Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945
Series 3: “The Four Freedoms” and FDR in World War II

File No. 1447-A

1943 January 7

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 flyers, 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 flyers 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 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.
MESSAGE
OF THE
PRESIDENT
TO THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS
ON THE
STATE OF THE UNION
JANUARY 7, 1943, at 12:30 P.M., E.T.
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
perhaps the most crucial for modern civilization; the coming year will
be filled with violent conflicts — yet with high promise of better
things. (applause)

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importance; we must exercise a sense of proportion.

First in importance in the American scene has been the in-
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 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 maintaining the lines of supplies.

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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
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These facts and figures that I have given will give no great
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I wonder 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?

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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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Washington may be a mad-house -- but only in the sense that it is the Capital City of a nation which is fighting mad. (applause) 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. (applause)

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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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 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 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
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.
(appause)

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.
(appause)

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.
(appause)

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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At the President's Press Conference next day, the President called attention to the following sentences which were left out when the ninth draft of the speech was being typed:
"In 1942, we built 8 million and 90 thousand tons of merchant ships. In this we exceeded the goal set."
Message
Of The
President
To The Seventy-Eighth Congress
On The
State of The Union
January 7, 1942, At 12:30 PM EWT
Radio Broadcast
Mr. Romagna
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"In 1942, we built 8 million and 40 thousand tons of merchant ships. In this we conceded the fact."
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.

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. (applause)

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 offensive 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 Ocean; the successful defense of the Near
East by the British counterattack through Egypt and Libya; the
American-British occupation of North Africa. Of continuing import-
ance 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 know 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)

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 communica-
tion lines stretching thousands of miles in every direction. It
placed the emphasis on the battle of Midway, I am not unwil-
ing 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. The 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 to 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. (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 alike 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 offensive 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 France 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 the way 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 spoke to you, approximately one and a half million of our soldiers, sailors, marines and flyers 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 ability of our flyers, 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 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 we have no rights to them the world conquest they sought.

We pay tribute to the soldiers and flyers and airmen 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 work 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-shok. There is a very close 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 communications.

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 that means -- we believe that 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.

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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 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. (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)
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 and 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 will 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 aggressive 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. (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 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. (Applause)

The philosophy of the Axis Powers is based on profound contempt for the human race. If, in the formation of our future policy, we are 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 1945 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.

(Lead and prolonged applause)

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 7, 1945.
ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS
JANUARY 7, 1943

The assembling of 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 must achieve 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 make an effort to arrange events according to their relative importance and achieve their proper relative settings -- in other words, to exercise a sense of proportion.

In day-to-day events in a world-wide war, history will not be guided by headlines but will be guided by the relative importance of each event to all the others. Things which may be the cause of rejoicing or lamentation receive a superlative adjective this morning may well be forgotten a month hence and some other fact which is developments which are barely noted in the comment of the day may prove to have been a turning point by the end of the year.
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 our fighting forces and to complete our preparations for taking the offensive.

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 until the United Nations were able to seize the initiative which we now hold.
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 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 naïve 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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\{\text{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.}\}
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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. South 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, for the past six months has resulted in the stopping 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 or a sense of proportion lies in the Japanese movement into two or three of the outer or more westerly Aleutian Islands. An attempt to create hysteria within this country on the premise that an invasion of our Atlantic Seaboard was close at hand fell rather flat when people looked at their maps and began to realize that a major American
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 which may be fooled part of the time, but not all of the time.

In the same connection we are learning that when a typewriter strategist demands that so many hundred planes, or so many dozens of ships, or so many divisions of 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 in this whole area, we have not won no spectacular victories if one except the island air and naval battle for the security of Midway Island. That action is historically important because of its effect on what we call logistics thousands of miles in every direction. One emphasis on the battle of Midway, I am not unmindful of hates to belittle other successful actions in the air and on land and afloat -- especially those in the neighborhood of the Solomon Islands. 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 enabled us to go further north toward our real objective, which is Tokyo itself.

Probably it can be said that our principal contribution to ultimate victory in the whole of the Pacific area lies in the great losses which we have dealt to Japanese planes, cargoes, Japanese naval vessels, and to Japanese merchant ships. As
early as one year ago, I set as our task in the war of the
Pacific a week-by-week and month-by-month destruction of
operational loss of Japanese ships and planes definitely
greater than Japanese ability to replace ships and planes.

Today that objective is being attained. Most certainly, that
task has been performed. 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.

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 the outcome on a mathematical basis.

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 --
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.

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, 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
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 to use all her manpower and all her production in as many theatres of war as possible. The problem during the first half of 1942 was so to locate an attack in 1942 as to give it the best chance of success.

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 or 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 Gen. Montgomery and the British Eighth Army against General Rommel was again a part of major strategy of the United Nations. 

... was also the breath-taking offensive by the Soviet armies against the German troops from the Baltic to the Black Sea, 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
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.

I do not prognosticate. I do not tell you when or where the United Nations are going to strike next. I do tell you that we have regained the initiative — very greatly because of the bulldog determination of our allies, and also because 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. 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, 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.
But this does not really mean any real failure in our production programs. Smaller teams of workers are more affected by the changes and requirements to switch from one plane type to another which require a longer period of time. Many teams work on the old and 6 the new design. This means that the necessity of some parts to be altered is met by the replacement of one plane for another plane.

It means simply that in some instances we have had to production to improve plane types, we have greatly increased production of some parts, and we have increased the proportion of heavy planes to lighter planes.
A year ago I asked for the completion of 45,000 tanks. Two later lessons, deliberately cut down that total number. The first was military experience, which caused the building of fewer light tanks and more heavy tanks; the other factor was 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, 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 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 like clock-
work on schedule, 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 toward winning this war in the short year and
a month we have been in it.

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
from the farmers, the miners, the shipbuilders, and also to the farm 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 it together into an
organization which is delivering the goods. Some un-
fortunate 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.
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 realise 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 Americans 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 realise, 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 grow in strength — and they will be at our throats once more in a short generation.
Our sons and brothers on Guadalcanal or in Tunisia 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], uttering
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] is [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
will never again be secure
[enough] if another part of the world is free to retain the
right of conquest -- the right to wage war against their
traditional enemies.

He knows that geography will no longer provide protection
for peace to America or to the Western Hemisphere, for the
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.
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 once again follow the road that is paved with good intentions. But—above all things—we must continue in the peace the cooperation among the United Nations which is the essential force in the winning of the war.
He knows, and we know, that the opposite philosophy is
embraced by two great nations -- Germany and Japan. 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 years.

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 visualised 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 to 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.
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.
They want and have a right to expect just and prompt full employment for every able-bodied man & woman in America who want to work. They want the opportunity to run their farms, their stores, their factories, their businesses for a reasonable profit. They want the opportunity under our system of free enterprise to take the risks involved in the development of housing for all and in the formation of the many mechanical improvements developed in this era.
Freedom from want is another
subject which is 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
plight of poverty and unemployment.
You will find that they seek this thing not as the reward of veteran service, but 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 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 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 this great goal—freedom from want throughout the world.

I come back finally to what I have said of proportions. 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 perspective 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.
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.

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.
Our understanding is necessary.

The people are suffering. They are hungry. They are homeless. They are...
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.

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 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 years.

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.
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.
You will find that they seek this thing not as the reward of a veteran; 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 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 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.

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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 consider and together achieve in the days that lie before us. An essential of any review is to appraise events of the year according to their relative importance—in other words, to exercise a sense of proportion.

In the permanent chronicle of events in this world-wide war, history will not be 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 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. 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 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 established bases from which to take and to complete our preparations for taking the offensive.

The Axis knew that this year was to be decisive; that it must win 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.

On December 7, 1941, when the news first came from Pearl Harbor, the Nation was properly shocked, partly because our 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 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. But they did not follow up — and the same opportunity will never be given to them again.
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, 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 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 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; 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 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 to 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 ending. Our objective 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,
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 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, 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 no less 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, 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 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 to pick 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 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 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.
The point selected was French North Africa. After months of planning and preparation in the utmost detail, an enormous amphibious 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 never have been applied in the year 1942, had it not been for page 6.

By far the greater developments in the whole strategic picture of 1942 have been the events in Russia on the long 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 success and effectiveness.
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 Scandinavia or Italy, or through
the Balkans, or through Poland—or
at several points simultaneously.
But unless I can tell you that we are
going to bomb those cities constantly
and mercilessly, then the control
of the world will be left to
Hitler and Mussolini—and their
fascist allies—and to
Nazi and fascists alike—which
will be interested in the report of our
airplane production which I shall announce
in a few moments.
Two years ago they
terrorized those of their landings of
London and Coventry and Plymouth. They
scooped over three hundred of life
and property. Mussolini,
Hitler believed that his air force was
indestructible. Mussolini, whose contrib-
ution to this war consisted of one
futile attempt in the back, has confided
that his big ships would protect him.
But both were utterly wrong, in
this as in many other calculations. They asked
for it—and they are going to get it.
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 American impatience to get on with the job and a typically American refusal to be 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. [Other words, truth]

But, we cannot say the same thing about criticism based on contentions which are not facts. [Yet another word, untruth]. 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 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 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.
Some of our doubting Thomases put forth the suggestion that it's all very well to have a high rate of munitions production, but we can not have 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 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 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 four times our production in 1941.

Our airplane production and tank production fell short, numerically. The goals set a year ago. But we have done a good job, producing over 49,000 planes more than Germany, Italy, and Japan put together. Last month, December, we produced 5,400, and the rate is rapidly rising.

In tank production, we have raised our schedule for good and sufficient reasons. As a result of hard experience in battle, we have shifted a large proportion of our tank-producing capacity to the production of new, deadly 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 his work cut 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 — the construction of an unbeatable arsenal of democracy — 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 this record. For in all humility our efforts should not be compared to the production of the Russians and Chinese, who have, under incredible difficulties, attained an amazing level 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 quitted.
We Americans are in good company in this war, and we are playing our part in the common effort.

As spokesmen for this 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, and mines and mills and forests, to the farmers who have found an unprecedented task of feeding not only a nation but a great part of the world — to all the loyal, anonymous...

Similarly with the unparalleled industrial accomplishment of 1943, while we have been achieving this marvel 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 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.

Pleased without creating some dislocations in our normal national life, some inconveniences,
We Americans are in good, brave company in this war, and we are playing our part in the common effort.

As the spokesman for this great United States Government, you and I may well take off our hats to those responsible for American production — to the owners, managers and engineers, to the draftsmen and engineers, to the workers in factories and arsenals and shipyards, and mines and mills and forests, to the farmers who have faced an unprecedented task of feeding not only 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.

The task is not yet done. The most difficult, the most

...
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. 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 madhouse, with the various branches and agencies of the National Government faced with confusion and incompetence. But those who write and answer, who see a tree and overlook the forest, omit two facts already embedded in history—one, in 1940 we were unprepared for total war; we were divided within ourselves by those who insisted that war could never come; and those who soon were to be but pleased to have it once today, at the beginning of 1943, we have become the most powerful nation in the history of the world, see the struggle at the side or twenty-nine other nations to prevent a new era of business-free spreading over the whole of us.

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 madhouse but only in the sense that it is the capital city of a nation which is fighting mad.
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 mistakes in the front line.
We all know that there have been mistakes due to the inevitable process of trial and error inherent in doing things for the first time. There have been too many complicated forms and questionnaires. You don't have to tell me that. I have had to fill some of them out myself. But these represent an honest and sincere attempt to learn all the facts, to base a policy which would be fair and just to all, rich and poor, management and labor, farmer and consumer 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 manipulators of the chislers, for cheaters on the Black Market.
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 15,000 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

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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 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 could 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 review of the events of the past years has led to a reconsideration of the years ahead—of the post-war world. We stand 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 now time 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 man of our soldiers and sailors is now fighting.
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 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 will never again be secure if in another part of the world the aggressor nations — Germany, Japan and Italy — retain the power 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 cast 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 abandon the philosophy
and the teaching of 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 with good intentions.

But — above all things — we must continue 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 at-
tempt to rearm in Germany, in Japan, in Italy, or in any other nation
seeks to violate The Ten Commandments, which gets it into its head that it wants to conquer the earth.

Two years ago I spoke to the Congress of four freedoms. Two
of them — freedom of speech and freedom of religion — we are now blessed
with in this Nation, and we hope that these blessings will cover the earth.
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
poverty and depression.

Our men and women demand more than a job at home when they are
mustered out. First and foremost they demand full employment for 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
opportunity, 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 waiting for
them in selling apples on the street corner as they happened after the
brushing of the boom in A year of 1929.

You young men and women want

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 their day ends.
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 political America after the war. I am told that it is a 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 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. An island of prosperous America would be at the ultimate mercy of a world that lived in equality and starvation.
We cannot make America an island in either a military or an economic sense. We cannot permit the forces of terrorism to grow from the soil rooted in aggression and domination.
It is not enough to cooperate to put down aggression and 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 every people, by a fair exchange of the 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 disrupted 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 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 security of world peace based on an international role. Such a peace can never survive if it were based on an international debt.
There is 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.
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.

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 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 against these major economic hazards, not a feather bed 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 fighting at the front and 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

In spite of the cynics and the fearful, this Congress, having
will direct its thoughts toward the attainment of this great goal.

Victory in the last and greatest Victory in
war is the goal before us. The peace
is the next — and 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 finest
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.
The final freedom—freedom from fear—can be realized only 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 skeptics 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 militarism and aggression are also based on profound contempt for the human race. If we base in the formation of our future policy, guided by this profound contempt, then the philosophy of our enemies will succeed in surrendering to the philosophy of our enemies and our victory will turn into 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 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
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, peace-
ful life for all men everywhere. They seem to win to it. And
they will.
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, 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, 1941 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.
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. A tremendous and a 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.