

April 28, 1942

[Finside Chat #20]

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## *The President's Address*



Delivered to the Nation April 28, 1942



"\* \* \* 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. \* \* \*



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ADDRESS

BY

**President Franklin D. Roosevelt**

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including here the magnificent and comprehensive address of President Roosevelt delivered to the Nation April 28, 1942:

The PRESIDENT:

It is nearly 5 months since we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. For the 2 years prior to that attack this country had been gearing itself up to a high state of preparedness. Yet, the war effort has 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 all over the world and to our shores at 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 limit. 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 Indian Ocean, in the Mediterranean, and in the 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 Philippines, 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.

RUSSIANS KILLING MORE THAN ALL OTHER ALLIES

On the European front the most important development in recent weeks 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 numbers of tanks, aircraft, armored cars, 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 in reality 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 nation which had lost all but its 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 restoration 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. But now we are more and more less. Under those who have recently come to power may seek to force the brave French people to submission to Nazi despotism.

UNITED NATIONS TO KEEP ASSESS FROM FRENCH

LAW

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 remain independent, and 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 victory of the Allies will bring them safety; that their victory, 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 or her internal traitors.

We know how the French people really feel. We knew that a deep-seated determination to obstruct every step in the Axis plan extends from the French people, through every segment of 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 darkest continent of Europe.

NEW, WOMEN, CHILDREN FIGHT HITLER'S NEW  
CRIES

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 socialist 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 lost the support of the Italian people, which leads not to world conquest, but to fund defeat. They cannot fail to contrast the present frenetic speeches of these leaders with their arrogant and impudent pronouncements 2 years ago.

On the other side of the water, in the Far East, we have passed through a phase of terrible 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 against the British Fleet to their last stand and gallant fighters who still hold Corregidor, and to the forces which are still striking effectively at the enemy on Mindanao and other islands.

#### SOUTHERN ADVANCES OF JAPS CHECKED

The Malayan peninsula and Sumatra 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. Their advance is going to be checked. We must hope 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 territories which have been lost will be recovered.

The Japanese are pressing their northwest 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 flyers.

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 make, they will never be able to capture places and units of war to the armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

We remember that the Chinese people were taken into the field of battle and made the aggressors in this war, and in the future a unconquerable China will play its proper role in maintaining peace and prosperity not only in eastern Asia but in the whole world.

#### ENEMY EFFECTS OF HEAVY LOSSES

For every advance that the Japanese have made in their conquests, for every step of conquest, they have had to pay a very heavy toll in warships, in transports, in planes, and in men. They are feeling the strain of war.

It is often reported from Japan that somebody has dropped bombs on Tokyo and on other principal centers of Japanese war industries. This may be true. It is the first time in history that Japan has suffered such indiscriminate attacks.

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

Yet all of us can have the privilege of working, a soldiering, fighting, or fighting off, on the farms or in oil fields or mines, producing the weapons or the raw materials which are needed by our armed forces.

#### EVERYONE CAN HELP ON THE HOME FRONT

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 for ourselves, fighters and workers, 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 luxury, but also of other forms of 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 that he is being hypocritical. I read the mail that floods into the White House and into all departments of this Government. The one question that recurs through all those 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 to keep 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 HUNDREDS MILLION DOLLARS a week. We are now spending \$100,000,000 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 means that it is taking away from the 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 people with plenty of cash start bidding against each other for scarce goods, the price of them goes up.

#### RESISTS SEVERE PRESSURE IN ECONOMIC POLICY

Yesterday I submitted to Congress the United States a seven-point program of general principles which together could be called the national economic policy for attainment of the 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 installment buying, and encourage paying off debts and mortgages.

I do not think it is necessary to repeat what has been said by Congress in discussing these general principles.

#### EACH OF SEVEN POINTS DEPENDENT ON OTHERS

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 since every one of seven points is correct, each of the points must stand on their own individual toes. A few seem very willing to approve self-denial—the part of their neighbors. The only effective course of action is to insist that all seven points be adopted together, so that 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 than others. You will be affected indirectly by all of them.

Are you a businessman or do you own stock in a business corporation? Your profits are going to be cut down to a reasonably low level. You will be subject to higher taxes, 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 net income in excess of \$20,000 a year after deduction of taxes.

Never before taxwise so says was peace. Are you a retailer, as a wholesaler, or a manufacturer, or a farmer, or a landlady? Ceiling 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 slightly your regular per diem 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 are going to have to cut our 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 services of millions of workers who are not enough to go around. Because the stopping of purchases of nonessentials 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.

460412-22070

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.

#### CROSS SUFFERINGS OF PEOPLE OF EUROPE HAVE PAGED

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

Ack the farmers of Czechoslovakia and France, bound of their livestock, starving while their own crops are stolen from their land, whether parity prices are too great a sacrifice.

Ack the business men of Europe, whose entire savings have been seized from their owners, whether the limitation of profits and personal incomes is too great a sacrifice.

Ack the women and children whom Hitler is starving whether the rationing of tires and gasoline and rubber is too much a sacrifice.

We do not have to ask these questions. They have already given us their agonized answer.

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

#### GERMAN INTERESTS MUST BE CAST ASIDE

It must not be imposed by the faint of heart.

It must not be imposed by those who put their own selfish interests above the interest of all.

It must not be imposed by those who pervert honest criticism into fulmination of fact.

It must not be imposed by self-styled experts either in economic or military problems who know neither true figures nor geography or politics.

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

And above all, it must not be imposed by the handful of noisy traitors—brayifiers of America and of Christianity itself—would-be dictators who in their hearts and souls have yielded to Hitlerism and would have this kind of government do so.

USE THE FULL POWERS TO CARRY OUT POLICIES

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, we will do so.

I know the American farmer, the American workman, the American businessman. I know that they will gladly embrace this economy of sacrifice—estimated that it is necessary to give 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, this is the fortune of the common people of Britain under fire which enables that island to stand and survive. From the time of the invasion in 1940, the cities of London and Coventry and other cities are today the proudest monument to British heroism.

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

CROSS MISSIONS WERE NOT UNCOMMON

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 work in China. He is a simple, modest, retiring man, nearly blind, but has rendered the service of his country and God 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 *Moralehead*, which had been in heavy action in the Java sea.

When the Japanese advanced across the island it was decided that the best course was to send the wounded to Australia. But about 12 of the men were so badly wounded that they could not be moved. Dr. Wassell could do nothing but wait, knowing that he would be captured by the Japanese. 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 everyone

#### CHEERLESS JAPANESE REVERSES

TO HIS FLOCK

He first had to get the men off the coast—30 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 example.

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

On the sea coast, he embarked the men on a little Dutch ship. They were bound and machine gunned by waves of Japanese planes. Dr. Wassell took virtual command of the ship, steering it through almost total 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.

#### TILLS OR EXCELSIOR OR SUBMARINING "SQUALUS"

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

team. 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 EXECUTIVE MEN STILL ON "SQUALUS"

Three of the established men of our Navy who went down with the *Squalus* in 1939 are today serving on the same ship, the *Sailfish*. One of them is still there.

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 most courageous man, proud of his crew for one of the toughest fights a bomber has yet experienced.

This bomber departed from its base, as part of a flight of 10 bombers, 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 fought on with the other bombers. The crew, however, got the engine working again and the plane proceeded on its mission alone.

#### SUCCESSFULLY FIGHTED OFF 18 FIGHTERS PLANES

By the time it arrived at its target the other 4 flying fortresses had already passed and dropped their bombs, and had started their return. Zero planes, 18 of whom attacked our 1 flying fortress. Despite this mass attack, our plane proceeded on its mission, and dropped all of its bombs on 6 Japanese transports which were lined up along the beach.

As it turned back on its homeward journey a running fight between the bomber and the 18 Japanese pursuit planes continued for 75 minutes.

Four pursuit ships attacked simultaneously at such close range that they downed 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 the plane. The pilot was wounded in one hand, this gunner alternately manned both side guns, bringing down 3 more Japanese Zero planes. While this was going on one engine on the bomber was shot out, one of the landing gear was shot off, and the oxygen system was entirely destroyed. Out of 11 control cables all but 4 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 2 aircrafts exhausted their armament 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.

#### NOT EXCEPTIONAL STORIES, BUT TYPICAL EXAMPLES

The name of that pilot is Capt. Howitt T. Whelchel, of the United States Army. He comes from Menard, Tex.—population, 2,715. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. I hope he is listening.

460418—22070

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

As we sit at home and 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-organized units. But they are still and forever individuals, free individuals. They are farmers, workers, businessmen, professional men, artists, clerks.

They are the United States of America. That is why we live.

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.

*Hon. Harry Hopkins*

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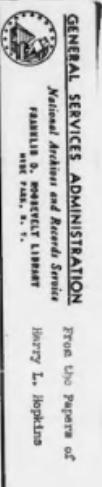
April 28, 1942

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

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets ~~BUT NOT AFTER 10:00 P.M., E.S.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 fearing 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, named by acronyms, 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 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 rush 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.



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HENRY L. Hopkins  
From the Papers of

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 shipyards, 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.

That 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 this tremendous sum presents grave danger of disaster to our national economy.



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From the Papers of  
Harry L. Hopkins

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.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Warren Austin and Board Service

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Open the Papers of  
Harry L. Hopkins

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 bandful 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.



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Mobilization and Recovery Service

FRANCIS E. BREWSTER, Director

Price Control Board  
JOHN L. SPENCER, Chairman

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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 A. Bassell. He was a missionary, well known for his good work 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. Bassell 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. Bassell 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. Bassell kept them alive by his skill, and inspired them by his own courage.

As the official report said, Dr. Bassell 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. Bassell took virtual command of the ship, and by great skill avoided destruction, hiding in small bays and inlets.

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



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Dr. Wassall 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 flights 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 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.



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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. Whelless, of the United States Army. He comes from Howard, 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.



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(4)

April 28, 1942 - Speech of the President

Second Draft (carbon) - 31 pages - S.I.R. corrections pp. 23, 31.

Third Draft (carbon) - 7 pages uncorrected.

Fourth Draft (carbon) - 21 pages uncorrected.

Fifth Draft (carbon) - 15 pages - S.I.R. corrections.

Sixth Draft (carbon) - 21 pages uncorrected.

Memos - from Navy, Maritime Commission, Treasury.



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SPECH OF THE PRESIDENT

APRIL 27, 1942.

Everybody who has lived through these last three years knows that the American people have progressively accepted one responsibility after another. As they realized the full magnitude of this war and of the tasks this was imposed, it became clear to them that they were facing unprecedented tasks.

The war began on September 1, 1939. Immediately it became apparent that we must amend the Neutrality laws before we could even sell arms and equipment to our friends who were fighting against Nazi Germany. And that was done.

In the Spring of 1940, from our position of seeming security across the Atlantic Ocean, we witnessed a series of wanton attacks on countries, in violation of all treaties. These attacks culminated in the fall of France and the threatened invasion of Great Britain.

The swift tempo of the new method of warfare brought home to us the fact that our own country and our own hemisphere were in danger. Three necessities became clear to the American people: First, it was obvious that we must make vast appropriations for national defense; second, we must break with our peacetime tradition by the enactment of a selective service law to muster our manpower; and third, we must give



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Administrator

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all possible aid to embattled Britain. And all this was done.

The next phase of the world conflict might be called the phase of extension. Japan, in September 1940, joined in the Tripartite Pact, and thus finally and openly acknowledged its membership in the Axis. The war was carried into Greece and southeastern Europe. It was carried into Africa. And through it all the Nazis continued their relentless bombing of British cities and their attacks on British life-lines at sea.

The American people then recognized that if Hitler was to be stopped in his march to world domination, our country must become the arsenal of democracy. To achieve that end, courageous and realistic legislative measures had to be taken. Nothing short of the Lend-Lease Law could meet the serious situation. And that was done.

The program we had undertaken was so large in comparison to pre-war days that it required the shifting of the major part of American industry from the products of peace to the weapons of war. It required building new factories. It required tremendous expansion of our ship-building. Our production facilities had to be increased to an extent most people had considered impossible of achievement. Countless new

plants were built, certain towns in the United States



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problems confronted the Government and the people — problems of finance and agriculture and labor and business, and the readjustment of individual lives.

During all this time, certain groups in the United States opposed the whole program — they scoffed at the very purpose behind the program — on the ground that the United States was comfortably isolated and secure — that we could not be attacked — that we could live complacently unto ourselves while the rest of the world crashed in ruins.

But then, one quiet, peaceful Sunday morning — Dec. 7, 1941 — the war came home to us.

The American people will never forget that the attack on Pearl Harbor and 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 which had been sent to Japan by our own Secretary of State nearly two weeks before.

Although the sudden, treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor caught us off guard, it was not long before we were able to begin to strike back at the enemy. In fact, it can be said that we were actually better



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prepared than we had been at the outbreak of any previous war. We had eighteen months of industrial preparation behind us, and a year of intensive training of a greatly increased Army and Navy. We had substantial physical strength. But this physical strength was only one part of our preparedness. Of far greater importance was the fact that we were spiritually prepared. We went into this war fighting. We knew what we were fighting against — and, more important, we knew what we were fighting for.

Great as had been our program of preparedness up to then, it now became apparent to the American people that it had to be immeasurably increased. The war which had begun in Poland had encircled the world. It had become what Hitler had originally proclaimed it to be — a Total War.

Therefore, in January, I proposed a new program, superimposed on all the previous programs. Our enemies called it "fantastic". They called it mere words, impossible of accomplishment. They are saying today that the program has collapsed — that it has failed to receive the support of the American people. And they attempt to prove this point by quoting those dubious Americans — the faithless few — who



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have been sabotaging national unity and tossing sand into the gear box of our war effort. I need not give you the names of those sand-tossers, those politicians and publishers who are today the only American citizens enjoying popularity in Berlin and Tokyo.

But disregarding the sneers of our enemies and the doubts of our own native weasels, the American people squared their shoulders and gave their traditional answer to a major challenge: "It can be done, it must be done, it will be done". And it is being done.

However, 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?"



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I am certain that never has any people been so eager to serve, so insistent on joining in the privilege of sacrifice for so great a cause.

We cannot all participate personally in the victories that must be won on the battlefields or in the factories of this war. But all of us can and must participate in the national effort which alone can make these victories possible. And as America shifts into this high gear of production, every one of us in our daily lives will have to make sacrifices and endure hardships which make us all partners in this all-out effort.

For it has now again become apparent to the American people that a new responsibility has to be faced — the responsibility of keeping the national economy at home on a sound basis. That will require drastic action which affects the daily living of all of us. We must take action to control prices — to control wages — to control profits — so that the huge machine that we are building will not run away with us. And I know that the American people are ready to take it all, and take it in their stride. This too will be done!

I need hardly tell you that to build the factories, and buy the materials, and pay the labor, and provide the transportation, and



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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 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. In other words, out of every dollar that is made by any business or any individual in the United States, fifty-five cents (?) are going to be spent in the war effort.

All of this money has to be spent — and spent quickly — if we are to produce within the time now available the enormous quantities



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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. 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, 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 reduced. It is being reduced because raw materials must be taken away



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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.

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.

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, the demand will be greater than the supply. And when that happens, prices go up. 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 an ascending spiral of inflation. 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



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proportionate 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. We know all too well what the consequences were then. And so we know just what we must guard against 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 up to now 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.



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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. You and I must make up our minds to do now what our country 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 must be based on equality of sacrifice. The hardships involved must be distributed with justice among all classes of Americans. The burden must be borne as equally as it is humanly possible to arrange in our enormous, 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.



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Past experience in the post-war economy of the twenties has shown what happens when the cost of living succeeds in doubling itself, and 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 was in effect a hopeless attempt to lift themselves up by their own boot-straps.

An economy of sacrifice means foresight. It means prudence. It means that by stabilizing things now there will be less interest in getting rich quickly and more interest in avoiding far greater 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 winning and securing 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. We



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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



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once if we would avoid having to issue a future communique from the home front reading "too little and too late".

And there are those who, from selfish or political motives, or from downright lack of patriotism seek to confuse the whole economic issue — just as they have sought to slow our war effort in other ways. These are the same faithless few — the "sand throwers" — of whom I have already spoken. They have tried to upset the objective of parity for our farmers by promising greatly higher prices for his crepe, thus forcing up the cost of living for everybody else. Pretending to be horrified at the excesses of a few labor leaders, they have tried to make people believe that strikes throughout the country have been very seriously impairing our munitions output. May I remind you again that the total war production has been slowed down less than half of one per cent by strikes since January, and that during the same period it has been slowed down eight times as much by colds and illness and industrial accidents. There are other kinus of "sand throwers" — a small minority among labor leaders themselves who seek to gain advantage through war, by charging exorbitant initiation fees and seeking to slow down output. And, there are those in business who are trying to make outrageously high profits out of the contracts let by the Government.



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We all appreciate the fact that in any group or occupation

there exists a small percentage of chisellers and black sheep. You and I know the type among any group of workers or professional men. That small percentage is a headache in any community -- it is a headache in county government, or municipal government, or state government, or the federal government itself. But, on the other side of the picture, the overwhelming majority of workers on the farms or workers 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.

Therefore, the American people will not be fooled into believing that the wrong-doer, whom we are catching and exposing as fast as we can, is by any means typical of the overwhelming majority who are keeping the wheels turning.

Those among us who are fortunate financially must bear their burdens proportionately to the need of sacrifices. Profits must be taxed to the limit consistent with continued production. This means business profits, not only on the making of munitions but on the making or selling of anything else. Under the proposed new tax law, we seek to take by



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taxation undue or excess profits. If a man or a corporation makes more than a reasonable profit, the excess should go automatically to the Government.

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.

Our difficulty is to write a law in which some clever people will not find loopholes, and I have suggested to the Chairman of the Committee in the House of Representatives, which is drawing up the bill, that there be a blanket clause so that in case any corporation finds a way of making an excess profit that is not taken by taxation, a special tax will be levied to take care of that kind of case.

And the same thing goes, in my judgment, for that small number of personal individual incomes which are based on unreasonable salaries or in an unreasonable boosting of previous salaries. For example, I do not think that in a time of crisis like this any American citizen ought to have a net income, after he has paid his taxes, of more than \$25,000.

In addition, the tax bill would plug up certain other loopholes through which a great deal of income, especially income in the



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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 Example). For the same reason, governmental agencies should be empowered to disallow excessive salaries, bonuses or reserves in making their cost estimates.

Of course, it is not enough to use the tax method alone to stabilize the cost of living; nor is it enough to prevent all undue or excess profits in business.

We must also stabilize the price of all materials, including food crops, textile crops, . . . including dairy products and livestock. The purpose of such stabilization is to make sure that the amount of money in your pay envelope and in mine will mean the same tomorrow that it did yesterday. It is merely carrying out the idea of parity toward which we have been working for many years. "Parity" is merely another



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way of saying that the farmer shall be assured of an equality of individual purchasing power with his fellow Americans who work in industry. I feel certain that most farmers — nearly all of them — do not want to blow up the whole cost of living of the country by asking for a greater share than the well considered parity system provides. If the farmer gets more than parity, 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. Remember, that if the cost of living goes up, the farmer's income and the worker's pay are always racing to catch up with the procession of rising prices. I know that the farmers will remember what happened to them in 1920. They were the first to suffer when, in seeking to return 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. The farmer was very close to the bottom of the heap. That was a mistake which must not be repeated. Since the start of the war, retail prices have risen \_\_\_\_\_ per cent, and if nothing is done about them now, will probably continue to rise \_\_\_\_\_ per cent during the next year.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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Authority has been already 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.

We cannot adequately control the cost of living, however, unless we can also control the cost of products which come from the farm.

I am very anxious that the principle of parity for agriculture which we first enunciated in 1935 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.

I realize fully that what I am asking involves a substantial



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From the President to  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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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 not to know that for him to survive and prosper there must be balanced economy in the Nation in which he plays his own interdependent part but in which he cannot play a loose 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.

I am sure you will all realize the numerous and difficult



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problems involved in fixing these prices for sellers and buyers and farmers and rent-payers. 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 will invite disaster.



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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.

Organized labor has given up the right to strike during the continuation of the war — and this is a fine action on its part. There has been provided a War Labor Board to which all questions shall be taken if not settled satisfactorily by other means. The fact that the present machinery is working is evidenced by the production results during the past four months. Out of approximately



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forty million workers in industry, strikes have affected far less than a half of one per cent of production during this period. As in England, where strikes were voluntarily outlawed by labor early in the war, we have a very occasional and generally very short strike of a very few people in an occasional individual plant. When that occurs, there is a certain type of newspaper in the United States which puts the fact that fifty men have struck in a small town on the front page as a "scare" story. That kind of misinformation applies, I am sorry to say, to some news radio commentators as well as to some newspapers.

*Point A*

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; *which in certain industries* 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.

*B*

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



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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. Adequate machinery to provide for these exceptional cases will have to be set up.

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



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National Director and Board Member  
FEDERAL EMPLOYEES AND RETIRED EMPLOYEES  
WORLD WAR II

From the People of  
SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

discouraged from seeking 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 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.

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.



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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. However, when extraordinary circumstances in any plant make it necessary for a laborer to work on his day of rest -- whether it be Sunday or not -- he should be paid double wages for that seventh day.

Our economy of sacrifice also requires us all to do without many of the things to which we have become accustomed in happier times. Many things will have to be rationed, if not entirely denied to civilian use. I know that the American people will not only bear these inconveniences, they will welcome them, as further opportunities to serve the cause to which we are all dedicated.

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



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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 kind 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 plentifully 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 incomes 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.

Defense Savings Bonds have now become War Savings Bonds and the savings campaign has become an indispensable part of the nation's war effort.



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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.

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.

I have been urged by many persons and groups to recommend the adoption of a compulsory plan of savings by deducting a certain percentage of everyone's income. I prefer however to keep the



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From the Project to Administer  
Samuel I. Rosenman

SECOND DRAFT

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voluntary plan in effect as long as possible and as long as it works.

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.

To sum up the points that I have covered relating to prices, profits, wages and taxes:

1. The policy of the Government is to put a ceiling on the price of what people buy and to prevent the manufacture of certain articles where this interferes with production of munitions of war.

2. It is the policy of the Government to seek legislation preventing undue or excess profits altogether and to limit excess salaries or individual incomes from investment.

3. It is the policy of the Government to retain parity prices for all farm products and to apply the same general rule for all other raw materials.

4. It is the policy of the Government, with the assistance of the machinery now in existence, to establish a similar parity for industrial wages, using the machinery, however, to do justice and equity



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in those wage cases which are unjust or inequitable.

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 have asked 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.

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 in Britain, China, Russia, Holland and Poland have been killed or maimed by enemy action. Today, in France, Belgium, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece, civilians are gallantly giving their lives in their continued fight for freedom.



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Our own American civilian population is now relatively safe from 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 ~~sacrifice~~

*fought for liberty &  
justice under  
God*



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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.



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THIRD DRAFT

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



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THIRD DRAFT

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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 Australia, 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



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From the Pacific  
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J. C.

THIRD DRAFT

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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



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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. To 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).

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THIRD DRAFT

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(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 your pay is now inequitable or at a sub-standard level.



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THIRD DRAFT

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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 of 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.



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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.



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FOURTH DRAFT

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It would have seemed incredible one short year ago if anyone had prophesied that in April of 1941 American ships would be 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 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 — or that American war planes American manned 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-offensive on the part of the great armies of Russia — 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



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FOURTH DRAFT

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power to Russia.

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

Very recently we have received news of a change in government in what we 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 in its full meaning.

All people in the world who were distressed and shocked by the defeat of France and the occupation of the greater part of it by the Nazis, a year and a half ago, have hoped for the maintenance of a French Government which would strive for the reconstituting of a France wholly independent of any other nation and wholly able to return to full control of its historic "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" and a resumption of its own historic culture. It is disturbing, therefore, to find in recent days an increasing tendency not alone to appease Germany but to try to persuade the brave French people that they must make a final, complete surrender to the theories and practices of the Nazi despotism.



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FOURTH DRAFT

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The United Nations must take forcible measures to prevent the use for military purposes by the Axis powers of French territories, at home, and in many 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 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 converted 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 cheer our own American bombers when we have joined in force with



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FIFTH DRAFT

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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, Yugoslavia 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 contrast the present speeches of these leaders with their arrogant boastings of a year ago, and two years



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SECOND DRAFT

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

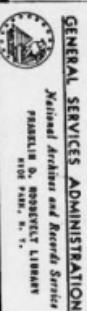
On the seas our fleets and those of Britain and others of the United Nations are, of necessity, ranging over vast areas and while the problem of keeping the lanes open is difficult and losses have been high, the shipbuilding programs are going well. Indeed, we may well make substantial increases in these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



From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

FINAL DRAFT

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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 stepped and that Australia, New Zealand and the Islands along our lines of communication will be held and will become the bases for a future offensive.

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 tanks and, above all, in men. They are feeling the effects of those losses. The inevitable results of the ambition and the greed of the Japanese war



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 8 -

lords are being brought home to the Japanese people.

It is even reported from Japan that somebody has dropped bombs on Tokyo and 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.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

FOURTH DRAFT

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Not all of us will have the privilege of 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 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 on the farms or in oil fields or mines, producing the raw materials which 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, and will be privileged to remain in uniform 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 sacrifice is necessary not only to keep our fighting men supplied with weapons and equipment and food, but also to keep our own economic life stable 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 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.



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FOURTH DRAFT

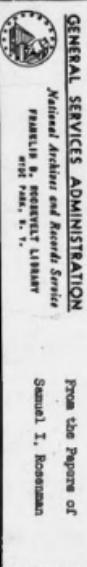
- 10 -

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



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



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FOURTH DRAFT

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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



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FOURTH DRAFT

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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 1918 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 1918.

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:



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FOURTH DRAFT

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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



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FOURTH DRAFT

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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 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



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

FOURTH DRAFT

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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.

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, but all of you will be affected indirectly by all of the points.

Are you in business, 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 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 landlord? Ceilings will be placed on the prices at which you can sell your goods or rent your apartments.



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ROUTINE DRAFT

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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 circumstances.

Are you 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 put every dime and every dollar you can possibly spare out of your 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 goods of which there is not enough to go around. Because your government is determined to stop competition for goods which are becoming scarce, for that always sends the



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FOURTH DRAFT

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cost of living seeming.

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.



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FOURTH DRAFT

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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.



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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.



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FOURTH DRAFT

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I know that this economy of sacrifice they will gladly embrace --  
satisfied that it is necessary for the most vital and compelling  
native 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 in Britain, China, Russia, Holland  
and Poland have been killed or maimed by enemy action. Today, in France,  
Belgium, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece, civilians are  
gallantly giving their lives in their continued fight for freedom.

Our own American civilian population is now relatively safe  
from 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.

Then, 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."



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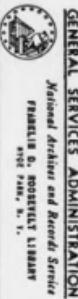
SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

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.



From the Papers of

Henry L. Hopkins

FOURTH REAPPORT

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It would have seemed incredible one short year ago if anyone had prophesied that in April of 1942 American ships would be 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 North 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 — or that American war planes American manned would be flying in actual combat over all the continents and all the oceans.

In the European front the most important development of the past year has been the counter-offensive on the part of the great armies of Russia — an offensive launched suddenly and with devastating effect after the long retreating 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



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Harry L. Hopkins

FEBRUARY 1943

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power to Russia.

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

Very recently we have received news of a change in government in what we 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 in its full meaning.

All people in the world who were distressed and shocked by the defeat of France and the occupation of the greater part of it by the Nazis, a year and a half ago, have hoped for the maintenance of a French Government which would strive for the reconstituting of a France wholly independent of any other nation and wholly able to return to full control of its historic "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" and a resumption of its own historic culture. It is disturbing, therefore, to find in recent days an increasing tendency not alone to appease Germany but to try to persuade the brave French people that they must make a final, complete surrender to the theories and practices of the Nazi despotism.



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SECRET CHART

- 4 -

The United Nations must take forcible measures to prevent the use for military purposes by the Axis powers of French territories, at home, and in many 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 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 converted 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 cheer our own American bombers when we have joined in force with



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- 5 -

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, 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. [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 ships 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 contrast the present speeches of these leaders with their arrogant boastings of a year ago, and two years



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FOURTH REPORT

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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. 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 and we pay 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 gone; the Nether-



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From the Papers of

MARSH DRAFT

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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 stepped and that Australia, New Zealand and the Islands along our lines of communication will be held and will become the bases for a future offensive.

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-encompassing 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 tanks] and, above all, in men. They are feeling the effects of those losses. The inevitable results of the ambition and the greed of the Japanese war



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HARRY L. Hopkins  
From the Philippines

FOURTH DRAFT

- 8 -

lords are being brought home to the Japanese people.

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



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*Island*  
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 efforts. 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. To 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.

FOURTH DRAFT

- 8 -

Not all of us will have the privilege of 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 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 on the farms or in oil fields or mines, producing the raw materials which 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, and will be privileged to remain in uniform 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 sacrifice is necessary not only to keep our fighting men supplied with weapons and equipment and food, but also to keep our own economic life stable 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 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.



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FOURTH DRAFT

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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



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Barry L. Hopkins

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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



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FOURTH DRAFT

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in many respects as soy 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



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FOURTH DRAFT

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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.

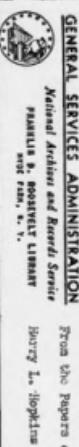
The important thing to remember is that when prices increase, a proportionate increase in wages does not meet the situation. In the first place, the increased wage does not buy any more merchandise than it did before the rise in prices; and, in the second place, the increased wages themselves inevitably 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 1918 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 1918.

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

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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



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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  
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



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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.

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, but all of you will be affected indirectly by all of the points.

Are you in business, 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 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 landlord? Ceilings will be placed on the prices at which you can sell your goods or rent your apartments.



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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 circumstances.

Are you 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 put every dime and every dollar you can possibly spare out of your 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 goods of which there is not enough to go around. Because your government is determined to stop competition for goods which are becoming scarce, for that always sends the



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PUBLIC DRAFT

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cost of living zooming.

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 allow 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 [these] in business who will still try to make outrageous profits out of war contracts.



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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.



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FURTHER DRAFT

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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.



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FOURTH DRAFT

- XI -

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 in Britain, China, Russia, Holland  
and Poland have been killed or maimed by enemy action. Today, in France,  
Belgium, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece, civilians are  
gallantly giving their lives in their continued fight for freedom.

Our own American civilian population is now relatively safe  
from 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.

Then, 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."



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From the Papers of

FIFTH DRAFT

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

APRIL 26, 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.

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 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 could 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,



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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 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,"



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Equality and Fraternity\* and resume the historic culture of France.  
[and are concerned but]  
However, [the known character of] those who have recently come to  
power [can] seek to [only that a determined attempt will be made to]  
force the brave French people to [fascism] complete surrender to [the Nazi]  
[aristocracy 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 in preventing 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 their fight, that victory for 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 own enemies and her own traitors.

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



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sabotage production in their factories which have been perverted to the service of the Nazi war machine. They cheer the R.A.F. when those 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.]

[The same holds true of all the occupied countries.]

In Norway, Belgium, The Netherlands, Poland, Czechoslovakia,

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.



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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 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 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 and that Australia, New Zealand and the Islands along our lines of communication will be held, and 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.

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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.

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.



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Although the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor was found the immediate cause of our entry into the war that event ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> made 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 <sup>will</sup> have the privilege of fighting our enemies in distant parts of the world.

Not all of us <sup>will</sup> have the privilege of working in a munitions factory or shipyard, or on the farms or in oil fields <sup>or</sup> 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.



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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



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FIFTH DRAFT

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

Then 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 ad 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 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



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

I repeat them now:

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.



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6. We must ration all essential commodities [which we name]

[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 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.

(C) 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 -- aimed at wages, prices, profits, taxes, and control of 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 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.

There may be exceptional circumstances where injustices



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FIFTH DRAFT

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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 <sup>not</sup> 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.



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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 actions.



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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.



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SIXTH DRAFT

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

APRIL 26, 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,



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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.



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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 xxxx were. But the situation here 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.

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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, we are 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.



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SIXTH DRAWER

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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 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.



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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.



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WIDE WORLD

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.



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APR 1942From the Papers of  
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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.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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.



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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 good, put into war use, are necessarily taken away from civilian use; 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 objectives of keeping the cost of living down.



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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 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 are already taking the position that every one of the seven points is correct except the one point which steps on his or her 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 in one comprehensive, all-embracing

SIXTH DRAFT

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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.



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## SIXTH DRAFT

- 12 -

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 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.

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 false statements with honest criticism.

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



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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.

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 their lives -- winning through to victory.



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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.

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 every action in the Java seas.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 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. Wassell kept them alive by his skill, and he kept them cheerful by his own inspiring courage.

As 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.



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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 individual man.

You may remember the tragic sinking of the submarine SQUALUS off the New England coast in the summer of 1939. None 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.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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 "Equalus" in 1939 are today serving on the same ship, the "Gulffish", in this war.

It is heartening to know that the "Equalus", 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 is a story of 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 twenty 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 five to attack Japanese transports landing troops in the



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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 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 passed over, 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 plane proceeded on its mission and dropped all of its bombs on 6 transports which were lined up along the docks.

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 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



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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 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 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 damaged because they were of the self-sealing type.

The fight continued until the remaining Japanese pursuit ships exhausted their ammunition. They 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 returned to their base. With two engines gone and the



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HOTEL PARK, S. Y.

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Samuel I. Rosenman

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.

The name of that "rosy-cheeked" pilot is Captain Hewitt T. Whelets, 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. 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.



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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.

\* \* \* \* \*



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

*Jesse Rosenman*  
Would this be it?

*VAT*  
MAY 26, 1941.

1707

*9th —*

Most of this resolution covers technical provisions of existing law aimed at improvement in the operation of the Agricultural program. There is no budgetary or other administrative objection to any of these amendments.

Section 10, however, directs the Commodity Credit Corporation to make available loans to cooperators who grow cotton, corn, wheat, rice or tobacco at the rate of eighty-five percent of the parity price for the commodity as of the beginning of the marketing year.

This is an effort to obtain farm prices nearer parity. It reflects the Government's objective for the past eight years. It reflects the fact that the farmers did not have and have not as great a share of the national income as other groups.

There is, nevertheless, an obscurity or perhaps an omission in the language of the resolution which I have sought to clarify before affixing my signature.

One effect of increasing the loan ratio on the major crops will in many cases result in a lowering of existing or budgeted parity payments. It should be obvious to all that the Government ought properly to change the existing policy by giving to farmers a total compensation greater than parity.

Then this Bill becomes law the cooperating farmer will be able to receive an eighty-five percent Parity Loan plus a cash Parity payment plus a cash Soil Conservation payment. Under no circumstances should the sum of those three exceed parity.

Therefore I have taken up the construction of the law with certain Legislative leaders chiefly responsible for it and have received from them letters stating in effect that for the 1941 crop the broad intention is that parity payments should if necessary be so curtailed as to avoid a price above parity when added to the loan and the Soil Conservation payments. I am therefore confident that in the pending Appropriation Bill this clear interpretation and intent will be carried out.

Furthermore, it is my belief that in the Omnibus Bill submitted to the Congress by the Secretary of Agriculture minimum cotton and wheat allotments should more closely approximate current demands; cotton and rice penalties should be increased; all with the thought that wholly unmanageable surpluses should not accumulate in the hands of the Government. Finally, the Commodity Credit Corporation should be free to dispose in an orderly manner of many commodities acquired under the loan program.

I am approving this Joint resolution on the distinct understanding that parity payments will be limited to the amount necessary to bring the basic commodities to parity but not beyond parity.



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IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MAY 26, 1941.

1707

MEMORANDUM ON

S. J. RES. 60

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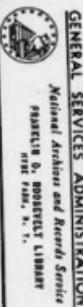
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SENATOR J. ROBERTSON  
From the People of