.

It must not be impeded by a few bogus patriots who use the sacred freedom of the press to echo the sentiments of the propagandists in Tokyo and Berlin.

And, above all, it shall not be imperiled by the handful of noisy traitors -- betrayers of America, (and) betrayers of Christianity itself -- would-be dictators who in their hearts and souls have yielded to Hitlerism and would have this Republic do likewise.

I shall use all of the executive power that I have to carry out the policy laid down. If it becomes necessary to ask for any additional legislation in order to attain our objective of preventing a spiral in the cost of living, I shall do so.

I know the American farmer, the American workman, and the American business man. I know that they will gladly embrace this economy and equality of sacrifice -- satisfied that it is necessary for the most vital and compelling motive in all their lives -- winning through to victory.

Never in the memory of man has there been a war in which the courage, the endurance and the loyalt(y)ies of civilians played so vital a part.

Many thousands of civilians all over the world have been and are being killed or maimed by enemy action. Indeed, it was the fortitude of the common people of Britain under fire which enabled that island to stand and prevented Hitler from winning the war in 1940. The ruins of London and Coventry and other cities are today the proudest monuments to British heroism.

Our own American civilian population is now relatively safe from such disasters. And, to an ever increasing extent, our soldiers, sailors and marines are fighting with great bravery and great skill on far distant fronts to make sure that we shall remain safe.

I should like to tell you one or two stories about the men we have in our armed forces:

There is, for (instance) example, Dr. Corydon M. Wassell. He was a missionary, well known for his good works in China. He is a simple, modest, retiring man, nearly sixty years old, but he entered the service of his country and was commissioned a Lieutenant Commander in the Navy.

Dr. Wassell was assigned to duty in Java caring for wounded officers and men of the cruisers HOUSTON and MARBLEHEAD which had been in heavy action in the Java seas.

When the Japanese advanced across the island, it was decided to evacuate as many as possible of the wounded to Australia. But about twelve of the men were so badly wounded that they couldn't (not) be moved. Dr. Wassell remained with them, (these men) knowing that he would be captured by the enemy. But he decided to make a last desperate attempt to get the

men out of Java. He asked each of them if he wished to take the chance, and every one agreed.

He first had to get the twelve men to the sea coast -- fifty miles away. To do this, he had to improvise stretchers for the hazardous journey. The men were suffering severely, but Dr. Wassell kept them alive by his skill, and inspired them by his own courage.

And as the official report said, Dr. Wassell was "almost like a Christ-like shepherd devoted to his flock."

On the sea coast, he embarked the men on a little Dutch ship. They were bombed, (and) they were machine-gunned by waves of Japanese planes. Dr. Wassell took virtual command of the ship, and by great skill avoided destruction, hiding in (small) little bays and little inlets.

A few days later, Dr. Wassell and his (little) small flock of wounded men reached Australia safely.

And today Dr. Wassell (now) wears the Navy Cross.

Another story concerns a ship, a ship rather than an individual man.

You may remember the tragic sinking of the submarine, the U.S.S. SQUALUS off the New England coast in the summer of 1939. Some of the crew were lost, but others were saved by the speed and the efficiency of the surface rescue crews. The SQUALUS itself was tediously raised from the bottom of the (ocean) sea.

She was repaired and put back into commission, and eventually she sailed again under a new name, the U.S.S. SAILFISH. Today, she is a potent and effective unit of our submarine fleet in the Southwest Pacific.

The SAILFISH has covered many thousands of miles in operations in (the) those (western Pacific) waters.

She has sunk a Japanese destroyer.

She has torpedoed a Japanese cruiser.

She has made (two) torpedo hits -- two of them -- on a Japanese aircraft carrier.

Three of the enlisted men of our Navy who went down with the SQUALUS in 1939 and were rescued, are today serving on the same ship, the U.S.S. SAILFISH, in this war.

It seems to me that it is heartening to know that the SQUALUS, once given up as lost, rose from the depths to fight for our country in time of peril.

One more story, (which) that I heard only this morning:

This is a story of one of our Army Flying Fortresses operating in the Western Pacific. The pilot of this plane is a modest young man, proud of his crew for one of the toughest fights a bomber has yet experienced.

The bomber departed from its base, as part of a flight of five bombers, to attack Japanese transports (which) that were landing troops against us in the Philippines. When they had gone about half way to their destination, one of the motors of this bomber went out of commission. The young pilot lost contact with the other bombers. The crew, however, got the motor working, got it going again and the plane proceeded on its mission alone.

By the time it arrived at its target the other four Flying Fortresses had already passed over, had dropped their bombs, and had stirred up the hornets' nest of Japanese "Zero" planes. Eighteen of (them) these "Zero" fighters attacked our one Flying Fortress. Despite this mass attack, our plane proceeded on its mission, and dropped all of its bombs on six Japanese transports which were lined up along the docks.

As it turned back on its homeward journey a running fight between the bomber and the eighteen Japanese pursuit planes continued for seventy-five miles. Four pursuit (ships) planes of the Japs attacked simultaneously at each side. (and) Four were shot down with the side guns. During this fight, the bomber's radio operator was killed, the engineer's right hand was shot off, and one gunner was crippled, leaving only one man available to operate both side guns. Although wounded in one hand, (this) the gunner alternately manned both side guns, bringing down three more Japanese "Zero" planes. While this was going on, one engine on the American bomber was shot out, one gas tank was hit, the radio was shot off, and the oxygen system was entirely destroyed. Out of eleven control cables all but four were shot away. The rear landing wheel was blown off entirely, and the two front wheels were both shot flat.

The fight continued until the remaining Japanese pursuit ships exhausted their ammunition and turned back. With two engines gone and the plane practically out of control, the American bomber returned to its base after dark and made an emergency landing. The mission had been accomplished.

The name of that pilot is Captain Hewitt T. Wheless, of the United States Army. He comes from a place called Menard, Texas -- with a population 2,375. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. And I hope that he is listening.

These stories I have told you are not exceptional. They are typical examples of individual heroism and skill.

As we here at home contemplate our own duties, our own responsibilities, let us think and think hard of the example which is being set for us by our fighting men.

Our soldiers and sailors are members of well disciplined units.

But they are still and forever individuals -- free individuals. They are farmers, and workers, business men, professional men, artists, clerks.

They are the United States of America.

That is why they fight.

We too are the United States of America.

That is why we must work and sacrifice.

It is for them. It is for us. It is for victory.

*****

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Radio Address
of the
President

April 28, 1942, at 10:00 PM EWT

On the Subject of

Total War and Total Effort

STATEMENTS FILE

STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE ~~HOLD FOR RELEASE~~

April 28, 1942

CAUTION: The following address of the President MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:00 P.M., E.W.T., April 28, 1942. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

My Fellow Americans:

It is nearly five months since we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. For the two years prior to that attack this country had been gearing itself up to a high level of production of munitions. And yet our war efforts had done little to dislocate the normal lives of most of us.

Since then we have dispatched strong forces of our Army and Navy, several hundred thousand of them, to bases and battle-fronts thousands of miles from home. We have stepped up our war production on a scale that is testing our industrial power, ~~and~~ our engineering genius and our economic structure to the utmost. We have had no illusions about the fact that this ~~would be~~ is a tough job — and a long one.

American warships are now in combat in the North and South Atlantic, in the Arctic, in the Mediterranean, in the Indian Ocean, and in the North and South Pacific. American troops have taken stations in South America, Greenland, Iceland, the British Isles, the Near East, the Middle East, the Far East, the Continent of Australia, and many islands of the Pacific. American war planes, manned by Americans, are flying in actual combat over all the continents and all the oceans.

On the European front the most important development of the past year has been, without question, the crushing counter-offensive on the part of the great armies of Russia against the powerful German army. These Russian forces have destroyed and are destroying more armed power of our enemies — troops, planes, tanks and guns — than all the other United Nations put together.

In the Mediterranean area, matters remain on the surface much as they were. But the situation there is receiving very careful attention.

Recently we ~~have~~ received news of a change in government in what we used to know as the Republic of France -- a name dear to the hearts of all lovers of liberty — a name and an institution which we hope will soon be restored to full dignity.

Throughout the Nazi occupation of France, we have hoped for the maintenance of a French Government which would strive to regain independence, to reestablish the principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", and to restore the historic culture of France. Our policy has been consistent from the very beginning. However, we are now greatly concerned lest those who have recently come to power may seek to force the brave French people to submission to Nazi despotism.

The United Nations will take measures, if necessary, to prevent the use of French territory in any part of the world for military purposes by the Axis powers. The good people of France will readily understand that such action is essential for the United Nations to prevent assistance to the armies or navies or air forces of Germany, Italy ~~and~~ or Japan. The overwhelming majority of the French people understand that the fight of the United Nations is fundamentally their fight, that our victory means the restoration of a free and independent France -- and the saving of France from the slavery which would be imposed upon her by her external enemies and her internal traitors.

Vichy

We know how the French people really feel. We know that a deep-seated determination to obstruct every step in the Axis plan extends from occupied France through Vichy France all the way to the people of their colonies in every ocean and on every continent.

Our planes are helping in the defense of French colonies today, and soon American Flying Fortresses will be fighting for the liberation of the darkened continent of Europe itself.

In all the occupied countries there are men and women, and even little children who have never stopped fighting, never stopped resisting, never stopped proving to the Nazis that their so-called "New Order" ~~can~~ will never be enforced upon free peoples.

In the German and Italian peoples themselves there is a growing conviction that the cause of Nazism and Fascism is hopeless -- that their political and military leaders have led them along the bitter road which leads not to world conquest but to final defeat. They cannot fail to contrast the present frantic speeches of these leaders with their arrogant boastings of a year ago, and two years ago.

On the other side of the world, in the Far East, we have passed through a phase of serious losses.

We have inevitably lost control of a large portion of the Philippine Islands. But this whole nation pays tribute to the Filipino and American officers and men who held out so long on Bataan Peninsula, to those grim and gallant fighters who ~~still hold~~ where the flag flies Corregidor, and to the forces ~~which~~ that are still striking effectively at the enemy on Mindanao and other islands.

The Malayan Peninsula and Singapore are in the hands of the enemy; the Netherlands East Indies are almost entirely occupied, though resistance there continues. Many other islands are in the possession of the Japanese. But there is good reason to believe that their southward advance has been checked. Australia, New Zealand, and much other territory will be bases for offensive action -- and we are determined that the territory that ~~which~~ has been lost will be regained.

The Japanese are pressing their northward advance ~~in~~ against Burma with considerable power, driving toward India and China. They have been opposed with great bravery by small British and Chinese forces aided by American fliers.

The news in Burma tonight is not good. The Japanese may cut the Burma Road; but I want to say to the gallant people of China that no matter what advances the Japanese may make, ways will be found to deliver airplanes and munitions of war to the armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

We remember that the Chinese people were the first to stand up and fight against the aggressors in this war; and in the future ~~an~~ unconquerable China will play its proper role in maintaining peace and prosperity, not only in Eastern Asia but in the whole world.

For every advance that the Japanese have made since they started their frenzied career of conquest, they have had to pay a very heavy toll in warships, in transports, in planes, and in men. They are feeling the effects of those losses.

It is even reported from Japan that somebody has dropped bombs on Tokyo, and on other principal centers of Japanese war industries. If this be true, it is the first time in history that Japan has suffered such indignities.

Although the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor was the immediate cause of our entry into the war, that event found the American people spiritually prepared for war on a world-wide scale. We went into this war fighting. We know what we are fighting for. We realize that the war has become what Hitler originally proclaimed it to be -- a total war.

Not all of us can have the privilege of fighting our enemies in distant parts of the world.

Not all of us can have the privilege of working in a munitions factory or a shipyard, or on the farms or in oil fields or mines, producing the weapons or the raw materials that ~~which~~ are needed by our armed forces.

But there is one front and one battle where everyone in the United States -- every man, woman, and child -- is in action, and will be privileged to remain in action throughout this war. That front is right here at home, in our daily lives, ~~and~~ in our daily tasks. Here at home everyone will have the privilege of making whatever self-denial is necessary, not only to supply our fighting men, but to keep the economic structure of our country fortified and secure during the war and after the war.

This will require, of course, the abandonment not only of luxuries but many other creature comforts.

Every loyal American is aware of his individual responsibility. Whenever I hear anyone saying "The American people are complacent -- they need to be aroused", I feel like asking him to come to Washington ~~and~~ to read the mail that floods into the White House and into all departments of this government. The one question that recurs through all these thousands of letters and messages is "What more can I do to help my country in winning this war"?

To build the factories, ~~and~~ to buy the materials, ~~and~~ to pay the labor, ~~and~~ to provide the transportation, ~~and~~ to equip and feed and house the soldiers, sailors and marines, ~~and to do all~~ the thousands of things necessary in a war -- all cost a lot of money, more money than has ever been spent by any nation at any time in the long history of the world.

We are now spending, solely for war purposes, the sum of about one hundred million dollars every day in the week. But, before this year is over, that almost unbelievable rate of expenditure will be doubled.

All of this money has to be spent -- and spent quickly -- if we are to produce within the time now available the enormous quantities of weapons of war which we need. But the spending of these tremendous sums presents grave danger of disaster to our national economy.

When your Government continues to spend these unprecedented sums for munitions month by month and year by year, that money goes into the pocketbooks and bank accounts of the people of the United States. At the same time raw materials and many manufactured goods are necessarily taken away from civilian use; and machinery and factories are being converted to war production.

You do not have to be a professor of mathematics or economics to see that if people with plenty of cash start bidding against each other for scarce goods, the price of ~~them~~ these goods goes up.

Yesterday I submitted to the Congress of the United States a seven point program, of general principles which taken together could be called the national economic policy for attaining the great objective of keeping the cost of living down.

a program

I repeat them now to you in substance:

First. We must, through heavier taxes, keep personal and corporate profits at a low reasonable rate.

Second. We must fix ceilings on prices and rents.

Third. We must stabilize wages.

Fourth. We must stabilize farm prices.

Fifth. We must put more billions into War Bonds.

Sixth. We must ration all essential commodities which are scarce.

Seventh. We must discourage instalment buying, and encourage paying off debts and mortgages.

I do not think it is necessary to repeat what I said yesterday to the Congress in discussing these general principles.

The important thing to remember is that each one of these points is dependent on the others if the whole program is to work.

Some people are already taking the position that every one of the seven points is correct except the one point which steps on their own individual toes. A few seem very willing to approve self-denial — on the part of their neighbors. The only effective course of action is a simultaneous attack on all of the factors which increase the cost of living, in one comprehensive, all-embracing program covering prices, and profits, and wages, and taxes and debts.

The blunt fact is that every single person in the United States is going to be affected by this program. Some of you will be affected more directly by one or two of these restrictive measures, but all of you will be affected indirectly by all of them.

Are you a business man, or do you own stock in a business corporation? Well, your profits are going to be cut down to a reasonably low level by taxation. Your income will be subject to higher taxes. Indeed in these days, when every available dollar should go to the war effort, I do not think that any American citizen should have a net income in excess of $25,000 per year after payment of taxes.

Are you a retailer or a wholesaler or a manufacturer or a farmer or a landlord? Ceilings are being placed on the prices at which you can sell your goods or rent your property.

Do you work for wages? You will have to forego higher wages for your particular job for the duration of the war.

All of us are used to spending money for things we want, ~~but~~ kind of which are not absolutely essential. We will all have to forego that spending. Because we must put every dime and every dollar we can possibly spare out of our earnings into War Bonds and Stamps. Because the demands of the war effort require the rationing of goods of which there is not enough to go around. Because the stopping of purchases of non-essentials will release thousands of workers who are needed in the war effort.

things, however,

As I told the Congress yesterday, "sacrifice" is not exactly the proper word with which to describe this program of self-denial. When, at the end of this great struggle we shall have saved our free way of life, we shall have made no "sacrifice."

The price for civilization must be paid in hard work and sorrow and blood. The price is not too high. If you doubt it, ask those millions who live today under the tyranny of Hitlerism.

Ask the workers of France and Norway, and the Netherlands whipped to labor by the lash, whether the stabilization of wages is too great a "sacrifice."

Ask the farmers of Poland and Denmark, of Czechoslovakia and France, looted of their livestock, starving while their own crops are stolen from their land, whether "parity" prices are too great a "sacrifice." Ask them

Ask the business men of Europe, whose enterprises have been stolen from their owners, whether the limitation of profits and personal incomes is too great a "sacrifice."

Ask the women and children whom Hitler is starving whether the rationing of tires and gasoline and sugar is too great a "sacrifice."

We do not have to ask them. They have already given us their agonized answers.

This great war effort must be carried through to its victorious conclusion by the indomitable will and determination of the people as one great whole.

It must not be impeded by the faint of heart.

It must not be impeded by those who put their own selfish interests above the interests of the nation.

It must not be impeded by those who pervert honest criticism into falsification of fact.

It must not be impeded by self-styled experts either in economics or military problems who know neither true figures nor geography itself.

It must not be impeded by a few bogus patriots who use the sacred freedom of the press to echo the sentiments of the propagandists in Tokyo and Berlin.

And, above all, it shall not be imperiled by the handful of noisy traitors -- betrayers of America, ~~and~~ betrayers of Christianity itself -- would-be dictators who in their hearts and souls have yielded to Hitlerism and would have this Republic do likewise.

I shall use all of the executive power that I have to carry out the policy laid down. If it becomes necessary to ask for any additional legislation in order to attain our objective of preventing a spiral in the cost of living, I shall do so.

I know the American farmer, the American workman, and the American business man. I know that they will gladly embrace this economy of sacrifice -- satisfied that it is necessary for the most vital and compelling motive in all their lives -- winning through to victory.

Never in the memory of man has there been a war in which the courage, the endurance and the loyalty of civilians played so vital a part.

Many thousands of civilians all over the world have been and are being killed or maimed by enemy action. Indeed, it was the fortitude of the common people of Britain under fire which enabled that island to stand and prevented Hitler from winning the war in 1940. The ruins of London and Coventry and other cities are today the proudest monuments to British heroism.

Our own American civilian population is now relatively safe from such disasters. And, to an ever increasing extent, our soldiers, sailors and marines are fighting with great bravery and great skill on far distant fronts to make sure that we shall remain safe.

I should like to tell you one or two stories about the men we have in our armed forces:

There is, for ~~instance~~ example, Dr. Corydon M. Wassell. He was a missionary, well known for his good works in China. He is a simple, modest, retiring man, nearly sixty years old, but he entered the service of his country and was commissioned a Lieutenant Commander in the Navy.

Dr. Wassell was assigned to duty in Java caring for wounded officers and men of the cruisers Houston and Marblehead which had been in heavy action in the Java seas.

When the Japanese advanced across the island, it was decided to evacuate as many as possible of the wounded to Australia. But about twelve of the men were so badly wounded that they could ~~not~~ be moved. Dr. Wassell remained with them, ~~these men~~, knowing that he would be captured by the enemy. But he decided to make a desperate attempt to get the men out of Java. He asked each of them if he wished to take the chance, and every one agreed.

He first had to get the twelve men to the sea coast -- fifty miles away. To do this, he had to improvise stretchers for the hazardous journey. The men were suffering severely, but Dr. Wassell kept them alive by his skill, and inspired them by his own courage.

And As the official report said, Dr. Wassell was "almost like a Christ-like shepherd devoted to his flock".

On the sea coast, he embarked the men on a little Dutch ship. They were bombed, ~~and~~ they were machine-gunned by waves of Japanese planes. Dr. Wassell took virtual command of the ship, and by great skill avoided destruction, hiding in little ~~small~~ bays and little inlets.

A few days later, Dr. Wassell and his ~~little~~ small flock of wounded men reached Australia safely.

And today

Dr. Wassell ~~now~~ wears the Navy Cross.

Another story concerns a ship a ship rather than an individual man.

You may remember the tragic sinking of the submarine the U.S.S. SQUALUS off the New England coast in the summer of 1939. Some of the crew were lost, but others were saved by the speed and the efficiency of the surface rescue crews. The SQUALUS itself was tediously raised from the bottom of the ~~ocean~~ sea.

Eventually she sailed again under a new name, the U.S.S. SAILFISH. Today, she is a potent and effective unit of our submarine fleet in the Southwest Pacific.

Pathe was required and just back into commission, ~~[illegible]~~ and

The SAILFISH has covered many thousands of miles in operations in ~~the far western Pacific:~~ these waters.

She has sunk a Japanese destroyer.

She has torpedoed a Japanese cruiser.

She has made ~~two~~ torpedo hits — two of them — on a Japanese aircraft carrier.

Three of the enlisted men of our Navy who went down with the SQUALUS in 1939 and were rescued, are today serving on the same ship, the U.S.S. SAILFISH, in this war.

It ~~is~~ seems to me that it heartening to know that the SQUALUS, once given up as lost, rose from the depths to fight for our country in time of peril.

One more story, ~~which~~ that I heard only this morning:

This is a story of one of our Army Flying Fortresses operating in the Western Pacific. The pilot of this plane is a modest young man, proud of his crew for one of the toughest fights a bomber has yet experienced.

The bomber departed from its base, as part of a flight of five, from Australia to attack Japanese transports ~~which~~ that were landing troops against us in the Philippines. When they had gone about half way to their destination, one of the motors of this bomber went out of commission. The young pilot lost contact with the other bombers. The crew, however, got the motor working again, got it going and the plane proceeded on its mission alone.

By the time it arrived at its target the other four Flying Fortresses had already passed over, had dropped their bombs, and had stirred up the hornets nest of Japanese "Zero" planes. Eighteen of these "Zero" fighters ~~them~~ attacked our one Flying Fortress. Despite this mass attack, our plane proceeded on its mission, and dropped all of its bombs on six Japanese transports which were lined up along the docks.

As it turned back on its homeward journey a running fight between the bomber and the eighteen Japanese pursuit planes continued for seventy-five miles. Four pursuit ~~ships~~ planes of the Japs attacked simultaneously at each side, ~~and~~ entirely, were shot down with the side guns. During this fight, the bomber's radio operator was killed, the engineer's right hand was shot off, and one gunner was crippled, leaving only one man available to operate both side guns. Although wounded in one hand, ~~this~~ the gunner alternately manned both side guns, bringing down three more Japanese "Zero" American planes. While this was going on, one engine on the bomber was shot out, one gas tank was hit, the radio was shot off, and the oxygen system was entirely destroyed. Out of eleven control cables all but four were shot away. The rear landing wheel was blown off, and the two front wheels were both shot flat.

Four

The fight continued until the remaining Japanese pursuit ships exhausted their ammunition and turned back. With two engines gone and the plane practically out of control, the American bomber returned to its base after dark and made an emergency landing. The mission had been accomplished.

The name of that pilot is Captain Howitt T. Wheless, of the United States Army. He comes from a plane called Menard, Texas -- with a population 2,375. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. I hope and that he is listening.

These stories I have told you are not exceptional. They are typical examples of individual heroism and skill.

As we here at home contemplate our own duties, our own responsibilities, let us think and think hard of the example which is being set for us by our fighting men.

Our soldiers and sailors are members of well disciplined units. But they are still and forever individuals -- free individuals. They are farmers, and workers, business men, professional men, artists, clerks.

They are the United States of America.

That is why they fight.

We too are the United States of America.

That is why we must work and sacrifice.

It is for them. It is for us. It is for victory.

- - - - - - -