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FDR Speech File

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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

October 12, 1942

SPEECH

SIR
H.L. Hopkins
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October 12, 1942

First Draft - Dictated by F.D.R. - carbon - uncorrected - 19 pages.

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Third Draft - carbon - 25 pages - uncorrected.

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Sixth Draft - (1) carbon - S.I.R. corrections on p. 17, 18, 21.
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Memos from Biddle, W.M.P., O.C.D., Cox.

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FIRST DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

OCTOBER 12, 1942

Dictated by FDR

Tonight I am not making any announcement of grave import — this is literally a chat — to tell you of various matters which I think will have some interest for you in connection with the prosecution of a World War which, with every passing week, broadens in its scope.

That is true in the sphere of actual fighting; the actual number of men engaged on both sides of the struggle on the many fronts grows ~~all~~ the time. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, in the South Pacific and up in the Aleutian Islands.

I am glad also to tell you that the number of Americans on sea and on land who are in actual contact with the enemy grows apace. While you and I realize that this means more casualties, more wounds, more boys from every community on our fighting fronts, it means also that we have a deep satisfaction therein, for we realize that the effective use of American manpower is beginning to be felt by our enemies. Germany and Japan are at least beginning to realize what the inevitable result is going to be when the full force of the United States hits them wherever they may be.

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We of the United Nations are on the up-grade in this war. Germany and Japan are barely holding their own, and their leaders know by now that they have reached their full strength and cannot increase that strength further.

Those of us who get reports from those two countries, and from Italy, are beginning to realize that one of the important reasons for their continuation of the conflict lies in the fact that their populations are forbidden to know the truth of what is going on.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been the scientific development of what they called "The War of Nerves". They have led other nations to believe that if they stepped forth and blew a trumpet the walls of Jericho would fall down. They have spread terror, they have committed atrocities, they have started Fifth Columns everywhere, they have duped the innocent, they have fomented hate, they have cheered on those in other nations who continue to play petty games of politics while the world outside their borders burned.

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All that is true of the German and Japanese efforts within our own American borders. I think you are aware of the ~~maxims~~ names of American citizens which receive the applause of the Berlin newspapers. If you do not know those names you can readily guess them.

But of late this "War of Nerves" against the United Nations has begun to act like a boomerang. For the first time the Hitlerite leadership shows signs of being on the defensive. They are beginning to explain to their own people. They are beginning to apologize for the stoppage of the German machine in front of Stalingrad. They are beginning to plead with tears that the tendency to lower output of munitions be stopped.

They are not making peace overtures, it is true. But we hear from a few of them suggestions that the world is tired of war and that some kind of peace could be worked out which would leave Germany and Japan with sufficient strength to build world domination on a generation hence.

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Meanwhile, the atrocities continue under the direct policy and orders of the gangs of gangsters which control every human life of the civilians and the armies under them.

A few days ago, after consultation among the United Nations, it was decided that steps should be immediately taken by all of us to examine clearly into the identity of those leaders who are responsible for the acts of inhumanity and savagery, not only in the conduct of war itself, but in the treatment of the civilian populations of those of the United Nations which have been overrun by these gangsters.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no reprisals en masse or anything approaching masse against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. We have made it entirely clear that the ring leaders must be discovered, apprehended and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law. And the rest of their populations can rest assured that when defeat comes to their leaders and victory comes to the United Nations, they will be treated like decent human beings. As the deeds which sane people regard as criminal are being committed, they are being investigated and the evidence tabulated for the future purpose of justice.

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I wish I could rub an Aladdin's Lamp and translate myself into any large city of Germany in the guise of a German working man. I wish it were possible for me to obtain a first hand impression of what they are doing and saying and thinking about. I have a notion of what I would find -- and I would like to compare it to what I have seen on a recent trip which I took within our own country.

It is very simple to say that the Commander-in-Chief of the American armed forces, as some newspapers have said, should sit in Washington day after day and read statistical reports of what this, that, and the other munition plant has turned out from week to week, or month to month. It is very easy to say, as some newspapers have said, that the Commander-in-Chief should go through the country with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with the flashing of bulbs, and with interviews with all the politicians of the land.

But as Commander-in-Chief I had not forgotten that this war is not being conducted by machines alone -- that human beings enter into it -- that planning involving human activities enters into it. That we are training millions of Americans -- men and women -- several millions in camps of the Army, Navy and Marine

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Corps and more millions in the factories and in the services out of uniform which are all a part of our war effort.

One of the needs is that the Commander-in-Chief apply certain simple rules of efficiency just as much as an Admiral, or a General, or a soldier, or a sailor -- and having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the way I took this trip added 40% to my own efficiency over any trip methods which I have used for inspection or for politics in previous trips.

In the last war, I had seen great factories, but until I saw some of the new present day plants with my own eyes I had not visualized the American war effort. And remember what I saw is but a small portion of all the plants throughout the nation.

In one sense it was a hurried trip out through the north to Seattle, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the southwest and the south. In another sense, however, it was an unhurried trip because I had time in each place to ask the questions I wanted to ask, to learn things I did not know, to avoid the responsibilities of publicity, and incidentally, to do a lot of thinking -- thinking out comparative

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needs — the dovetailing of all of the elements that go into the preparation for war on a basis of first things first.

As I told the three press representatives who accompanied me, one fact impressed me greatly. That was not just the large number of women who were employed in actual manufacture — not just women doing office work, but principally the women who were running machines. And when I speak of the large number of women, I mean also the large proportion of women to men in many of these plants. As time goes on, I am told that the proportion is bound to increase so that, for example, in the manufacture of combatant airplanes most plants will employ 50% of women in less than a year from now.

This is not only a fine thing but it is also a necessary thing because so many of our men and especially our younger men are going into the armed forces.

I have realized the shortage of manpower. It is becoming a part of the problem not so much of the existing war machine, but of the growth of that war machine to a far greater strength of the Army and Navy and of the civilian structure at home. Incidentally, the efficiency of the women workers is wholly satisfactory. I will not say that I learned a lesson, but I

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received a rather amusing and definite impression relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity -- inquisitiveness -- resides with the gentler sex. On my trips to many plants not only I but the members of my party thought we noticed that when my automobile drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of machines and machine operators of both sexes, the first people to look up and stop work were the men and not the women. The women seemed to keep their eyes on the ball and continue playing the game of production, where the men often got into an argument as to whether it was really the President or not.

On this question of manpower, I heard of course much about the scarcity of farm labor and in many sections of the country this is undoubtedly a fact. Nevertheless, there were many hopeful signs. In one community an abundant crop was got in by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days — and the crop was fully harvested. In another community our fruit growers on the coast the usual Japanese labor was, of course, not available and when the fruit ripened the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the small town left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit and sent it to market.

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In still another place — a dairy community -- where almost every high school child knew how to milk or run a tractor -- the herds were kept going by a community cooperation which enabled the farmers to maintain their full supply of much needed food. American ingenuity in working out these programs will, I hope, keep our production of food products and textiles up to the highest possible point. We need all we can grow, not only for ourselves but to keep our gallant allies in health and in strength.

This manpower (including woman power) problem, is by no means solved. We have not yet adopted a rounded policy in regard to it. That is one of the tasks that lies before us in the next few months. I have no doubt that it will be solved and that the American people will accept the solution as patriotically and wholeheartedly as they have accepted the solution of a number of other problems in the past two or three years. Today there are many square pegs trying to fit into round holes, and while perfection can never be attained, it must be our objective to use our population in the tasks that the individual man and individual woman best fit into. And when I say "our population", I mean that every single one of us has a part to play in the war.

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Another fact which I learned on my trip has a bearing on the same subject. In several camps I found men, recently inducted into the Army under the Selective Service law, who were obviously too old for active combat work as soldiers under fighting conditions which call for great strength and great endurance. You have heard of certain German regiments called "shock troops". That means only regiments of young, strong men who have had long training. By implication, other regiments of Germans are not shock troops, and that means that they are composed of older men or less well trained men who are unable for long to stand the pace of modern fighting.

I want to make every American regiment that goes overseas into a shock troop division. I want them all to have adequate endurance and thorough training. If we can do that, it means that the war will be over in our favor so much the sooner.

As our Army grows in size, and as another hundred thousand men go overseas at relatively frequent intervals, we shall need a larger number of young men in the front lines. I suppose that people realize throughout the country that a division of 15,000 men that has an average age of twenty-one or twenty-two is almost of necessity a better fighting division than another one

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which has an average age of thirty-one or thirty-two.

That is why it is going to be necessary very soon to lower the present twenty year lower limit down to eighteen. Most of us know the inevitability of it and the importance of it to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feelings of the parents of boys of eighteen or nineteen -- hoping that the war may end before their boys are called. I have an understanding of that feeling, and so has my wife.

And I want every Father and every Mother who has a son in the service to know -- again, from what I have seen with my own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the finest training we know how to give them. It is training which in battle will save many, many lives in comparison with casualties among untrained or semi-trained forces.

There is one little episode that makes me think that a trip by the Commander-in-Chief may have some value. At one of the Naval Training Stations which I visited, I found that only 60% of the boys who go into active service from that Training Station are thoroughly able to swim. In these days

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of sinkings that seemed to me too low a proportion and, as a result, orders have gone out that the percentage of swimmers must be greatly increased.

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While I was away the Congress of the United States discussed the problem which I had raised on September seventh -- action to keep the cost of living from going up through the roof. I am glad, and the Nation is glad, that the Congress acted so promptly. In accorance with the Act, I put the machinery of administration into effect twelve hours after I signed the Bill. Every effort is now being made to keep the cost of living for every farmer and every worker and every housewife within reasonable bounds. It is a tremendous task, of course, because it covers all we eat and all we wear and all the rents we pay in tens of thousands of communities throughout the Nation. The administration of the Act calls for real cooperation on the part of the consuming public.

I want to bring out one result if we are able to keep the cost of the necessities of life within reasonable bounds. It will mean that after this war is over the actual cost of it -- the debt of the Nation -- will be far lower than if the cost of fixing everything had got out of hand during the progress of the war. It will mean, for example, that if the cost of a bombing plane is today around half a million dollars, the cost of a new bombing plane, turned out a year from now, will still be at about that level instead of at a higher level which might

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cause
~~xxxx~~ the Government to pay three-quarters of a million dollars for the same plane.

Then, too, the war bonds which this country has so magnificently invested in will have very nearly the same purchasing power when they are paid off some years hence as they have today when you buy them. If the cost of living had gone up 50% during the course of the war, it would be an extremely difficult thing to bring it down again after the war and if it remained at a high artificial level, war bonds would have far less purchasing power when they are paid off. Therefore, you will readily see why your Government was so keen to stabilize things as of today.

As far as the totals of production go the figures last January were set out on what might be called a schedule — such an amount toward the goal in the case of each and every article — a constantly increasing schedule which we purposely set very high and hoped to produce as nearly up to the schedule as possible.

Using the word production in its broad sense — production of things of all kinds that are necessary to the war effort — my trip convinced me that we are approximately 94 or 95% up to the schedule laid down many months ago. Considering the fact that we have been in this war for only ten months, I think that

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most people will agree that this is a good effort and that we have reason to feel that we are making good progress.

When I say 94 or 95%, I mean the average of all the different elements that enter into war production. These elements include, of course, not only articles for the production of which responsibility rests on the War Production Board and on the Army and Navy. It is true that the percentage in these articles is not as high as the average and that it is a little below 90%. On the other hand, there are many other articles like ships and things that are being sent under the Lend Lease to our Allies where the production is above 94 or 95% — and that of course includes many foodstuffs which are being sent to other nations to keep them going in their war effort. For their war effort ties in directly with our war effort and here again their military and naval operations are closely tied in with ours. I may truthfully say, in spite of the ignorance of many who rush into print, that there is substantial unity of command on the part of the United Nations and that all of them are striving toward a common end.

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When you read your papers, remember always that your Government adheres strictly to the old American policy of freedom of the press. That for any reasonable human being means freedom of the press to print facts -- news that is based on fact -- and in addition to that, freedom to criticize on the basis of fact. That is and always will be an essential of our civilization.

Most Americans will agree with me, however, that freedom of the press does not carry with it the right to state as facts things which are not facts or to criticize on the basis of things which are not fact.

For example, you read and hear commentators -- nearly all of them civilians and all of them without exception in the position of not knowing a thousand and one things which, of necessity, have to be military secrets.

Because they labor under the great disadvantage of having to comment every day or two, they are compelled to write about matters of which they have the most superficial knowledge. They do the best they can, but we are passing through a phase -- a fad of the day which is understood to be a phase or a fad by most readers and most listeners.

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A statement is made as a statement of fact. It is based on a rumor or it is based on the opinion of somebody far down the line who has either poor judgment or a willingness to start a rumor in regard to something whereof he knows not.

The misstatement is perhaps reprinted and then there comes to my office in Washington and to other offices a series of letters protesting against or asking an explanation of something they have heard or read which does not happen to be true.

I think most of the American people understand that a very large percentage of what is given out as fact by commentators is really not factual truth but some people are very much disturbed.

You have heard for instance solemn assertions that the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain are responsible for all of the major strategical military decisions of the war and some say we are responsible for most of the minor military decisions of the war.

At the risk of seeming to make a mountain out of what is really a molehill, it is fair to tell the American people that the military and naval decisions of the United Nations

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are discussed in the military and naval staffs of war forces which exist in each country. In our case, it is the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy in Washington which meets day by day. Certain members of this Joint Staff also meet each day in a body known as the Combined Staffs. All of them work in the same building. This Combined Staff has on it representatives of the British Joint Staff and also meets with representatives of British Dominions, China, Russia, the Netherlands, Norway and other nations working in the common cause.

This Combined Staff is paralled by and is in almost hourly touch with a similar Combined Staff in London made up of the same elements. It is a simple fact that since this unity of operations was put into effect last January there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, who are all trained in the profession of war from their earliest years. The Prime Minister and the President have at all times been in substantial agreement with the Combined Staffs of the United Nations.

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The decisions of the Combined Staffs come, of course, to the Prime Minister as head of the War Cabinet and to me as Commander-in-Chief of the American Army and Navy, but as I have said before, we have happily found ourselves in substantial accord from the day we entered the war.

For the sake of efficiency, of course, Russia and China do not take part in decisions on operations outside of there own theatres of war. We would not presume to tell Russia or China how to conduct the magnificent defense which they have carried on so successfully. I can say, however, that the other United Nations are giving both to Russia and China every material assistance which it is possible to deliver to them. We deeply wish it were possible for us as a matter of practical physical transportation to ~~xxx~~ double and redouble this aid. We are confident that in the near future it will begin to be substantially increased.

In the same way, it is going to be indirectly of great assistance to Russia and to China to divert from the forces attacking them to theatres of war outside their borders through the conduct of new offensives against Germany & Japan. That incidentally is an added reason for Germany and Japan to worry about the near future.

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If I were in Russia I would be every whit as impatient as Mr. Stalin and his leaders must be, pressing the United States and Britain to start a strong move against Germany next week. And I would feel the same way if I were with the Generalissimo in China, pleading that the United States and Australia and New Zealand attack the home land of Japan in a daily Tokyo raid.

I may as well be frank in saying two things -- the first is that the United States has been at war for only ten months and is engaged in the enormous task of doubling its Navy and multiplying its Army five-fold. We are by no means at full production level yet, but I asked myself on the trip where we would be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build factories for this huge increase a year and a half and two years ago --/not very many months before Pearl Harbor. And in spite of our side of the problem, we have managed through all these months to send munitions and supplies of all kinds to every part of the world -- Russia, China, and the British Empire and the flow of this assistance mounts week by week.

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The other factor is the physical problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy submarines and, in all human probability, these losses will continue. But, on the other side of the picture, the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we see the light, and the fear of the past is changing into the definite expectation of growing armies and growing munitions and growing supplies for the side of all the United Nations in all the theatres of war.

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SECOND DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

OCTOBER 12, 1942

As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories which took me as far as the Pacific Coast.

As I travelled through the country, a profound truth — which I have learned on all such trips — was again brought home to me. It was brought home far more forcibly than ever before, because of the enormity of the war in which we are now engaged.

The profound truth is this:

When the President of the United States needs a renewal of spirit for bearing the burdens of his responsibilities — for making decisions on which may depend the very lives of our countrymen — for interpreting and carrying out the united will of all Americans — he can obtain this renewal of spirit by the simple means of going back to the people themselves.

The people are the source of this Government's authority. They are the source of this nation's strength.

The people are good. The people are courageous. The people are right.

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It is the people who are fighting this war, in all parts of the world.

The people will win.

Tonight I want to tell you of various matters which I have learned or thought about on that trip which I think will have some interest for you in connection with the prosecution of this War. With every passing week, that war broadens in its scope, in its intensity, in the sphere of actual fighting, in the actual number of men engaged on both sides of the struggle on the many fronts grows all the time. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, in the South Pacific and up in the Aleutian Islands.

I am glad also to tell you that the number of Americans who are in actual contact with the enemy on sea and on land grows every day. While you and I realize that this means more boys from every community on our fighting fronts, more casualties, more wounded, it means also that the effective use of American manpower is beginning to be felt by our enemies. Germany and Japan are already beginning to realize what the inevitable result is going to be as soon as the full force of the United States hits them wherever they may be.

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SECOND DRAFT

We of the United Nations are on the up-grade in this war — in the use of manpower, in production, and in preparation for early offensive. The Axis leaders know by now that they have already reached their full strength and they cannot increase that strength.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies inthe past has been what is called "The War of Nerves". At times they have been able to create the belief that if they stepped forth and blew a trumpet the walls of Jericho would immediately fall down. They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those in other nations who continued to play games of petty politics while the world outside their borders burned.

They have tried their tricks — all of their tricks — within our own American borders. They have tried them in Britain, in Russia, in China. But the common sense of the common people has defeated the enemy's propaganda.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations has begun to act like a boomerang. For the first time the Hitlerite leadership and propaganda machine show signs of being on the defensive. They are beginning to explain to their own people. They are beginning to apologize for the stoppage of the Nazi infantry and artillery and tanks and air forces at Stalingrad. They are beginning to plead with tears that their failing production of munitions be rallied.. They even assure their people that they will get enough to eat even though it will mean stealing food out of the mouths of everybody else in Europe.

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Meanwhile, not only to suppress revolt but also to hide the failure of their own offensive, Nazi atrocities continue and increase under the direct orders of the gangs of gangsters who now control the continent of Europe.

A few days ago, the United Nations decided to examine clearly into the identity of those leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery, not only in the conduct of war itself, but in the unspeakably barbaric treatment of civilian populations. As the deeds which sane people regard as criminal are being committed, they are being investigated and the evidence tabulated for the future purpose of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no reprisals en masse or anything approaching masse against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. We have made it entirely clear that the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named and apprehended and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law. We give assurance that when victory comes to the United Nations, the decent, duped people of Germany, Italy and Japan will not be victims of the vengeance which their leaders have deliberately created.

It may well be said that our first war aim is the enforcement of justice — justice upon the perpetrators of aggression — and justice for the victims of aggression.

This is not only an expression of governmental policy. This is the sentiment of the people. I am glad that I have had the opportunity to see that sentiment at first hand on my recent trip.

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It is very simple to say, as some newspapers have said, that the Commander in Chief of the American armed forces should sit in Washington day after day and read statistical reports of what all the munition plants are turning out from week to week and month to month. It is very easy to say, as some other newspapers have said, that when the Commander in Chief travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with the flashing of bulbs, and with interviews with all the politicians of the land.

But as Commander in Chief I had not forgotten that this war is not being conducted by machines alone -- that human beings enter into it -- and that all war plans depend upon appreciation of the human element.

We are training millions of Americans -- men and women -- several millions in camps of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps and more millions in the factories and in the services out of uniform which are all a part of our war effort. Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? How do they feel about things in general? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? The Commander in Chief must know the answers to these questions.

It is essential that the Commander in Chief apply certain simple rules of efficiency just as much as an Admiral, or a General, or a Private, or an Able Seaman. Having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the way I took this trip added 40% to my own efficiency over any methods which I have used on previous trips for inspection or for politics. And -- I might add -- it is a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a thought to politics.

In the last war, I had seen great factories, but until I saw some of the new present day plants with my own eyes I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. I saw only a small portion of all

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the plants throughout the nation, but that portion was representative and deeply impressive.

In one sense it was a hurried trip out through the Middle West, to the North West, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip because I had time in each place to ask the questions I wanted to ask, to learn things I did not know, to avoid the responsibilities of publicity, and, incidentally, to do a lot of thinking — thinking out comparative needs — the dovetailing of all of the elements that go into the preparation for war on a basis of first things first.

As I told the three press representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed particularly by the large number of women employed in actual manufacture — not just women doing office work, but women doing hard, tough work, running machines. And when I speak of the large number of women, I mean also the large proportion of women to men. As time goes on, this proportion is bound to increase so that, within less than a year from now, there will be as many women as men working in airplane plants.

This is not only a fine thing but it is also a necessary thing because so many of our men and especially our younger men are going into the armed forces.

I have realized the shortage of manpower. It is becoming a part of the problem not so much of the existing war machine, but of the growth of that war machine to a far greater strength at home and overseas. The efficiency of the women workers is wholly satisfactory. I received a rather amusing and definite impression relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity — inquisitiveness — is stronger in the gentler sex. On my trips to many plants I and the members of my party noticed that when my automobile drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of machines and machine operators of both sexes, the first people to look up and stop work were the men and not the women. The women seemed

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to keep their eyes on the ball and continue playing the game of production, where the man often got into an argument as to whether it was really the President or not.

On this question of manpower, I heard of course much about the scarcity of farm labor. In many sections of the country this is a serious fact. Nevertheless, there were many hopeful signs. In one community an abundant crop was got in by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days — and the crop was fully harvested. In another community of fruit growers on the coast the usual Japanese labor was, of course, not available and when the fruit ripened the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the small town left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit and sent it to market.

In still another place — a dairy community — where almost every high school child knew how to milk or run a tractor — the herds were kept going by a community cooperation which enabled the farmers to maintain their full supply of much needed food. American ingenuity in working out these programs will, I hope, keep our production of food products and textiles up to the highest possible point. We need all we can grow, not only for ourselves but to keep our gallant allies in health and in strength.

I am therefore asking that the educational authorities in all the states, together with the Manpower Commission, work out plans to enable our high school students to take necessary time from their school year and to use their summer vacations to help farmers raise and harvest their crops for the duration of the war. This is a distinct service to the nation. It also will do no harm whatever to the students themselves.

The manpower (including woman power) problem, is by no means solved. We have not yet adopted a rounded policy in regard to it. That is a task which is directly before us. I have no doubt that it will be solved and that the American people will accept the decisions, however

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drastic they may be, as patriotically and wholeheartedly as they have accepted other drastic decisions in the past two or three years. It must be our objective to use our population in the tasks for which the individual man and individual woman are best fitted — irrespective of the hardship. And when I say "our population", I mean that every single one of us has a part to play in the war.

This, after all, is not a new principle. It was adopted two years ago in the Selective Service Law. The carrying out of that law began with the first registration on October 16, 1940.

On that day, 16,316,908 men between the ages of 21 and 36 were registered at more than 125,000 registration places by over a million volunteer workers.

The Selective Service System now has a trained and experienced organization that extends into every community in the country, and numbers more than 200,000 citizens, the large majority of whom are patriotic volunteer workers.

In the process of selecting men for service in the armed forces, the local boards have the first jurisdiction and make the decision regarding their neighbors who are registered.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to our fellow citizens who are serving without compensation as members of local boards, appeal boards and advisory boards, as medical and dental examiners, and as government appeal agents for the unselfish service they render - for the long hours they labor - for the criticism they must endure. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens serve to give us confidence that we shall successfully solve the manpower problem.

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Another fact which I learned on my trip has a bearing on the same subject. In several camps I found men, recently inducted into the Army under the Selective Service law, who were obviously too old for active combat work as soldiers under fighting conditions which call for great strength and great endurance.

I want to make every American regiment that goes overseas into a shock troop division. That means only regiments of young, strong men who have had long training. I want them all to have adequate endurance and thorough training. If we can do that, it means that the war will be over in our favor so much the sooner.

As our Army grows in size, and as another hundred thousand men go overseas at relatively frequent intervals, we shall need a larger number of young men in the front lines. A division of 15,000 men that has an average age of twenty-one or twenty-two is almost of necessity a better fighting unit than another one which has an average age of thirty-one or thirty-two.

That is why it is necessary to lower the present twenty year lower limit down to eighteen. Most of us know how inevitable that is — and how important to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feelings of the parents of boys of eighteen or nineteen. I have an appreciation of that feeling — and so has my wife.

And I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know — again, from what I have seen with my own eyes — that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the finest training and equipment we know how to give them. It is training which in battle will save many, many lives in comparison with casualties among untrained or semi-trained forces.

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You can rest assured that your boys in training are being well-fed and well-housed, and that their health is being scrupulously watched. And their religious activities are carefully supervised by competent, trained clergymen drawn from every faith and denomination.

While I was away the Congress of the United States discussed the problem which I had raised on September seventh — action to keep the cost of living from going up through the roof. I am glad, and the Nation is glad, that the Congress acted so promptly. I put the machinery for administration of the Act into effect twelve hours after I signed the bill. Every effort is now being made to keep the cost of living for every farmer and every worker and every housewife within reasonable bounds. It is a tremendous task, of course, because it covers all we eat, and all we wear, and all the rents we pay in tens of thousands of communities throughout the Nation. The administration of the Act calls for real cooperation on the part of everybody — farmer, laborer, store-keeper, and the consuming public.

If we are able to keep down the cost of the necessities of life, it will mean that the actual cost of this war — the war debt of the Nation — will be far lower than if the cost of everything had got out of hand during the progress of the war. It will mean, for example, that if the cost of a bombing plane is today half a million dollars, the cost of a new bombing plane a year from now, will still be at about that level instead of three-quarters of a million dollars for the same plane.

Then too, our war bonds will have very nearly the same purchasing power when they are paid off some years hence as they have today when you buy them. If the cost of living had gone up 50% during the course of the war, it would be an extremely difficult thing to bring it down again after the war and war bonds would have far less purchasing power when they are paid off. Therefore, you will readily see why your Government was so keen to stabilize things as of today.

I say truthfully say, in spite of the ignorance of many who rush into print, that there is substantial unity of command on the part of the United Nations and that all of them are striving toward a common end.

For example, you read and hear commentators -- nearly all of them civilians and all of them without exception in the position of not knowing a thousand and one things which, of necessity, have to be military secrets.

Because they labor under the great disadvantage of having to comment every day or two, they are compelled to write about matters of which they have the most superficial knowledge.

I think most of the American people understand that a very large percentage of what is given out as fact by commentators is really not factual truth, but some people are very much disturbed by what they say.

You have heard for instance solemn assertions that the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain are responsible for all of the major strategical military decisions of the war; and some people go so far as to say we are responsible for most of the multitude of minor military decisions of the war.

The fact is that the military and naval decisions of the United Nations are discussed in the military and naval staffs of war forces which exist in each country. In our case, it is the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy in Washington which meets day by day. This Joint United States Staff of four members also meets with a body known as the Combined Staffs. All of them work in the same building. This Combined Staff has on it representatives of the British Joint Staff composed of four officers and also meets from time to time with representatives of British Dominions, China, Russia, the Netherlands, Norway and other nations working in the common cause.

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This Combined Staff is paralleled by and is in almost hourly touch with a similar Combined Staff in London made up of the same elements. It is a simple fact that since this unity of operations was put into effect last January there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, who are all trained in the profession of arms, air, sea, and land from their earliest years. The Prime Minister and the President have at all times been in substantial agreement with the recommendations of the Combined Staffs of the United Nations.

We would not presume to tell Russia or China how to conduct the magnificent defense which they have carried on so successfully. I can say, however, that the other United Nations are giving both to Russia and China every material assistance which it is possible to deliver to them. We deeply wish it were possible for us as a matter of practical physical transportation to double and redouble this aid.

It is going to be indirectly of great assistance to Russian and to China to divert from the forces attacking them to theatres of war outside their borders through the conduct of new offensives against Germany and Japan. That incidentally is an added reason for Germany and Japan to worry.

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SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

OCTOBER 12, 1942

As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories which took me as far as the Pacific Coast.

As I travelled through the country, a profound truth -- which I have learned on all such trips -- was again brought home to me. It was brought home far more forcibly than ever before, because of the enormity of the war in which we are now engaged.

The profound truth is this:

When the President of the United States needs a renewal of spirit for bearing the burdens of his responsibilities -- for making decisions on which may depend the very lives of our countrymen -- for interpreting and carrying out the united will of all Americans -- he can obtain this renewal of spirit by the simple means of going back to the people themselves.

The people are the source of this Government's authority. They are the source of this nation's strength.

The people are good. The people are courageous. The people are right.

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It is the people who are fighting this war, in all parts of the world.

The people will win.

Tonight I want to tell you of various matters which I have learned or thought about on that trip which I think will have some interest for you in connection with the prosecution of this War. With every passing week, that war broadens in its scope, in its intensity, in the sphere of actual fighting, in the actual number of men engaged on both sides of the struggle on the many fronts grows all the time. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, in the South Pacific and up in the Aleutian Islands.

I am glad also to tell you that the number of Americans who are in actual contact with the enemy on sea and on land grows every day. While you and I realize that this means more boys from every community on our fighting fronts, more casualties, more wounded, it means also that the effective use of American manpower is beginning to be felt by our enemies. Germany and Japan are already beginning to realize what the inevitable result is going to be as soon as the full force of the United States hits them wherever they may be.

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We of the United Nations are on the up-grade in this war — in the use of manpower, in production, and in preparation for early offensive. The Axis leaders know by now that they have already reached their full strength and they cannot increase that strength.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been what is called "The War of Nerves". At times they have been able to create the belief that if they stepped forth and blew a trumpet the walls of Jericho would immediately fall down. They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those in other nations who continued to play games of petty politics while the world outside their borders burned.

They have tried their tricks — all of their tricks — within our own American borders. They have tried them in Britain, in Russia, in China. But the common sense of the common people has defeated the enemy's propaganda.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations has begun to act like a boomerang. For the first time the Hitlerite leadership and propaganda machine show signs of being on the defensive. They are beginning to explain to their own people. They are beginning to apologize for the stoppage of the Nazi infantry and artillery and tanks and air forces at Stalingrad. They are beginning to plead with tears that their failing production of munitions be rallied. They even assure their people that they will get enough to eat even though it will mean stealing food out of the mouths of everybody else in Europe.

Meanwhile, not only to suppress revolt but also to hide the failure of their own offensive, Nazi atrocities continue and increase under the direct orders of the gangs of gangsters who now control the continent of Europe.

A few days ago, the United Nations decided to examine clearly into the identity of those leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery, not only in the conduct of war itself, but in the unspeakably barbaric treatment of civilian populations. As the deeds which sane people regard as criminal are being committed, they are being investigated and the evidence tabulated for the future purpose of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no reprisals en masse or anything approaching masse against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. We have made it entirely clear that the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named and apprehended and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law. We give assurance that when victory comes to the United Nations, the decent, duped people of Germany, Italy and Japan will not be victims of the vengeance which their leaders have deliberately created.

It may well be said that our first war aim is the enforcement of justice — justice upon the perpetrators of aggression — and justice for the victims of aggression.

This is not only an expression of governmental policy. This is the sentiment of the people. I am glad that I have had the opportunity to see that sentiment at first hand on my recent trip.

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It is very simple to say, as some newspapers have said, that the Commander in Chief of the American armed forces should sit in Washington day after day and read statistical reports of what all the munition plants are turning out from week to week and month to month. It is very easy to say, as some other newspapers have said, that when the Commander in Chief travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with the flashing of bulbs, and with interviews with all the politicians of the land.

But as Commander in Chief I had not forgotten that this war is not being conducted by machines alone — that human beings enter into it — and that all war plans depend upon appreciation of the human element.

We are training millions of Americans — men and women — several millions in camps of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps and more millions in the factories and in the services out of uniform which are all a part of our war effort. Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? How do they feel about things in general? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? The Commander in Chief must know the answers to these questions.

It is essential that the Commander in Chief apply certain simple rules of efficiency just as much as an Admiral, or a General, or a Private, or an Able Seaman. Having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the way I took this trip added 40% to my own efficiency over any methods which I have used on previous trips for inspection or for politics. And — I might add — it is a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a thought to politics.

In the last war, I had seen great factories, but until I saw some of the new present day plants with my own eyes I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. I saw only a small portion of all

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As I told the three press representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed particularly by the large number of women employed in actual manufacture — not just women doing office work, but women doing hard, tough work, running machines. And when I speak of the large number of women, I mean also the large proportion of women to men. As time goes on, this proportion is bound to increase so that, within less than a year from now, there will be as many women as men working in airplane plants.

This is not only a fine thing but it is also a necessary thing because so many of our men and especially our younger men are going into the armed forces.

I have realized the shortage of manpower. It is becoming a part of the problem not so much of the existing war machine, but of the growth of that war machine to a far greater strength at home and overseas. The efficiency of the women workers is wholly satisfactory. I received a rather amusing and definite impression relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity — inquisitiveness — is stronger in the gentler sex. On my trips to many plants I and the members of my party noticed that when my automobile drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of machines and machine operators of both sexes, the first people to look up and stop work were the men and not the women. The women seemed

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to keep their eyes on the ball and continue playing the game of production, where the man often got into an argument as to whether it was really the President or not.

On this question of manpower, I heard of course much about the scarcity of farm labor. In many sections of the country this is a serious fact. Nevertheless, there were many hopeful signs. In one community an abundant crop was got in by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days — and the crop was fully harvested. In another community of fruit growers on the coast the usual Japanese labor was, of course, not available and when the fruit ripened the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the small town left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit and sent it to market.

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This, after all, is not a new principle. It was adopted two years ago in the Selective Service Law. The carrying out of that law began with the first registration on October 16, 1940.

On that day, 16,316,908 men between the ages of 21 and 36 were registered at more than 125,000 registration places by over a million volunteer workers.

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Another fact which I learned on my trip has a bearing on the same subject. In several camps I found men, recently inducted into the Army under the Selective Service law, who were obviously too old for active combat work as soldiers under fighting conditions which call for great strength and great endurance.

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That is why it is necessary to lower the present twenty year lower limit down to eighteen. Most of us know how inevitable that is -- and how important to the speeding up of victory.

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If we are able to keep down the cost of the necessities of life, it will mean that the actual cost of this war — the war debt of the Nation — will be far lower than if the cost of everything had got out of hand during the progress of the war. It will mean, for example, that if the cost of a bombing plane is today half a million dollars, the cost of a new bombing plane a year from now, will still be at about that level instead of three-quarters of a million dollars for the same plane.

Then too, our war bonds will have very nearly the same purchasing power when they are paid off some years hence as they have today when you buy them. If the cost of living had gone up 50% during the course of the war, it would be an extremely difficult thing to bring it down again after the war and war bonds would have far less purchasing power when they are paid off. Therefore, you will readily see why your Government was so keen to stabilize things as of today.

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This Combined Staff is paralleled by and is in almost hourly touch with a similar Combined Staff in London made up of the same elements. It is a simple fact that since this unity of operations was put into effect last January there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, who are all trained in the profession of arms, air, sea, and land from their earliest years. The Prime Minister and the President have at all times been in substantial agreement with the recommendations of the Combined Staffs of the United Nations.

We would not presume to tell Russia or China how to conduct the magnificent defense which they have carried on so successfully. I can say, however, that the other United Nations are giving both to Russia and China every material assistance which it is possible to deliver to them. We deeply wish it were possible for us as a matter of practical physical transportation to double and redouble this aid.

It is going to be indirectly of great assistance to Russian and to China to divert from the forces attacking them to theatres of war outside their borders through the conduct of new offensives against Germany and Japan. That incidentally is an added reason for Germany and Japan to worry.

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SECOND DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

OCTOBER 12, 1942

[As you know,] I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories which took me as far as the Pacific Coast.

As I travelled through the country, a profound truth — which I have learned on all such trips — was again brought home to me. It was brought home far more forcibly than ever before, because of the enormity of the war in which we are now engaged.

The profound truth is this:

When the President of the United States needs a renewal of spirit for bearing the burdens of his responsibilities — for making decisions on which may depend the very lives of our countrymen — for interpreting and carrying out the united will of all Americans — he can obtain this renewal of spirit by the simple means of going back to the people themselves.

The people are the source of this Government's authority. They are the source of this nation's strength.

The people are good. The people are courageous. The people are right.

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It is the people who are fighting this war, in all parts of the world.

The people will win.

Tonight I want to tell you of various matters which I have learned or thought about on that trip which I think will have some interest for you in connection with the prosecution of this war. With every passing week, that war broadens in its scope, in its intensity, in the sphere of actual fighting, in the actual number of men engaged on both sides of the struggle on the many fronts grows all the time. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, in the South Pacific and up in the Aleutian Islands.

I am glad also to tell you that the number of Americans who are in actual contact with the enemy on sea and on land grows every day. While you and I realize that this means more boys from every community on our fighting fronts, more casualties, more wounded, it means also that the effective use of American manpower is beginning to be felt by our enemies. Germany and Japan are already beginning to realize what the inevitable result is going to be as soon as the full force of the United States hits them wherever they may be.

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SECOND DRAFT

- 3 -

getting stronger

We of the United Nations are on the up-grade in this war — in the use of manpower, in production, and in preparation for early the offensive. The Axis leaders know by now that they have already reached their full strength and they cannot increase that strength.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been what is called "The War of Nerves". At times they have been able to create the belief that if they stepped forth and blew a trumpet the walls of Jericho would immediately fall down. They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those in other nations who continued to play games of petty politics while the world outside their borders burned.

They have tried their tricks — all of their tricks — within our own American borders. They have tried them in Britain, in Russia, in China. But the common sense of the common people has defeated the enemy's propaganda.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations has begun to act like a boomerang. For the first time the Hitlerite leadership and propaganda machine show signs of being on the defensive. They are beginning to explain to their own people. They are beginning to apologize for the stoppage of the Nazi infantry and artillery and tanks and air forces at Stalingrad. They are beginning to plead with tears that their failing production of munitions be rallied. They even assure their people that they will get enough to eat even though it will mean stealing food out of the mouths of everybody else in Europe.

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SECOND DRAFT

Meanwhile, not only to suppress revolt but also to hide the failure of their own offensive, Nazi atrocities continue and increase under the direct orders of the gangs of gangsters who now control the continent of Europe.

A few days ago, the United Nations decided to examine clearly into the identity of those leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery, not only in the conduct of war itself, but in the unspeakably barbaric treatment of civilian populations. As the deeds which sane people regard as criminal are being committed, they are being investigated and the evidence tabulated for the future purpose of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no reprisals en masse or anything approaching masse against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. We have made it entirely clear that the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named and apprehended and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law. We give assurance that when victory comes to the United Nations, the decent, duped people of Germany, Italy and Japan will not be victims of the vengeance which their leaders have deliberately created.

It may well be said that our first war aim is the enforcement of justice — justice upon the perpetrators of aggression — and justice for the victims of aggression.

This is not only an expression of governmental policy. This is the sentiment of the people. I am glad that I have had the opportunity to see that sentiment at first hand on my recent trip.

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SECOND DRAFT

It is very simple to say, as some newspapers have said, that the Commander in Chief of the American armed forces should sit in Washington day after day and read statistical reports of what all the munition plants are turning out from week to week and month to month. It is very easy to say, as some other newspapers have said, that when the Commander in Chief travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with the flashing of bulbs, and with interviews with all the politicians of the land.

But as Commander in Chief I had not forgotten that this war is not being conducted by machines alone — that human beings enter into it — and that all war plans depend upon appreciation of the human element.

We are training millions of Americans — men and women — several millions in camps of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps and more millions in the factories and in the services out of uniform which are all a part of our war effort. Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? How do they feel about things in general? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? The Commander in Chief must know the answers to these questions.

It is essential that the Commander in Chief apply certain simple rules of efficiency just as much as an Admiral, or a General, or a Private, or an Able Seaman. Having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the way I took this trip added 40% to my own efficiency, over any methods which I have used on previous trips for inspection or for politics. And — I might add — it is a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a thought to politics.

In the last war, I had seen great factories, but until I saw some of the new present day plants with my own eyes I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. I saw only a small portion of all

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the plants throughout the nation, but that portion was representative and deeply impressive.

In one sense it was a hurried trip out through the Middle West, to the North West, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip because I had time in each place to ask the questions I wanted to ask, to learn things I did not know, to avoid the responsibilities of publicity, and, incidentally, to do a lot of thinking — thinking out comparative needs — the dovetailing of all of the elements that go into the preparation for war on a basis of first things first.

As I told the three press representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed particularly by the large number of women employed in actual manufacture — no. just women doing office work, but women doing hard, tough work, running machines. And when I speak of the large number of women, I mean also the large proportion of women to men. As time goes on, this proportion is bound to increase so that, within less than a year from now, there will be as many women as men working in airplane plants.

This is not only a fine thing but it is also a necessary thing because so many of our men and especially our younger men are going into the armed forces.

I have realized the shortage of manpower. It is becoming a part of the problem not so much of the existing war machine, but of the growth of that war machine to a far greater strength at home and overseas. The efficiency of the women workers is wholly satisfactory. I received a rather amusing and definite impression relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity — inquisitiveness — is stronger in the gentler sex. On my trips to many plants I and the members of my party noticed that when my automobile drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of machines and machine operators of both sexes, the first people to look up and stop work were the men and not the women. The women seemed

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to keep their eyes on the ball and continue playing the game of production, where the men often got into an argument as to whether it was really the President or not.

On this question of manpower, I heard of course much about the scarcity of farm labor. In many sections of the country this is a serious fact. Nevertheless, there were many hopeful signs. In one community an abundant crop was got in by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days — and the crop was fully harvested. In another community of fruit growers on the coast the usual Japanese labor was, of course, not available and when the fruit ripened the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the small town left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit and sent it to market.

In still another place — a dairy community — where almost every high school child knew how to milk or run a tractor — the herds were kept going by a community cooperation which enabled the farmers to maintain their full supply of much needed food. American ingenuity in working out these programs will, I hope, keep our production of food products and textiles up to the highest possible point. We need all we can grow, not only for ourselves but to keep our gallant allies in health and in strength.

I am therefore asking that the educational authorities in all the states, together with the Manpower Commission, work out plans to enable our high school students to take necessary time from their school year and to use their summer vacations to help farmers raise and harvest their crops for the duration of the war. This is a distinct service to the nation. It also will do no harm whatever to the students themselves.

The manpower (including woman power) problem, is by no means solved. We have not yet adopted a rounded policy in regard to it. That is a task which is directly before us. I have no doubt that it will be solved and that the American people will accept the decisions, however

drastic they may be, as patriotically and wholeheartedly as they have accepted other drastic decisions in the past two or three years. It must be our objective to use our population in the war tasks for which the individual man and individual woman are best fitted — irrespective of the hardship. And when I say "our population", I mean that every single one of us has a part to play in the war.

This, after all, is not a new principle. It was adopted two years ago in the Selective Service Law. The carrying out of that law began with the first registration on October 16, 1940.

On that day, 16,316,908 men between the ages of 21 and 35 were registered at more than 125,000 registration places by over a million volunteer workers.

The Selective Service System now has a trained and experienced organization that extends into every community in the country, and numbers more than 200,000 citizens, the large majority of whom are patriotic volunteer workers.

In the process of selecting men for service in the armed forces, the local boards have the first jurisdiction and make the decision regarding their neighbors who are registered.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to our fellow citizens who are serving without compensation as members of local boards, appeal boards and advisory boards, as medical and dental examiners, and as government appeal agents for the unselfish service they render - for the long hours they labor - for the criticism they must endure. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens serve to give us confidence that we shall successfully solve the manpower problem.

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SECOND DRAFT

Another fact which I learned on my trip has a bearing on the same subject. In several camps I found men, recently inducted into the Army under the Selective Service law, who were obviously too old for active combat work as soldiers under fighting conditions which call for great strength and great endurance.

I want to make every American regiment that goes overseas into a shock troop division. That means [only] regiments of young, strong men who have had long training. I want them all to have adequate endurance and thorough training. If we can do that, it means that the war will be over in our favor so much the sooner.

As our Army grows in size, and as another hundred thousand men go overseas at relatively frequent intervals, we shall need a larger number of young men in the front lines. A division of 15,000 men that has an average age of twenty-one or twenty-two is almost of necessity a better fighting unit than another one which has an average age of thirty-one or thirty-two.

That is why it is necessary to lower the present twenty year lower limit down to eighteen. Most of us know how inevitable that is -- and how important to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feelings of the parents of boys of eighteen or nineteen. I have an appreciation of that feeling -- and so has my wife.

And I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know -- again, from what I have seen with my own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the finest training and equipment we know how to give them. It is training which in battle will save many, many lives in comparison with casualties among untrained or semi-trained forces.

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You can rest assured that your boys in training are being well-fed and well-housed, and that their health is being scrupulously watched. And their religious activities are carefully supervised by competent, trained clergymen drawn from every faith and denomination.

While I was away the Congress of the United States discussed the problem which I had raised on September seventh — action to keep the cost of living from going up through the roof. I am glad, and the Nation is glad, that the Congress acted so promptly. I put the machinery for administration of the Act into effect twelve hours after I signed the bill. Every effort is now being made to keep the cost of living for every farmer and every worker and every housewife within reasonable bounds. It is a tremendous task, of course, because it covers all we eat, and all we wear, and all the rents we pay in tens of thousands of communities throughout the Nation. The administration of the Act calls for real cooperation on the part of everybody — farmer, laborer, store-keeper, and the consuming public.

If we are able to keep down the cost of the necessities of life, it will mean that the actual cost of this war — the war debt of the Nation — will be far lower than if the cost of everything had got out of hand during the progress of the war. It will mean, for example, that if the cost of a bombing plane is today half a million dollars, the cost of a new bombing plane a year from now, will still be at about that level instead of three-quarters of a million dollars for the same plane.

Then too, our war bonds will have very nearly the same purchasing power when they are paid off some years hence as they have today when you buy them. If the cost of living had gone up 50% during the course of the war, it would be an extremely difficult thing to bring it down again after the war and war bonds would have far less purchasing power when they are paid off. Therefore, you will readily see why your Government was so keen to stabilize things as of today.

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I may truthfully say, in spite of the ignorance of many who rush into print, that there is substantial unity of command on the part of the United Nations and that all of them are striving toward a common end.

For example, you read and hear commentators -- nearly all of them civilians and all of them without exception in the position of not knowing a thousand and one things which, of necessity, have to be military secrets.

Because they labor under the great disadvantage of having to comment every day or two, they are compelled to write about matters of which they have the most superficial knowledge.

I think most of the American people understand that a very large percentage of what is given out as fact by commentators is really not factual truth, but some people are very much disturbed by what they say.

You have heard for instance solemn assertions that the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain are responsible for all of the major strategical military decisions of the war; and some people go so far as to say we are responsible for most of the multitude of minor military decisions of the war.

The fact is that the military and naval decisions of the United Nations are discussed in the military and naval staffs of war forces which exist in each country. In our case, it is the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy in Washington which meets day by day. This Joint United States Staff of four members also meets with a body known as the Combined Staffs. All of them work in the same building. This Combined Staff has on it representatives of the British Joint Staff composed of four officers and also meets from time to time with representatives of British Dominions, China, Russia, the Netherlands, Norway and other nations working in the common cause.

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SECOND DRAFT

This Combined Staff is paralleled by and is in almost hourly touch with a similar Combined Staff in London made up of the same elements. It is a simple fact that since this unity of operations was put into effect last January there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, who are all trained in the profession of arms, air, sea, and land from their earliest years. The Prime Minister and the President have at all times been in substantial agreement with the recommendations of the Combined Staffs of the United Nations.

We would not presume to tell Russia or China how to conduct the magnificent defense which they have carried on so successfully. I can say, however, that the other United Nations are giving both to Russia and China every material assistance which it is possible to deliver to them. We deeply wish it were possible for us as a matter of practical physical transportation to double and redouble this aid.

It is going to be indirectly of great assistance to Russian and to China to divert from the forces attacking them to theatres of war outside their borders through the conduct of new offensives against Germany and Japan. That incidentally is an added reason for Germany and Japan to worry.

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We should not be content merely with keeping the cost of living from going up. Where possible we should try affirmatively to reduce the level of the cost of living. One way in which that can be done is by means of simplifying and standardizing production and distribution. For example, why need there be so many different models of shoes, so many styles and colors of shirts and dresses, so many varieties of canned foods, bread, candy - all the commodities of life. We have long been the most luxurious nation in the world, with bigger and better frills than anywhere else. We need not be during the war. We can reduce the cost of living without reducing the essential standards - in things we eat and wear and in the amusement and recreation which is necessary to us all.

Standardized production will not only mean lower prices for each article. It will require fewer men to produce the same quantity of articles. It will release much needed manpower for other use - industrial and military.

I have accordingly instructed the Director of Economic Stabilization to take the necessary steps to simplify and standardize production of the articles of common use which go into the cost of living. A limited time will be allowed for the sale of existing stocks of supply. I am sure that the result of this action will be to cut the price of all these commodities.

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When we speak of justice — of equity — of freedom and decency — we are not merely expressing pious hope. We are expressing the profound faith which inspires and directs our actions in this war and in the peace which is to follow.

Such action, based on good faith, is now being taken in conjunction with China and Great Britain. We and the British are fulfilling the pledge, made over a year ago, to relinquish extra-territorial rights in China. This action must surely stand as an earnest of the integrity of our cause — an earnest that will not be lost on all the oppressed and all the weak peoples of the world.

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THIRD DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

OCTOBER 12, 1942

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As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories which took me as far as the Pacific Coast.

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of 130,000,000 free men and women and children is becoming an army. It is an army on the move. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes seven miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific -- and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania, or Arizona, or Montana. Some of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, and some of us know that our names will never be inscribed in any roll of honor.

But -- whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities -- we're all in it -- and our spirit is good -- and we and our allies are going to win.

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That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country — unbeatable spirit. And if the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they are unable to make the trip over here. That is why we are carrying our war effort over to them.

Tonight I want to tell you of various matters which I have learned or thought about on that trip which I think will have some interest for you in connection with the prosecution of this War. With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Afrida, in Asia, in the South Pacific and up in the Aleutian Islands.

The number of Americans who are in actual contact with the enemy on sea and on land grows every day. While you and I realize that this means more casualties, more wounded, it means also that the destructive force of American manpower and fighting equipment is beginning to be felt by our enemies. Germany and Japan are already beginning to realize what the inevitable result is going to be as soon as the real strength of the United Nations hits them — at whatever points on the earth's surface we select as most favorable for attack.

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We of the United Nations are on the up-grade in this war — in the use of manpower, in production, and in preparation for early offensive. The Axis leaders know by now that they have already reached their full strength and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material can not be fully replaced.

One of the principle weapons of our enemies in the past has been what is called "The War of Nerves." They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those in other nations who continued to play games of petty politics at home while the world outside their borders burned. At times they have been able to create the belief that if they stepped forth and blew a trumpet the walls of Jericho would immediately fall down.

They have tried their tricks — all of their tricks — within our own American borders. They have tried them in Britain, in Russia, in China. But the common sense of the common people has defeated the enemy's propaganda.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations is turning into a boomerang. For the first time the Hitlerite leadership and the Nazi propaganda machine show signs of being on the defensive.

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They are beginning to apologise to their own people for the stoppage of the Nazi infantry and artillery and tanks and air forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. They are beginning to plead tearfully that their failing production of munitions be rallied. They even assure their people that they will get enough toast even though it will mean stealing food out of the mouths of everybody else in Europe.

They are proclaiming that a Second Front is an obvious impossibility while, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and digging ditches, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the Arctic Seas north of Finland and Norway, to the islands of the Mediterranean and the shores of the Black Sea.

Meanwhile, not only to suppress revolt but also to hide the failure of their own offensive, the Nazis continue and increase their atrocities under the direct orders of the gangs of gangsters who now control the continent of Europe.

A few days ago, the United Nations decided to examine clearly into the identity of those leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery, not only in the conduct of war itself, but in the unspeakably barbaric treatment of civilian populations. As each of these criminal deeds are committed, it is being investigated and the evidence tabulated for the future purpose of justice.

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We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named and apprehended and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law. We give assurance that when victory comes to the United Nations, the decent, duped people of Germany, Italy and Japan will not be victims of the vengeance which their leaders so richly deserve.

Our aim is the enforcement of justice — justice upon the perpetrators of aggression — and justice for the victims of aggression. This is not only an expression of governmental policy. This is the sentiment of the people.

When we speak of justice — of equity — of freedom and decency — we are not merely expressing pious hope. We are expressing the profound faith which inspires and directs our actions in this war and in the peace which is to follow.

Such action, based on good faith, is now being taken in conjunction with China and Great Britain. We and the British are fulfilling the pledge, made over a year ago, to relinquish extraterritorial rights in China. This action must surely stand as an earnest of the

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integrity of our intentions — an earnest that will not be lost on all the peoples of the world who have set up or who seek sovereignty and independence and know how to run their own affairs.

We are training millions of Americans — men and women — several millions in camps of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps and more millions in the factories and in the services out of uniform which are all a part of our war effort. Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? The Commander in Chief must know the answers to these questions.

It is very simple to say, as some newspapers have said, that the Commander in Chief of the American armed forces should sit in Washington day after day and read statistical reports of what all the munition plants are turning out from week to week and month to month. It is very easy to say, as some other newspapers have said, that when the Commander in Chief travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with the flashing of bulbs, and with interviews with all the politicians of the land.

Having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the way I took this trip added very greatly to my own efficiency over any methods which I have used on

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previous trips. And — I might add — it is a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a thought to politics.

In the last war, I had seen great factories, but until I saw some of the new present day plants with my own eyes I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. I saw only a small portion of all the plants throughout the nation, but that portion was representative and deeply impressive.

I saw much of the manufacture of the equipment which is going to our own armed forces and to our Allies. I saw and talked with the men and women who are making the guns and planes and tanks and ships.

Management and workers — engineers and chemists and craftsmen of all kinds — the men and women who produce the raw materials on farms and in mines — all/these form the vast army of production. Much of this army is, in a very real sense, an American Expeditionary Force, for our industry is moving into fields far removed from its normal peacetime pursuits.

The United States has been at war for only ten months and is engaged in the enormous task of doubling its Navy and multiplying its Army five-fold. We are by no means at full production level yet, but I asked myself on the trip where we would be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build factories for this huge increase a year and a half and two years ago — not very many months before Pearl Harbor.

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And in spite of the vast demands of our own armament problem, we have managed through all these months to send munitions and supplies of all kinds to every part of the world — Russia, China, and the British Empire and the flow of this assistance mounts week by week.

We have also faced the physical problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But, on the other side of the picture, the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we see the light, and the fear of the past is changing into the definite expectation of growing armies and growing munitions and growing supplies for the side of all the United Nations in all the theatres of war.

In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle West, to the North West, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip because I had time in each place to ask the questions I wanted to ask, to learn things I did not know, and, incidentally, to do a lot of thinking — thinking out comparative needs — the dovetailing of all of the elements that go into the preparation for war on a basis of first things first.

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FIELD DRAFT

As I told the three press representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed particularly by the large number of women employed in actual manufacture -- not just women doing office work, but women doing skilled work running machines. And when I speak of the large number of women, I mean also the large proportion of women to men. As time goes on, this proportion is bound to increase so that, within less than a year from now, there will be as many women as men working in most of our airplane plants.

This is not only a fine thing but it is also a necessary thing because so many of our men and especially our younger men are going into the armed forces.

The efficiency of the women workers is wholly satisfactory. I received a rather amusing and definite impression relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity -- inquisitiveness -- is stronger in the gentler sex. On my trips to many plants I and the members of my party noticed that when my automobile drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of machines and machine operators of both sexes, the first people to look up and stop work were the men and not the women. The women seemed to keep their eyes on the ball and continue playing the game of production, where the men often got into an argument as to whether it was really the President or not.

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Having seen the quality of the work and the workers on our production lines - and coupling these first hand observations with shipping figures and with the reports of actual performance on the fighting fronts — I can say to you that we are winning the battle of production.

American engineering genius, American management and American labor have achieved a miracle.

We have accomplished in a few months what our enemies required years to attain - the conversion of the greater part of our industrial establishment to the production of war materials. And we have done this while creating the greatest Army and Navy and Air Forces in our history.

To bring this about, we have had to add about nine million workers to the total labor force of the Nation.

Where did these additional workers come from?

Most of them came from the ranks of the unemployed - about 6 million. Another million and a half represented the normal growth of the labor force while the rest came as the result of intensified recruiting efforts of the Manpower Commission during the spring and summer months.

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During the next 15 months, we must somehow find ten million more workers to make the guns and tanks and planes that will be necessary to supply our own armed forces and those of our Allies.

With a population of a hundred and thirty millions people, if properly mobilized and utilized, a labor force of half that number is not out of the question.

And that brings me to the heart of our manpower troubles.

It is not that we do not have enough people to do the job.

The problem is to have the right people in the right places in the right numbers at the right time.

It is first a community problem. The national problem is a network of community problems. No two towns are quite alike. Everywhere there is a shortage of some skills. But in some places - such as New York City - there are still unemployed. In some areas there are shortages which are already acute. In others total manpower shortage is on its way.

We have to face these facts — realistically, without fear or favor. It is no easy task for us to comprehend an emergency so great that it strains our supply of manpower to the uttermost.

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In the past we have been blessed with an abundance of material resources and an abundant supply of people. It is not very surprising that we have not learned to conserve them. It is a new experience for us to have to ration them.

But we are learning to ration materials and we must now learn to ration manpower.

The objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

1. To select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies.

2. To man our war industries with the workers, skilled and unskilled, needed to produce the arms and munitions for our own forces and those of our fighting Allies.

3. To prevent workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of mere personal choice.

4. To prevent employers from unfair competition for labor -- skilled or unskilled.

5. To use women, and boys under 18, wherever possible to replace men of military age.

6. To move labor from all non-essential activities to jobs involved in the war effort.

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7. To train untrained personnel for essential war work.

Of course, in all our computations of manpower and all our efforts to allocate it to the best advantage, we must fit it in with all the needs and all the resources of all the United Nations. We must figure on the amount of production required from us by all our allies, on the available shipping facilities with which to transport overseas not only our troops but the continuous supply of equipment for them and for all the United Nations on all the fighting fronts.

Perhaps the most difficult phase of the manpower problem is the scarcity of farm labor. In many sections of the country this is a serious fact. Nevertheless, there were many hopeful signs. In one community an abundant crop was got in by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days -- and the crop was fully harvested. In another community of fruit growers on the coast the usual Japanese labor was, of course, not available and when the fruit ripened the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the small town left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit and sent it to market. Even the local editor, his reporter and his printer joined the gang in the orchard.

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In still another place -- a dairy community -- where almost every high school child knew how to milk a cow or run a tractor -- the herds were kept going by a community cooperation which enabled the farmers to maintain their full supply of much needed food. American ingenuity in working out these programs will, I hope, keep our production of food products and textiles up to the highest possible point. We need all we can grow, not only for ourselves but to keep our gallant allies in health and in strength.

I am therefore asking that the educational authorities in all the states, together with the Manpower Commission, work out plans to enable our high school students to take necessary time from their school year and to use their summer vacations to help farmers raise and harvest their crops for the duration of the war. This is a distinct service to the nation. It also will do no harm whatever to the students themselves.

I want every farmer in the land to realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation as a whole as essential to our best effort and to the best effort of the countries which are fighting side by side with us. We expect him to keep his production up and even to increase it. We will

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use every effort to help him to get labor but, at the same time, we look for him and the people in his community to use ingenuity and cooperative effort to turn out crops, and live stock and dairy products.

There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately to help solve the manpower problem.

People should work as near their homes as possible. Employers must exhaust the local labor supply before looking elsewhere for workers. This Government cannot afford to transport a single worker into an area where a single worker is available to perform the job. It just doesn't make sense for an employer to go a thousand miles to pirate workers from another plant when there are unemployed workers in his own community looking for work.

Traditions, practices and prejudices which interfere with this principle must be abandoned.

In some communities employers dislike to employ women. In others they are slow to hire negroes. In still others, men beyond a certain age are not wanted regardless of their health, ability or skill.

We can no longer afford to indulge such prejudices and caprices. It is a part of the logic of history that we must abandon

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some of our own intolerance and prejudice in order to win a war against these very evils.

Every patriotic citizen wants to know whether he is doing essential work or whether there may not be something needed more which he could do better.

You naturally want to know the answers to these questions and you can get them, in almost every case, by going to the United States Employment Service office in your own community. There are 4,500 of these offices throughout the Nation. They are the corner grocery store of our manpower system. This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skills and labor is needed most and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them in the war effort.

It may well be that all of our volunteer effort - however well intentioned and well coordinated — will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to consider the adoption of drastic legislation. I do not believe that we would shrink from that.

This, after all, is not a new principle. It was adopted two years ago in the Selective Service Law.

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In a sense every American, because of his citizenship, is a member of Selective Service, not by law but by reason of the privilege of being a part of our Nation.

The carrying out of that Army Selective Service Law began with the first registration on October 16, 1940.

On that day, 16,316,908 men between the ages of 21 and 36 were registered at more than 125,000 registration places by over a million volunteer workers.

The Selective Service System now has a trained and experienced organization that extends into every community in the country, and numbers more than 200,000 citizens, the large majority of whom are volunteer workers.

In the process of selecting men for service in the armed forces, the local boards have the first jurisdiction and make the decision regarding their neighbors who are registered.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to our fellow citizens who are serving without compensation as members of local boards, appeal boards and advisory boards, as medical and dental examiners, and as government appeal agents for the unselfish service they render - for the long hours they labor - for the criticism they must endure. The

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successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens serve to give us confidence that we shall successfully solve the manpower problem.

Another fact which I learned on my trip has a bearing on the same subject. In several camps where I visited combat divisions, I found men of around forty years of age. Although well qualified to perform important military service, they were obviously too old for active combat work as soldiers under fighting conditions which call for great strength and great endurance.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of shock troops. That means divisions of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-one or twenty-two is almost of necessity a better fighting unit than another one which has an average age of thirty-one or thirty-two. The more of such shock troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller the cost in casualties.

That is why it is necessary to lower the present twenty year lower limit down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is -- and how important to the speeding up of victory.

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I can very thoroughly understand the feelings of the parents of boys of eighteen or nineteen. I have an appreciation of that feeling -- and so has my wife.

And I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know -- again, from what I have seen with my own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. It is training which in battle will save many, many lives in comparison with casualties among untrained or semi-trained forces.

In order to make the most effective use of manpower, and particularly young manpower, I am issuing instructions to all Federal civilian agencies immediately to release every young man suitable for war service. Here in Washington and in government offices throughout the United States are capable able men who have been held at their desks by their superiors -- many against their own will -- under so-called certificates of indispensability. Those certificates will be revoked, so that the local draft boards may exercise their own discretion in each individual case as they do in all other cases.

I hope that the Governors of the respective states will issue similar instructions for the agencies in their own states.

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THIRD DRAFT

There are also in Washington and other cities of the country, many army and navy officers young enough for service in the field at home and abroad. Most of those men, I know, would prefer to be with troops or ships. I am asking the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to scrutinize most carefully the list of officers stationed in the various cities, who could be replaced by older men without substantial loss of efficiency, so that every younger officer can undertake field duty.

In the event of some unique training or qualifications, exceptions may be made to this general rule, but our objective must be to replace immediately all young civilians and officers with older men, or, where possible, with women.

Granted that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well manned and well equipped, their effectiveness will depend upon the quality of their leadership and on the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.

I can say one thing about our plans: They are not being dictated by the armchair strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.

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One of the greatest of American generals, Robert E. Lee, once remarked on the fact that in the war of his day all the best generals were working on newspapers instead of in the Army. That seems to be true in all wars.

The only trouble with the armchair strategists is that, while they may be full of brilliant ideas, they are not in possession of much information about the real facts of the situation.

We therefore leave the major decisions in this war to the military leaders who are in possession of the facts.

The military and naval decisions of the United Nations are arrived at in the military and naval staffs of war forces which exist in each country. In our case, it is in the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy in Washington which meets day by day.- Admiral Leahy , General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. Americans can have full confidence in those men. They meet regularly with representatives of the British Joint Staff composed of four officers whose offices here in Washington are in the same building with our own. They also meet with representatives of British Dominions, China, Russia, the Netherlands, Norway and other nations working in the common cause.

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It is a simple fact that since this unity of operations was put into effect last January there has been a very substantial agreement between those planners, who are all trained in the profession of arms, air, sea, and land from their earliest years. Mr. Churchill and I have at all times been in substantial agreement with the recommendations of the Combined Staffs of the United Nations.

We would not presume to tell Russia or China how to conduct the magnificent defense which they have carried on so successfully. I can say, however, that the other United Nations are giving both to Russia and China every material assistance which it is possible to deliver to them. That assistance will be increased - enormously increased - as our means of transportation are improved.

It is going to be indirectly of great assistance to Russia and to China to divert the forces attacking them to theatres of war outside their borders through the conduct of new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, or when, or where, can not be broadcast over the radio at this time.

While I was away the Congress of the United States discussed the problem which I had raised on September seventh -- action to keep the cost of living from going up through the roof. I am glad, and the Nation

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is glad, that the Congress acted so promptly. I put the machinery for administration of the Act into effect twelve hours after I signed the bill. Every effort and every power of the government is now being exercised to keep within reasonable bounds the cost of living for every farmer and every worker and every housewife. The fulfillment of this tremendous task calls for real cooperation on the part of everybody -- farmer, laborer, store-keeper, and the consuming public.

If we are able to keep down the cost of the necessities of life, it will mean that the actual cost of this war -- the war debt of the Nation -- will be far lower than if the cost of everything had got out of hand during the progress of the war. It will mean that our war bonds will have very nearly the same purchasing power when they are paid off some years hence as they have today when you buy them. If the cost of living were to go up 50% during the course of the war, it would be an extremely difficult thing to bring it down again after the war and war bonds would have far less purchasing power when they are paid off. Therefore, you will readily see why your Government was so determined to stabilize things as of today.

We should not be content merely with keeping the cost of living from going up. Where possible we should try affirmatively to reduce the level of the cost of living. One way in which that can be

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done is by means of simplifying and standardizing production and distribution. For example, there is absolutely no reason for so many different models of shoes, so many styles and colors of skirts and dresses, so many varieties of canned foods, bread, candy and all the commodities of life. We have long been the most luxurious nation in the world, with bigger and better frills than anywhere else. We need not be during the war.

Standardized production will not only mean lower prices for each article. It will require fewer men to produce the same quantity of articles. It will release much needed manpower for other use - industrial and military.

I have accordingly instructed that the necessary steps be taken to simplify and standardize production of the articles of common use which go into the cost of living. A limited time will be allowed however for the disposal of existing stocks of supply. I am sure that the result of this action will be to lower the price of all these commodities.

For the sake of a sound future economy for the Nation, and in order to prevent spiralling in the cost of living -- and to keep down the post-war debt, it is very necessary that we pay in cash for as much

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of the cost of this war as we can at the present time. That is why the Congress is now occupied with a very large and extremely important tax bill which is going to hit every pocketbook in America. As we look at the figures in this tax bill we should remember however that while we are trying to take in in cash about thirty billion dollars a year in taxes, the total income of the people of the United States has gone up in the past year from about seventy billion dollars to over one hundred billion dollars.

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October 12, 1942

SPEECH

SIR
H.L. Hopkins
RES

10/12/42
SIR
H L Hopkins
RES.

FIFTH DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

OCTOBER 12, 1942

As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories.

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of 130,000,000 free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes [redacted] miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific — and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania, or Arizona, or Montana. A few of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but most of us have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how — each of us playing an honorable part in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities — we're all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win — and don't let anyone tell you anything different.

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That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country — unbeatable spirit. And if the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. That is one reason why we are carrying our war effort over seas to them.

With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them — at whatever points on the earth's surface we select for attack.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called "The War of Nerves." They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those in other

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nations — even our own — whose words and deeds are advertised from Berlin and Tokyo as proof of disunity. At times our enemies have been able to create the fear that if they stepped forth and blew a trumpet, the walls of Jericho would immediately fall down.

The greatest defense against all such propaganda is the common sense of the common people — and that has prevailed in Britain, in Russia, in China and in our own country.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations is now turning into a boomerang. For the first time the Nazi propaganda machine is on the defensive. They are beginning to apologise to their own people for the stoppage of the vast Nazi forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. They are compelled to beg their overworked people to rally their weakened production. They even publicly admit, for the first time, that Germany can be adequately fed only at the cost of stealing food from the rest of Europe right up to the point of starvation.

They are proclaiming that a second front is an obvious impossibility; but, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

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Meanwhile, not only to suppress revolt but also to hide the failure of their announced plans for a quick victory in conquering the world, the Nazi gangsters increase the fury of their atrocities.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those leaders who are responsible for the innumerable and unspeakable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

Our aim is the enforcement of justice for the victims of aggression, and punishment for the perpetrators of aggression. This is not only an expression of governmental policy. This is the sentiment of our people.

When we speak of justice — of equity — of freedom and decency — we are not merely expressing pious hope. We are expressing the profound faith which inspires and directs our actions in this war and in the peace which is to follow.

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In proof of our good faith, we and the British are fulfilling the pledge, made over a year ago, to relinquish all extraterritorial privileges in China, and thus to make complete the recognition of the dignity and independence of the Chinese Republic. This is an earnest of the integrity of our intentions — an earnest that will not be lost on all the peoples of the world who have or who seek independence and who have demonstrated their willingness to fight for their own freedom against the Axis aggressors.

We are now training millions of Americans in camps, in training stations, in factories and in shipyards — all a part of our war effort. Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are the thinking? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? find know is known frequency.

The Commander in Chief must know the answers to these questions. He cannot learn them fully by sitting in Washington day after day, reading statistical reports. That is why I made the trip I did.

It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the Pres Commander in Chief travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, and interviews with all the politicians of the land.

But, having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took added very

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greatly to the efficiency of the trip. I was able to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time meeting the demands of publicity. And — I might add — it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics.

In the last war, I had seen great factories, but until I saw some of the new present day plants with my own eyes, I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. Of course I saw only a small portion of all the plants throughout the nation, but that portion was representative and deeply impressive. I expect to make other trips for similar purposes, and I shall make them in the same way.

I saw much of the manufacture of the equipment which is going to our own armed forces and to our Allies. I saw and talked with men and women who are making our guns and planes and tanks and ships.

Management and workers — engineers and chemists and craftsmen of all kinds — the men and women who produce the raw materials on farms and in mines — all these form our vast army of production. Much of this army is, in a very real sense, an American Expeditionary Force, for our industry is adventuring into fields far removed from its normal peacetime pursuits.

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The United States has been at war for only ten months and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed forces many times. We are by no means at full production level yet. But I could not help asking myself on the trip, where would we be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge increase more than two years ago — more than a year before war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.

We have also had to face the physical problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are definitely getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of transportation.

In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our Merchant Marine. These men have come forward and are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives every hour, in the performance of their dangerous duty, in order that arms and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all the United Nations' forces all over the world.

A few days ago I awarded the first Marine Distinguished Service Medal to a young man who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the oily waters of the sea after their ship had been

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torpedoed. There have been many comparable acts of bravery by our merchant seamen, and there will be many more before the rattlesnakes of the seas have been exterminated.

In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle West, to the North West, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip because I had time in each place to ask the questions I wanted to ask, to learn things I did not know, and, incidentally, to do a lot of thinking — figuring out comparative needs — seeking to reconcile various elements on a basis of first things first.

As I told the three press representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed particularly by the large proportion of women employed — not just doing office work, but doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on, and so many of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion is bound to increase. Within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many women as men working in most of our airplane plants.

I had some amusing experiences relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity — inquisitiveness — is stronger in the gentler sex. On my trips to many plants I and the members of my party noticed that when we drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of

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workers and machines the first people to look up and stop work were the men — and not the women. The women seemed to be sticking to their jobs while the men were arguing as to whether that fellow in the gray hat was really the President or not.

Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers on our production lines — and coupling these first hand observations with shipping figures and with the reports of actual performance of our weapons on the fighting fronts — I can say to you that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.

American engineering genius, American management, and American labor have together achieved more in a few months than our enemies achieved in all their years of concentrated preparation for total war.

To bring this about, we have had to add millions of workers to the total labor force of the Nation. And as new factories come into operation we must find additional millions of workers.

This presents a formidable problem in the mobilization of manpower.

It is not that we do not have enough people in this country to do the job. The problem is to have the right people in the right places in the right numbers at the right time.

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In the past we have been blessed with an abundance of material resources and an abundant supply of people. It is not very surprising that we have not learned to conserve them. It is a new experience for us to have to ration them — and we must face this fact realistically.

We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower.

The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

First; to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our forces in the achievement of victory in the field over our enemies.

Second; to man our war industries and farms with the workers, skilled and unskilled, needed to produce the arms and munitions and food for our own forces and those of our fighting allies.

In order to do this we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of personal preference; to stop employers from stealing labor — skilled or unskilled — from each other; to use women, and even grown boys and girls wherever possible and reasonable, to replace men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work; to stop the wastage of labor in all non-essential activities.

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There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately to help meet the manpower problem.

The educational authorities in all the states, together with the Manpower Commission, work out plans to enable our high school students to take necessary time from their school year and to use their summer vacations to help farmers raise and harvest their crops for the duration of the war. Such work will do no harm whatever to the students themselves; and will appeal to nearly all of them as a chance to give real help in a practical way.

People should work in factories as near their homes as possible. We cannot afford to transport a single worker into an area where there is already a worker available to do the job.

In some communities employers dislike to employ women. In others they are slow to hire negroes. In still others, men beyond a certain age are not wanted regardless of their health, ability or skill. We can no longer afford to indulge such out-worn prejudices.

Every patriotic citizen wants to know whether he is doing essential work or whether there may not be something needed more which he could do better. He can get the answers to these questions in almost every case by going to the United States Employment Service office in his own community. There are 4,500 of these offices throughout the

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Nation. They are the corner grocery stores of our manpower system. This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skills and labor are needed most, and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them to best advantage in the war effort.

Perhaps the most difficult phase of the manpower problem is the scarcity of farm labor. In many sections of the country this is a serious fact. I have seen many evidences of the fact that the people are trying to meet it as well as possible.

In one community that I visited, an abundant crop was harvested by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days.

In another community of fruit growers on the west coast, the usual Japanese labor was, of course, not available; but when the fruit ripened, the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist, the local editor, his reporter and his printer, and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the nearby small towns left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit,and sent it to market.

Every farmer in the land must realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation as essential to our safety. The American people expect him to keep

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his production up, and even to increase it. We will use every effort to help him to get labor; but, at the same time, he and the people in his community must use ingenuity and cooperative effort to turn out crops, and livestock and dairy products.

It may well be that all of our volunteer effort — however well intentioned and well coordinated — will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to consider the adoption of drastic legislation. If this is necessary, I do not believe that the American people will shrink from it.

In a sense every American, because of his citizenship, is subject to Selective Service, not by law, but by reason of the privilege of being a part of our Nation.

The carrying out of the Army Selective Service Law began with the first registration on October 16, 1940, just two years ago this week. On that day, more than 16,000,000 men were registered.

Now, after two years, the Selective Service System has a trained and experienced organization that extends into every community in the country, and numbers more than 200,000 citizens, the large majority of whom are volunteer workers serving without compensation.

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The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to these fellow citizens. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens, serve to give us confidence that, if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem.

I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civilian defense — and who are working hard at it. They are displaying unselfish devotion in the patient performance of their often tiresome and always anonymous tasks — in doing the neighborly things which make for real national unity and real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.

Naturally, on my trip I was most interested in watching the training of our fighting forces.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of shock troops. That means divisions of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-one or twenty-two is almost of necessity a better fighting unit than one which has an average age of thirty-one or thirty-two. The more of such shock troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller will be the cost in casualties.

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I have come to the conclusion that it will be necessary to lower the present twenty year minimum age limit for Selective Service down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is — and how important to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feelings of the parents of boys of eighteen or nineteen or any higher age. I have an appreciation of that feeling — and so has my wife.

I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know — again, from what I have seen with my own eyes — that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. Such training will save many, many lives in battle. The highest rate of casualties is always suffered by units comprised of inadequately trained men.

Granted that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well manned, and well equipped, and well trained, their effectiveness will depend upon the quality of their leadership and on the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.

I can say one thing about our plans: They are not being dictated by the armchair strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.

One of the greatest of American generals, Robert E. Lee,

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once remarked on the tragic fact that apparently in the war of his day all the best generals were working on newspapers instead of in the Army. That seems to be true in all wars.

The trouble with the typewriter strategists is that, while they may be full of brilliant ideas, they are not in possession of much information about the real facts of the situation.

We, therefore, will continue to leave the major decisions in this war to the military leaders who are in possession of the facts.

The military and naval decisions of the United Nations are made by the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy which is constantly in session in Washington. The Chiefs of this Staff are Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. They meet and confer regularly with representatives of the British Joint Staff, and with representatives of Russia, China, the Netherlands, Poland, Norway, the British Dominions and other nations working in the common cause.

Since this unity of operations was put into effect last January, there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, all of whom are trained in the profession of arms — air, sea and land — from their earliest years. Mr. Churchill and I have at all times also been in substantial agreement with the recommendations of these Combined Staffs.

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As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of them — on which we have all agreed — relates to the necessity of diverting enemy forces from Russia and China to other theatres of war by new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, or when, or where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time.

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We celebrate today the exploit of a bold and adventurous Italian who with the aid of Spain opened up a new world where freedom and tolerance and respect for human rights and dignity provided an asylum for the oppressed of the old world.

Today, the sons of the new world are fighting in lands far distant from their own America. They are fighting to defend and to extend and to perpetuate the principles which have flourished in this new world of freedom.

That is why our planning is not merely a matter of sticking pins into military maps — studying coast lines and mountain passes, valleys and islands. Our plans constantly take account of the human element — all the countless millions of people whose future liberty and whose very lives depend upon victory for the United Nations.

It is useless to win battles if the cause for which these battles were fought is lost.

We are therefore planning for the reconstruction — the rehabilitation — the revival of faith and hope throughout the world which must follow this war. We are planning carefully and definitely to ensure that there will be real freedom from want and from fear. We are planning to remove the essential evils which created this war and create all wars.

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There are few in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more, that we can tell the rest of the world to "stew in its own juice"; that never again must we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization, the maintenance of law and order and peace, can jolly well take care of themselves insofar as we are concerned.

But we shall reject this false counsel. We have learned that our own homes, our own institutions, could have been destroyed by the fires which burned in London, and Stalingrad, and Rotterdam, and Barcelona, and Nanking.

The vast majority of Americans are together in proclaiming that we shall make sure that our grandchildren will not have to live under the constant threat of this same oppression and horror.

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As a proof of our good faith, we and the British are fulfilling the pledge, made over a year ago, to relinquish all extraterritorial privileges in China, and thus to make complete the recognition of the dignity and independence of the Chinese Republic. This is an earnest of the integrity of our intentions. It is an earnest that will not be lost on all the peoples of the world, who have or who seek independence, and who have demonstrated their willingness to fight for their own freedom against the Axis aggressors.

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However, modern war has taught us that armed aggressors could attack the United States or this Hemisphere and that in such a case Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Atlanta, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro and Lima might be bombed and fired instead of London, Stalingrad, Rotterdam, Warsaw, or Chungking.

The objective of today, therefore, is clear and realistic. It is to destroy the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan to such good purpose that that threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived.

We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow up and live their lives free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction and violent death.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Quotation from Gamaliel Bradford's book "~~About Robert E. Lee~~ Lee the American" (page 235):

"And laughing at them, in his own sunny, kindly fashion, he told B. H. Hill that the great mistake of the war was in making all the best generals editors of newspapers."

(from letter from R. C. Leffingwell - March 8th, '42.)

FIFTH DRAFT 14

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

OCTOBER 12, 1942

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As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories.

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of 130,000,000 free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes seven miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific — and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania, or Arizona, or Montana. A few of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but most of us have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how — each of us playing an honorable part in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities — we're all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win — and don't let anyone tell you anything different.

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That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country — unbeatable spirit. And if the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. That is one reason why we are carrying our war effort over seas to them.

With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them — at whatever points on the earth's surface we select for attack.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called "The War of Nerves." They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those in other

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nations — even our own — whose words and deeds are advertised from Berlin and Tokyo as proof of disunity. At times our enemies have been able to create the fear that if they stepped forth and blew a trumpet, the walls of Jericho would immediately fall down.

The greatest defense against all such propaganda is the common sense of the common people — and that has prevailed in Britain, in Russia, in China and in our own country.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations is now turning into a boomerang. For the first time the Nazi propaganda machine is on the defensive. They are beginning to apologize to their own people for the stoppage of the vast Nazi forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. They are compelled to beg their overworked people to rally their weakened production. They even publicly admit, for the first time, that Germany can be adequately fed only at the cost of stealing food from the rest of Europe right up to the point of starvation.

They are proclaiming that a second front is an obvious impossibility; but, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

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Meanwhile, not only to suppress revolt but also to hide the failure of their announced plans for a quick victory in conquering the world, the Nazi gangsters increase the fury of their atrocities.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those leaders who are responsible for the innumerable and unspeakable acts of savagery. As each of those criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

Our aim is the enforcement of justice for the victims of aggression, and punishment for the perpetrators of aggression. This is not only an expression of governmental policy. This is the sentiment of our people.

When we speak of justice — of equity — of freedom and decency — we are not merely expressing pious hope. We are expressing the profound faith which inspires and directs our actions in this war and in the peace which is to follow.

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FIFTH DRAFT

In proof of our good faith, we and the British are fulfilling the pledge, made over a year ago, to relinquish all extraterritorial privileges in China, and thus to make complete the recognition of the dignity and independence of the Chinese Republic. This is an earnest of the integrity of our intentions — an earnest that will not be lost on all the peoples of the world who have or who seek independence and who have demonstrated their willingness to fight for their own freedom against the Axis aggressors.

We are now training millions of Americans in camps, in training stations, in factories and in shipyards — all a part of our war effort. Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are the thinking? That are their doubts and what are their hopes?

The Commander in Chief must know the answers to these questions. He cannot learn them fully by sitting in Washington day after day, reading statistical reports. That is why I made the trip I did.

It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the Commander in Chief travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, and interviews with all the politicians of the land.

But, having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took added very

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greatly to the efficiency of the trip. I was able to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time meeting the demands of publicity. And — I might add — it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics.

In the last war, I had seen great factories, but until I saw some of the new present day plants with my own eyes, I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. Of course I saw only a small portion of all the plants throughout the nation, but that portion was representative and deeply impressive. I expect to make other trips for similar purposes, and I shall make them in the same way.

I saw much of the manufacture of the equipment which is going to our own armed forces and to our Allies. I saw and talked with men and women who are making our guns and planes and tanks and ships.

Management and workers — engineers and chemists and craftsmen of all kinds — the men and women who produce the raw materials on farms and in mines — all these form our vast army of production. Much of this army is, in a very real sense, an American Expeditionary Force, for our industry is adventuring into fields far removed from its normal peacetime pursuits.

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The United States has been at war for only ten months and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed forces many times. We are by no means at full production level yet. But I could not help asking myself on the trip, where would we be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge increase more than two years ago -- more than a year before war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.

We have also had to face the physical problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are definitely getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of transportation.

In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our Merchant Marine. These men have come forward and are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives every hour, in the performance of their dangerous duty, in order that arms and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all the United Nations' forces all over the world.

A few days ago I awarded the first Marine Distinguished Service Medal to a young man who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the oily waters of the sea after their ship had been

torpedoed. There have been many comparable acts of bravery by our merchant seamen, and there will be many more before the rattlesnakes of the seas have been exterminated.

In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle West, to the North West, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip because I had time in each place to ask the questions I wanted to ask, to learn things I did not know, and, incidentally, to do a lot of thinking -- figuring out comparative needs -- seeking to reconcile various elements on a basis of first things first.

As I told the three press representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed particularly by the large proportion of women employed -- not just doing office work, but doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on, and so many of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion is bound to increase. Within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many women as men working in most of our airplane plants.

I had some amusing experiences relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity -- inquisitiveness -- is stronger in the gentler sex. On my trips to many plants I and the members of my party noticed that when we drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of

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workers and machines the first people to look up and stop work were the men — and not the women. The women seemed to be sticking to their jobs while the men were arguing as to whether that fellow in the gray hat was really the President or not.

Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers on our production lines — and coupling those first hand observations with shipping figures and with the reports of actual performance of our weapons on the fighting fronts — I can say to you that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.

American engineering genius, American management, and American labor have together achieved more in a few months than our enemies achieved in all their years of concentrated preparation for total war.

To bring this about, we have had to add millions of workers to the total labor force of the Nation. And as new factories come into operation we must find additional millions of workers.

This presents a formidable problem in the mobilization of manpower.

It is not that we do not have enough people in this country to do the job. The problem is to have the right people in the right places in the right numbers at the right time.

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FIFTH DRAFT

In the past we have been blessed with an abundance of material resources and an abundant supply of people. It is not very surprising that we have not learned to conserve them. It is a new experience for us to have to ration them — and we must face this fact realistically.

We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower.

The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

First; to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our forces in the achievement of victory in the field over our enemies.

Second; to man our war industries and farms with the workers, skilled and unskilled, needed to produce the arms and munitions and food for our own forces and those of our fighting allies.

In order to do this we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of personal preference; to stop employers from stealing labor — skilled or unskilled — from each other; to use women, and even grown boys and girls wherever possible and reasonable; to replace men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work; to stop the wastage of labor in all non-essential activities.

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FIFTH DRAFT

Perhaps the most difficult phase of the manpower problem is the scarcity of farm labor. In many sections of the country this is a serious fact. I have seen many evidences of the fact that the people are trying to meet it as well as possible.

In one community that I visited, an abundant crop was harvested by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days.

In another community of fruit growers on the west coast, the usual Japanese labor was, of course, not available; but when the fruit ripened, the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist, the local editor, his reporter and his printer, and in fact every able-bodied man and women in the nearby small towns left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit, and sent it to market.

Every farmer in the land must realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation as essential to our safety. The American people expect him to keep his production up, and even to increase it. We will use every effort to help him to get labor; but, at the same time, he and the people in his community must use ingenuity and cooperative effort to turn out crops, and livestock and dairy products.

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There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately to help meet the manpower problem.

The educational authorities in all the states, together with the Manpower Commission, work out plans to enable our high school students to take necessary time from their school year and to use their summer vacations to help farmers raise and harvest their crops for the duration of the war. Such work will do no harm whatever to the students themselves; and will appeal to nearly all of them as a chance to give real help in a practical way.

People should work in factories as near their homes as possible. We cannot afford to transport a single worker into an area where there is already a worker available to do the job.

In some communities employers dislike to employ women. In others they are slow to hire negroes. In still others, men beyond a certain age are not wanted regardless of their health, ability or skill. We can no longer afford to indulge such out-worn prejudices.

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Nation. They are the corner grocery stores of our manpower system. This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skills and labor are needed most, and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them to best advantage in the war effort.

It may well be that all of our volunteer effort — however well intentioned and well coordinated — will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to consider the adoption of drastic legislation. If this is necessary, I do not believe that the American people will shrink from it.

In a sense every American, because of his citizenship, is subject to Selective Service, not by law, but by reason of the privilege of being a part of our Nation.

The carrying out of the Army Selective Service Law began with the first registration on October 16, 1940, just two years ago this week. On that day, more than 16,000,000 men were registered.

Now, after two years, the Selective Service System has a trained and experienced organization that extends into every community in the country, and numbers more than 200,000 citizens, the large majority of whom are volunteer workers serving without compensation.

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The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to these fellow citizens. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens, serve to give us confidence that, if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem.

I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civilian defense — and who are working hard at it. They are displaying unselfish devotion in the patient performance of their often tiresome and always anonymous tasks -- in doing the neighborly things which take for real national unity and real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.

Naturally, on my trip I was most interested in watching the training of our fighting forces.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of shock troops. That means divisions of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-one or twenty-two is almost of necessity a better fighting unit than one which has an average age of thirty-one or thirty-two. The more of such shock troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller will be the cost in casualties.

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I have come to the conclusion that it will be necessary to lower the present twenty year minimum age limit for Selective Service down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is — and how important to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feelings of the parents of boys of eighteen or nineteen or any higher age. I have an appreciation of that feeling — and so has my wife.

I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know — again, from what I have seen with my own eyes — that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. Such training will save many, many lives in battle. The highest rate of casualties is always suffered by units comprised of inadequately trained men.

Granted that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well manned, and well equipped, and well trained, their effectiveness will depend upon the quality of their leadership and on the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.

I can say one thing about our plans: They are not being dictated by the armchair strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.

One of the greatest of American generals, Robert E. Lee,

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once remarked on the tragic fact that apparently in the war of his day all the best generals were working on newspapers instead of in the Army. That seems to be true in all wars.

The trouble with the typewriter strategists is that, while they may be full of brilliant ideas, they are not in possession of much information about the real facts of the situation.

We, therefore, will continue to leave the major decisions in this war to the military leaders who are in possession of the facts.

The military and naval decisions of the United Nations are made by the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy which is constantly in session in Washington. The Chiefs of this Staff are Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. They meet and confer regularly with representatives of the British Joint Staff, and with representatives of Russia, China, the Netherlands, Poland, Norway, the British Dominions and other nations working in the common cause.

Since this unity of operations was put into effect last January, there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, all of whom are trained in the profession of arms — air, sea and land — from their earliest years. Mr. Churchill and I have at all times also been in substantial agreement with the recommendations of these Combined Staffs.

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As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of them — on which we have all agreed — relates to the necessity of diverting enemy forces from Russia and China to other theatres of war by new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, or when, or where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

OCTOBER 12, 1942

As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories.

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of 130,000,000 free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes five miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific -- and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania or Montana. A few of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but all of us can have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how -- each of us playing an honorable part

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in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities -- we are all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win -- and do not let anyone tell you anything different.

That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country -- unbeatable spirit. If the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. That is one reason why we are carrying our war effort overseas -- to them.

With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders, on the other hand, know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material

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cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them -- at whatever points on the earth's surface we select for attack.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called "The War of Nerves". They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those people in other nations -- even our own -- whose words and deeds are advertised from Berlin and Tokyo as proof of disunity.

The greatest defense against all such propaganda is the common sense of the common people -- and that defense has prevailed in Britain, in Russia, in China and in our own country.

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The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations is now turning into a boomerang. For the first time, the Nazi propaganda machine is on the defensive. The Nazis are beginning to apologize to their own people for the repulse of their vast forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. They are compelled to beg their overworked people to rally their weakened production. They even publicly admit, for the first time, that Germany can be fed only at the cost of stealing food from the rest of Europe.

They are proclaiming that a second front is impossible; but, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

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Meanwhile, to hide the failure of their announced plans for a quick victory in conquering the world, the Nazi gangsters increase the fury of their atrocities.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

There are now millions of Americans in army camps, in naval stations, in factories and in shipyards.

Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? And how is the work progressing?

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The commander-in-Chief cannot learn all of the answers to these questions in Washington. That is why I made the trip I did.

It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the President travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with batteries of reporters and photographers, talking and posing with all the politicians of the land.

But, having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took permitted me to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time meeting all the demands of publicity. And -- I might add -- it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics.

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In the last war, I had seen great factories; but until I saw some of the new present day plants, I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. Of course, I saw only a small portion of all our plants, but that portion was a good cross section and it was deeply impressive.

The United States has been at war for only ten months, and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed forces many times. We are by no means at full production level yet. But I could not help asking myself on the trip, where would we be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge increase more than two years ago — more than a year before war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.

We have also had to face the problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the bitter battle of transportation.

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In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our Merchant Marine. These men are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives every hour so that guns and tanks and planes and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all the United Nations' forces all over the world.

A few days ago I awarded the first Maritime Distinguished Service Medal to a young man -- Edward P. Cheney of Yeadon, Pennsylvania -- who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the oily waters of the sea after their ship had been torpedoed. There will be many more such acts of bravery before the rattlesnakes of the seas have been exterminated.

In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle West, to the Northwest, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South.

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In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip, because I had the opportunity to talk to the people who are actually doing the work -- management and labor alike -- on their own home grounds. It gave me a fine chance to do some thinking about the major problems of our war effort on the basis of first things first.

As I told the three press representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed by the large proportion of women employed -- doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on, and many more of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion will increase. Within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many women as men working in our war production plants.

I had some enlightening experiences relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity -- inquisitiveness -- is stronger among women. I noticed that, frequently, when we drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of workers and machines, the first people to look up and stop

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work were the men -- and not the women. The women seemed to be sticking to their jobs, while the men were arguing as to whether that fellow in the straw hat was really the President or not.

Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers on our production lines -- and coupling these firsthand observations with the reports of actual performance of our weapons on the fighting fronts -- I can say to you that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.

To bring this about, we have had to add millions of workers to the total labor force of the Nation. And as new factories come into operation, we must find additional millions of workers.

This presents a formidable problem in the mobilization of manpower.

It is not that we do not have enough people in this country to do the job. The problem is to have the right numbers of the right people in the right places at the right time.

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We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower.

The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

First; to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our armed forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies in combat.

Second; to man our war industries and farms with the workers needed to produce the arms and munitions and food required by ourselves and our fighting allies to win this war.

In order to do this, we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of personal preference; to stop employers from stealing labor from each other; to use older men, and handicapped people, and more women, and even grown boys and girls, wherever possible and reasonable to replace men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work and to stop the wastage of labor in all non-essential activities.

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There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately to help meet the manpower problem.

The school authorities in all the states should work out plans to enable our high school students to take some time from their school year, and to use their summer vacations, to help farmers raise and harvest their crops or to work in the war industries. This does not mean closing schools and stopping education. It does mean giving older students a better opportunity to contribute to the war effort. Such work will do no harm to the students.

People should do their work as near their homes as possible. We cannot afford to transport a single worker into an area where there is already a worker available to do the job.

In some communities, employers dislike to employ women. In others they are reluctant to hire Negroes. In still others, older men are not wanted. We can no longer afford to indulge such prejudices or practices.

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Every citizen wants to know what essential war work he can do the best. He can get the answer by applying to the nearest United States Employment Service office. There are 4,500 of these offices throughout the Nation. They are the corner grocery stores of our manpower system. This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skills and labors are needed most, and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them to best advantage in the war effort.

Perhaps the most difficult phase of the manpower problem is the scarcity of farm labor. I have seen many evidences of the fact, however, that the people are trying to meet it as well as possible.

In one community that I visited, a perishable crop was harvested by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days.

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In another community of fruit growers on the west coast, the usual Japanese labor was, of course, not available; but when the fruit ripened, the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist, the local editor, his reporter and his printer, and, in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the town, left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit, and sent it to market.

Every farmer in the land must realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation as essential to victory. The American people expect him to keep his production up, and even to increase it. We will use every effort to help him to get labor; but, at the same time, he and the people in his community must use ingenuity and cooperative effort to produce crops, and livestock and dairy products.

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It may be that all of our volunteer effort -- however well intentioned and well administered -- will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to adopt new legislation. If this is necessary, I do not believe that the American people will shrink from it.

In a sense every American, because of his citizenship, is subject to Selective Service, not by law, but by reason of the privilege of being a part of our Nation.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to the Selective Service Boards. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens give us confidence, that, if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem.

And I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civilian defense -- and who are working hard at it. They are displaying unselfish devotion in the patient performance of their often tiresome

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and always anonymous tasks. In doing these important neighborly tasks they are helping to fortify our national unity and our real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.

Naturally, on my trip I was most interested in watching the training of our fighting forces.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-three or twenty-four is a better fighting unit than one which has an average age of thirty-three or thirty-four. The more of such troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller will be the cost in casualties.

Therefore, I believe that it will be necessary to lower the present minimum age limit for Selective Service from twenty years down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is -- and how important to the speeding up of victory.

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I can very thoroughly understand the feeling of all parents whose sons have entered our armed forces. I have an appreciation of that feeling -- and so has my wife.

I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know -- again, from what I have seen with my own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. Such training will save many, many lives in battle. The highest rate of casualties is always suffered by units comprised of inadequately trained men. And we will never fail to provide for the spiritual needs of our officers and men under the Chaplains of our armed services.

We can be sure that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well manned, and well equipped, and well trained. Their effectiveness in action will depend upon the quality of their leadership and upon the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.

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I can say one thing about our plans: They are not being decided by the typewriter strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.

One of the greatest of American soldiers, Robert E. Lee, once remarked on the tragic fact that in the war of his day all the best generals were apparently working on newspapers instead of in the Army. That seems to be true in all wars.

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We, therefore, will continue to leave the major decisions in this war to the military leaders who are in possession of the facts.

The military and naval decisions of the United States are made by the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy which is constantly in session in Washington. The Chiefs of this Staff are Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. They

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meet and confer regularly with representatives of the British Joint Staff, and with representatives of Russia, China, the Netherlands, Poland, Norway, the British Dominions and other nations working in the common cause.

Since this unity of operations was put into effect last January, there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, all of whom are trained in the profession of arms -- air, sea and land -- from their earliest years. Mr. Churchill and I have at all times also been in substantial agreement with the recommendations of these Combined Staffs.

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We celebrate today the exploit of a bold and adventurous Italian -- Christopher Columbus — who with the aid of Spain opened up a new world where freedom and tolerance and respect for human rights and dignity provided an asylum for the oppressed of the old world.

Today, the sons of the new world are fighting in lands far distant from their own America. They are fighting to save for all mankind the principles which have flourished in this new world of freedom.

We are mindful of the countless millions of people whose future liberty and whose very lives depend upon permanent victory for the United Nations.

It is useless to win battles if the cause for which we fought these battles is lost. It is useless to win battles unless they stay won.

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We, therefore, fight for the restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope throughout the world which must follow this war.

There are a few people in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more; that we can tell the rest of the world to "stew in its own juice"; that never again will we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization can jolly well take care of itself insofar as we are concerned.

The objective of today is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan so that their threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

We are unitediin seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow,and live their lives, free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction and slavery.

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SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

OCTOBER 12, 1942

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This whole nation of 130,000,000 free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes five miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific — and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania or Montana. A few of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but all of us can have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how — each of us playing an honorable part

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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

In the last war, I had seen great factories; but until I saw some of the new present day plants, I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. Of course, I saw only a small portion of all our plants, but that portion was a good cross section and it was deeply impressive.

The United States has been at war for only ten months, and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed forces many times. We are by no means at full production level yet. But I could not help asking myself on the trip, where would we be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge increase more than two years ago — more than a year before war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.

We have also had to face the problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the bitter battle of transportation.

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In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our Merchant Marine. These men are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives every hour so that guns and tanks and planes and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all the United Nations' forces all over the world.

A few days ago I awarded the first Maritime Distinguished Service Medal to a young man -- Edward F. Cheney of Yeadon, Pennsylvania -- who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the oily waters of the sea after their ship had been torpedoed. There will be many more such acts of bravery before the rattlesnakes of the seas have been exterminated.

In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle West, to the Northwest, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South.

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In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip, because I had the opportunity to talk to the people who are actually doing the work -- management and labor alike -- on their own home grounds. It gave me a fine chance to do some thinking about the major problems of our war effort on the basis of first things first.

As I told the three press association representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed by the large proportion of women employed -- doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on, and many more of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion will increase. Within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many women as men working in our war production plants.

I had some enlightening experiences relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity -- inquisitiveness -- is stronger among women. I noticed that, frequently, when we drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of workers and machines, the first people to look up and stop

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work were the men — and not the women. The women seemed to be sticking to their jobs, while the men were arguing as to whether that fellow in the straw hat was really the President or not.

Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers on our production lines — and coupling these firsthand observations with the reports of actual performance of our weapons on the fighting fronts — I can say to you that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.

To bring this about, we have had to add millions of workers to the total labor force of the Nation. And as new factories come into operation, we must find additional millions of workers.

This presents a formidable problem in the mobilization of manpower.

It is not that we do not have enough people in this country to do the job. The problem is to have the right numbers of the right people in the right places at the right time.

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We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower.

The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

First; to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our armed forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies in combat.

Second; to man our war industries and farms with the workers needed to produce the arms and munitions and food required by ourselves and our fighting allies to win this war.

In order to do this, we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of personal convenience or profit to themselves; preference; to stop employers from stealing labor from each other; to use older men, and handicapped people, and more women, and even grown boys and girls, wherever possible and reasonable to replace men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work and to stop the wastage of labor in all non-essential activities.

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There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately to help meet the manpower problem.

The school authorities in all the states should work out plans to enable our high school students to take some time from their school year, and to use their summer vacations, to help farmers raise and harvest their crops or to work in the war industries. This does not mean closing schools and stopping education. It does mean giving older students a better opportunity to contribute to the war effort. Such work will do no harm to the students.

People should do their work as near their homes as possible. We cannot afford to transport a single worker into an area where there is already a worker available to do the job.

In some communities, employers dislike to employ women. In others they are reluctant to hire Negroes. In still others, older men are not wanted. We can no longer afford to indulge such prejudices or practices.

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Every citizen wants to know what essential war work he can do the best. He can get the answer by applying to the nearest United States Employment Service office. There are 4,500 of these offices throughout the Nation. They are the corner grocery stores of our manpower system. This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skills and labors are needed most, and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them to best advantage in the war effort.

Perhaps the most difficult phase of the manpower problem is the scarcity of farm labor. I have seen many evidences of the fact, however, that the people are trying to meet it as well as possible.

In one community that I visited, a perishable crop was harvested by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days.

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In another community of fruit growers on the west coast, the usual Japanese labor was, of course, not available; but when the fruit ripened, the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist, the local editor, his reporter and his printer, and, in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the town, left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit, and sent it to market.

Every farmer in the land must realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation as essential to victory. The American people expect him to keep his production up, and even to increase it. We will use every effort to help him to get labor; but, at the same time, he and the people in his community must use ingenuity and cooperative effort to produce crops, and livestock and dairy products.

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It may be that all of our volunteer effort -- however well intentioned and well administered -- will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to adopt new legislation. If this is necessary, I do not believe that the American people will shrink from it.

In a sense every American, because of his citizenship, is subject to Selective Service, not by law, but by reason of the privilege of being a part of our Nation.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to the Selective Service Boards. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens give us confidence, that, if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem.

And I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civilian defense -- and who are working hard at it. They are displaying unselfish devotion in the patient performance of their often tiresome

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and always anonymous tasks. In doing these important neighborly tasks they are helping to fortify our national unity and our real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.

Naturally, on my trip I was most interested in watching the training of our fighting forces.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-three or twenty-four is a better fighting unit than one which has an average age of thirty-three or thirty-four. The more of such troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller will be the cost in casualties.

Therefore, I believe that it will be necessary to lower the present minimum age limit for Selective Service from twenty years down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is — and how important to the speeding up of victory.

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I can very thoroughly understand the feeling of all parents whose sons have entered our armed forces. I have an appreciation of that feeling -- and so has my wife.

I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know -- again, from what I have seen with my own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. Such training will save many, many lives in battle. The highest rate of casualties is always suffered by units comprised of inadequately trained men. And we will never fail to provide for the spiritual needs of our officers and men under the Chaplains of our armed services.

We can be sure that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well manned, and well equipped, and well trained. Their effectiveness in action will depend upon the quality of their leadership and upon the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.

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I can say one thing about our plans: They are not being decided by the typewriter strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.

One of the greatest of American soldiers, Robert E. Lee, once remarked on the tragic fact that in the war of his day all the best generals were apparently working on newspapers instead of in the Army. That seems to be true in all wars.

The trouble with the typewriter strategists is that, while they may be full of brilliant ideas, they are not in possession of much information about the real facts of the military situation.

We, therefore, will continue to leave the major decisions in this war to the military leaders who are in possession of the facts.

The military and naval decisions of the United States are made by the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy which is constantly in session in Washington. The Chiefs of this Staff are Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. They

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meet and confer regularly with representatives of the British Joint Staff, and with representatives of Russia, China, the Netherlands, Poland, Norway, the British Dominions and other nations working in the common cause.

Since this unity of operations was put into effect last January, there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, all of whom are trained in the profession of arms -- air, sea dnd land — from their earliest years. Mr. Churchill and I have at all times also been in substantial agreement with the recommendations of these Combined Staffs.

As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of them -- on which we have all agreed — relates to the necessity of diverting enemy forces from Russia and China to other theatres of war by new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, and when, and where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time.

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We celebrate today the exploit of a bold and adventurous Italian — Christopher Columbus — who with the aid of Spain opened up a new world where freedom and tolerance and respect for human rights and dignity provided an asylum for the oppressed of the old world.

Today, the sons of the new world are fighting in lands far distant from their own America. They are fighting to save for all mankind the principles which have flourished in this new world of freedom.

We are mindful of the countless millions of people whose future liberty and whose very lives depend upon permanent victory for the United Nations.

It is useless to win battles if the cause for which we fought these battles is lost. It is useless to win battles unless they stay won.

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We, therefore, fight for the restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope throughout the world which must follow this war.

There are a few people in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more; that we can tell the rest of the world to "stew in its own juice"; that never again will we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization can jolly well take care of itself insofar as we are concerned.

The objective of today is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan so that their threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

We are unitediin seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow,and live their lives, free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction and slavery.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade this war. The Axis leaders, on the other hand, know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material

in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities -- we are all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win -- and do not let anyone tell you anything different.

That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country -- unbeatable spirit. If the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. That is one reason why we are carrying our war effort overseas -- to them.

With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders, on the other hand, know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material

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cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them -- at whatever points on the earth's surface we select for attack.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called "The War of Nerves". They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those people in other nations -- even our own -- whose words and deeds are advertised from Berlin and Tokyo as proof of disunity.

The greatest defense against all such propaganda is the common sense of the common people -- and that defense has prevailed in Britain, in Russia, in China and in our own country.

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The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations is now turning into a boomerang. For the first time, the Nazi propaganda machine is on the defensive. The Nazis are beginning to apologize to their own people for the repulse of their vast forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. They are compelled to beg their overworked people to rally their weakened production. They even publicly admit, for the first time, that Germany can be fed only at the cost of stealing food from the rest of Europe.

They are proclaiming that a second front is impossible; but, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

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Meanwhile, to hide the failure of their announced plans for a quick victory in conquering the world, the Nazi gangsters increase the fury of their atrocities.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

There are now millions of Americans in army camps, in naval stations, in factories and in shipyards.

Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? And how is the work progressing?

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The commander-in-Chief cannot learn all of the answers to these questions in Washington. That is why I made the trip I did.

It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the President travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with batteries of reporters and photographers, talking and posing with all the politicians of the land.

But, having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took permitted me to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time meeting all the demands of publicity. And -- I might add -- it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics.

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The trouble with the typewriter strategists is that, while they may be full of brilliant ideas, they are not in possession of much information about the real facts of the military situation.

We, therefore, will continue to leave the major decisions in this war to the military leaders who are in possession of the facts.

The military and naval decisions of the United States are made by the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy which is constantly in session in Washington. The Chiefs of this Staff are Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. They

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meet and confer regularly with representatives of the British Joint Staff, and with representatives of Russia, China, the Netherlands, Poland, Norway, the British Dominions and other nations working in the common cause.

Since this unity of operations was put into effect last January, there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, all of whom are trained in the profession of arms — air, sea and land — from their earliest years. Mr. Churchill and I have at all times also been in substantial agreement with the recommendations of these Combined Staffs.

As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of them — on which we have all agreed — relates to the necessity of diverting enemy forces from Russia and China to other theatres of war by new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, and when, and where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time.

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We celebrate today the exploit of a bold and adventurous Italian -- Christopher Columbus -- who with the aid of Spain opened up a new world where freedom and tolerance and respect for human rights and dignity provided an asylum for the oppressed of the old world.

Today, the sons of the new world are fighting in lands far distant from their own America. They are fighting to save for all mankind the principles which have flourished in this new world of freedom.

We are mindful of the countless millions of people whose future liberty and whose very lives depend upon permanent victory for the United Nations.

It is useless to win battles if the cause for which we fought these battles is lost. It is useless to win battles unless they stay won.

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We, therefore, fight for the restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope throughout the world which must follow this war.

There are a few people in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more; that we can tell the rest of the world to "stew in its own juice"; that never again will we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization can jolly well take care of itself insofar as we are concerned.

The objective of today is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan so that their threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

We are unitediin seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow,and live their lives, free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction and slavery.

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Harry Hopkins

President Speech

HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE

October 12, 1942

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

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:00 o'clock P.M., E.W.T., Monday, October 12, 1942. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

- -

As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories.

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of one hundred and thirty million free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes five miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific -- and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania or Montana. A few of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but all of us can have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how -- each of us playing an honorable part in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities -- we are all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win -- and do not let anyone tell you anything different.

That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country -- unbeatable spirit. If the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. That is one reason why we are carrying our war effort overseas -- to them.

With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders, on the other hand, know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them -- at additional places on the earth's surface.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called "The War of Nerves". They

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have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those people in other nations -- even our own -- whose words and deeds are advertised from Berlin and Tokyo as proof of disunity.

The greatest defense against all such propaganda is the common sense of the common people -- and that defense is prevailing.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations is now turning into a boomerang. For the first time, the Nazi propaganda machine is on the defensive. They begin to apologize to their own people for the repulse of their vast forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. They are compelled to beg their overworked people to rally their weakened production. They even publicly admit, for the first time, that Germany can be fed only at the cost of stealing food from the rest of Europe.

They are proclaiming that a second front is impossible; but, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Meanwhile, they are driven to increase the fury of their atrocities.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

There are now millions of Americans in army camps, in naval stations, in factories and in shipyards.

Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? And how is the work progressing?

The Commander-in-Chief cannot learn all of the answers to these questions in Washington. That is why I made the trip I did.

It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the President travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with batteries of reporters and photographers -- talking and posing with all the politicians of the land.

But having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took permitted me to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time, meeting all the demands of publicity. And -- I might add -- it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics.

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I expect to make other trips for similar purposes, and I shall make them in the same way.

In the last war, I had seen great factories; but until I saw some of the new present day plants, I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. Of course, I saw only a small portion of all our plants, but that portion was a good cross section, and it was deeply impressive.

The United States has been at war for only ten months, and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed forces many times. We are by no means at full production level yet. But I could not help asking myself on the trip, where would we be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge increase more than two years ago — more than a year before war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.

We have also had to face the problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the bitter battle of transportation.

In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our Merchant Marine. These men are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives every hour so that guns and tanks and planes and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all the United Nations' forces all over the world.

A few days ago I awarded the first Maritime Distinguished Service Medal to a young man — Edward F. Cheney of Meadon, Pennsylvania — who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the oily waters of the sea after their ship had been torpedoed. There will be many more such acts of bravery.

In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle West, to the Northwest, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip, because I had the opportunity to talk to the people who are actually doing the work — management and labor alike — on their own home grounds. It gave me a fine chance to do some thinking about the major problems of our war effort on the basis of first things first.

As I told the three press association representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed by the large proportion of women employed — doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on, and many more of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion will increase. Within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many women as men working in our war production plants.

I had some enlightening experiences relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity — inquisitiveness — is stronger among women. I noticed that, frequently, when we drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of workers and machines, the first people to look up from their work were the men — and not the women. It was chiefly the men who were arguing as to whether that fellow in the straw hat was really the President or not.

Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers on our production lines — and coupling these firsthand observations with the reports of actual performance of our weapons on the fighting fronts — I can say to you that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.

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Of great importance to our future production was the effective and rapid manner in which the Congress met the serious problem of the rising cost of living. It was a splendid example of the operation of democratic processes in wartime.

The machinery to carry out this act of the Congress was put into effect within twelve hours after the bill was signed. The legislation will help the cost-of-living problems of every worker in every factory and on every farm in the land.

In order to keep stepping-up our production, we have had to add millions of workers to the total labor force of the nation. And as new factories come into operation, we must find additional millions of workers.

This presents a formidable problem in the mobilization of manpower.

It is not that we do not have enough people in this country to do the job. The problem is to have the right numbers of the right people in the right places at the right time.

We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower.

The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

First, to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our armed forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies in combat.

Second, to man our war industries and farms with the workers needed to produce the arms and munitions and food required by ourselves and our fighting allies to win this war.

In order to do this, we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of personal preference; to stop employers from stealing labor from each other; to use older men, and handicapped people, and more women, and even grown boys and girls, wherever possible and reasonable, to replace men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work; and to stop the wastage of labor in all non-essential activities.

There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately, to help meet the manpower problem.

The school authorities in all the states should work out plans to enable our high school students to take some time from their school year, and to use their summer vacations, to help farmers raise and harvest their crops, or to work in the war industries. This does not mean closing schools and stopping education. It does mean giving older students a better opportunity to contribute to the war effort. Such work will do no harm to the students.

People should do their work as near their homes as possible. We cannot afford to transport a single worker into an area where there is already a worker available to do the job.

In some communities, employers dislike to employ women. In others they are reluctant to hire Negroes. In still others, older men are not wanted. We can no longer afford to indulge such prejudices or practices.

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Every citizen wants to know what essential war work he can do the best. He can get the answer by applying to the nearest United States Employment Service office. There are four thousand five hundred of these offices throughout the Nation. They are the corner grocery stores of our manpower system. This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skills and labors are needed most, and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them to best advantage in the war effort.

Perhaps the most difficult phase of the manpower problem is the scarcity of farm labor. I have seen many evidences of the fact, however, that the people are trying to meet it as well as possible.

In one community that I visited a perishable crop was harvested by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days.

In another community of fruit growers the usual Japanese labor was not available; but when the fruit ripened, the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist, the local editor, and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the town, left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit, and sent it to market.

Every farmer in the land must realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation as essential to victory. The American people expect him to keep his production up, and even to increase it. We will use every effort to help him to get labor; but, at the same time, he and the people of his community must use ingenuity and cooperative effort to produce crops, and livestock and dairy products.

It may be that all of our volunteer effort -- however well intentioned and well administered -- will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to adopt new legislation. If this is necessary, I do not believe that the American people will shrink from it.

In a sense, every American, because of the privilege of his citizenship, is a part of the Selective Service.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to the Selective Service Boards. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens give us confidence that if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem.

And I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civilian defense -- and who are working hard at it. They are displaying unselfish devotion in the patient performance of their often tiresome and always anonymous tasks. In doing this important neighborly work they are helping to fortify our national unity and our real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.

Naturally, on my trip I was most interested in watching the training of our fighting forces.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-three or twenty-four is a better fighting unit than one which has an average age of thirty-three or thirty-four. The more of such troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller will be the cost in casualties.

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Therefore, I believe that it will be necessary to lower the present minimum age limit for Selective Service from twenty years down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is -- and how important to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feeling of all parents whose sons have entered our armed forces. I have an appreciation of that feeling -- and so has my wife.

I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know -- again, from what I have seen with my own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. And we will never fail to provide for the spiritual needs of our officers and men under the Chaplains of our armed services.

Good training will save many, many lives in battle. The highest rate of casualties is always suffered by units comprised of inadequately trained men.

We can be sure that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well manned, and well equipped, and well trained. Their effectiveness in action will depend upon the quality of their leadership, and upon the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.

I can say one thing about our plans: They are not being decided by the typewriter strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.

One of the greatest of American soldiers, Robert E. Lee, once remarked on the tragic fact that in the war of his day all the best generals were apparently working on newspapers instead of in the Army. That seems to be true in all wars.

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Since this unity of operations was put into effect last January, there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, all of whom are trained in the profession of arms -- air, sea and land -- from their early years. As Commander-in-Chief I have at all times also been in substantial agreement.

As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of them -- on which we have all agreed -- relates to the necessity of diverting enemy forces from Russia and China to other theatres of war by new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, and when, and where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time.

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We celebrate today the exploit of a bold and adventurous Italian -- Christopher Columbus -- who with the aid of Spain opened up a new world where freedom and tolerance and respect for human rights and dignity provided an asylum for the oppressed of the old world.

Today, the sons of the new world are fighting in lands far distant from their own America. They are fighting to save for all mankind, including ourselves, the principles which have flourished in this new world of freedom.

We are mindful of the countless millions of people whose future liberty and whose very lives depend upon permanent victory for the United Nations.

There are a few people in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more; that we can tell the rest of the world to "stew in its own juice"; that never again will we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization can jolly well take care of itself insofar as we are concerned.

But it is useless to win battles if the cause for which we fought these battles is lost. It is useless to win a war unless it stays won.

We, therefore, fight for the restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope throughout the world.

The objective of today is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan to such good purpose that their threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow and, under God, may live their lives, free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction, slavery and violent death.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

In fact, I may say that the trip was such a success that I hope to make other trips in just the same way.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SPEECH

There was a bit of a tempest in a teapot because I did not take 75 or 80 newspaper men, radio men and camera men with me on a trip around the country. I can only say it was a grand illustration -- the best I know of -- to prove just what I said on my return -- that lots of people in Washington don't know yet were are in a war.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

A very long experience before and during the last war, and before and during this war, leads me to make the flat statement that one-armchair civilian strategist or commentator is more harmful to victory in a democracy than ten so-called "brass hats".

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