
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
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Message to Congress re The State of the Union

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

JANUARY 7, 1943

The Seventy-Eighth Congress assembles in one of the great moments in the history of this Nation. The past year was perhaps the most crucial for modern civilization; the coming year will be filled with violent conflict -- yet with high promise of better things.

We must appraise the events of 1942 according to their relative importance; we must exercise a sense of proportion.

First in importance in the American scene has been the inspiring proof of the great qualities of our fighting men. They have demonstrated these qualities in adversity as well as in victory. As long as our flag flies over this Capitol, Americans will honor the soldiers, sailors and marines who fought our first battles of this war against overwhelming odds -- the heroes, living and dead, of Wake and Bataan and Guadalcanal, of the Java Sea and Midway and the North Atlantic convoys. Their unconquerable spirit will live forever.

By far the largest and most important developments in the whole strategic picture of 1942 were the events on the long fronts in Russia: first, the implacable defense of Stalingrad; and, second, the offensives by the Russian armies at various points which started in the latter part of November and which still roll on with great force and effectiveness.

The other major events of the year were: the series of Japanese advances in the Philippines, the East Indies, Malaya and Burma; the stopping of the Japanese in the mid-Pacific, the South Pacific and the Indian Oceans; the successful defense of the Near East by the British counterattack through Egypt and Libya; the American-British occupation of North Africa. Of continuing importance in the year 1942 were the unending, bitterly-contested battles of the convoy routes, and the gradual passing of air superiority from the Axis to the United Nations.

The Axis Powers knew that they must win the war in 1942 -- or eventually lose everything. I do not need to tell you that our enemies did not win this war in 1942.

In the Pacific area, our most important victory in 1942 was the air and naval battle off Midway Island. That action is historically important because it secured for our use communication lines stretching thousands of miles in every direction. In placing this emphasis on the battle of Midway, I am not unmindful of other successful actions in the Pacific, in the air and on land and afloat -- especially those on the Coral Sea and New Guinea and in the Solomon Islands. But these actions were essentially defensive. They were part of the delaying strategy that characterized this phase of the war.

During this period we inflicted steady losses upon the enemy -- great losses of Japanese planes, naval vessels, transports and cargo ships. As early as one year ago, we set as a primary task in the war of the Pacific day-by-day and week-by-week destruction of more Japanese war material than Japanese industry could replace. Most certainly, that task has been and is being performed by our fighting ships and planes. A large part of this task has been accomplished by the gallant crews of our

American submarines who strike on the other side of the Pacific at Japanese ships -- right at the very mouth of the harbor of Yokohama.

We know that as each day goes by, Japanese strength in ships and planes is going down and down, and American strength in ships and planes is going up and up. The eventual outcome can be put on a mathematical basis. That will become evident to the Japanese people themselves when we strike at their own home islands, and bomb them constantly from the air.

In the attacks against Japan, we shall be joined with the heroic people of China, whose ideals of peace are so closely akin to our own. Even today we are flying as much lend-lease material into China as ever traversed the Burma Road, flying it over mountains seventeen thousand feet high, flying blind through sleet and snow. We shall overcome all the formidable obstacles, and get the battle equipment into China to shatter the power of our common enemy. From this war, China will realize the security, the prosperity and the dignity, which Japan has sought so ruthlessly to destroy.

The period of our defensive attrition in the Pacific is passing. Now our aim is to force the Japanese to fight. Last year, we stopped them. This year, we intend to advance.

In the European theatre of war during this past year it was clear that our first task was to lessen the concentrated pressure on the Russian front by compelling Germany to divert part of her manpower and equipment to another theatre of war.

After months of secret planning and preparation in the utmost detail, an enormous amphibious expedition was embarked for French North Africa from the United States and the United Kingdom in hundreds of ships. It reached its objectives with very small losses, and has already produced an important effect upon the whole situation of the war. It has opened to attack what Mr. Churchill well described as "the under-belly of the Axis", and it has removed the always dangerous threat of an Axis attack through West Africa against the South Atlantic Ocean and the Continent of South America itself.

The well-timed and splendidly executed offensive from Egypt by the British Eighth Army was a part of the same major strategy of the United Nations.

Great rains and appalling mud and very limited communications have delayed the final battles of Tunisia. The Axis is reinforcing its strong positions. But I am confident that though the fighting will be tough, when the final Allied assault is made, the last vestige of Axis power will be driven from the south shores of the Mediterranean.

Any review of the year 1942 must emphasize the magnitude and diversity of the military activities in which this nation has become engaged. As I speak to you, approximately one and a half million of our soldiers, sailors, marines and fliers are in service outside our continental limits, all through the world. Our merchant seamen are carrying supplies to them and to our allies over every sea lane.

Few Americans realize the amazing growth of our air strength, though I am sure our enemy does. Day in and day out our forces are bombing the enemy and meeting him in combat on many different fronts over the world. And for those who question the quality of our aircraft and the ability of our fliers, I point to the fact that, in Africa, we are shooting down two enemy planes to every one we lose, and in the Pacific and in the Southwest Pacific we are shooting them down four to one.

We pay the tribute of the United States of America to the fighting men of Russia and China and Britain and the various members of the British Commonwealth -- the millions of men who through the years of this war have fought our common enemies, and have denied to them the world conquest which they sought.

We pay tribute to the soldiers and fliers and seamen or others of the United Nations whose countries have been overrun by Axis hordes.

As a result of the allied occupation of North Africa, powerful units of the French Army and Navy are going into action with the United Nations forces. We welcome them as allies and as friends. They join with those Frenchmen who, since the dark days of June, 1940, have been fighting valiantly for the liberation of their stricken country.

We pay tribute to the fighting leaders of our Allies, to Winston Churchill, to Joseph Stalin and to the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. There is a very real unanimity between the leaders of the United Nations. This unity is effective in planning and carrying out the major strategy of this war and in building up and maintaining the lines of supplies.

I cannot prophesy. I cannot tell you when or where the United Nations are going to strike next in Europe. But we are going to strike -- and strike hard. I cannot tell you whether we are going to hit them in Norway, or through the Low Countries, or in France, or through Sardinia or Sicily,

or through the Balkans, or through Poland -- or at several points simultaneously. But I can tell you that no matter where and when we strike by land, we and the British and the Russians will hit them from the air heavily and relentlessly. Day in and day out we shall heap tons upon tons of explosives on their war factories and utilities and seaports.

Hitler and Mussolini will understand the enormity of their miscalculation -- that the Nazis would always have the advantage of superior air-power as they did when they bombed Warsaw, Rotterdam, London and Coventry. That superiority has gone -- forever.

Yes -- the Nazis and the Fascists have asked for it -- and they are going to get it.

Our forward progress in this war has depended upon our progress on the production front.

There has been criticism of the management and conduct of our war production. Much of this self-criticism has had a healthy effect. It has spurred us on. It has reflected a normal American impatience to get on with the job. We are the kind of people who are never quite satisfied with anything short of miracles.

But there has been some criticism based on guesswork and even on malicious falsification of fact. Such criticism creates doubts and fears, and weakens our total effort.

I do not wish to suggest that we should be completely satisfied with our production progress -- today, or next month, or ever. But I can report to you with genuine pride on what has been accomplished during 1942.

A year ago we set certain production goals for 1942 and 1943. Some people, including some experts, thought that we had pulled some big figures out of a hat just to frighten the Axis. But we had confidence in the ability of our people to establish new records. That confidence has been justified.

Of course, we realized that some production objectives would have to be changed -- some adjusted upward, and others downward; some items would be taken out of the program completely, and others added. This was inevitable as we gained battle experience, and as technological improvements were made.

Our 1942 airplane production and tank production fell short, numerically, of the goals set a year ago. Nevertheless, we have plenty of reason to be proud of our record for 1942. We produced about 48,000 military planes -- more than the airplane production of Germany, Italy and Japan put together. Last month, December, we produced 5,500 military planes and the rate is rapidly rising. Furthermore, as each month passes by, the averages of our types weigh more, take more man-hours to make, and have more striking power.

In tank production, we revised our schedule -- and for good and sufficient reasons. As a result of hard experience in battle, we have diverted a portion of our tank producing capacity to a stepped-up production of new, deadly field weapons, especially self-propelled artillery.

Here are some other production figures:

In 1942 we produced 56,000 combat vehicles, such as tanks and self-propelled artillery.

In 1942, we produced 670,000 machine guns, six times greater than our production in 1941 and three times greater than our total production during the year and a half of our participation in the first World War.

We produced 21,000 anti-tank guns, six times greater than our 1941 production.

We produced ten and a quarter billion rounds of small arms ammunition, five times greater than our 1941 production and three times greater than our total production in the first World War.

We produced 181 million rounds of artillery ammunition, twelve times greater than our 1941 production and ten times greater than our total production in the first World War.

The arsenal of democracy is making good.

These facts and figures will give no aid and comfort to the enemy. On the contrary, I can imagine they will give him considerable discomfort. I suspect Hitler and Tojo will find it difficult to explain to the German and Japanese people just why it is that "decadent, inefficient democracy" can produce such phenomenal quantities of weapons and munitions -- and fighting men.

We have given the lie to certain misconceptions -- especially the one which holds that the various blocs or groups within a free country cannot forego their political and economic differences in time of crisis and work together toward a common goal.

While we have been achieving this miracle of production, during the past year our Armed Forces have grown from a little over 2,000,000 to 7,000,000. In other words, we have withdrawn from the labor force and the farms some 5,000,000 of our younger workers. And in spite of this, our farmers have contributed their share to the common effort by producing the greatest quantity of food ever made available during a single year

in all our history.

Is there any person among us so simple as to believe that all this could have been done without creating some dislocations in our normal national life, some inconveniences, and even some hardships?

Who could have hoped to have done this without burdensome Government regulations which are a nuisance to everyone -- including those who have the thankless task of administering them?

We all know that there have been mistakes -- mistakes due to the inevitable process of trial and error inherent in doing big things for the first time. We all know that there have been too many complicated forms and questionnaires. I know about that. I have had to fill some of them out myself.

But we are determined to see to it that our supplies of food and other essential civilian goods are distributed on a fair and just basis -- to rich and poor, management and labor, farmer and city dweller alike. And we are determined to keep the cost of living at a stable level. All this has required much information. The forms and questionnaires represent an

honest and sincere attempt by honest and sincere officials to obtain this information.

We have learned by the mistakes that have been made.

Our experience will enable us during the coming year to improve the necessary mechanisms of wartime economic controls, and to simplify administrative procedures. But we do not intend to leave things so lax that loopholes will be left for cheaters, for chiselers, or for the manipulators of the Black Market.

Of course, there have been inconveniences and disturbances -- and even hardships. And there will be many, many more before we finally win. Yes, 1943 will not be an easy year for us on the home front. We shall feel in many ways in our daily lives the sharp pinch of total war.

Fortunately, there are only a few Americans who place appetite above patriotism. The overwhelming majority realize that the food we send abroad is for essential military purposes, for our own and allied fighting forces, and for necessary help in areas that we occupy.

We Americans intend to do this great job together. In our common labors we must build and fortify the very foundation of national unity -- confidence in one another.

It is often amusing, and it is sometimes politically profitable, to picture the City of Washington as a mad-house, with the Congress and the Administration disrupted with confusion and indecision and general incompetence.

However -- what matters most in war is results. And the one pertinent fact is that after only a few years of preparation and only one year of warfare, we are able to engage, spiritually as well as physically, in the total waging of total war.

Washington may be a mad-house -- but only in the sense that it is the Capital City of a nation which is fighting mad. And I think that Berlin and Rome and Tokyo, which had such contempt for the obsolete methods of democracy, would now gladly use all they could get of that same brand of madness.

We must not forget that our achievements in production have been relatively no greater than those of the Russians and British and Chinese who have developed their war industries under the incredible difficulties of battle conditions. They have had to continue work through bombings and black-outs. They have never quit.

We Americans are in good, brave company in this war, and we are playing our own, honorable part in the vast common effort.

As spokesmen for the United States Government, you and I take off our hats to those responsible for our American production -- to the owners, managers and supervisors, to the draftsmen and engineers, to the workers -- men and women -- in factories and arsenals and shipyards and mines and mills and forests and railroads and highways.

We take off our hats to the farmers who have faced an unprecedented task of feeding not only a great nation but a great part of the world.

We take off our hats to all the loyal, anonymous, untiring men and women who have worked in private employment and in Government and who have endured rationing and other stringencies with good humor and good-will.

We take off our hats to all Americans who have contributed magnificently to our common cause.

I have sought to emphasize a sense of proportion in this review of the events of the war and the needs of the war.

We should never forget the things we are fighting for. But, at this critical period of the war, we should confine ourselves to the larger objectives and not get bogged down in argument over methods and details.

We, and all the United Nations, want a decent peace and a durable peace. In the years between the end of the first World War and the beginning of the second World War, we were not living under a decent or a durable peace.

I have reason to know that our boys at the front are concerned with two broad aims beyond the winning of the war; and their thinking and their opinion coincide with what most Americans here back home are mulling over. They know, and we know, that it would be inconceivable -- it would, indeed, be sacrilegious -- if this Nation and the world did not attain some real, lasting good out of all these efforts and sufferings and bloodshed and death.

The men in our armed forces want a lasting peace, and, equally, they want permanent employment for themselves, their families and their neighbors when they are mustered out at the end of the war.

Two years ago I spoke in my Annual Message of four freedoms. The blessings of two of them -- Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Religion -- are an essential part of the very life of this Nation; and we hope that these blessings will be granted to all men everywhere.

The people at home and the people at the front -- men and women -- are wondering about the Third Freedom -- freedom from Want. To them it means that when they are mustered out, when war production is converted to the economy of peace, they will have the right to expect full employment -- for themselves and for all able-bodied men and women in America who want to work.

They expect the opportunity to work, to run their farms, their stores, to earn decent wages. They are eager to face the risks inherent in our system of free enterprise.

They do not want a post-war America which suffers from under-nourishment or slums -- or the dole. They want no get-rich-quick era of bogus "prosperity" which will end for them in selling apples on a street corner, as happened after the bursting of the boom in 1929.

When you talk with our young men and women, you will find they want to work for themselves and their families; they consider they have the right to work; and they know that after the last war their fathers did not gain that right.

When you talk with our young men and women, you will find that with the opportunity for employment they want assurance against the evils of all major economic hazards -- assurance that will extend from the cradle to the grave. This great Government can and must provide this assurance.

I have been told that this is no time to speak of a better America after the war. I am told it is a grave error on my part.

I dissent.

If the security of the individual citizen, or the family, should become a subject of national debate, the country knows where I stand.

I say this now to this Seventy-Eighth Congress, because it is wholly possible that Freedom from Want -- the right of employment and the right of assurance against life's hazards -- will loom very large as a task of America during the coming two years.

I trust it will not be regarded as an issue -- but rather as a task for all of us to study sympathetically, to work out with a constant regard for the attainment of the objective, with fairness to all and with injustice to none.

In this war of survival we must keep before our minds not only the evil things we fight against but the good things we are fighting for. We fight to retain a great past -- and we fight to gain a greater future.

Let us remember that economic safety for the America of the future is threatened unless a greater economic stability comes to the rest of the world. We cannot make America an island in either a military or an economic sense. Hitlerism, like any other form of crime or disease, can grow from the evil seeds of economic as well as military feudalism.

Victory in this war is the first and greatest goal before us. Victory in the peace is the next. That means striving toward the enlargement of the security of man here and throughout the world -- and, finally, striving for the Fourth Freedom -- Freedom from Fear.

It is of little account for any of us to talk of essential human needs, of attaining security, if we run the risk of another World War in ten or twenty or fifty years. That is just plain common sense. Wars grow in size, in death and destruction, and in the inevitability of engulfing all nations, in inverse ratio to the shrinking size of the world as a result of the conquest of the air. I shudder to think of what will happen to humanity, including ourselves, if this war ends in an inconclusive peace, and another war breaks out when the babies of today have grown to fighting age.

Every normal American prays that neither he nor his sons nor his grandsons will be compelled to go through this horror again.

Undoubtedly a few Americans, even now, think that this Nation can end this war comfortably and then climb back into an American hole and pull the hole in after them.

But we have learned that we can never dig a hole so deep that it would be safe against predatory animals. We have also learned that if we do not pull the fangs of the predatory animals of this world, they will multiply and grow in strength -- and they will be at our throats once more in a short generation.

Most Americans realize more clearly than ever before that modern war equipment in the hands of aggressor nations can bring danger overnight to our own national existence or to that of any other nation -- or island -- or continent.

It is clear to us that if Germany and Italy and Japan -- or any one of them -- remain armed at the end of this war, or are permitted to rearm, they will again, and inevitably, embark upon an ambitious career of world conquest. They must be disarmed and kept disarmed, and they must abandon the philosophy, and the teaching of that philosophy, which has brought so much suffering to the world.

After the first World War we tried to achieve a formula for permanent peace, based on a magnificent idealism. We failed. But, by our failure, we have learned that we cannot maintain peace at this stage of human development by good intentions alone.

Today the United Nations are the mightiest military coalition in history. They represent an overwhelming majority of the population of the world. Bound together in solemn agreement that they themselves will not commit acts of aggression or conquest against any of their neighbors, the United Nations can and must remain united for the maintenance of peace by preventing any attempt to rearm in Germany, in Japan, in Italy, or in any other nation which seeks to violate the Tenth Commandment -- "Thou shalt not covet".

There are cynics and skeptics who say it cannot be done. The American people and all the freedom-loving peoples of this earth are now demanding that it must be done. And the will of these people shall prevail.

The philosophy of the Axis Powers is based on profound contempt for the human race. If, in the formation of our future policy, we were guided by the same cynical contempt, then we should be surrendering to the philosophy of our enemies, and our victory would turn to defeat.

The issue of this war is the basic issue between those who believe in mankind and those who do not -- the ancient issue between those who put their faith in the people and those who put their faith in dictators and tyrants. There have always been those who did not believe in the people, who attempted to block their forward movement across history, to force them back to servility and suffering and silence.

The people have now gathered their strength. They are moving forward in their might and power -- and no force, no combination of forces, no trickery, deceit or violence, can stop them now. They see before them the hope of the world -- a decent, secure, peaceful life for all men everywhere.

I do not prophesy when this war will end.

But I do believe that this year of 1943 will give to the United Nations a very substantial advance along the roads that lead to Berlin and Rome and Tokyo.

I tell you it is within the realm of possibility that this Seventy-Eighth Congress may have the historic privilege of helping greatly to save the world from future fear.

Therefore, let us -- all of us -- have confidence, let us redouble our efforts.

A tremendous, costly, long-enduring task in peace as well as in war is still ahead of us.

But, as we face that continuing task, we may know that the state of this Nation is good -- the heart of this Nation is sound -- the spirit of this Nation is strong -- the faith of this Nation is eternal.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Orig. reading copy.

MESSAGE
OF THE
PRESIDENT
TO THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS
ON THE
STATE OF THE UNION
JANUARY 7, 1943, at 12.30 PM., EWT.
RADIO BROADCAST

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE (SENATE AND OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES) SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS:

(The) This Seventy-Eighth Congress assembles in one of the
great moments in the history of (this) the Nation. The past year was
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be filled with violent conflicts -- yet with high promise of better
things. (applause)

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tive importance; we must exercise a sense of proportion.

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spiring proof of the great qualities of our fighting men. (applause)
They have demonstrated these qualities in adversity as well as in
victory. As long as our flag flies over this Capitol, Americans will
honor the soldiers, sailors and marines who fought our first battles
of this war against overwhelming odds -- the heroes, living and dead,
of Wake and Bataan and Guadalcanal, of the Java Sea and Midway and the
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By far the largest and most important developments in the
whole world-wide strategic picture of 1942 were the events of the long
fronts in Russia: first, the implacable defense of Stalingrad; and,
second, the offensives -- the offensives by the Russian armies at various

points (which) that started in the latter part of November and which still roll on with great force and effectiveness. (applause)

The other major events of the year were: the series of Japanese advances in the Philippines, the East Indies, Malaya and Burma; the stopping of (the) that Japanese advance in the mid-Pacific, the South Pacific and the Indian Oceans; the successful defense of the Near East by the British counterattack through Egypt and Libya; the American-British occupation of North Africa. Of continuing importance in the year 1942 were the unending, and bitterly-contested battles of the convoy routes, and the gradual passing of air superiority from the Axis to the United Nations. (applause)

The Axis Powers knew that they must win the war in 1942 -- or eventually lose everything. I do not need to tell you that our enemies did not win (this) the war in 1942. (applause)

In the Pacific area, our most important victory in 1942 was the air and naval battle off Midway Island. That action is historically important because it secured for us for our use communication lines stretching thousands of miles in every direction. In placing this emphasis on the battle of Midway, I am not unmindful of other successful actions in the Pacific, in the air and on land and afloat -- especially those on the Coral Sea and New Guinea and in the Solomon Islands. But these actions were essentially defensive. They were part of the delaying strategy that characterized this phase of the war.

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the Pacific a day-by-day and week-by-week and month-by-month destruction of more Japanese war materials than Japanese industry could replace. (applause) Most certainly, that task has been and is being performed by our fighting ships and planes. And a large part of this task has been accomplished by the gallant crews of our American submarines who strike on the other side of the Pacific at Japanese ships -- right up at the very mouth of the harbor of Yokohama.

We know that as each day goes by, Japanese strength in ships and planes is going down and down, and American strength in ships and planes is going up and up. (applause) And so I sometimes feel that the eventual outcome can now be put on a mathematical basis. That will become evident to the Japanese people themselves when we strike at their own home islands, and bomb them constantly from the air. (applause)

And in the attacks against Japan, we shall be joined with the heroic people of China, -- (prolonged applause, whistles and cheers) -- that great people whose ideals of peace are so closely akin to our own. Even today we are flying as much lend-lease material into China as ever traversed the Burma Road, flying it over mountains -- (applause) -- flying it over mountains seventeen thousand feet high, flying blind through sleet and snow. We shall overcome all the formidable obstacles, and get the battle equipment into China to shatter the power of our common enemy. (applause) From this war, China will realize the security, the prosperity and the dignity, which Japan has sought so ruthlessly to destroy.

The period of our defensive attrition in the Pacific is drawing to a close (passing). Now our aim is to force the Japanese to fight. Last year, we stopped them. This year, we intend to advance. (applause)

(In) turning now to the European theatre, (of war) during this past year it was clear that our first task was to lessen the concentrated pressure on the Russian front by compelling Germany to divert part of her manpower and equipment to another theatre of war.

After months of secret planning and preparation in the utmost detail, an enormous amphibious expedition was embarked for French North Africa from the United States and the United Kingdom in literally hundreds of ships. It reached its objectives with very small losses, and has already produced an important effect upon the whole situation of the war. It has opened to attack what Mr. Churchill well described as "the under-belly of the Axis," and it has removed the always dangerous threat of an Axis attack through West Africa against the South Atlantic Ocean and the Continent of South America itself.

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Great rains and appalling mud and very limited communications have delayed the final battles of Tunisia. The Axis is reinforcing its strong positions. But I am confident that though the fighting will be tough, when the final Allied assault is made, the last vestige of Axis power will be driven from the whole of the south shores of the Mediterranean. (applause)

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We pay tribute to the soldiers and fliers and seamen of others of the United Nations whose countries have been overrun by Axis hordes.

As a result of the Allied occupation of North Africa, powerful units of the French Army and Navy are going into action. They are in action with the United Nations forces. We welcome them as allies and as friends. They join with those Frenchmen who, since the dark days of June, 1940, have been fighting valiantly for the liberation of their stricken country. (applause)

We pay tribute to the fighting leaders of our Allies, to Winston Churchill, -- (applause) -- to Joseph Stalin -- (applause) -- and to the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. (prolonged applause and cheers)

Yes, there is a very (real) great unanimity between the leaders of the United Nations. This unity is effective in planning and carrying out the major strategy of this war and in building up and in maintaining the lines of supplies.

I cannot prophesy. I cannot tell you when or where the United Nations are going to strike next in Europe. But we are going to strike -- and strike hard. (applause) I cannot tell you whether we are going to hit them in Norway, or through the Low Countries, or in France, or through Sardinia or Sicily, or through the Balkans, or through Poland -- or at several points simultaneously. (laughter and applause) But I can tell you that no matter where and when we strike by land, we and the British and the Russians will hit them from the air heavily and relentlessly. (applause) Day in and day out we shall heap tons upon tons of high explosives on their war factories and utilities and seaports.

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Our 1942 airplane production and tank production fell short, numerically -- stress the word numerically -- of the goals set a year ago. Nevertheless, we have plenty of reason to be proud of our record for 1942. We produced (about) 48,000 military planes -- more than the airplane -- (applause) -- more than the airplane production of Germany, Italy and Japan put together. Last month, in December, we produced 5,500 military planes and the rate is rapidly rising. Furthermore, we must remember that

as each month passes by, the averages of our types weigh more, take more man-hours to make, and have more striking power.

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other essential civilian goods are distributed on a fair and just basis -- to rich and poor, management and labor, farmer and city dweller alike. (And) we are determined to keep the cost of living at a stable level. All this has required much information. (The) these forms and questionnaires represent an honest and sincere attempt by honest and sincere officials to obtain this information.

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And we must not forget that our achievements in production have been relatively no greater than those of the Russians and the British and the Chinese who have developed their own war industries under the incredible difficulties of battle conditions. They have had to continue work through bombings and black-outs. And they have never quit.

We Americans -- (applause) -- we Americans are in good, brave company in this war, and we are playing our own, honorable part in the vast common effort.

As spokesman for the United States Government, you and I take off our hats to those responsible for our American production -- to the owners, managers, (and) supervisors, to the draftsmen and the engineers, and to the workers -- men and women -- in factories and arsenals and shipyards and mines and mills and forests -- in (and) railroads and on highways.

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Yes, we take off our hats to all Americans who have contributed so magnificently to our common cause. (applause)

I have sought to emphasize a sense of proportion in this review of the events of the war and the needs of the war.

We should never forget the things we are fighting for. But, at this critical period of the war, we should confine ourselves to the larger objectives and not get bogged down in argument over methods and details.

We, and all the United Nations, want a decent peace and a durable peace. (applause) In the years between the end of the first World War and the beginning of the second World War, we were not living under a decent or a durable peace.

I have reason to know that our boys at the front are concerned with two broad aims beyond the winning of the war; and their thinking and their opinion coincide with what most Americans here back home are mulling over. They know, and we know, that it would be inconceivable -- it would, indeed, be sacrilegious -- if this Nation and the world did not attain some real, lasting good out of all these efforts and sufferings and bloodshed and death.

The men in our armed forces want a lasting peace, and, equally, they want permanent employment for themselves, their families and their neighbors when they are mustered out at the end of the war. (applause)

Two years ago I spoke in my Annual Message of Four Freedoms. The blessings of two of them -- Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Religion -- are an essential part of the very life of this Nation; and we hope that these blessings will be granted to all men everywhere.

The people at home, and the people at the front (men and women) are wondering a little about the Third Freedom -- Freedom from Want. To them it means that when they are mustered out, when war production is converted to the economy of peace, that they will have the right to expect full employment -- full employment for themselves and for all able-bodied men and women in America who want to work.

They expect the opportunity to work, to run their farms, their stores, to earn decent wages. They are eager to face the risks inherent in our system of free enterprise.

They do not want a post-war America which suffers from undernourishment or slums -- or the dole. They want no get-rich-quick era of bogus "prosperity" which will end for them in selling apples on a street corner, as happened after the bursting of the boom in 1929.

When you talk with our young men and our young women, you will find they want to work for themselves and for their families; they consider that they have the right to work; and they know that after the last war their fathers did not gain that right.

When you talk with our young men and women, you will find that with the opportunity for employment they want assurance against the evils

Page 14

of all major economic hazards -- assurance that will extend from the cradle to the grave. And this great Government can and must provide this assurance.

(applause)

I have been told that this is no time to speak of a better America after the war. I am told it is a grave error on my part.

I dissent. (applause)

And if the security of the individual citizen, or the family, should become a subject of national debate, the country knows where I stand. (applause)

I say this now to this Seventy-Eighth Congress, because it is wholly possible that Freedom from Want -- the right of employment (and), the right of assurance against life's hazards -- will loom very large as a task of America during the coming two years.

I trust it will not be regarded as an issue -- but rather as a task for all of us to study sympathetically, to work out with a constant regard for the attainment of the objective, with fairness to all and with injustice to none.

In this war of survival we must keep before our minds not only the evil things we fight against but the good things we are fighting for. We fight to retain a great past -- and we fight to gain a greater future. (applause)

Let us remember, too, that economic safety for the America of the future is threatened unless a greater economic stability comes to the rest of the world. We cannot make America an island in either a military or an economic sense. Hitlerism, like any other form of crime or disease, can grow from the evil seeds of economic as well as military feudalism.

Victory in this war is the first and greatest goal before us. Victory in the peace is the next. That means striving toward the enlargement of the security of man here and throughout the world -- and, finally, striving for the Fourth Freedom -- Freedom from Fear.

It is of little account for any of us to talk of essential human needs, of attaining security, if we run the risk of another World War in ten or twenty or fifty years. That is just plain common sense. Wars grow in size, in death and destruction, and in the inevitability of engulfing all nations, in inverse ratio to the shrinking size of the world as a result of the conquest of the air. I shudder to think of what will happen to humanity, including ourselves, if this war ends in an inconclusive peace, and another war breaks out when the babies of today have grown to fighting age.

Every normal American prays that neither he nor his sons nor his grandsons will be compelled to go through this horror again.

Undoubtedly a few Americans, even now, think that this Nation can end this war comfortably and then climb back into an American hole and pull the hole in after (them).

But we have learned that we can never dig a hole (so) deep enough to (that it would) be safe against predatory animals. We have also learned that if we do not pull the fangs of the predatory animals of this world, they will multiply and grow in strength -- and they will be at our throats again once more in a short generation.

Most Americans realize more clearly than ever before that modern war equipment in the hands of aggressor nations can bring danger overnight to our own national existence or to that of any other nation -- or island -- or continent.

It is clear to us that if Germany and Italy and Japan -- or any one of them -- remain armed at the end of this war, or are permitted to rearm, they will again, and inevitably, embark upon an ambitious career of world conquest. They must be disarmed and kept disarmed, and they must abandon the philosophy, and the teaching of that philosophy, which has brought so much suffering to the world. (prolonged applause)

After the first World War we tried to achieve a formula -- a formula for permanent peace, based on a magnificent idealism. We failed. But, by our failure, we have learned that we cannot maintain peace at this stage of human development by good intentions alone.

Today the United Nations are the mightiest military coalition in all history. They represent an overwhelming majority of the population of the world. Bound together in solemn agreement that they themselves will not commit acts of aggression or conquest against any of their neighbors, the United Nations can and must remain united for the maintenance of peace by preventing any attempt to rearm in Germany, in Japan, in Italy, or in any other nation which seeks to violate the Tenth Commandment -- "Thou shalt not covet."

There are cynics, (and) there are skeptics who say it cannot be done. The American people and all the freedom-loving peoples of this earth are now demanding that it must be done. And the will of these people shall prevail. (applause)

The very philosophy of the Axis Powers is based on a profound contempt for the human race. If, in the formation of our future policy, we were guided by the same cynical contempt, then we should be surrendering to the philosophy of our enemies, and our victory would turn to defeat.

The issue of this war is the basic issue between those who believe in mankind and those who do not -- the ancient issue between those who put their faith in the people and those who put their faith in dictators and tyrants. There have always been those who did not believe in the people, who attempted to block their forward movement across history, to force them back to servility and suffering and silence.

The people have now gathered their strength. They are moving forward in their might and power -- and no force, no combination of forces, no trickery, deceit or violence, can stop them now. They see before them the hope of the world -- a decent, secure, peaceful life for (all) men everywhere. (applause)

I do not prophesy when this war will end.

But I do believe that this year of 1943 will give to the United Nations a very substantial advance along the roads that lead to Berlin and Rome and Tokyo. (applause)

I tell you it is within the realm of possibility that this Seventy-Eighth Congress may have the historic privilege of helping greatly to save the world from future fear.

Therefore, let us all (of us) have confidence, let us redouble our efforts.

A tremendous, costly, long-enduring task in peace as well as in war is still ahead of us.

But, as we face that continuing task, we may know that the state of this Nation is good -- the heart of this Nation is sound -- the

spirit of this Nation is strong -- the faith of this Nation is eternal.
(loud and prolonged applause)

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE

January 7, 1943.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Message
Of The
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To The Seventy-Eighth Congress
On The
State Of The Union
January 7, 1942, at 1230 PM EWT
Radio Broadcast

Mr. Romagne

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CONFIDENTIAL: To be held in **STRICT CONFIDENCE** and no portion, synopsis or intimation to be published or given out until delivery of the President's message to the Congress HAS BEGUN. #1447

Release expected about 12:30 P.M., E.W.T., January 7, 1943. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CAUTION: Extreme care must be exercised to avoid premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: *Seventy-Eighth Congress:*

The Seventy-Eighth Congress assembles in one of the great moments in the history of this Nation. The past year was perhaps the most crucial for modern civilization; the coming year will be filled with violent conflicts -- yet with high promise of better things. *(applause)*

We must appraise the events of 1942 according to their relative importance; we must exercise a sense of proportion. *(applause)*

First in importance in the American scene has been the inspiring proof of the great qualities of our fighting men. They have demonstrated these qualities in adversity as well as in victory. As long as our flag flies over this Capitol, Americans will honor the soldiers, sailors and marines who fought our first battles of this war against overwhelming odds -- the heroes, living and dead, of Wako and Batuan and Guadalcanal, of the Java Sea and Midway and the North Atlantic convoys. Their unconquerable spirit will live forever. *(applause)* -- *the offensives*

world-wide By far the largest and most important developments in the whole strategic picture of 1942 were the events on the long fronts in Russia: first, the implacable defense of Stalingrad; and, second, the offensives by the Russian armies at various points which started in the latter part of November and which still roll on with great force and effectiveness. *(applause)*

The other major events of the year were: the series of Japanese advances in the Philippines, the East Indies, Malaya and Burma; the stopping of the Japanese in the mid-Pacific, the South Pacific and the Indian Oceans; the successful defense of the Near East by the British counterattack through Egypt and Libya; the American-British occupation of North Africa. Of continuing importance in the year 1942 were the unending, bitterly-contested battles of the convoy routes, and the gradual passing of air superiority from the Axis to the United Nations. *(applause)*

The Axis Powers knew that they must win the war in 1942 -- or eventually lose everything. I do not need to tell you that our enemies did not win *this* war in 1942. *(applause)* *for us*

In the Pacific area, our most important victory in 1942 was the air and naval battle off Midway Island. That action is historically important because it secured for our use communication lines stretching thousands of miles in every direction. In placing this emphasis on the battle of Midway, I am not unmindful of other successful actions in the Pacific, in the air and on land and afloat -- especially those on the Coral Sea and New Guinea and in the Solomon Islands. But these actions were essentially defensive. They were part of the delaying strategy that characterized this phase of the war.

During this period we inflicted steady losses upon the enemy -- great losses of Japanese planes, naval vessels, transports and cargo ships. As early as one year ago, we set as a primary task in the war of the Pacific, day-by-day and week-by-week destruction of more Japanese war materials than Japanese industry could replace. (applause) Most certainly, that task has been and is being performed by our fighting ships and planes. A large part of this task has been accomplished by the gallant crews of our American submarines who strike on the other side of the Pacific at Japanese ships -- right up at the very mouth of the harbor of Yokohama. (applause) And so

We know that as each day goes by, Japanese strength in ships and planes is going down and down, and American strength in ships and planes is going up and up. The eventual outcome can be put on a mathematical basis. That will become evident to the Japanese people themselves when we strike at their own home islands, and bomb them constantly from the air. (applause)

And in the attacks against Japan, we shall be joined with the heroic people of China, whose ideals of peace are so closely akin to our own. Even today we are flying as much lend-lease material into China as ever traversed the Burma Road, flying it over mountains seventeen thousand feet high, flying blind through sleet and snow. We shall overcome all the formidable obstacles, and get the battle equipment into China to shatter the power of our common enemy. From this war, China will realize the security, the prosperity and the dignity, which Japan has sought so ruthlessly to destroy. (applause)

The period of our defensive attrition in the Pacific is passing. Now our aim is to force the Japanese to fight. Last year, we stopped them. This year, we intend to advance. (applause)

Turning now to the European theatre, ~~of war~~ during this past year it was clear that our first task was to lessen the concentrated pressure on the Russian front by compelling Germany to divert part of her manpower and equipment to another theatre of war.

After months of secret planning and preparation in the utmost detail, an enormous amphibious expedition was embarked for French North Africa from the United States and the United Kingdom in hundreds of ships. It reached its objectives with very small losses, and has already produced an important effect upon the whole situation of the war. It has opened to attack what Mr. Churchill well described as "the under-belly of the Axis", and it has removed the always dangerous threat of an Axis attack through West Africa against the South Atlantic Ocean and the Continent of South America itself.

The well-timed and splendidly executed offensive from Egypt by the British Eighth Army was a part of the same major strategy of the United Nations.

Great rains and appalling mud and very limited communications have delayed the final battles of Tunisia. The Axis is reinforcing its strong positions. But I am confident that though the fighting will be tough, when the final Allied assault is made, the last vestige of Axis power will be driven from the south shores of the Mediterranean. (applause)

Any review of the year 1942 must emphasize the magnitude and diversity of the military activities in which this nation has become engaged. As I speak to you, approximately one and a half million of our soldiers, sailors, marines and fliers are in service outside our continental limits, all through the world. Our merchant seamen are carrying supplies to them and to our allies over every sea lane.

, in addition,

and moved by speech

sometimes feel that flying it over mountains

-- (prolonged applause, whistles and cheer) -- that great people

literally

turning it over mountains

Review of the

in every part of

Few Americans realize the amazing growth of our air strength, though I am sure our enemy does. Day in and day out our forces are bombing the enemy and meeting him in combat on many different fronts ^{over} the world. And for those who question the quality of our aircraft and ability of our fliers, I point to the fact that, in Africa, we are shooting down two enemy planes to every one we lose, and in the Pacific and ~~in~~ the Southwest Pacific we are shooting them down four to one. (applause)

tribute -- great tribute --

We pay the tribute of the United States of America to the fighting men of Russia and China and Britain and the various members of the British Commonwealth -- the millions of men who through the years of this war have fought our common enemies, and have denied to them the world conquest which they sought.

We pay tribute to the soldiers and fliers and seamen of others of the United Nations whose countries have been overrun by Axis hordes.

As a result of the Allied occupation of North Africa, powerful units of the French Army and Navy are going into action. They are with the United Nations forces. We welcome them as allies and as friends. They join with those Frenchmen who, since the dark days of June, 1940, have been fighting valiantly for the liberation of their stricken country. (applause)

in action

-- (applause) --

-- (applause) --

We pay tribute to the fighting leaders of our Allies, to Winston Churchill, to Joseph Stalin, and to the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. There is a very real unanimity between the leaders of the United Nations. This unity is effective in planning and carrying out the major strategy of this war and in building up and maintaining the lines of supplies.

great

(prolonged applause and cheers)

him

(applause)

I cannot prophesy. I cannot tell you when or where the United Nations are going to strike next in Europe. But we are going to strike -- and strike hard. I cannot tell you whether we are going to hit them in Norway, or through the Low Countries, or in France, or through Sardinia or Sicily, or through the Balkans, or through Poland -- or at several points simultaneously. (laughter) But I can tell you that no matter where and when we strike by land, we and the British and the Russians will hit them from the air heavily and relentlessly. Day in and day out we shall heap tons upon tons of explosives on their war factories and utilities and seaports. (applause)

Yes,

high

(applause)

they now

Hitler and Mussolini will understand the enormity of their miscalculations -- that the Nazis would always have the advantage of superior air-power as they did when they bombed Warsaw, Rotterdam, and London and Coventry. That superiority has gone -- forever, and -- (applause) -- we believe that

(applause)

Yes, the Nazis and the Fascists have asked for it -- and they are going to get it. (applause)

Our forward progress in this war has depended upon our progress on the production front.

There has been criticism of the management and conduct of our war production. Much of this self-criticism has had a healthy effect. It has spurred us on. It has reflected a normal American impatience to get on with the job. We are the kind of people who are never quite satisfied with anything short of miracles.

But there has been some criticism based on guesswork and even on malicious falsification of fact. Such criticism creates doubts and fears, and weakens our total effort.

Locates

I do not wish to suggest that we should be completely satisfied with our production progress -- today, or next month, or ever. But I can report to you with genuine pride on what has been accomplished ~~during~~ ⁱⁿ 1942.

A year ago we set certain production goals for 1942 and ^{for} 1943. Some people, including some experts, thought that we had pulled some big figures out of a hat just to frighten the Axis. But we had confidence in the ability of our people to establish new records. ^{And} ~~that~~ confidence has been justified.

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We all know that there have been mistakes -- mistakes due to the inevitable process of trial and error inherent in doing big things for the first time. We all know that there have been too many complicated forms and questionnaires. I know about that. I have had to fill some of them out myself. (laughter)

But we are determined to see to it that our supplies of food and other essential civilian goods are distributed on a fair and just basis -- to rich and poor, management and labor, farmer and city dweller alike. ~~And~~ We are determined to keep the cost of living at a stable level. All this has required much information. The forms and questionnaires represent an honest and sincere attempt by honest and sincere officials to obtain this information.

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And We take off our hats to all Americans who have contributed so magnificently to our common cause. (applause)

I have sought to emphasize a sense of proportion in this review of the events of the war and the needs of the war.

We should never forget the things we are fighting for. But, at this critical period of the war, we should confine ourselves to the larger objectives and not get bogged down in argument over methods and details. (applause)

We, and all the United Nations, want a decent peace and a durable peace. In the years between the end of the first World War and the beginning of the second World War, we were not living under a decent or a durable peace.

I have reason to know that our boys at the front are concerned with two broad aims beyond the winning of the war; and their thinking and their opinion coincide with what most Americans here back home are mulling over. They know, and we know, that it would be inconceivable -- it would, indeed, be sacrilegious -- if this Nation and the world did not attain some real, lasting good out of all these efforts and sufferings and bloodshed and death.

The men in our armed forces want a lasting peace, and, equally, they want permanent employment for themselves, their families and their neighbors when they are mustered out at the end of the war. (applause)

Two years ago I spoke in my Annual Message of Four Freedoms. The blessings of two of them — Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Religion — are an essential part of the very life of this Nation; and we hope that these blessings will be granted to all men everywhere.

a little
The people at home, and the people at the front — ~~men and women~~ — are wondering about the Third Freedom — Freedom from Want. To them it means that when they are mustered out, when war production is converted to the economy of peace, ~~they~~ ^{we} will have the right to expect full employment — for themselves and for all able-bodied men and women in America who want to work.

They expect the opportunity to work, to run their farms, their stores, to earn decent wages. They are eager to face the risks inherent in our system of free enterprise.

full employment
They do not want a post-war America which suffers from under-nourishment or slums — or the dole. They want no get-rich-quick era of bogus "prosperity" which will end for them in selling apples on a street corner, as happened after the bursting of the boom in 1929.

for our young
When you talk with our young men and women, you will find they want to work for themselves and their families; they consider they have the right to work; and they know that after the last war their fathers did not gain that right.

that
When you talk with our young men and women, you will find that with the opportunity for employment they want assurance against the evils of all major economic hazards — assurance that will extend from the cradle to the grave. *this great Government can and must provide this assurance. (applause)*

I have been told that this is no time to speak of a better America after the war. I am told it is a grave error on my part.

I dissent. *(applause)*

Pank is the security of the individual citizen, or the family, should become a subject of national debate, the country knows where I stand. *(applause)*

I say this now to this Seventy-Eighth Congress, because it is wholly possible that Freedom from Want — the right of employment and the right of assurance against life's hazards — will loom very large as a task of America during the coming two years.

I trust it will not be regarded as an issue — but rather as a task for all of us to study sympathetically, to work out with a constant regard for the attainment of the objective, with fairness to all and with injustice to none.

In this war of survival we must keep before our minds not only the evil things we fight against but the good things we are fighting for. We fight to retain a great past — and we fight to gain a greater future. *(applause)*

for
Let us remember that economic safety for the America of the future is threatened unless a greater economic stability comes to the rest of the world. We cannot make America an island in either a military or an economic sense. Hitlerism, like any other form of crime or disease, can grow from the evil seeds of economic as well as military feudalism.

Victory in this war is the first and greatest goal before us. Victory in the peace is the next. That means striving toward the enlargement of the security of man here and throughout the world -- and, finally, striving for the Fourth Freedom -- Freedom from Fear.

It is of little account for any of us to talk of essential human needs, of attaining security, if we run the risk of another World War in ten or twenty or fifty years. That is just plain common sense. Wars grow in size, in death and destruction, and in the inevitability of engulfing all nations, in inverse ratio to the shrinking size of the world as a result of the conquest of the air. I shudder to think of what will happen to humanity, including ourselves, if this war ends in an inconclusive peace, and another war breaks out when the babies of today have grown to fighting age.

Every normal American prays that neither he nor his sons nor his grandsons will be compelled to go through this horror again.

Undoubtedly a few Americans, even now, think that this Nation can end this war comfortably and then climb back into an American hole and pull the hole in after, ~~them~~.

But we have learned that we can never dig a hole so deep enough to ~~that it would be safe against predatory animals.~~ We have also learned that if we do not pull the fangs of the predatory animals of this world, they will multiply and grow in strength -- and they will be at our throats once more in a short generation.

Again

Most Americans realize more clearly than ever before that modern war equipment in the hands of aggressor nations can bring danger overnight to our own national existence or to that of any other nation -- or island -- or continent.

It is clear to us that if Germany and Italy and Japan -- or any one of them -- remain armed at the end of this war, or are permitted to rearm, they will again, and inevitably, embark upon an ambitious career of world conquest. They must be disarmed and kept disarmed, and they must abandon the philosophy, and the teaching of that philosophy, which has brought so much suffering to the world. *(prolonged applause)*

After the first World War we tried to achieve a formula -- *a formula* for permanent peace, based on a magnificent idealism. We failed. But, by our failure, we have learned that we cannot maintain peace at this stage of human development by good intentions alone.

all
Today the United Nations are the mightiest military coalition in history. They represent an overwhelming majority of the population of the world. Bound together in solemn agreement that they themselves will not commit acts of aggression or conquest against any of their neighbors, the United Nations can and must remain united for the maintenance of peace by preventing any attempt to rearm in Germany, in Japan, in Italy, or in any other nation which seeks to violate the Tenth Commandment -- "Thou shalt not covet." *x*

there are
There are cynics, and skeptics who say it cannot be done. The American people and all the freedom-loving peoples of this earth are now demanding that it must be done. And the will of these people shall prevail. *(applause)*

never *a*
The philosophy of the Axis Powers is based on profound contempt for the human race. If, in the formation of our future policy, we were guided by the same cynical contempt, then we should be surrendering to the philosophy of our enemies, and our victory would turn to defeat.

The issue of this war is the basic issue between those who believe in mankind and those who do not -- the ancient issue between those who put their faith in the people and those who put their faith in dictators and tyrants. There have always been those who did not believe in the people, who attempted to block their forward movement across history, to force them back to servility and suffering and silence.

The people have now gathered their strength. They are moving forward in their might and power -- and no force, no combination of forces, no trickery, deceit or violence, can stop them now. They see before them the hope of the world -- a decent, secure, peaceful life for all men everywhere. *(applause)*

I do not prophesy when this war will end.

But I do believe that this year of 1943 will give to the United Nations a very substantial advance along the roads that lead to Berlin and Rome and Tokyo. *(applause)*

I tell you it is within the realm of possibility that this Seventy-Eighth Congress may have the historic privilege of helping greatly to save the world from future fear.

Therefore, let us ~~all of us~~ have confidence, let us redouble our efforts.

A tremendous, costly, long-enduring task in peace as well as in war is still ahead of us.

But, as we face that continuing task, we may know that the state of this Nation is good -- the heart of this Nation is sound -- the spirit of this Nation is strong -- the faith of this Nation is eternal.

(loud and prolonged applause)

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

January 7, 1943.

W. W. R.

FIRST DRAFT

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

JANUARY 7, 1943

The assembling of ^{this} the new Congress in a period of national crisis gives occasion for a brief review of the past year, and for the presentation of certain major objectives which the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government will ^{and achieve} ~~must~~ consider together in the days that lie before us.

[Any review of the past year centers on the subject of war and, therefore, must include the events since the attack on Pearl Harbor, exactly one year and one month ago today.]

An essential of any review is to ^{appraise} make an effort to place events ^{of the year according to their relative importance} into their proper relative settings -- in other words, to exercise a sense of proportion.

^{the permanent chronicle of the} In ^{the day-to-day} day-to-day events in a world-wide war, history will not be guided by headlines but ^{relative significance} will be guided by the relative importance of each event to all the others. ^{affairs of historic or definite things which} [Things which may be the cause of rejoicing or lamentation] receive a superlative adjective; this morning may well be forgotten ^{when the final victory is won} [a month hence]; and some [other fact which is] ^{disappointments} [disappointments]

^{which are} barely noted in the comment of the day may prove to have

been ^{deciding factors} a turning point ^{in producing that victory} (by the end of the year) A attached

(A) The year 1942 may well appear, in the perspective of history, as the decisive year of the military phase of the war. China, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had each in turn borne the brunt of the enemy's fury. In this year, the United States began to marshal forces to take its place in the front lines with them ^{and} the other United Nations. At the outset we, and the other United Nations, were on the defensive. We continued on the defensive for many months. Our object was to hold the enemy at all vital points so as to give us time to bring our production into high gear, to outfit ^{and transport} our fighting forces and to complete our preparations for taking the offensive.

4. The Axis knew that this year was to be decisive; that it must win now or lose everything. It pressed forward in the Pacific, in Russia, in Africa. It gained great stretches of territory, but it could not achieve its real objectives. We became stronger ^{and stronger} until the United Nations were able to seize the initiative which we now hold.

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[A good case in point is the immediate cause of the war itself. The Nation was properly shocked on Sunday afternoon, December seventh, partly because of the actual knowledge ~~at~~ that American naval losses had been large, partly because the Japanese enemy claimed that our Navy in the Pacific had been destroyed, but especially because of the general American sense of decency which had felt secure in the naive belief that war should be conducted in accordance with the Marquis of Queensbury rules.

As a matter of fact, history will probably decide that the attack on Pearl Harbor was only an event of importance because it brought the United States unequivocally and quickly into the war. Its military effect from the historical point of view was small. It might have been greater had the Japanese followed up their Sunday morning effort with an actual landing in the Hawaiian Islands. A very great proportion of American ships sunk or damaged are back on the firing line today; all airplanes destroyed have been replaced and the Hawaiian Islands, still a base of the utmost importance and value to the war in the Pacific, are stronger by far than they were a year ago. It is even doubtful that]

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When the news first came from Pearl Harbor,
[A good case in point is the immediate cause of the war itself.] The Nation was properly shocked [on Sunday afternoon, December seventh] partly because [of the actual knowledge of that American naval losses had been large, partly because]

the Japanese enemy claimed that our Navy in the Pacific had ^{partly} ~~been~~ ^{actually} ~~lost~~ ^{suffered heavy losses in men, ships and planes,} been destroyed, but especially because of the general American sense of decency which had felt secure in the ^{old-fashioned} ~~same~~ belief that war ^{is} ~~should be~~ conducted in accordance with the Marquis of Queensbury rules.

[As a matter of fact, history will probably decide that the attack on Pearl Harbor was only an event of importance because it brought the United States unequivocally and ^{the actual} ~~quickly into the war~~ ^{the attack on Pearl Harbor} ~~the~~ military effect from the historical point of view was small. It might have been greater had the

Japanese followed up their Sunday morning effort with an actual landing in the Hawaiian Islands. ^{But they did not follow} ~~Every great power~~ ^{up - and the same opportunity will never be given to them again.} ~~portion of American ships sunk or damaged are back on the~~ firing line today; all airplanes destroyed have been replaced and the Hawaiian Islands, still a base of the utmost importance and value to the war in the Pacific, are stronger ~~by far than they were a year ago. It is even doubtful what~~

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[We would have been any further ahead in that war today if there had been no destruction of our ships or planes at Pearl Harbor on that famous day.]

During the early part of 1942 we saw the Japanese enemy extend through the Philippines and Indo-China and Siam and *Malaya* and *Burma* [and *Malaya*] and the Dutch Indies and to the Southwest of their Mandated Islands until they had become a serious threat against Australia, New Zealand, and the more southerly, *and to our main lines of communication across the Pacific. But* and easterly islands of the Pacific, *their* [daily] lengthening lines brought them to a point where the naval and military power of the United Nations became more nearly equal to their *own*, [power], and *for* *during* the past six months [has resulted in the stopping *we have stopped* *one now pushing ourselves in position to take the* of their advance and [the beginning of several] offensives [in the Southwest Pacific.] *at various points.*

[I think that another] *good* illustration of the need of a sense of proportion [lies in] *was provided when* the Japanese [movement] *moved* into two or three of the outer or more westerly Aleutian Islands.

An attempt to create hysteria within this country *with* on the false [premise] *alarm* that an invasion of our *Pacific coast* *Atlantic seaboard* was close at hand *has failed* [fell rather] flat *in the light of subsequent events.* [when people looked at their maps and began to realize that a major American

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in some leads about
the enemy at our gates.

offensive to eject the Japanese from the western Aleutians would necessarily mean the weakening of the more important strategic necessity of preventing them from occupying, without strong opposition, all of the other Islands in the South and Southwestern Pacific. Some people tried to write false history and, Fortunately, have been discredited by ~~a public watch~~ ^{the people who} who know how to see them, and news will be, the time but ^{it} is not fooled all of the time.

[In the same connection we are learning that when a type-writer strategist demands that so many hundred planes, or so many dozens of ships, or so many divisions or troops be sent hither or yon within a few days or within a few weeks, he omits, in his sublime lack of responsibility, to tell his audience that every plane he would send must be taken away from its fighting destination in some other part of the world; that he must steal his warships from some other vital operation, and that for every man in every division which he would send across the seas, he must pluck from the air enough non-existent cargo ships to carry ten tons of munitions and supplies to the same destination.]

[To illustrate the point we, as you know, are doing everything possible to send assistance of every kind to our brave Chinese allies. Our hearts tell us we should do ten times as much; our heads tell us the terrific problems of transportation and the fact that of necessity we are conducting war in every part of the North and South Pacific and of the Indian Ocean.]

[In the actual conduct of war ^{the Pacific} in this whole area, we have ^{the most important victory that we have won so far was the} won no spectacular victories if one excepts the ~~XXXX~~ air and naval battle for the security of Midway Island. That action is historically important because of its effect ^{on communications} on what we ^{lines stretching} call logistics ^{in planning this} thousands of miles in every direction. ^{emphasis on the battle of Midway, I am not unmindful of} One hates to belittle ^{land and} other successful actions in the air and on afloat -- especially those in ^{on the Coral Sea and New Guinea and in} the neighborhood of the Solomon Islands. ^{In these actions, our armed forces and those of our allies} They have shown skill and courage of the highest order -- and yet, while they have prevented our enemy from coming further south, they have not ^{yet} enabled us to ^{make any substantial advance} go further north.] ^{toward our real objective -- which is Tokyo itself.}

[Probably it can be said that ^{up to now} our principal contribution to ultimate victory in the ^{inflicted upon the enemy -- losses} whole of the Pacific area lies in the great losses which we have ^{transported} dealt to Japanese planes, ^{large} to Japanese naval vessels, and ^{large} to Japanese merchant ships. As

early as one year ago, I ~~will~~ ^{first task} set as our goal in the war of the Pacific a week-by-week and month-by-month destruction [or operational loss] of Japanese [ships and planes] ^{amount in a measure} definitely greater than [Japanese] ^{their} ability to replace [ships and planes]. ^{etc.}

[Today that objective is being attained.] ^{task has been performed} That certainly, that [Attrition may well hasten our victory. To aim at the

conquest of each Japanese controlled Island in a steady offensive westward and northward would call for a war of long duration before we could strike at the Japanese Islands themselves and put Japanese munition production under daily bombing.]

[We hope, therefore, that Japan will give us the chance to fight her in the air and on the sea as often as possible.]

A > We know that as each day goes by Japanese strength in ships and planes is going down and down and American production of ships and planes is going up and up. [If we get our chance we can eventually put] ^{eventual} the outcome ^{can be put} on a mathematical basis.

B & C > [And while we look at that part of the globe across the vast distances of the Pacific and China and India -- while we figure out the potential dangers of an enemy in those parts, we realize of a sudden that most of the enemy --]

INSERT A - Page 6

The phase of mere defensive attrition in the Pacific War is now ending. Our objective aim is to seek out Japanese forces and to fight them and destroy them as often as possible.

INSERT B - Page 6

We shall keep on fighting until we can strike at the Japanese Islands themselves and subject their munition production to constant bombing.

We are doing all that we can, though it is still far short of what we would want, ~~g~~ in getting supplies and weapons to China, now in the sixth year of a war for the survival of a great people whose ideals of peace are so akin to our own.

We assure these heroic people that whatever the obstacles that separate us, they will be overcome; whatever the present strength of our common enemy, it will be shattered; and China will realize the real security and the real prosperity which the Japanese have fought so ruthlessly to destroy.

We look toward Japan not only across the Pacific, but across the Atlantic as well -- across the route which leads to India and China. Of vital strategic importance in that route is command of the Mediterranean Sea.

The United Nations forces are now fighting against

INSERT C - Page 6 (continued)

Germans and Italians in North Africa for the command
of the Mediterranean.

[most of the power and most of the permanent threat -- are on the other side of the globe. For that reason people of this country have come to accept the need of putting by no means all but most of our American effort into the war across the Atlantic.

Germany, and to a much less extent Italy, can turn out a fully equipped offensive attack many times greater than the abilities of Japan. Furthermore, the German threat is to lines of communication and territories dominating those lines, which must be held at all cost, at all times, if the United Nations are to win.]

For more than a year it has been clear that Germany must be compelled ^{by us} to use all her manpower and all her production in as many ^{different} theatres of war as possible. ^{at the same time. Can} The problem during the first half of 1942 was so to ^{back our first point of} locate ~~our~~ attack in 1942 as to give it the best chance of success. [Russia properly asked for action in 1942.] ^{and to establish the best strategic position for further attacks}

The result was the very large expeditionary force to French North Africa two months ago. [It demonstrated three things, in addition to its strategic value. It showed the necessity of secrecy in carrying out operating plans. It

showed the need of placing thousands of items of planning into a timetable of training, of transportation, and of unity with the other great Nation which was our partner in the enterprise. It showed a lack of proportion on the part of those who, for months beforehand, had tried to attain a Second Front by the processes of hysterics rather than by the processes of military, air and naval planning.] The well-timed and

splendidly executed offensive by ~~Sir Robert~~ ^{General} Montgomery ~~and the British Eighth Army~~ ^{the} against General Rommel was [again] a part of major strategy of the United Nations. ~~So were~~ ^{the} also the breath-taking offensives by the Soviet armies

[against the German troops from the Baltic to the Black Sea --

at several points along their enormous front.

[an offensive which has already caused much soul-searching

on the part of the German peoples. I do not refer to soul-searching on the part of Nazi leaders, in or out of their armies -- for it is by no means certain that they have souls.]

[Again, we are doing all that we can, though it is far short of what we would want in the way of getting planes and tanks and much other equipment into Russia, in order that they may continue their splendid progress. And the same thing is true of aid to China, now in the sixth year]

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[of what has become a war for survival of a great people whose ideals of peace are so akin to our own, I say to all of them, the long day is coming to a victorious end. The Rising sun of Japan has begun its descent toward its sunset.]

^{can} I ~~do~~ not prognosticate. I ^{can} do not tell you when or where the United Nations are going to strike next. I ^{can} tell you that we have regained the initiative -- very greatly because of the ^{and honesty} [bulldog] determination of our allies, and ^{also} [in part] because ^{of our own} at the end of one year, the American Army and Navy are infinitely stronger than ever before in all our history.

A few figures of production will do the Congress and the American people no harm. For example, last January I set a goal for the production of 60,000 planes in the calendar year 1942. ^(A) Actually we have produced 49,000 planes during that time. [But because of improvements in plane types and because of their average increase in size and in the total number of man hours of work put into them, it is safe to say that ⁷⁷ if we had stuck to the type of planes and the number in each type contemplated in January, 1942, we would, without much question, have filled the quota of 60,000.

(Spare parts)]

(A) p. 9

But this does not ~~fully~~ ^{mean} ~~mean~~ any real failure in our production program. ~~It is smaller than total production was for some~~
~~by the changes and improvements in plane types and sizes which required a greater number of man hours of work in each and by the~~
~~fact that necessary spare parts had to be constructed for repair of our planes all over the world.~~

It means simply that in some instances we have halted production to improve plane types, we have greatly increased production of spare parts, and we have increased the proportion of heavy planes to light planes.

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A year ago I asked for the completion of 45,000 tanks, ^{in 1942.}

As a result of ^{we have} two later lessons, deliberately cut down that total number.

The first was ^{lesson} ~~the~~ military experience, which ^{gained from actual fighting} caused ~~the~~ building ^{shows the advisability}

of fewer light tanks and more heavy tanks, ~~the~~ The other

factor was ^{almost insurmountable} the problem of shipping such a large number of tanks to battle areas.

This war has developed improved designs and new weapons in almost every category -- on the sea, in the air and on the land. It seems to be a fact, however, that little improvement has been made by science in the art of detecting submarines. They still constitute a great menace to our merchant ships and transports in every sea. Improved convoy systems and the multiplication of escort and patrol vessels, together with air patrols, have prevented the actual losses of the United Nations from increasing materially during the past six months. These losses, however, are still far too large. One of our answers -- that of building merchant ships faster than they can be destroyed -- is succeeding in its objective.

Last January I set a goal of eight million tons of new merchant ships to be built in 1942. That goal has succeeded, for we launched eight and a half million tons from yards on the Atlantic and Pacific Seaboards and in the Gulf of Mexico. For the coming year I have set a goal of _____ tons.

As a matter of fact, of course, if I could see that it would do any good in the war effort we are making, I could give out, and find you case after case of disappointed hopes, ^{with cases of production failures} of failures due to lack of planning or bad planning, of incompetence in management, or wrong-headed stoppages of work, of efforts to get rich quick at the expense of the Government.

I could find examples in almost every one of the thousands [and thousands and thousands] of different categories of things with which to win the war. I might find two cases or three cases or even five cases out of a hundred, and then if I thought it would do the war any good I could tell the American people all about those two or three or five cases out of a hundred, without mentioning the ninety-five or ninety-seven or ninety-eight

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not the ~~few~~ minor failures but the major accomplishments.

cases out of the same hundred which had proceeded ^{perfectly} like clock-work on schedule ^{on that score} ahead of schedule. But what matters is

That is why the American people can be proud and not sorry if each one of them individually gives consideration to what we have done, [first,] in preparing for the possibility of getting into this war from 1939 on, and, [second, to what we have done ^{in actual contributions} toward winning this war in the short year and a month we have been in it.] since Pearl Harbor

I take my hat off, not to the carpers, not to the political critics, but to the men of industry -- management and labor -- to the men who have been producing our food: farmers, the miners, the shipbuilders and also to the public officials on the farms, to the men who have been producing our textiles and to the men who, facing the greatest task in all human history, have tied the whole of ^{this great war program} it together into an organization which is delivering the goods. [Some unfortunate Americans do not like the fact that the people of America are delivering the goods. A healthy Nation upsets their tranquility. They are not happy unless they have something to exaggerate and carp about.]

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS
JANUARY 7, 1943

(13)

It is because I have spoken of the war itself in terms based on a sense of proportion that I can afford to speak of the post-war world in terms which also are based on a sense of proportion. Most Americans realize more greatly than ever before in our national history that modern methods of war -- especially the airplane -- have endangered national existence in every hemisphere whether it be on the farm or in the city, in central Russia, in central China, or in the State of Iowa.

There are undoubtedly some American
[Those blind men who acclaim the landing of great armed forces in North Africa, or demand an immediate occupation of the Islands of Japan, are surely the same blind men who preached isolationism before Pearl Harbor and] who, even now, *think that* *can* *and comfortably* *want this Nation to end the war quickly, and then quickly* [to] climb back into an American hole and pull the hole in after them.

we have learned that we could never dig a hole so deep that
But [they do not think clearly enough to realize, first, that the hole] *it* *can* *and comfortably* *want this Nation to end the war quickly, and then quickly* [would not] be safe against predatory animals, *we have*
[and, second,] *also learned* *now* *exterminate the* [that if we do not] *do* *something about* *predatory* animals [all over the] *of this* *world, they will* [increase, and] multiply and grow in strength -- and they will *and be at our throats once more in a short generation.*

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Our sons and brothers on Guadalcanal, or in Tunis ^{is - all over the world} are ~~giving~~ ^{giving} [their all, even unto wounds and death itself], to the winning of the war -- but ^{we can be sure that} [remember well that] in that brave purpose they, too, are thinking ^{constantly} about the future of their families and neighbors at home.

Any normal ^{American} man -- and they are normal men -- who goes through ^{the hardships and dangers of war} modern battle by land, by sea or in the air, utters the deep prayer ^{prayer} that neither he nor his [brothers nor his] sons nor his grandsons will be compelled to go through ^{this tragedy again.} a great war again. [It is] ^{An essential part of this will to fight is} a grim determination that whether he live or die, the Government of the United States and the people of the United States will see to it that peace shall be made permanent by peace-loving peoples, even if that peace must be maintained by force.

He knows that peace in one part of the world is not ^{will never again be secure} enough if ^{the aggressor nations - Germany, Japan & Italy -} another part of the world is free to retain the power right of conquest -- the right to wage war against their neighbors. He knows that geography ^{the traditional distrust of} will not guarantee ^{no longer provide protection} peace to America or to the Western Hemisphere, ^{for the} ~~good reason that any war in any place on the earth's~~ ~~surface tends, more than ever before, to become a war~~ ~~involving the whole world.~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Apr 15

After the first world war we tried to achieve a formula for permanent peace - and we failed - we failed tragically. We must ~~draw~~ profit from that bitter lesson. We must realize that idealism is not enough. We must now again follow the road that is paved with good intentions. But - above all things - we must continue in the peace the ~~the~~ cooperation among the United Nations which is the essential force in the winning of the war.

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[He knows, and we know, that the opposite philosophy is embraced by two great nations -- Germany and Japan.] ~~He knows,~~

P *all*
and we know, that if Germany or Japan -- or both of them -- remain armed at the end of this war, ^{or if this war leads to military caste retain any power of leadership,} their philosophy of conquest will be to lunge against the rest of the world in short order. ^{they will again embark upon a career of world conquest.} He knows, and we know, that a disarmed Germany

and a disarmed Japan [are wholly insufficient unless they] ^{must} remain disarmed, -- [unless we of the United Nations see to

it, year in and year out, by force of arms if necessary,]

^{they must} that [Germany and Japan] abandon the teaching of the philosophy which has brought death and destruction to the

world so often in ^{the} past [year.]

(A)

[From the point of view of idealism,] ^P the world sought the attainment of peace through the continuing assembly of the nations. ^(A) After the close of the first World War, The world was ahead of its time. It had not made sufficient allowance for national prejudice and international intrigue. Nor had it visualized the continuing philosophy of conquest in Germany and in Japan.]

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[Therefore, the world must look to means more practical and we hope more successful.

I do not visualize an international police force in the sense that armies or navies or air forces of peace-loving nations would be pooled into an integrated organization, manned and officered by fifty nations. Rather do I believe

that the [four largest peace-loving nations of the world --

China, Russia, the British Empire and the United States --] *United Nations,*

in solemn agreement that they will not commit acts of

aggression or conquest against any of their neighbors, *and must can combine*

to maintain peace by preventing [-- again, by force of arms if

necessary --] any attempt to rearm in Germany, in Japan *in Italy,* or

in any other nation which gets it into its head that it

wants to conquer the earth.

[In that I am very certain we shall have the support of every smaller nation which justly believes that it has the right to live its own life.]

Two years ago I spoke to the Congress of ~~Four Freedoms~~

Two of them -- ~~Freedom of speech and Freedom of Religion~~ --

now we are blessed with in this Nation, and we hope that these

blessings will cover the earth.

~~FINAL DRAFT~~
~~PAPER~~

(17)

There is, however, another ^{freedom} subject of which our men in uniform -- in our own camps and training stations -- and in those areas in almost every part of the world where American soldiers, sailors and marines are stationed, in groups large or small, -- are talking about. It is only right that they are thinking of their own futures and those of their families. They do not want a post-war America peckmarked with the hazards of personal life which in so many ways was a component part of pre-war America.

A

^{Our men and women}
They want more than a job at home when they are mustered out. They want no temporary job for a month or a year, for they remember what happened to other veterans in 1920. Nor do they want a get-rich-quick era ending for them in selling apples on the street corner as they saw happen after the crash of 1929.

B

When you talk with them you will find out that they are willing to work for themselves and their families, that they want assurance of work, that they want the protection of health and education and decent living for their families, and that they want the assurance of an old age outside of the poorhouse and a decent burial when they day ends.

③ p. 17

~~They want~~ They want and have a right to expect
~~first and foremost~~ first and foremost full employment
for every able bodied man & woman
in ~~the~~ America who want to work. They
want the opportunity to run their farms
their stores, their gangs, their industries for
a reasonable profit. They want the opportunity,
under ~~our~~ ^{our} system of free enterprise to take
the risks involved in the development of
~~the~~ housing for all and in the promotion of the
many mechanical ~~improvements~~ ^{improvements} developed in this war.

• (A) p. 17

Freedom from want is another
subject which is ^{very much} in the minds of the men
of our armed forces, and of all Americans
everywhere. They do not want a post-
war America which suffers from the
~~blight~~ ^{blight} of poverty and unemployment.

FIRST DRAFT
PAGE 11

18

You will find that they seek this thing not as the reward
not believe they need relief;
of veterans; they seek it in the hope that it will apply
equally to their families, their friends, their neighbors,
and all Americans -- rich and poor.

I have been told that this is no time to speak of a
better America after the war. I am told that [politically]
it is a grave error on my part.

I dissent. If the safety of the individual citizen
subject of national debate
or the family should become a ~~political issue~~, you will
know where I stand.

It is wholly possible that this Seventy-Eighth Congress,
should there be a reasonably early peace, may be compelled
by public opinion, or may on its own motion, consider legis-
lation toward the [greater] attainment of personal and family
safety. [It is a subject involving hundreds of details --
methods of interlocking responsibilities of local, of state
and of federal government.]

I express to you the hope that you will not fail to
see the forest because of the trees -- that you will never
confuse the great objective with the methods and details
of arriving at the objective.

And finally, let us remember that any assurances of economic safety for the America of the future will make this the ~~Island~~ of America unless ^a ~~the~~ greater economic stability comes to all the rest of the world as fast as we can attain that goal. The Island of a prosperous America would be at the ultimate mercy of a world that lived in squalor and starvation.

Thus, in spite of the cynics and the fearful, this Congress will be compelled to direct its thoughts toward the attainment of ^{the} ~~the~~ great goal, ~~--- freedom from want throughout the world.~~

X [I come back finally to what I have said of proportion. Some there are who will always magnify the little things and diminish the greater. Most of us who are here today -- most of our fellow citizens, however -- have, and will increasingly have, a better prospective. ^P To win the war is the great goal before us. To win the peace is the next -- and with it the keeping of the peace and the continued enlargement of the security of man, here and throughout the world.

~~-----~~

FIRST DRAFT

PART II

20

The final
The ~~final~~ freedom -- freedom from fear -- is in a very true sense the foundation stone on which the other freedoms are based, for freedom from fear means essentially freedom from war. And freedom from war is worth fighting for through the process of stopping war before it starts, [even if force has to be used to do so.]

(A)
[You and I know many cynics in our own country who laugh audibly at the thought of stopping war. They belong to that type of humanity which tears down or impedes progress and has created nothing of constructive good.]

[Because peace with some prospect of endurance is necessarily the keystone of the future, and because it is enough for us to keep to one thing at a time, I do not presume to discuss ^{now} the details of peace, such as forms of government and matters of boundaries. Suffice it to say that with the coming of peace the rights of self-determination are paramount, and where public opinion is obscure or stability is unassured, the old principles of trusteeship may well apply.]

111

(A) p. ~~117~~

An enduring peace is necessarily the keystone of the future. And it will be an enduring peace only if it is founded upon the firmest principles of justice and fair play for the peoples of this ~~world~~ earth. It is the people who are fighting this war; and the people must enjoy the fruits of victory.

JANUARY 7, 1943

It is because I have spoken of the war itself in terms based on a sense of proportion that I can afford to speak of the post-war world in terms which also are based on a sense of proportion. Most Americans realize more greatly than ever before in our national history that modern methods of war -- especially the airplanes -- have endangered national existence in every hemisphere whether it be on the farm or in the city, in central Russia, in central China, or in the State of Iowa.

Those blind men who acclaim the landing of great armed forces in North Africa, or demand an immediate occupation of the Islands of Japan, are surely the same blind men who preached isolationism before Pearl Harbor and who, even now, want this Nation to end the war quickly and then quickly to climb back into an American hole and pull the hole in after them.

But they do not think clearly enough to realize, first, that the hole would not be safe against predatory animals, and, second, that if we do not do something about predatory animals all over the world, they will increase and multiply and be at our throats once more in a short generation.

Our sons and brothers on Guadalcanal or in Tunis are ~~going~~ giving their all, even unto wounds and death itself, to the winning of the war -- but remember well that in that brave purpose they, too, are thinking about the future of their families and neighbors at home.

Any normal man -- and they are normal men -- who goes through modern battle by land, by sea or in the air, utters the deep prayer that neither he nor his brothers nor his sons nor his grandsons will be compelled to go through a great war again. It is a grim determination that whether he live or die, the Government of the United States and the people of the United States will see to it that peace shall be made permanent by peace-loving peoples, even if that peace must be maintained by force.

He knows that peace in one part of the world is not enough if another part of the world is free to retain the right of conquest -- the right to wage war against their neighbors. He knows that geography will not guarantee peace to America or to the Western Hemisphere, for the good reason that any war in any place on the earth's surface tends, more than ever before, to become a war involving the whole world.

He knows, and we know, that the opposite philosophy is embraced by two great nations -- Germany and Japan. He knows, and we know, that if Germany or Japan -- or both of them -- remain armed at the end of this war their philosophy of conquest will be to lunge against the rest of the world in short order. He knows, and we know, that a disarmed Germany and a disarmed Japan are wholly insufficient unless they remain disarmed -- unless we of the United Nations see to it, year in and year out, by force of arms if necessary, that Germany and Japan abandon the teaching of the philosophy which has brought death and destruction to the world so often in past year.

From the point of view of idealism, the world sought the attainment of peace through the continuing assembly of the nations after the close of the first World War. The world was ahead of its time. It had not made sufficient allowance for national prejudice and international intrigue. Nor had it visualized the continuing philosophy of conquest in Germany and in Japan.

Therefore, the world must look to means more practical and we hope more successful.

I do not visualize an international police force in the sense that armies or navies or air forces of peace-loving nations would be pooled into an integrated organization, manned and officered by fifty nations. Rather do I believe that the four largest peace-loving nations of the world -- China, Russia, the British Empire and the United States -- in solemn agreement that they will not commit acts of aggression or conquest against any of their neighbors, can maintain peace by preventing -- again, by force of arms if necessary -- any attempt to rearm in Germany, in Japan or in any other nation which gets it into its head that it wants to conquer the earth.

In that I am very certain we shall have the support of every smaller nation which justly believes that it has the right to live its own life.

Two years ago I spoke to the Congress of Four Freedoms; two of them -- Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Religion -- we are blessed with in this Nation, and we hope that these blessings will cover the earth.

Another freedom -- Freedom from Fear -- is in a very true sense the foundation stone on which the other freedoms are based, for Freedom from Fear means essentially Freedom from War. And Freedom from War is worth fighting for through the process of stopping war before it starts, even if force has to be used to do so.

You and I know many cynics in our own country who laugh audibly at the thought of stopping war. They belong to that type of humanity which tears down or impedes progress and has created nothing of constructive good.

Because peace with some prospect of endurance is necessarily the keystone of the future, and because it is enough for us to keep to one thing at a time, I do not presume to discuss now the details of peace, such as forms of government and matters of boundaries. Suffice it to say that with the coming of peace the rights of self-determination are paramount, and where public opinion is obscure or stability is unassured, the old principles of trusteeship may well apply.

FIRST DRAFT
PART II

-6-

There is, however, another subject of which our men in uniform -- in our own camps and training stations -- and in those areas in almost every part of the world where American soldiers, sailors and marines are stationed, in groups large or small, -- are talking about. It is only right that they are thinking of their own futures and those of their families. They do not want a post-war America pockmarked with the hazards of personal life which in so many ways was a component part of pre-war America.

They want more than a job at home when they are mustered out. They want no temporary job for a month or a year, for they remember what happened to other veterans in 1920. Nor do they want a get-rich-quick era ending for them in selling apples on the street corner as they saw happen after the crash of 1929.

When you talk with them you will find out that they are willing to work for themselves and their families, that they want assurance of work, that they want the protection of health and education and decent living for their families, and that they want the assurance of an old age outside of the poorhouse and a decent burial when they day ends.

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I have been told that this is no time to speak of a better America after the war. I am told that politically it is a grave error on my part.

I dissent. If the safety of the individual citizen or the family should become a political issue, you will know where I stand.

It is wholly possible that this Seventy-Eighth Congress, should there be a reasonably early peace, may be compelled by public opinion, or may on its own motion, consider legislation toward the greater attainment of personal and family safety. It is a subject involving hundreds of details -- methods of interlocking responsibilities of local, of state and of federal government.

I express to you the hope that you will not fail to see the forest because of the trees -- that you will never confuse the great objective with the methods and details of arriving at the objective.

And finally, let us remember that any assurance of economic safety for the America of the future will make this the Island of America unless ^a ~~the~~ greater economic stability comes to all the rest of the world as fast as we can attain that goal. The Island of a prosperous America would be at the ultimate mercy of a world that lived in squalor and starvation.

Thus, in spite of the cynics and the fearful, this Congress will be compelled to direct its thoughts toward the attainment of the last great goal -- Freedom from Want throughout the world.

I come back finally to what I have said of proportion. Some there are who will always magnify the little things and diminish the greater. Most of us who are here today -- most of our fellow citizens, however -- have, and will increasingly have, a better prospective. To win the war is the great goal before us. To win the peace is the next -- and with it the keeping of the peace and the continued enlargement of the security of man, here and throughout the world.

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

JANUARY 7, 1943

The assembling of this new Congress in a period of national crisis gives occasion for a brief review of the past year, and for ^{the} consideration of the prospects for the coming year which now confront presentation of certain major objectives which the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government ^{must} ~~must~~ ^{and the people should as a whole} consider and together achieve in the days that lie before us.

[An essential of any review is to ^{we must} appraise events of the year according to their relative importance] — in other words, to ^{we must} exercise a sense of proportion.

For, [In the permanent chronicle of events in this world-wide war, history] will not be ^{concerned with} guided by the day-to-day headlines but by the ultimate significance of each event. Apparent victories or defeats which may be the causes of rejoicing or lamentation this morning may well be forgotten when the final victory is won; and some developments which are barely noted in the comment of the day may by the end of the ^{war} year prove to have been decisive factors [in producing that victory].

The year 1942 may well appear in the perspective of history, as the decisive year of the military phase of the war. ^{In preceding years,} China, Great

Britain and the Soviet Union had each in turn borne the brunt of the enemy's fury. In ¹⁹⁴² this year, the United States began to marshal forces to take its place in the front lines with ^{them} and with the other United

SECOND DRAFT

- 2 -

^{For many months, we}
Nations. ^{At the outset we, and the other United Nations} were on the
defensive. ^{We continued on the defensive for many months.} ^{Of necessity, we}
^{were at first limited to delaying actions,}
^{was to hold the enemy at all vital points so as to give us time to bring}
our production into high gear, to ^{train and equip} outfit and transport our fighting forces
^{establish bases from which to take}
and to complete our preparations for taking the offensive.

The Axis knew that ^{the} ¹⁹⁴¹ this year was to be decisive; that it must win
^{now} ^{for} or lose everything. ^{Our enemies} ^{It} pressed forward in the Pacific, in Russia, in
Africa. ^{They} ^{It} gained great stretches of territory, but ^{they} ^{it} could not achieve
^{this} ^{its} real objectives. We became stronger and stronger - until the United
Nations were able to seize the initiative which we now hold.

^{on December 7, 1941,}
When the news first came from Pearl Harbor, the Nation was ^{profoundly}
^{properly} shocked, partly because ^{of the effect of malicious rumors} the Japanese enemy claimed that our Navy
in the Pacific had been destroyed, partly because we had actually suffered
heavy losses in men, ships and planes, but especially because ^{got to the} of the general
American sense of decency which had felt secure in the old-fashioned belief
that war is conducted in accordance with the Marquis of Queensberry rules.

The actual military effect of the attack on Pearl Harbor from the
historical point of view was small. It might have been greater had the
Japanese followed up their Sunday morning effort with an actual landing in
the Hawaiian Islands. ^{we must make absolutely sure, now and in future years}
But they did not follow up - and the same opportunity
will never be given to them again.

after the war,
that.

[During the early part of 1942, we saw the Japanese enemy extend through the Philippines and Indo-China and Siam and Malaya and Burma and the Dutch Indies and to the southwest of their Mandated Islands, until they had become a serious threat against Australia, New Zealand, and the more southerly and easterly islands of the Pacific, and to our main lines of communication across the Pacific. But their lengthening lines brought them to a point where the naval and military power of the United Nations became more nearly equal to their own, and during the past six months we have stopped their advance and are now putting ourselves in position to take the offensive at various points.

A good illustration of the need of a sense of proportion was provided when the Japanese moved into two or three of the outer or more westerly Aleutian Islands. An attempt to create hysteria within this country with the false alarm that an invasion of our Pacific coast was close at hand has fallen flat in the light of subsequent events. Some people tried to write false history in scareheads about the enemy at our gates. Fortunately, *These Cassandras* have been discredited by the people who may be fooled part of the time but who never have been, and never will be, fooled all of the time.]

In the [whole] Pacific area, the most important victory that we [have] won [so far] ^{in 1942} was the air and naval battle for the security of Midway Island. That action is historically important because of its effect on communication lines stretching thousands of miles in every direction. In placing this emphasis on the battle of Midway, I am not unmindful of other successful actions in ^{Hat area in} the air and on land and afloat -- especially those on the Coral Sea and New Guinea and in the Solomon Islands. In these actions, our armed forces and those of our allies have shown skill and courage of the highest order ^{but,} and yet, while they [have] prevented our enemy from coming further south, they have not yet enabled us to make any substantial advances toward ^{our} ~~of~~ real objective -- which is Tokyo itself.

Up to now, our principal contribution to ultimate victory in the Pacific area lies in the great losses which we have inflicted upon the enemy -- losses ^{of} Japanese planes, naval vessels, transports and cargo ships. As early as one year ago, I set as our first task in the war of the Pacific a week-by-week and month-by-month destruction of Japanese armament in a measure definitely greater than their ability to replace it. Most certainly, that task has been performed.

The phase of mere defensive attrition in the Pacific War ^{is now} ~~is~~ ending. Our objective ^{now} ~~aim~~ is to seek out Japanese forces and to fight them [and destroy them] as often as possible. We know that as each day goes by, ^{increased.}

Japanese strength in ships and planes is going down and down, and American production of ships and planes is going up and up. The eventual outcome can be put on a mathematical basis. *That will become evident to the Japanese people themselves when we*
 [We shall keep on fighting until we can] strike at ^{the people of} ~~the~~ Japanese Islands ^{strike at their own home islands} ~~themselves~~ and subject their munition production to constant bombing.

We are doing all that we can, though it is still far short of what we would want, in getting supplies and weapons ^{to the people of} ~~to~~ China, ^{who are} now in the sixth year of ^{then} ~~a~~ war for ~~the~~ survival of a great people whose ideals of peace ^{are so closely} ~~are~~ so akin to our own,

We assure these heroic people ^{that} ~~that~~ ^{however formidable} ~~whatever~~ the obstacles ^{are} that separate us, they will be overcome; ^{that} ~~that~~ the present strength of our common enemy ^{is} ~~it~~ will be shattered; and China will realize the ~~real~~ security, ^{and the dignity,} ~~and the~~ ^{real} prosperity which the Japanese have fought so ruthlessly to destroy.

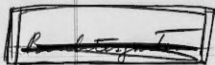
We look toward Japan not only across the Pacific, but across the Atlantic as well -- across the route which leads to India and China. Of vital strategic importance in that route is command of the Mediterranean Sea; *and for that command,*

The United Nations forces are now fighting against Germans and Italians in North Africa [for the command of the Mediterranean].

[For more than a year it has been ^{PH was} clear that Germany must be compelled [by us] to use all her manpower and all her production in as many different theatres of war as possible at the same time. Our problem [during the first half of 1942] was [so] to pick ^{the} our first point of attack in 1942 [as to give it the best chance of success and to establish the best strategic position for further attacks.]

[The result was the very large expeditionary force to French North Africa two months ago.] The well-timed and splendidly executed offensive by [General Montgomery and] the British Eighth Army was a part of the ^{plan} major strategy of the United Nations. [So ~~were~~ also the breathtaking offensives by the Soviet armies at several points along their enormous front.]

I can not prognosticate. I can not tell you when or where the United Nations are going to strike next. [I can tell you that we have regained the initiative -- ^{the tide has turned} very greatly because of the determination and tenacity of our allies, and also because, at the end of one year of war, our own Army and Navy are infinitely stronger than ever before in all our history.]



of eight hundred
and fifty ships

(A)

P. 6.

The point selected was French North Africa. After months of ^{secret} planning and preparation ^{in the utmost detail,} an enormous amphibian expedition was launched. It reached its objectives, with very small losses, and has already produced an important effect upon the whole situation of the war.

~~That strategy could have been~~
~~been applied in the year 1942 had it~~
~~not been for~~

(B) page 6

By far the greatest developments
in the whole strategic picture of 1942 have
been the events in ~~Russia~~ on the long, ^{terrible} front
in Russia. First - the stupendous defense
of Stalingrad - and, second, the series
of offensives at various points which started
in the latter part of November and which
still continue with ~~assaults~~ ^{great} force and
efficiency.

(C) page 6

But we are going to strike - and strike hard. I cannot tell you whether we are going to hit them in Norway, or across the English channel, or through Sardinia or Sicily, or through the Balkans, or through Poland - or ~~at~~ at several points simultaneously. But ~~also~~ I can tell you that we are going to bomb ~~these~~ ^{their} cities constantly and mercilessly. ~~They have asked for it - and they are going to get it.~~
Two years ago, Hitler and Mussolini - and their Nazi and Fascist ^{henchmen} ~~allies~~ - ~~will be~~ interested in the report of our airplane production, which I shall announce in a few minutes. Two years ago they trusted ^{to the militariness} ~~of them~~ of their bombings of London and Coventry and Plymouth. They gloated over ~~this~~ ^{their} destruction of life and property. ~~Mussolini, who~~ Hitler believed that his air force was invulnerable. Mussolini, whose contribution to ^{the war is made in} ~~this~~ war consisted of one, futile stab in the back, was confident that his big brothers would protect him. But both ^{of Hitler and Mussolini} ~~of them~~ were utterly wrong, in this as in many other calculations. They asked for it - and they are going to get it.

①

Let us turn now to a review of progress on the production front.

Throughout the past year and even before Pearl Harbor, we have heard persistent criticism against the management and progress of war production. Most of this self-criticism has had a generally healthy effect. It has spurred us on. It has helped keep us from growing soft and self-satisfied, and obviously it has reflected a ^{normal} ~~healthy~~ American impatience to get on with the job and a typically American refusal to be ^{over-awed} ~~impressed~~ by enormous tasks. We are the kind of people who are never quite satisfied with anything short of miracles. ~~And that is a good trait.~~

The criticism which I described as being healthy is that kind of criticism which is based on facts. ~~in other words, truth.~~

But, we cannot say the same thing about criticism based on contentions ^{Such criticism} which are not facts. ~~in other words, mistruth.~~ ^{This does not provide a} ~~healthy stimulus.~~ It creates doubts and false beliefs in the minds of some people who are too apt to give credence to anything they hear or read.

I do not wish to suggest that we ~~may~~ ^{should} be completely satisfied with our production progress — today, or next month, or ever. But I can report to you with satisfaction and pride on what has been accomplished on the



production front during 1942.

A year ago we set certain production goals for 1942 and 1943. Some people, including some experts, thought these goals were fantastically high. Others thought that we had pulled some big figures out of a hat just to frighten the Axis. Some people even thought they were so high that the Nation would be discouraged by the hopelessness of ever attaining them. But we had confidence in the vision and the boldness of our people. We had faith in our ability to establish new levels of accomplishment. ~~We were~~
~~were not trying to fool the Axis or anyone else.~~

Of course, we realized that some production objectives laid out at the very beginning of the war would have to be changed -- some adjusted upward, and others downward; some items would be taken out of the program completely and others added. This was inevitable as we gained battle experience and as technological improvements were made.

-9- Some of our doubting Thomases ~~have~~ put forth the suggestion that it's all very well to have a high rate of munitions production, but ^{That} ~~supposed~~ we can not have ~~enough~~ enough ships to get it to the theatres of operation. Some of them would have us believe that we are turning out materiel just for the fun of storing it in warehouses.

as a result of this accomplishment in ship-building,
But the facts show that as of the end of this year, 75% of all the
^{produced}
munitions and ~~equipment~~ delivered to the Army already has been sent abroad.

During 1942 we shipped to all fighting fronts, for our own forces and those

However, in 1942, we built 8,090,000 tons of merchant ships. In this, we exceeded the announced schedule.

of our allies, — combat aircraft; —
tanks; — anti-aircraft guns; —
anti-tank guns; and — billion rounds
of ammunition.

Here are some other production figures:

In 1942, we produced 1,650,000 rifles,
more than ¹⁹⁴²four times our production in 1941.

Our ¹⁹⁴²airplane production and tank
production fell short, numerically, of the
goals set a year ago. But we have ^{plenty of reason to be}
^{proud} ~~to be~~ of our record. ^{for 1942} We produced ^{49,000} ~~49,000~~ ^{military} planes — more than ^{the airplane production of} Germany, Italy, and
Japan put together. Last month, December, we
produced 5400 ^{military planes}, and the rate is rapidly rising.
~~to~~ In tank production, we have revised our
schedule for good and sufficient reasons. As a
result of hard experience in battle, we ~~are~~
have diverted a large proportion of our tank
producing capacity to the production of new,
deadly ^{fire} weapons, especially self-propelled
artillery.

Here are some other production figures:

In 1942, we produced 1,650,000 rifles,
more than four times our production in 1941.

We produced 670,000 machine guns, more than four times 1941.

We produced anti-tank guns, times 1941 production.

We produced field artillery pieces; billion rounds of small arms ammunition; and 131,000 two and one-half ton trucks.

And we launched tons of new fighting ships in the six major types of naval combat vessels — a three-fold increase over the preceding year.

A few more statistics and comparisons may help us comprehend the magnitude of the job that is being done.

War expenditures in December, exclusive of pay to the Armed Forces, were \$ billion. This means that in the last two months of 1942 we spent more for war than during the entire two years of 1917 and 1918.

We are now spending for war at the rate of \$ per day.

During the past year the volume of Army construction alone exceeded in value all construction by contractors for the five years 1934 to 1938 inclusive.

These facts and figures will give no aid and comfort to the enemy. On

the contrary, I can imagine they will give him considerable discomfort.

~~When these figures reach the other side of the Atlantic, I can even imagine~~
~~a certain unnamed somnambulist pacing his bedroom floor through the long~~
~~nights of Berchtesgaden. Yes, and I suspect Herr Goebbels will have~~ ^{Hitler} ~~his~~
work out out for him in explaining to the German people what queer quirk
of decadent democracy permits such phenomenal rates of war production.

Let us be temperate in passing judgment on the progress of war production during the past year. In a few areas we have done less than we had hoped for. In many more we have done much better than could reasonably have been expected. On the whole I think we have done a good job. I think we have done a tremendously good job. We have done this together -- we of industry and we of labor and we of government -- pulling in the same harness toward a common goal. And in the doing of it we have given the lie to certain misconceptions -- especially the one which holds that the various interest groups within a free democracy cannot forego their differences in time of crisis and pull together toward a common goal.

I feel assured that when the historians have had time to evaluate the importance of various events during the course of the war, they will attach tremendous significance to the accomplishments on the production front in the United States during the year 1942/ —

~~For this was the crucial year in the greatest engineering task of all history — the construction of an unbeatable arsenal of democracy/ and we have built well and with great speed.~~

[This was the year in which the United States surpassed all other nations in the output of munitions.

This was the year in which we got set to produce, by the end of the next year, more munitions than all the rest of the world combined — Axis and Allies.]

We must not be arrogantly boastful of ^{our} ~~this~~ record. For in all humility have been relatively no ^{greater} than those our efforts ~~should not be compared to the production~~ of the Russians and ^{and Chinese} British who have, ~~under incredible difficulties, obtained an amazing level~~

~~carried on~~ carried on Their production under the incredible difficulties of battle conditions, They have had to move and disperse Their factories. They have had to continue work through bombings and black-outs. They have never quit.

We Americans are in good, brave
company in this war, ^{and} ~~and~~ we are playing
^{our, honorable} ~~our~~ ^{part} ~~part~~ in the ^{war,} common effort.

As ~~the~~ ^{our} spokesman for ~~this~~ ^{the} United States Government, you and I may
well take off our hats to those responsible
for American production - to the owners,
managers and organizers, to the draftsmen
and engineers, to the workers in factories and
arsenals and shipyards ~~the~~ and mines and
mills and forests, to the farmers who have
faced an unprecedented task of feeding
not only ^{our} a nation but a great part of the
world - to all the loyal, anonymous,

Simultaneously with the unparalleled industrial accomplishment of 1942,
while we have been achieving this miracle of production,
our Armed Forces have grown during the past year from a little over 2,000,000

to 7,000,000. In other words, we have withdrawn from the labor force some

5,000,000 of our youngest ~~and most valuable~~ workers. And in addition our

farmers have contributed their share to the common effort by producing the

greatest quantity of food ever made available during a single year in all of

history.

plished without creating some dislocations in
our normal national life, some inconveniences,

41 p. 14
D
new

We Americans are in good, brave company in this war, ^{and} ~~but~~ we are playing ^{our, honorable} ~~our~~ ^{part} in the ^{best,} common effort.

As ~~the~~ ^{our} spokesman for ~~this cause~~ the United States Government, you and I may well take off our hats to those responsible for American production - to the owners, managers and supervisors, to the draftsmen and engineers, to the workers in factories and armaments and shipyards ~~to~~ and mines and mills and forests, to the farmers who have faced an unprecedented task of feeding not only ^{such} a nation but a great part of the world - to all the loyal, anonymous, untiring men and women who have contributed so magnificently to so tremendous a cause.

① ~~The work goes on with it. The task is not yet done. The most difficult, the most exacting work is still ahead of us.~~

~~This has been a gigantic accomplishment, and it must continue~~

Is there any person ^{among us} so naive as to believe that all this could have been accomplished without creating some dislocations in our normal national life, some inconveniences,

and even some hardships?

What optimist could expect us to divert a great proportion of our resources to war and at the same time maintain the highest living standard in the world?

Who could have hoped to have accomplished this without burdensome government regulations which are a nuisance to everyone, including those who have the thankless task of administering them, but which are nonetheless essential to the efficient prosecution of the war?

Of course, there have been inconveniences and disturbances and even hardships. And there will be many, many more before we finally win.

1943 will not be an easy year for us on the home front. No one can forecast accurately the exact impacts that we shall meet during the coming year. But I can assure you they will be harsh. *The most difficult, costly phase of this war is immediately ahead of us.* We shall feel in many ways in our daily lives the sharp pinch of total war. But these contributions which we make to the war effort are not permanent sacrifices. They

are the means to an end — the end of winning the war as quickly as possible.

We Americans must do this great job together. We must have confidence in one another. Our people must have confidence in their Government — in all branches of their Government. And we of this Government must never for one moment fail in our confidence in the people.

It is always easy and it is sometimes politically profitable to picture the City of Washington as a mad-house, with the ~~various branches and agencies of the~~ ^{Congress and The Administration} ~~National Government~~ ^{permeated with} confusion and incompetence.

~~The facts are these:~~

~~But those who snipe and sneer, who see a tree and~~

~~overlook the forest, omit two facts already mentioned in~~ ^{9/1} ~~history: one, In 1940 we were unprepared for~~ ^{spiritually as well as physically,} ~~terrible war; we~~

~~were divided within ourselves by those who insisted that~~
~~we could never reach us and those who soon were to be~~

~~pressed right against~~ ^{but} today, at the beginning of 1943,

we have become the most powerful nation in the history

of the world, ~~even in a struggle at the side of twenty-nine~~

~~other nations to prevent a new era of barbarism from spread-~~
~~ing over the whole of us.~~

[~~extraordinary~~]

If that change has been produced by confusion and incompetence, then I believe that Berlin, Rome and Tokyo, those supposed citadels of efficiency, might well use some of the same brand of confusion and incompetence.

Washington may be a mad-house [^] but only in the sense that it is the capital city of a nation which is fighting mad.

[~~Most Americans are full time patriots. A noisy~~]

INSERT A

~~ministry are part-time patriots who forget that they ought to be a part of the great surge which is sweeping the country. They forget that they are members of the great force known as the United States of America -- just as the Government is; just as ~~it~~ are the Army and Navy. Selfishness or slackness on the home front can be as damaging to the effectiveness of the home fires as would be ^{desertion} ~~secession~~ in the front line.~~

7 We all know that there have been mistakes due to ~~the~~ ^{inevitable} process of trial and error inherent in doing ^{big} things for the first time. There have been too many complicated forms and questionnaires. You don't have to tell me that. I ~~have~~ ^{form and questionnaires} have had to fill some of them out myself. But these ^{by honest and sincere officials} represent an honest and sincere attempt to learn all the facts, ^{on which to} ~~base~~ a policy which would be fair and just to all, rich and poor, management and labor, farmer and ^{consumer} ~~city dweller~~ alike. We have learned by the mistakes. We are attempting to simplify administrative procedure -- but we do not intend to make things so simple that loopholes will be left for chislers, ^{for} ~~for~~ cheaters ^{manipulators of the} or the Black Market.

C A few figures of production will do the Congress and the American people no harm. For example, last January I set a goal for the production of 60,000 planes in the calendar year 1942. Actually we have produced 49,000 planes during that time. But this does not mean any real failure in our production program. It means simply that in some instances we have halted production to improve plane types, we have greatly increased production of spare parts, and we have increased the proportion of heavy planes to light planes.

A year ago I asked for the completion of 45,000 tanks in 1942. As a result of two later lessons, we have deliberately cut down that total number. The first lesson was gained from actual fighting experience, which showed the advisability of building fewer light tanks and more heavy tanks. The other factor was the almost insuperable problem of shipping such a large number of tanks to battle areas.

This war has developed improved designs and new weapons in almost every category -- on the sea, in the air and on the land. It seems to be a fact, however, that little improvement has been made by science in the art of detecting submarines. They still constitute a great menace to our merchant ships and transports in every sea. Improved convoy systems and the multiplication of escort and patrol vessels, together with air patrols, have prevented the actual losses of the United Nations from increasing materially during the past six months. These losses, however, are still far too large. One of our answers -- that of building merchant ships faster than they can be destroyed -- is succeeding in its objective.

Last January I set a goal of eight million tons of new merchant ships to be built in 1942. That goal has succeeded, for we launched eight and a half million tons from yards on the Atlantic and Pacific Seaboards and in the Gulf of Mexico. For the coming year I have set a goal of _____ tons.

As a matter of fact, of course, if I could see that it would do any good in the war effort we are making, I could cite cases of production failures, of failures due to lack of planning or bad planning, of incompetence in management, of wrong-headed stoppages of work, of efforts to get rich quick at the expense of the Government.

I could find examples in almost every one of the thousands of different categories of things with which to win the war. I might find two cases or three cases or even five cases out of a hundred, and then if I thought it would do the war any good I could tell the American people all about those two or three or five cases out of a hundred, without mentioning the ninety-five or ninety-seven or ninety-eight cases out of the same hundred which had proceeded perfectly on schedule or ahead of schedule. But what matters is not the minor failures but the major accomplishments.

On that score the American people can be proud of what we have done, in preparing for the possibility of getting into this war from 1939 on, and in actual contributions toward the winning of this war in the short year and a month since Pearl Harbor.

SECOND DRAFT

- 9 -

I take ~~my~~ hat off to the men of industry -- management and labor -- to the farmers, the miners, the shipbuilders, and also to the public officials who, facing the greatest task in all human history, have tied the whole of this great war program into an organization which is delivering the goods.

It is because I have spoken of the war itself in terms based on a sense of proportion that I can afford to speak of the post-war world in terms which also are based on a sense of proportion. Most Americans realize more greatly than ever before in our national history that modern ^{equipment} methods of

war -- especially the airplane -- have endangered national existence in every hemisphere whether it be on the farm or in the city, in central Russia, in central China, or in the State of Iowa.

There are undoubtedly some Americans who, even now, think that this Nation can end the war quickly and comfortably and then climb back into an American hole and pull the hole in after them.

But we have learned that we ^{can} never dig a hole so deep that it would be safe against predatory animals. We have also learned that if we do not now exterminate the predatory animals of this world, they will multiply and grow in strength -- and they will be at our throats once more in short generation.

(A) p 9

A review of the events of the past year based on a sense of proportion naturally leads to a consideration of the years ~~ahead~~ ahead - the post-war world - based again on a sense of proportion. It is conceivable - though no one can go so far as to say it is probable - that the war will end within the appointed term of this the 78th Congress.

But - regardless of how long it may be before the achievement of total victory - it is none too soon for us to be thinking of the historic responsibilities which this Nation will have in helping to build the kind of decent and durable peace for which every ~~sight~~ one of our soldiers and sailors is now fighting.

~~and that~~

[Our sons and brothers on Guadalcanal, in Tunisia -- all over the world -- are giving greatly to the winning of the war -- but we can be sure that in that brave purpose they are thinking constantly about the future of their families and neighbors at home.]

Any normal American who goes through the hardships and dangers of war prays that neither he nor his sons nor his grandsons will be compelled to go through this tragedy again. An essential part of his will to fight is a grim determination that whether he live or die, the Government ^{and the peoples of the} ~~of the United States and the people of the~~ ^{Nations} ~~United States~~ will see to it that peace shall be made permanent by peace-loving peoples -- even if that peace must be maintained by force.

He knows that peace in one part of the world will never again be secure if in another part of the world the aggressor nations -- Germany, Japan and Italy -- retain the power ~~right~~ of conquest -- the right to wage war against their neighbors. He knows that the traditional distances of geography no longer provide protection to America or to the Western Hemisphere.

We all know, that if Germany or Japan -- or both of them -- remain armed at the end of this war, or if their war lords or military caste ~~retain~~ any powers of leadership, they will again embark upon a

career of world conquest. We know, that a disarmed Germany and a disarmed Japan must remain disarmed — that they must ^{be forced to} abandon the *philosophy* ^{and the} teaching of ^{that} ~~the~~ philosophy, which has brought death and destruction to the world so often in the past.

After the first World War we tried to achieve a formula for permanent peace — and we failed. ~~[]~~ we failed tragically. We must profit from that bitter lesson. We must realize that idealism is not enough. We must never again follow the road that is paved ^{merely} with good intentions. But — above all things — we must continue ^{days of} in the peace the cooperation among the United Nations which is the essential force in the winning of the war.

[I believe that] the United Nations, in solemn agreement that they will not commit acts of aggression or conquest against any of their neighbors, can and must combine to maintain peace by preventing any attempt to rearm in Germany, in Japan, in Italy, or in any other nation ^{seeks to violate the Tenth Commandment,} which ~~sets~~ ^{gets} it into its head that it wants to conquer the earth.

Two years ago I spoke to the Congress of four freedoms. ^{The blessings of} two of them — freedom of speech and freedom of religion — [we are now blessed ~~on a part of life in this nation~~ with in this Nation], and we hope that these blessings will ^{soon} ~~cover the earth~~.

are ^{part of} essential ^{part of} The very life of this nation;

be granted to all men everywhere.

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SECOND DRAFT

is among the still unrealized aspirations of the human race. But Americans demand its realization - especially those young Americans who are ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~driving~~ ^{driving} the major part of the work in the fighting of this war.

Freedom from want ^{is} another subject which is very much in

the minds of the men of our armed forces, and of all Americans everywhere.

They do not want a post-war America which suffers from the blight of ~~pauperism and bread-lines~~ ^{poverty and unemployment} and the like.

Our men and women ^{demand} more than a job at home when they are mustered out ^{of their present service}. First and foremost they ^{demand} and have a right to expect full employment for ^{all} ~~every~~ able-bodied man and woman in America who want to work. They ^{demand} the opportunity to run their farms, their stores, their garages, their factories for a reasonable profit. They want the ^{to run the risks inherent in} opportunity ^{to} ~~run~~ our system of free enterprise ^{to} take the risks involved in the development of decent housing for all and in the promotion of the many mechanical improvements developed in this war. They want no

temporary job for a month or a year, for they remember what happened to other veterans in 1920. Nor do they want a get-rich-quick era ^{of bogus prosperity which will end} ~~waiting~~ for them in selling apples on the street corner, as ^{happened} ~~they~~ ^{after the}

^{bursting of the boom in} ~~crash of~~ 1929.

our young men and women want. When you talk with ~~them~~ ^{them} you will find out that they ^{are} willing and that they ^{consider that they have the right to} want assurance of work, that they want the protection of health and education and decent living for their families, and that they want the assurance of an old age outside of the poorhouse and a decent burial when their day ends.

work, as a part of their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness

You will find that they seek this not as the reward of veterans; not because they need relief; they seek it in the hope that it will apply equally to their families, their friends, their neighbors, and all Americans -- rich and poor -- *now and in the future.*

I have been told that this is no time to speak of a better America after the war. I am told that it is a ^{political} grave error on my part. I dissent. If the safety of the individual citizen or the family should become a subject of national debate, you will know where I stand.

In a war of survival it helps mightily not simply to know the evil things we are fighting against, but to know the good things we are fighting for. In a war of survival it helps mightily to feel that we are fighting not simply for a great past but for a great future, for a future which we are confident is ours, for a future that we know is worth fighting for.

[I express to you the hope that you will not fail to see the forest because of the trees -- that you will never confuse the great objective with details of arriving at the objective.]

And finally, let us remember that [any assurance of economic safety for the America of the future] ^{is impossible} will make this the island of America unless a greater economic stability comes to all the rest of the world [as fast as we can attain that goal]. ~~The Island of a prosperous America would be at the ultimate mercy of a world that lived in equal and starvation.~~

(A)

• ~~US can not prosper in a world~~ (A) p13

We cannot make America an island
in either a military or an economic sense.
~~We cannot permanently prosper~~ Hitlerism grows
from the wild seeds of squalor and
starvation

(14)

IMAGINE.

for the United Nations solely in putting
It is not enough to cooperate ~~to put~~ down aggression and ~~to~~
^{resolving}
~~resolve~~ territorial disputes. We must learn to cooperate in order
that each nation may be helped in its efforts to enable its own people
to enjoy the highest standard of life that a wise and prudent use of
their human and material resources entitle them to have. We must
learn to cooperate so that ^{all} ~~every~~ people by ~~a~~ fair exchange of the
^{shall}
products of their labor ~~should~~ be helped to acquire the products of
the labor of other countries required for their health and welfare.

Outright relief will be necessary and should be forthcoming
for the relief of those countries whose economic life has been dis-
rupted by war. But no world settlement that affords only a place on
the relief rolls to nations willing to work as well as fight for
freedom will provide in ^{the} ~~the~~ twentieth century the basis for a just
and durable peace. That is not the sort of freedom from want that
self-respecting nations fight for today and will work for tomorrow.

~~We can have no permanent system
of world peace based on an
international role.~~

Such a peace can never survive if it were
based on an international role.

~~There are some signs and symptoms which are not the very~~
~~significant that there can be any sort of improvement in~~
~~health condition. From the people, that are~~
~~Golden Rule to the nation~~
~~dog eat dog, & finally~~ ~~RIGHT~~ ~~##~~ 15 ~~social progress~~
~~after that stage.~~



(5)

~~social progress~~
~~after this case.~~

There ~~is~~ ^{can be} no place in America for economic defeatism. We

have the knowledge, skill and resources to make America worthy of the

men and women who are fighting to preserve its highest ideals. We

have the men and materials to rebuild our towns and our cities, to

replace the slum dwellings in town and in country with modern low-cost

homes, to conserve our soils, irrigate our lands and improve and

diversify our agriculture, to modernize our transportation, by highway,

railway, waterway and airway, to undertake the integrated development

of our great river basins, and to build schools and hospitals to meet

the needs of all our citizens.

As we keep our soldiers fit for fighting and care for them

when they can no longer fight, so after the war we must strengthen and

expand our social society system to make and keep our citizens fit for

working and fit for living. Our country has the resources to provide

certain standards of living, health, nutrition and education. No

American should be denied the benefits of those rudimentary standards,

because he is too young to work or too old to work or because he is

otherwise physically unfit to work or because through no fault of his

own he is unable to find work and earn a living wage.

And by the same token, we can be of no aid to the rest of the world unless we are keeping our own house in order.

16 ~~18~~

~~B 15~~ ~~24~~

[The ideal type of social security — the kind for which all of us strive — is one where everybody has a job which will support him and his family in sickness and in health and which will enable him to buy insurance against old age and other incapacity. We know that that ideal has not yet ever been attained *anywhere in the world*]

No economic system can by itself provide complete security.

Disease and accidents cause loss of earnings. Death removes breadwinners and leaves widows and dependent children. Business changes, seasonal variations, labor turnover — all kinds of reasons — cause temporary unemployment in the best-regulated economic system and in the most prosperous eras. When those tragedies come, the men, women and children affected have the right — not merely the privilege, but the right — to look to the government to help them build up some adequate form of insurance for themselves to permit them to continue their American standard of living until the shadow has passed.

We have gone some distance along the road to that kind of insurance. But there is still much to be done.

We have now learned a lot by experience. We should now proceed to a single unified comprehensive system of social insurance to which workers and employers and government all contribute their fair share. Such a system ^{should ultimately} would cover all of the major economic hazards to which our people are exposed *from the cradle to the grave.*

A comprehensive contributory insurance system would mean in effect that the citizens of this country would be purchasing from their government an insurance policy to provide a minimum basic protection extending literally from the cradle to the grave. But because the protection thus afforded by the Government is a minimum protection, there would be created a new and powerful stimulus for every citizen to build for himself a more desirable standard of security and well-being through his own individual initiative and

thrift. In other words, ^{the} government social insurance system ^{should provide} ^{our people with protection} would constitute a safety net protecting the workers of this country ^{but it should never become} ~~on~~ these major economic hazards, ~~not~~ a feather bed ~~resting~~ ^{on which they can escape from} the necessity of helping themselves.

We must not wait until the war is ended and then attempt to improvise a system of social security overnight. Our ^{men and women} ~~settlers~~ ^{fighting} at the front and ^{working at home} ~~our~~ workers producing the instruments of war should be free from worry concerning the economic security of their families if their full energies are to be released and directed toward the winning of the war.

SECOND DRAFT

- 1 -

~~Now~~, in spite of the cynics and the fearful, this Congress, ~~January~~,
will direct its thoughts toward the attainment of this great goal.

Victory in this
~~war~~ war is the *first and greatest* goal before us. *Victory in*
~~the~~ the peace
that means
is the next -- and ~~means~~ the keeping of the peace and the continued
enlargement of the security of man, here and throughout the world,

[The final freedom -- freedom from fear -- is in a very true
sense the foundation stone on which the other freedoms are based, for
freedom from fear means essentially freedom from war. And freedom from
war is worth fighting for through the process of stopping war before it
starts.

An enduring peace is necessarily the keystone of the future.
And it will be an enduring peace only if it is founded upon the firmest
principles of justice and fair play for the peoples of this earth. It
is the people who are fighting this war; and the people must enjoy the
fruits of victory.]

W. M.
(next page)

not only for the next
generation but for as
far into the future
as any man can
foresee.

19
15

The final freedom - freedom from fear - can be realized ^{only} ~~when~~ when we have achieved freedom from want, when we have reduced to a minimum the economic, social and political evils which create all wars.

Again, there are ^{agains and} ~~are~~ skeptics ~~and~~ who say, "It can't be done." But - however great the problems, or however long or arduous the labors necessary to achieve the ultimate goal of peace - the American people and all the freedom loving peoples of this earth are now demanding that "It must be done." And the will of the people shall prevail.

The conviction that it can't be done is based on a profound contempt for the human race. Strangely enough, Nazism, Fascism and Japanese military autocracy are also based on profound contempt for the human race. If we, ~~are~~ in the formation of our future policy, ^{are to be} ~~are~~ guided by this ~~same~~ ~~same~~ contempt, then ~~the philosophy of our~~ we should be surrendering to the philosophy of our enemies and our victory would turn into defeat.

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-16-
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The issue of this war is the basic issue between those who believe in mankind and those who do not — the ancient issue between those who put their faith in the people and those who put their faith in dictators and tyrants. There have always been those who did not believe in the people, who attempted to crush the people, to block their forward movement across history, to force them back to servility and suffering and silence. Sometimes, and for varying periods of human history, of human misery, the enemies of mankind have been successful. They have halted the march of the people. But not for long and never permanently. The people have always broken through in the end and when they have broken through, civilization, the decent life of men together on the earth, has swept forward toward a new realization of the ancient human dream of peace and wellbeing.

This war is such a war. The enemies of mankind have thrown their armies and their secret police and their murderous weapons across the path of the great forward march of the people, the latest of these forward surges, the huge advance which began in this country and on this continent 150 years ago and spread eastward and westward from the Americas to touch the entire earth. The forward march of the people was halted for a time in blood and death and misery. But the people

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have now gathered their strength. They are breaking through the iron ring of force and ignorance and murder and reaction. They are moving forward in their might and power and no force, no combination of forces, no trickery, deceit or violence, can stop them now. They see before them again the hope of the world -- a decent, peaceful life for all men everywhere. [They mean to win to it. And they will.]

22
OK

~~Revised~~

Last week the Nazis greeted the New Year, 1943, with the cheerful announcement that this war will last for another twenty years. That is what the Nazis hope. To keep the war going is the only way they can keep themselves in power. //

But it is not for the Nazis, and it is not for the Japanese war lords, and it is certainly not for the Italian Fascists to say how long this war will last. It is for us of the United Nations to put the final period to this long story of world tragedy. We can prolong the war, or we can shorten^{it}, depending entirely on the speed and the unity that we display in putting our combined forces into direct competition with our enemies on battlefields of our own choosing.

Again, I do not prognosticate. I can not promise that 1943 will bring final, total victory to our arms -- as Hitler promised the German people in 1940, ^{and again in} 1941 ^{again in} and 1942.

However, I can say, and do say, that in 1943 the United Nations will advance a very substantial distance along the roads that lead to Berlin, Rome and Tokyo.

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To the members of this, the 78th Congress,
and to all our countrymen, everywhere,
I say that we may look to the future with
~~confidence~~ ^{confidence}. A tremendous and ^{a costly and} long enduring
~~task~~ is still ahead of us. But - as we face
that continuing task - we may know that
the state of this nation is good - The nation's
~~heart is sound - the nation's spirit is strong -~~
the heart of this nation is sound - the spirit
of this nation is strong - The faith of this
nation is eternal.