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
THIRD DRAFT

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS
JANUARY 7, 1943

The assembling of this new Congress in a period of national crisis gives occasion for a brief review of the past year, and for

The past year was perhaps the most crucial in modern civilization; the prospects of the coming year are filled both with anguish and with high promise or better things. relative importance; we must exercise a sense of proportion.

For, the permanent chronicle of this world-wide war will not be concerned with the day-to-day headlines but with 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 were barely noted in the comment of the day may by the end of the war prove to have been decisive factors.

In the perspective of history, the year 1942 may well appear as the decisive year of the military phase of the war. In preceding years, China, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had each in turn borne the brunt of the enemy's fury. In 1942, the United States began to marshal forces to take a place in the front lines with the other United
First in importance has been the inspiring demonstration of the great qualities of our fighting men. They have displayed their qualities in adversity as well as in glorious victory. For as long as our flag shall fly over this Capitol, Americans will honor the soldiers, sailors and marines who fought our first battles of this war against overwhelming odds. The men of Wake and Pearl Harbor, the living and dead; the men of Bataan and Corregidor; the men of Guadalcanal, the living and dead; the men of Midway and the hard-won victories of the Aleutians and the Bering Sea and the North Atlantic convoys -- all these and hundreds of thousands more have fought the enemy and endured the hardships or neglect, loneliness and hunger, and cold, of wind and water, of disease and boredom. It is futile to grope for words to express our gratitude to them.

Their unconquerable spirit will live forever.
Nations. For many months, we were on the defensive. Of necessity, we were at first limited to delaying actions to hold the enemy at all vital points so as to give us time to bring our production into high gear, to train and equip and transport our fighting forces and to establish bases from which to take the offensive.

The Axis knew that the year 1942 was to be decisive; that we must win then or lose everything. Our enemies pressed forward in the Pacific, in Russia, in Africa. They gained great stretches of territory, but they could not achieve their real objectives. We became stronger and stronger — until the United Nations were able to seize the initiative which we now hold.

When, on December 7, 1941, the news first came from Pearl Harbor, the Nation was profoundly shocked, partly because of the effect of malicious rumors 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 jolt to 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 minimal. 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 we must make absolutely sure, now and in future years after the war, that the same opportunity will never be given to them again.
THIRD DRAFT

In the Pacific area, the most important victory that we
won in 1942 was the air and naval battle for the security of Midway
Island. That action is historically important because of its effect
on communication lines stretching thousands of miles in every direction.
In placing this emphasis on the battle of Midway, I am not unmindful of
other successful actions in the air and on land and afloat —
especially those on the Coral Sea and New Guinea and in the Solomon
Islands. In these actions, our armed forces and those of our allies
have shown skill and courage of the highest order. But, while they
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.

The Pacific area lies in the losses which we have inflicted
upon the enemy — losses of Japanese planes, naval vessels, transports and
cargo ships. As early as one year ago, I set as our first task in the
war of the Pacific — 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 has
ended. Our objective now is to seek out Japanese forces and to fight
In these actions, our armed forces and those of our Allies have shown the kind of fighting qualities which insure our ultimate total triumph. But they were essentially defensive moves, they were part of the delaying strategy that characterized this phase of the war. They prevented the enemy from advancing any further south; but they have not yet enabled us to make any substantial advances toward our real objective -- which is Tokyo itself.
we know that as each day goes by, Japanese strength in ships and planes is going down and down, and American strength 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 subject their munition-production to constant bombing. It is already happening, and it will continue.

We are doing all that we can, though it is still far short of what we would want, in getting supplies and weapons to the people of China, who are now in the sixth year of their war for survival.

We assure these heroic people, whose ideals of peace are so closely akin to our own, that however formidable the obstacles are that separate us, they will be overcome; that the present strength of our common enemy will be shattered; and that China will realize the security, the prosperity, and the dignity, which the Japanese have fought so ruthlessly to destroy.

We demand from Japan not only surrender of the Pacific, but surrender of 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.
It was clear that Germany must be compelled to use all her manpower and all her production in as many different theatres of war as possible at the same time. Our problem was to pick the first point of attack in 1942.

The point selected was French North Africa. After months of secret planning and preparation in the utmost detail, an enormous amphibian expedition of eight hundred and fifty ships was launched. It reached its objectives, with very small losses, and has already produced an important effect upon the whole situation of the war. The well-timed and splendidly executed offensive by the British Eighth Army was a part of the same major strategy of the United Nations.

The most important developments in the whole strategic picture of 1942 have been the events on the long offensive fronts in Russia. First -- the CTG英勇 defense of Stalingrad -- and, second, the series of offensives at various points which started in the latter part of November and which are still continuing with great force and effectiveness.

I cannot prophesize. I cannot tell you when or where the United Nations are going to strike next. But we are going to strike -- and strike hard. I cannot tell you whether we're going to hit them in Norway, or across the English Channel, or through Sardinia or Sicily, or
In the European zone it was clear that our first task was to ease the pressure on the Russian front by compelling Germany to use her manpower and equipment in as many theatres of war as possible. Our big problem was to pick a point, which we could attack during 1942 and which would force Hitler to disperse his troops strength.
A little later I will speak of our own boys who are fighting on sea and land and in the air. But at this point I want to pay tribute to the men in battle under the flag of Russia, and China and the British Empire -- the millions of them, men living and dead -- who have fought the common enemy, endured the privations of heat and cold. The men and women of America express their pride in them and their gratitude to them for what they have so nobly done.

I add to this roll of honor the soldiers and fliers and seamen of many another one of the United Nations, the roll of whose countries has been overrun by Axis hordes, and who will never rest content until once more they come into their own.

I have been tribute to the fighting leaders of our Allies, to Winston Churchill, to Joseph Stalin and to the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. There has been a very real unanimity between the leaders of the United Nations. This has been effective unity in the planning and carrying out of operations, the major strategic movements, in building up and maintaining the lines of supplies and in achieving agreement on the military objectives of the war.
through the Balkans, or through Poland — or at several points simultaneously. But I can tell you that we're going to bomb their cities constantly and mercilessly. Two years ago, Hitler and Mussolini — and their Nazi and Fascist henchmen — boasted of the ruthlessness of their bombings of London and Coventry and Plymouth. They gloated over their destruction of life and property. Hitler believed that his air force was indomitable. Mussolini, whose contribution to the Axis cause in this war has consisted of one, furtive stab in the back, was confident that his big German brothers would protect him. But both Hitler and Mussolini were utterly wrong, in this as in many other calculations.

they asked for it — and they are going to get it.

Our forward progress in this war has depended to a large extent upon our conduct. Throughout the past year and even before Pearl Harbor, we have heard persistent criticism against the management and conduct 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 over-awed by enormous tasks. We are the kind of people who are never quite satisfied with anything short of miracles.
But I can tell you that no matter where and when we strike by land we shall hit them from the air constantly and mercilessly. Guns will be no warrant of bombardment for the mere sake of fire and destruction. Our targets are selected, and they are not secret. Day in and day out we shall keep ton after ton of explosives on their industries and utilities and sea ports.

Hitler and Mussolini will be made to understand the enormity of their miscalculation. That the German air force would always be as invincible as cowpoking, as it was in the Bombings of Warsaw, Rotterdam, London and Coventry.

Yes - The Nazis and the Fascists have asked for it - and they are going to get it.
The criticism which I described as being healthy is that kind of criticism which is based on facts.

But, we cannot say the same thing about criticism based on contentions which are not facts. Such criticism 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.

Of course, we realized that some production objectives laid down 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

they contended

that 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 material just

storage

for the fun of storing it in warehouses here at home.

However, in 1942, we built 8,090,000 tons of merchant ships.

In this, we exceeded the announced schedule. As a result of this

accomplishment in ship-building, 75% of all the munitions produced already

has been sent abroad. During 1942 we shipped to all fighting fronts, for

our own forces and those of our Allies, _____ combat aircraft; _____

tanks; _____ anti-aircraft guns; _____ anti-tank guns; and _____

billion rounds of ammunition.

Our 1942 airplane production and tank production fell short,

numerically, of the goals set a year ago. But we have plenty of reason

to be proud of our record for 1942. We produced 49,000 military planes —

more than the airplane production of Germany, Italy and Japan put to-

gether. Last month, December, we produced 5,400 military planes and the

rate is rapidly rising.

Here insert the 13 Club.
In tank production, we have revised our schedule for good and sufficient reasons. As a result of hard experience in battle, we have diverted a large proportion of our tank producing capacity to the production of new, deadly field 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, 6.5 times 1941 production.

We produced 930,000 field artillery pieces; 6 billion rounds of small arms ammunition; and 132,000 two and one-half ton trucks.

And we launched 9.64 million tons of new fighting ships in the six major types of naval combat vessels -- a three-fold increase over the preceding year.

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 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.
I might add that hundreds of thousands of Russian soldiers, now are capturing and killing German soldiers. Vast numbers of German soldiers are using American-made arms and equipment. They are advancing through the snows on specially designed American boots.
It is important for us to note - and for our enemies to note - that the proportion produced in 1942 was much larger than was provided for in the original schedule. The total number of planes has been reduced, but the total tonnage, the total striking power and the total number of men hours in the production of aircraft have been increased.
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.

We must not be arrogantly boastful of our record. For in all humility our efforts have been relatively no greater than those of the Russians and British and Chinese who have carried on their production under the incredible difficulties of battle conditions. They have had
to move and disperse their factories. They have had to continue work through bombings and black-outs. They have never quit.

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

As spokesman for the United States Government, you and I may well 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 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 great nation but a great part of the world -- to all the loyal anonymous, untiring men and women who have contributed magnificently to so tremendous a cause.

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 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.
Is there any person among us so naive as to believe that
all this could have been accomplished without creating some dis-
locations in our normal national life, some inconveniences, and even
some hardships?

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

Who could have hoped to have accomplished this without burden-
some 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 final-
ly win.

1943 will not be an easy year for us on the home front. No
one can forecast accurately the exact impacts that we shall meet during
the coming year. But I can assure you they will be harsh. The most
difficult, costly phase of this war is immediately ahead of us. We
shall feel in many ways in our daily lives the sharp pinch of total war.
No real American can summon much admiration for the homemaker who asks, "What right has the Government to take the butter out of my ice-box to send to our foreign friends?" Strange enough, the same homemaker did not contest the Government's right to enlist her son for foreign service.

"The public is not apprised of patriotism."

"Facts" reveal that the foods we send abroad are for enemy military purposes, for our own and our friends' necessities, for allied fishing forces, and for essential relief in areas that we occupy. Our operations in North Africa, for instance, could hardly continue successfully if we permitted continuance of the conditions of starvation which resulted from the looting of that region by the Nazis and by Vichy France.

In any case, the Government is not going to take the butter out of my ice-box. But it is certain the intention that no ice-box shall receive more than enough butter for basic family needs. We can't but eat the bread on two sides of the sandwich in this war.

Fortunately there are only a few in amateur acts.
But these contributions which we make to the war effort are not permanent sacrifices. They are the means to an end — the end of winning the war as quickly as possible.

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

It is always easy and it is sometimes politically profitable to picture the City of Washington as a mad-house, with the Congress and the Administration permeated with confusion and incompetence.

But — the facts are these:

In 1940 we were unprepared, spiritually as well as physically, for total war; but today, at the beginning of 1943, we have become the most powerful nation in the history of the world.

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

We all know that there have been mistakes due to the inevitable process of trial and error inherent in doing big things for the first time. There have been too many complicated forms and questionnaires. You don't have to tell me that. I have had to fill some of them out
And I think that Berlin and Rome and Tokyo which made such 

fun of the permanent incompetence of the methods of 
democracy would gladly use all they could get of that same  
brand of energy and unity.

**********
myself. But these forms and questionnaires represent an honest and
sincere attempt by honest and sincere officials to learn all the facts,
on which to base a policy which would be fair and just to all, rich and
poor, management and labor, farmer and consumer alike. We have learned
by the mistakes. We are attempting to simplify administrative procedure —
but we do not intend to make things so simple that loopholes will be
left for chislers, for cheaters or for the manipulators of the Black
Market.
A review of the events of the past year based on a sense of proportion naturally leads to a consideration of the years ahead — the post-war world — based again on a sense of proportion. It is conceivable — though no one can go so far as to say it is probable — that the war might end within the appointed term of this the 78th Congress.

But — regardless of how long it may be before the achievement of total victory — it is none too soon for us to be thinking of the historic responsibilities which this Nation will have in helping to build the kind of decent and durable peace for which every one of our soldiers and sailors is now fighting. Most Americans realize more greatly than ever before in our national history that the modern equipment of war can, in the hands of aggressor nations, bring danger overnight to the national existence of any nation on any continent in the world.

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

But we have learned that we can never dig a hole so deep that it would be safe against predatory animals. We have also learned that if we do not now exterminate the predatory animals of this world, they will multiply and grow in strength — and they will be at our throats once more in short generation.
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 Governments and the peoples of the United Nations 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 anyone or to the Western Hemisphere.

We all know, that if Germany, Japan — or any one of them — remain armed at the end of this war, or if their war lords or military castes retain any powers of concentration, they will again embark upon a career of world conquest. We know, that disarmed Germany and a disarmed Japan must remain disarmed — that they must be forced to abandon the philosophy, and the teaching of that philosophy, which has brought death and destruction to the world so often in the past.
After the first World War we tried to achieve a formula for permanent peace — and we failed. We failed tragically. We must profit from that bitter lesson. We must realize that idealism is not enough. We must never again follow the road that is paved merely with good intentions. But — above all things — we must continue in the days of peace the cooperation among the United Nations which is the essential force in the winning of the war.

The United Nations, in solemn agreement that they will not commit acts of aggression or conquest against any of their neighbors, can and must combine to maintain peace by preventing any attempt to rearm in Germany, in Japan, in Italy, or in any other nation which seeks to violate the Tenth Commandment — "Thou shalt not covet.

Two years ago I spoke at the Congress 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.

Freedom from Want is among the still unrealised aspirations of the human race. But Americans demand its realization — especially those young Americans who are doing the major part of the work in the fighting of this war.
Our men and women demand more than a job at home when they are mustered out of their present service. First and foremost they demand and have a right to expect full employment for all able-bodied men and women 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 to run the risks inherent in our system of free enterprise. They do not want a post-war America which suffers from the blight of pauperism and bread-lines — and the dole. They want no temporary job for a month or a year, for they remember what happened to other veterans in 1920. Nor do they want a get-rich-quick era of bogus "prosperity" which will end for them in selling apples on the street corner, as happened after the bursting of the boom in 1929.

When you talk with our young men and women you will find out that they want to work for themselves and their families, and that they consider that they have the right to work, as a part of their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

You will find that they seek this not as the reward of veterans; not because they need relief; they seek it in the hope that it will apply equally to their families, their friends, their neighbors, and all Americans — rich and poor — now and in the future.
I have been told that this is no time to speak of a better America after the war. I am told that it is a grave mistake to speak of security 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.

Let us remember that economic safety for the America of the future is impossible unless a greater economic stability comes to all the rest of the world.

We cannot make America an island in either a military or an economic sense. Hitlerism grows from the evil seeds of squalor and starvation anywhere in the world.

It is not enough for the United Nations to cooperate solely in putting down aggression and resolving territorial disputes. We must cooperate in helping each nation attain its highest standard of life that can be made possible by its own people.
dent use of their human and material resources, entitle them to have
And in this, we include the highest standard of human
We must cooperate so that all peoples by fair exchange of the products
of their labor shall be helped to acquire the products of the labor of
other countries required for their health and welfare.

Outright relief will be necessary and should be forthcoming
for the relief of those countries whose economic life has been dis-
rupted by war. But no world settlement that affords only a place on
the relief rolls to nations willing to work as well as fight for freedom
will provide in this twentieth century the basis for a just and durable
peace. Such a peace can never survive if it were based on an inter-
national dole. That is not the sort of freedom from want that self-
respecting nations fight for today and will work for tomorrow.
Surely, we

There can be no place in America for economic defeatism. We
have the knowledge, skill and resources to make America worthy of the
men and women who are fighting to preserve its highest ideals. We have
the men and materials to rebuild our towns and our cities, to replace
the slum dwellings in town and in country with modern low-cost homes, to
conservate our soils, irrigate our lands and improve and diversify our
agriculture, to modernize our transportation, by highway, railway, water-
way 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.

No economic system can by itself provide complete security. Disease and accidents cause loss of earnings. Death removes breadwinners and leaves widows and dependent children. Business changes, seasonal variations labor-turnover all kinds of reasons — cause temporary unemployment in the best-regulated economic system and in the most prosperous eras. When those tragedies come, the men, women and children affected have the right — not merely the privilege, but the right — to look to the government to help them build up some adequate form of insurance for themselves to permit them to continue their American standard of living until the shadow has passed.

We have gone some distance along the road to that kind of insurance. But there is still much to be done. We have learned a lot by experience. We should now proceed to a single unified comprehensive system of which workers and employers and government all contribute their fair share. Such a system should ultimately cover all of the major economic hazards to which our people are exposed 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, a government social insurance system should provide safety net protecting our people with protection from those major economic hazards, but it should never become a feather bed upon which any able-bodied citizen can escape from the responsibility of helping himself and his dependents.

We must not wait until the war is ended and then attempt to improvise a system of social security overnight. Our men and women obligation to our fighting men and women to do it now, fighting at the front and working at home 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.

Victory in this war is the first and greatest goal before us. Victory in the peace is the next — and that means the keeping of the peace and the continued enlargement of the security of man, here and throughout the world, not only for the next generation but for as far into the future as any man can foresee.

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.
I set this before the Congress as an objective. I shall send to you much data and many studies bearing on the needs and methods. I feel very certain that the people of this nation will support the objective by an overwhelming majority. I trust that the Congress will not so disagree on detail that the purpose will be lost.
A nation is an entity composed of communities just as a
community is an entity composed of individuals. The problem
of maintaining order and peace in a community has been solved
from time immemorial by the creation and maintenance of a
Constable or a Police Department. If in a community an
individual walks the streets with a gun on each hip looking
for trouble, he is picked up by the police and disarmed.

And in similar fashion, the community has a Health Depart-
ment. If a contagious epidemic breaks out, all those exposed
to it are quarantined by the Health authorities, whether
they like it or not. A nation -- in other words an aggre-
gation of communities -- uses the same means against bank
robberies and civil disturbances and the same means against
disease.

It becomes increasingly evident that the same relation-
ship exists between the peace-loving nations of the world,
on the one hand, and those nations which seek to create
world-wide disturbances, which in these modern days...
The world is an entity composed of nations. We can and we must apply on a world-wide scale the same methods of crime prevention and quarantine that we apply on a community or national scale. We can do this first by force and ultimately by education. We can clean out the political slums and plague spots of this earth where the deadly germs of war are bred.

If the present generation can accomplish this, we shall
Again, there are cynics and 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 military autocracy are also based on profound contempt for the human race. If we, in the formation of our future policy, were to be guided by this same contempt, then we should be surrendering to the philosophy of our enemies and our victory would 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. 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 shadows 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, peaceful life for all men everywhere.

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

Again, I do not prognosticate. I cannot promise that 1943 will bring final, total victory to our arms — as Hitler promised the German people in 1940, and again in 1941, and again in 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 costly and a long enduring task is still ahead of us. But — 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.
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, or the Japanese war lords, or the Italian Fascists to say how long this war will last. It is for us of the United Nations to put the final period to this long story of world tragedy. We can prolong the war, or we can shorten it, depending entirely on the speed and the unity that we display in putting our combined forces into battle with our enemies -- on battlefields of our own choosing.

Again, I do not prognosticate. I cannot promise that 1943 will bring final, total victory to our arms -- as Hitler promised the German people in 1940, and again in 1941, and again in 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 costly 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 heart of this Nation is sound -- the spirit of this Nation is strong -- the faith of this Nation is eternal.
FOURTH DRAFT

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS
JANUARY 7, 1943

The assembling of this new Congress in a period of national crisis gives occasion for a review of the past year, and for consideration of the prospects which now confront the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government and the American people as a whole. The past year was perhaps the most crucial in modern civilization; the prospects of the coming year are filled both with anguish and 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 has been the inspiring demonstration of the great qualities of our fighting men. They have displayed their qualities in adversity as well as in glorious victory. As long as our flag waves 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 Batan, and Guadalcanal, of the Java Sea and Midway and the North Atlantic convoys — all these and hundreds of thousands more have fought the enemy and endured the hardships of heat and cold, of wind and water,
In preceding years China, Great Britain and Russia had, each in turn, borne the brunt of the enemy's attacks. The year 1942 was marked by the magnificent Russian advance, followed by the beginning of their present great offensive. It was marked by the saving of the Near East by the British Forces in Egypt; by the American-British occupation of French North Africa; by the series of Japanese victories from the Philippines to the East Indies to Malaya to Burma;
stopping of the Japanese advance in the South Pacific and Indian Oceans;

and, finally, by the unsurpassed American production program which is definitely guaranteeing to the United Nations a growing superiority in munitions, over and above anything that our enemies can produce.

***************
The permanent chronicle of this world-wide war will not
be concerned with the day-to-day headlines but with the ultimate
significance of each event. Apparent victories or defeats which may
be the causes of rejoicing or lamentation this morning may well be for-
gotten when the final victory is won; and some event which is barely
noted in the comment of the day may, by the end of the war, prove
to have been a decisive factor.

In the perspective of history, the year 1942 may well emerge
as the decisive year of the military phase of the war. In preceding
years, China, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had each in turn borne
the brunt of the enemy's fury. In 1942, the United States began to
marshal forces to take our place in the front lines with the other United
Nations. For many months, we were on the defensive. Of necessity, we were
at first limited to delaying actions, in order to hold the enemy at all
vital points so as to give us time to bring our production into high gear,
and to train and equip and transport our fighting forces and to establish
bases from which to take the offensive.

The Axis Powers knew that for themselves the year 1942 was to be
decisive; that they must win then or lose everything. They
forward in the Pacific, in Russia, in Africa. They gained great
This won in 1942.
of territory, but they could not achieve their real objectives. We became stronger and stronger — until the United Nations were able to seize the initiative which we now hold.

The actual military effect of the attack on Pearl Harbor from the historical point of view was only temporary. It might have been far more serious, for if the Japanese followed up their Sunday morning effort with an actual landing in the Hawaiian Islands. But they did not follow up — and we must make absolutely sure, now and in future years after the war, that the same opportunity will never be given to them again.

In the Pacific area, the most important victory won in 1942 was the air and naval battle for the security of Midway Island. That action is historically important because 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 Solomons Islands. In these actions, our armed forces and those of our Allies have shown the kind of fighting power which insure our ultimate total triumph. But these actions were essentially defensive. They were part of the delaying strategy that characterized this phase of the war. They prevented the enemy from advancing any further south, but they have not yet enabled us to make any
substantial advances toward our real objective — which is Tokyo itself.

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 our first task in the war of the Pacific
day-by-day and 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 and is being performed.

The phase of more defensive attrition in the Pacific war has ended. Our objective is to seek out Japanese forces and to make them
fight 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 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 subject their war
factories and shipyards to heavy bombing.

In 1942 we did what we could and are still doing all that we can
in getting supplies and weapons to the people of China, who are now in the
sixth year of their war for survival. It is still far short of what we
would want to send. But we now can give assurance that
We ensure these heroic people, whose ideals of peace are so
closely akin to our own, that however formidable are the obstacles that
separate us, they will be overcome; that the present strength of our common enemy will be shattered; and that China will realize the security, the prosperity, and the dignity, which the Japanese have fought so ruthlessly to destroy.

We wage war against Japan not only by way of the Pacific, but by way of the Atlantic as well — across the route which leads to India and China. Of vital strategic importance in that route is the command of the Mediterranean Sea; and for that command, the United Nations forces especially our British Allies are now fighting against Germans and Italians in North Africa.

In the European zone it was clear that our first task was to ease the pressure on the Russian front by compelling Germany to divide her manpower and equipment among as many theatres of war as possible. Our big problem was to pick a point, which we could attack during 1942 and which would further Hitler to disperse his strength.

The point selected was French North Africa. After months of secret planning and preparation in the utmost detail, an enormous amphibian expedition was embarked in eight hundred and fifty ships. It reached its objectives, with very small losses, and has already produced an important effect upon the whole situation of the war. 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.
By far the largest and most important developments in the whole strategic picture of 1942 have been the events on the long fronts in Russia. First — the implacable defense of Stalingrad — and, second, the series of offensives at various points which started in the latter part of November and which roll on with great force and effectiveness.

I have spoken of the fortitude and courage of our own boys who are fighting on sea and land and in the air. I want to pay the tribute of the United States of America to the fighting men of Russia and China and the various members of the British Commonwealth — the millions of men who through the years of this war — enemies and friends — have dedicated their lives to the world conquest which they sought.

On this roll of honor are the soldiers and fliers and seamen of others of the United Nations whose countries have been overrun by Axis hordes. They and their fellow countrymen within occupied Europe will never stop fighting and resisting until the day of liberation. We now see the first light of the dawn of that day.

We bear 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 in the planning and carrying out of the major strategic methods, in building up and maintaining the lines of supplies and in achieving agreement on the military objectives of the war.
I am sure that Americans will be glad to know
that hundreds of thousands of Russian soldiers who
now are capturing and killing vast numbers of German soldiers are using
American-made arms and equipment. They are advancing through the snows on
specially designed American boots.
FOURTH DRAFT

I can not prognosticate; I can not tell you when or where the
United Nations are going to strike next. But we are going to strike — and
strike hard. I can not tell you whether we're going to hit them in Norway,
or through the Low Countries, or across the English channel, 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 shall hit them from the air constantly and mercilessly.

Our targets are selected, and they are not secret. Day in and day out we shall
heap ton after ton of explosives on their industries and utilities and
sea-ports.

Hitler and Mussolini will be made to understand the enormity of
their miscalculation that the German navy would always be unsinkable.

Nazi superiority in air-power, as they did when they bombed
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 to a large extent
upon our progress on the production front. Throughout the past year and even
before Pearl Harbor, we have heard persistent criticism in this country against
the management and conduct of war production. Most of this self-criticism
has had a generally healthy effect. It has spurred us on. It has helped to
keep us from growing soft and self-satisfied, and obviously it has reflected
a normal American impatience to get on with the job. We cannot refuse to be overawed by enormous tasks. We are the kind of people who are never quite satisfied with anything short of miracles.

The criticism which I described as being healthy is that kind of criticism which is based on facts.

But, we cannot say the same thing about criticism based on conjectures which are not-facts. 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 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 feared that the goals 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, and the of our people record. We had faith in our ability to establish new records of accomplishment. That confidence has been more than justified.

Of course, we realized that some production objectives laid down 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 was all very well to have a high rate of munitions production, but that we could never build enough ships to get our products to the theaters of operation. They contended that we were turning out material just for storage in warehouses here at home.

However, in 1942, we built 8,090,000 tons of merchant ships. In this, we exceeded the announced schedule. As a result of this accomplishment in ship-building, 75% of all the munitions produced already has been sent abroad. During 1942 we shipped to all fighting fronts, for our own forces and those of our Allies,_____ combat aircraft;_______
tanks;_______ anti-aircraft guns;_______ anti-tank guns; and_______
billion rounds of ammunition.

Our 1942 airplane production and tank production fell short, numerically, of the goals set a year ago. But we have plenty of reason to be proud of our record for 1942. We produced 49,000 military planes -- more than the airplane production of Germany, Italy and Japan put together. Last month, December, we produced 5,400 military planes and the rate is rapidly rising.
It is important for us to note — and for our enemies to note — that the proportion of heavy bombing planes produced in 1942 was much larger than was provided for in the original schedule. The total number of planes has been reduced — but the total tonnage, the total striking power and the total number of man hours in the production of aircraft have been increased.

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

Here are some other production figures:

We produced 870,000 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 151,000 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.

I might add that hundreds of thousands of Russian soldiers who now are capturing and killing vast numbers of German soldiers are using American-made arms and equipment. They are advancing through the snows on
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 will have his work cut out for him explaining to the German people why we are producing such phenomenal quantities of weapons and munitions.

In a few areas we have done less than we had hoped for—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 tremendous job. We have made good our promise to construct an unbeatable arsenal of democracy. We have done this together—we of industry and we of labor and we of government working 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 political and economic differences in time of crisis and pull together toward a common goal.

We must not be discouraged by our record. For in all achievement in production our success has been relatively no greater than those of the developed war industries of Russia and British and Chinese who have carried on their production under the incredible difficulties of battle conditions. They have had
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 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.
to move and disperse their factories. They have had to continue work
through bombings and black-outs. They have never quit.

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

As spokesmen for the United States Government, you and I may
well 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, to the farmers who have faced an unpreced-
dented task of feeding not only a great nation but a great part of the
world — to all the loyal anonymous, untiring men and women who have worked and
in factory or field or home, who have endured rationing and other stringencies
with good humor and good will, and have contributed magnificently to
our common cause.

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

What optimist could expect us to divert a great proportion
of our resources to war and at the same time maintain our high standard
of living at its peacetime level?

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.

No real American can summon much admiration for the housewife who
asks, "What right has the Government to take the butter out of my ice-
box to send to foreign countries?" Strangely enough, the same housewife
does not contest the Government's right to enlist her neighbors' sons for
service overseas.

Fortunately there are only a few 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 relief in areas that we occupy. We found conditions of misery and starvation permitted continuance of the conditions of starvation which resulted from the looting of that region by the Nazis and by Vichy France. 

In any case, the Government is not going to take the butter family out of the ice-box. But it is certainly the intention that no ice-box shall receive more than enough butter for basic needs. We may as well reconcile ourselves now to the fact that we can't butter the bread on both sides of the sandwich in this war.

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

We Americans must do this great job together. We must have confidence in one another. Our people must have confidence in their Government — in all branches of their Government. And we of this Government must never for one moment fail in our confidence in the people.
It is always easy and it is sometimes politically profitable to picture the City of Washington as a mad-house, the Congress and the Administration with confusion and incompetence. However—call that matters is results, and the one pertinent fact is that two years ago, in 1940, we were unprepared, spiritually as well as physically, whereas for total war; today, at the beginning of 1943, we have become the most powerful nation in the history of the world.

Washington may be a madhouse—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 made such fun of the obsolete methods of democracy, would gladly use all they could get of that same brand of energy and unity and actual achievement.

We all know that there have been mistakes due to the inevitable process of trial and error inherent in doing big things for the first time. There have been too many complicated forms and questionnaires. Do not have to tell me that. I have had to fill some of them out myself. But these forms and questionnaires represent an honest and sincere attempt by honest and sincere officials to learn all the facts, on which to base a policy which would be fair and just to all, rich and
poor, management and labor, farmer and consumer 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 chisellers, for cheaters, or for the manipulators of the black market.

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

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

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

But we have learned that we can never dig a hold so deep that it
would be safe against predatory animals. We have also learned that if we do
not exterminate 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.
FOURTH DRAFT

... of today clearly most Americans realize more... than ever before that the modern equipment of war can, in the hands of aggressor nations, bring danger overnight to the national existence of any nation on any continent of the world.

Every 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 experience again. An essential part of his will to fight is a grim determination that whether he live or die, the Governments and the peoples of the United Nations will see to it that peace must be maintained by force if necessary.

We all know, that if Germany as Italy and Japan — or any one of them — remain armed at the end of this war, or if their war lords or military castes retain any powers of dictatorship or influence, they will again embark upon a career of world conquest. We know, that all of the aggressors must remain disarmed — that they must be forced to abandon the philosophy, and the teaching of that philosophy, which has brought death and destruction to the world so often in the past.

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

The United Nations, in solemn agreement that they will not commit acts of aggression or conquest against any of their neighbors, can and must combine to maintain peace by preventing any attempt to roam in Germany, in Japan, in Italy, or in any other nation which seeks to violate the Tenth Commandment — "Thou shalt not covet."

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.

Freedom from Want is among the still unrealized aspirations of the human race. But Americans — like many others — demand its realization especially those young Americans who are doing the major part of the work in the fighting of this war.

Our men and women, when they are mustered out of their present service, will demand and will have a right to expect full employment for all able-bodied men and women in America who want to work.

They expect the opportunity to run their farms, their stores, their garages, their factories for a reasonable profit. They are eager to run the risks inherent
in our system of free enterprise. They do not want a post-war America
which suffers from the blight of pauperism and bread-lines — and the
dole. They want no temporary job for a month or a year, for they re-
member what happened to other veterans in 1920. Nor do they want a
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 out
that they want to work for themselves and their families, and that they
consider that they have the right to work, as a part of their right to
life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

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

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

I dissent.

If the security of the individual citizen or the family should
become a subject of national debate, you will know where I stand.
FOURTH DRAFT

In a war of survival we must constantly be aware of not only the evil things we are fighting against, but the good things we are fighting for. We are fighting not simply for a great past but for a greater future, for a future which we are confident is coming, a future that we know is worth fighting for and, if need be, dying for.

Let us remember that economic safety for the America of the future is impossible unless a greater economic stability comes to all the rest of the world. We cannot make America an island in either a military or an economic sense. Hitlerism, like any form of crime or disease, can grow from the evil seeds of squalor and starvation anywhere in the world and spread everywhere in the world.

It is not enough for the United Nations to cooperate solely in putting down aggression and resolving territorial disputes. We must cooperate in helping each nation in its efforts to attain for its own people the highest standard of life that can be made possible by a wise and prudent use of their human and material resources. And in this we include the highest standard of living for our own American people—indeed, higher standards than we have ever known before.

Surely, we can be of no aid to the rest of the world unless we are vigilantly keeping our own house in order.
Victory in this war is the first and greatest goal before us. Victory in the peace is the next — and that means the keeping of the peace and the continued enlargement of the security of man, here and throughout the world, not only for the next generation but for as far into the future as any man can foresee.

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.

There are cynics and 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. The philosophy of Naziism, Fascism and Japanese military autocracy is also based on profound contempt for the human race. If we, in the formation of our future policy, were to be guided by this same contempt, then we should be surrendering to the philosophy of our enemies and our victory would turn into defeat.
A nation is an entity composed of communities just as a
community is an entity composed of individuals. The problem of
maintaining order and peace in a community has been solved from time
immortal by the creation and maintenance of a constable or a police
department. If in a community an individual walks the streets with
a gun on each hip, looking for trouble, he is picked up by the
and disarmed.

And in similar fashion, the community has a health depart-
ment. If a contagious epidemic breaks out, the victims of the
disease and all those exposed to it are quarantined, whether they like it or not. A nation — an aggregation
of communities — takes the same preventive measures against nation-
wide crime and disease.

The world is an entity composed of nations. We can and we
must apply on a world-wide scale the same methods of crime prevention
and quarantine that we apply on a community or national scale. We
can do this first by force and ultimately by education. We can
clean out the political slums and plague spots of this earth where
the deadly germs of war are bred.

and the extension of economic justice.
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 suffer and silence. Sometimes, and for varying periods of human history, of human misery, the enemies of mankind have been for a time successful. But not for long and never permanently. The people have always broken through in the end and 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.

That is happening now. The people have broken through against 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 combination of forces, no trickery, deceit, can stop them now. They see before them again the hope of the world — a decent, peaceful life for all men everywhere.

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, or the Japanese war lords, or the Italian Fascists to say how long this war will last. It is for us of the United Nations to put the final period to this long story of world tragedy. We can prolong the war, or we can shorten it, depending entirely on the speed and the unity that we display in putting our combined forces into battle with our enemies — on battlefields of our own choosing. Nobody can promise that 1945 will bring final, total victory to our arms — as Hitler promised the German people in 1940, and again in 1941, and again in 1942.

However, I can express the conviction that in 1945 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 costly 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 heart of this Nation is sound — the spirit of this Nation is strong — the faith of this Nation is eternal.
The assembling of this new Congress in a period of national crisis gives occasion for a review of the past year, and for consideration of the prospects which now confront the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government and the American people as a whole. The past year was perhaps the most crucial in modern civilization; the prospects of the coming year are filled both with anguish and 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 has been the inspiring demonstration of the great qualities of our fighting men. They have displayed their qualities in adversity as well as in glorious 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 --
all these and hundreds of thousands more have fought the enemy and endured the hardships of heat and cold, of wind and water, of loneliness and privation. Their unconquerable spirit will live forever.

The permanent chronicle of this world-wide war will not be concerned with the day-to-day headlines but with the ultimate significance of each event. Apparent successes or failures which may be the causes of rejoicing or lamentation this morning may well be forgotten when the final victory is won; and some event which is barely noted in the comment of the day may, by the end of the war, prove to have been a decisive factor.

In preceding years China, Great Britain and Russia have, each in turn, borne the brunt of the enemy's attacks. The year 1942 was marked by the magnificent Russian advance, followed by the beginning of their present great offensive. It was marked by the saving of the Near East by the British Forces in Egypt; by the American-British occupation of French North Africa; by the series of Japanese victories from the Philippines to the East Indies to Malaya to Burma; by the stopping of the Japanese advance in the Mid-Pacific,
the South Pacific and the Indian Oceans; and, finally, by the unsurpassed American production program which is definitely guaranteeing to the United Nations a growing superiority in munitions, over and above anything that our enemies can produce.

The Axis Powers knew that for themselves the year 1942 was to be decisive; that they must win then or eventually lose everything. I do not need to tell you that our enemies did not win this war in 1942.

From the historical point of view, the actual military effect of the attack on Pearl Harbor proved to be only temporary. It might have been far more serious for us if the Japanese had followed up their Sunday morning effort with an actual landing in the Hawaiian Islands. But they did not follow up -- and we must make absolutely sure, now and in future years after the war, that the same opportunity will never be given to them again.

In the Pacific area, the most important victory won by our forces in 1942 was the air and naval battle for the security of Midway Island. That action is historically important because it freed 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
aboard -- 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 the kind of fighting
power which insure our ultimate total triumph. But these
actions were essentially defensive. They were part of the
delaying strategy that characterized this phase of the war.
They prevented the Japanese from advancing any further south
or east, but they have not yet enabled us to make any
substantial advances toward our real objective -- which is
Tokyo itself.

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 our first task in the war of the Pacific day-by-day
and week-by-week destruction of more Japanese armament
than Japanese industry could replace. Most certainly, that
task has been and is being performed.
All this I do not know precisely. What 1943 holds for us in a military sense I can tell you. Our underlying military policy for 1943: the懂得 in the Pacific, the Germans and Japanese in Europe; it is to cakc out the enemy, to bring the enemy to grips, and to give him no quarter. Within the limitations imposed by our judgment, it shall be our consistent aim from now on to join the enemy, to exact him at all points, to hit him and hit him and hit him again. In 1943 we shall lean the offensive through the world.
Our objective, then, is to seek out Japanese forces and to
make them fight 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 strength in ships and planes is going up
and up. The eventual outcome can be put on a mathematical basis.

That fact will become evident to the Japanese people themselves.
We intend to strike at islands and subject their war
factories and shipyards to constant bombing.

In 1942 we did what we could and are still doing all that
can to get supplies and weapons to the people of China,
who are now in the sixth year of their war for survival. It
is still far short of what we would want to send. But we now
can give assurance to these heroic people, whose ideals of peace
are so closely akin to our own, that however formidable are the
obstacles that separate us, they will be overcome; that the
present strength of our common enemy will be shattered; and
that China will realize the security, the prosperity, and the
dignity, which the Japanese have fought so ruthlessly to destroy.

We wage war against Japan not only by way of the Pacific,
but by way of the Atlantic as well — across the route which
leads to India and China. Of vital strategic importance to
that route is the command of the Mediterranean Sea; and for
that command, the United Nations' forces, especially our British Allies, are now fighting against Germans and Italians in North Africa.

Theatre of war during this past year was the European scene. It was clear that our first task was to ease the pressure on the Russian front by compelling Germany to divide her manpower and equipment among as many theatres of war as possible. Our big problem was to pick a point, which we could attack in 1942 and which would be successful in forcing Hitler further to disperse his strength.

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

By far the largest and most important developments in the whole strategic picture of 1942 have been the events on the long fronts in Russia. First -- the implacable defense of Stalingrad -- and, second, the series of offensives at
various points which started in the latter part of November and which roll on with great force and effectiveness.

I am sure that Americans will be glad to know that hundreds of thousands of the valiant Russian soldiers who now are capturing and killing vast numbers of German soldiers are using

insert

Such a brief review of the most significant military events is deficient in one important respect: it fails to convey the magnitude and diversity of the military activities in which this nation is now engaged. As I speak to you more than one million of our soldiers, sailors, Marines and flyers are stationed throughout the world. Together with our Allies, the Armed Forces of the United States are now ready to carry the fight to the enemy from different outposts and theatres of operation. Our sailors are afloat on the waters of all the oceans. Our merchant seamen are carrying supplies to us and our Allies over every sea lane. Day and night our flyers bomb and harass the enemy on ten different fronts.

through the years of this war have fought our common enemies, and have denied to them the world conquest which they sought.

Included in this roll of honor are the soldiers and flyers and seamen of others of the United Nations whose countries have been overrun by Axis hordes. They and their fellow countrymen within occupied Europe will never stop fighting and resisting until the day of liberation. We now see the first light of the dawn of that day.
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 essential in the planning and carrying out of the major strategic methods, in building up and maintaining the lines of supplies and in achieving agreement on the military objectives of the war.

I cannot prognosticate. I cannot tell you when or where the United Nations are going to strike next. 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 through the English Channel, 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 ton after ton of explosives on their industries and utilities and seaports.

Hitler and Mussolini were made to understand the enormity of their miscalculation that the Nazis would always have the advantage of superior air-power, as they did when they bombed 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 to a large extent upon our progress on the production front. Throughout the past year and even before Pearl Harbor, we have heard persistent criticism in this country against the management and conduct of war production. Much of this self-criticism has had a generally 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.

The criticism which I described as being healthy is that kind of criticism which is based on facts.

But, we cannot say the same thing about criticism based on guesswork. 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. Some people even feared that the goals 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, and in the ability of our people to establish new records of accomplishment. That confidence has been more than justified.

Of course, we realized that some production objectives laid down 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 was all very well to have a high rate of munitions production, but that we could never build enough ships to get our products to the theatres of operation. They contended that we were turning our material just for storage in warehouses here at home.

However, in 1942, we built 8,090,000 tons of merchant ships. In this, we exceeded the announced schedule. As a result,
this accomplishment in ship building, 75% of all the munitions produced already has been sent abroad. During 1942 we shipped to all fighting fronts, for our own forces and those of our Allies, _____ combat aircraft; _____ tanks; _____ anti-aircraft guns; _____ anti-tank guns; and _____ billion rounds of ammunitions.

Our 1942 airplane production and tank production fell short, numerically, of the goals set a year ago. But we have plenty of reason to be proud of our record for 1942. We produced 49,000 military planes — more than the airplane production of Germany, Italy and Japan put together. Last month, December, we produced 5,400 military planes and the rate is rapidly rising.

It is important for us to note — and for our enemies to note — that the proportion of heavy bombing planes produced in 1942 was much larger than was provided for in the original schedule. The total number of planes has been reduced — but the total tonnage, the total striking power and the total number of man hours in the production of aircraft have been increased.

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

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 threefold increase over the preceding year.

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 will have his work cut out for him explaining to the German people just why it is that "decadent, inefficient democracy" can produce such phenomenal quantities of weapons and munitions.

We have made good our promise to construct an unbeatable arsenal of democracy. We have done this together — we of industry and we of labor and we of government. And in the doing of it we have given the lie to certain miasconceptions — especially the one which holds that the various interest groups within a free country cannot forego their political and economic
differences in time of crisis and pull 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 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.
Three great goals of the home front in 1942 - to raise our munition production to the highest level ever conceived, to more than lift our armed forces and to produce record quantities of food - constitute the most ambitious economic program attempted in so short a period.
Is there any person among us so naive as to believe that all this could have been accomplished without creating some dislocations in our normal national life, some inconveniences, and even some hardships?

What optimist could expect us to divert a great proportion of our resources to war and at the same time maintain our high standard of living at its peacetime level?

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?
We all know that there have been mistakes due to the inevitable process of trial and error inherent in doing big things for the first time. There have been too many complicated forms and questionnaires. You do not have to tell me that. I have had to fill some of them out myself. But there forms and questionnaires represent an honest and sincere attempt by honest and sincere officials to learn all the facts, on which to base a policy which would be fair and just to all, rich and poor, management and labor, farmer and consumer 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 cheaters, for criminals or for the monopolies or Black Market.
But we are determined to see to it that our raw materials and machine
tools get to the people who need them for war production. We are determined to see
to it that our limited 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
for the average man at a stable level. All this requires a great deal of information
which was not otherwise available. 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 chisellers, 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. Who knows? The facts will have much regard.

No real American can understand them for the housewife who asks, "What right has the Government to take the butter out of my icebox to send to foreign countries?" Strangely enough, the same housewife does not contest the Government's right to enlist her neighbors' sons for service overseas.

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 relief in areas that we occupy. In North Africa, for instance, we found conditions of misery and starvation which resulted from the systematic looting of that region by the Nazis and by Vichy France. We could not permit such conditions to continue in the interests of our military operations, if for no more humane reason.

In any case, the Government is not going to take all the butter out of the family icebox. But it is certainly the intention that no icebox shall receive more than enough butter
for the family's basic needs. We may as well reconcile ourselves
now to the fact that we cannot butter the bread on both sides of
the sandwich this war.

Nineteen hundred and forty-three will not be an easy year
for us on the home front. No one can forecast accurately the
exact impacts that we shall sustain during the coming year. But
I can assure you they will be harsh. The most difficult, costly
phase of this war is immediately ahead of us. We shall feel
in many ways in our daily lives the sharp pinch of total war.

We Americans must do this great job together. We must
have confidence in one another. We of this Government must
never for one moment fail in our confidence in the people.

And our people must have confidence in their Government —
in all branches of their Government.

It is 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 -- all that matters is results. And the one
pertinent fact is that two years ago, in 1940, we were
unprepared, spiritually as well as physically, for total war; whereas today, at the beginning of 1943, we have become the most powerful nation in the history of the world.

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 made such fun of the obsolete methods of democracy, would gladly use all they could get of that same brand of energy and unity and actual achievement.
We must not forget that our achievements in production have been relatively no greater than those of the Russian and British and Chinese who have developed their war industries under the incredible difficulties of battle conditions. They have had to move and disperse their factories. They have had to continue work through bombings and black-outs. They have never quit.

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

As spokesmen for the United States Government, you and I may well 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, to the farmers who have faced an unprecedented task
of feeding not only a great nation but a great part of the
world -- to all the loyal anonymous, untiring men and women
who have worked and who have endured rationing and other
stringencies with good humor and good-will. They have con-
tributed magnificently to our common cause.
A review of the events of the past year based on a sense of proportion naturally leads to a consideration of the years ahead -- the post-war world -- based again on a sense of proportion. It is conceivable -- though no one can go so far as to say it is probable -- that the war might end within the term of this the Seventy-Eighth Congress.

Regardless of how long it may be before we come to total victory -- it is now none too soon for us to be thinking of the historic responsibilities which this Nation will have in helping to build the kind of decent and durable peace for which our soldiers and sailors are fighting.

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

But we have learned that we can never dig a hole so deep that it would be safe against predatory animals. We have also learned that if we do not exterminate 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.
Americans of today realize more clearly than ever before
that the modern equipment of war is in the hands of aggressor nations,
bring danger overnight to our own national existence or to that of any
other nation or any continent of the world.

Every normal American who goes through the hardships and
dangers of war prays that neither he nor his sons nor his grandchildren will
be compelled to go through this horror again. An essential part of his
will to fight is a grim determination that whether he live or die, the
Governments and the peoples of the United Nations will see to it that
peace shall be maintained by force, if necessary.

We all know that if Germany and Italy and Japan—or any one
of them—remain armed at the end of this war, or if their war lords or
military caste retain any powers of dictatorship or even of influence,
they will again embark upon an ambitious career of world conquest. We
know that all of the aggressors must be disarmed— that they must
be forced to abandon the philosophy, and the teaching of that philosophy,
which has brought so much death and destruction to the 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 never again follow the road that is paved merely with good
intentions. But—above all things—we must continue in the
Today the United Nations are the mightiest military coalition in history. They must become the mightiest peacetime coalition.
FIFTH DRAFT

- 20 -
days of peace the cooperation among the United Nations which is the
essential force in the winning of the war.

The United Nations, in solemn agreement that they themselves will
not commit acts of aggression or conquest against any of their neighbors,
can and must combine to maintain peace by preventing any attempt to
rearm in Germany, in Japan, in Italy, or in any other nation which seeks
to violate the Tenth Commandment — "Thou shalt not covet."

Two years ago I spoke in my annual message of Four Freedoms. The
blessings of two of these — 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 third freedom —

Freedom from want is among the still unrealized aspirations of
the human race. But Americans — like many others — demand its realization —
especially those young Americans who are so gallantly doing their part in
the fight of this war.

Our men and women, when they are mustered out of their present
service, will demand and will have a right to expect full employment for
all able-bodied men and women in America who want to work.

They expect the opportunity to run their farms, their stores,
their garages, their factories for a reasonable profit. They are eager to
bear the risks inherent in our system of free enterprise. They do not
want a post-war America which suffers from the blight of pauperism and bread-lines — and the dole. They want no temporary job for a month or a year, for they remember what happened to other veterans in 1920. Nor do they want a get-rich-quick era of bogus "prosperity" which will end 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 out that they want to work for themselves and their families, and that they consider that they have the right to work, as a part of their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

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

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

I dissent.

If the security of the individual citizen or the family should become a subject of national debate, you will know where I stand.
But full employment for all is not enough. We must have a vastly expanded minimum program covering the moral hazards of family life from the cradle to the grave. We must abolish every vestige of poverty in America.
In a war of survival we must constantly be aware not only
of the evil things we are fighting against, but of the good things we
are fighting for. We are fighting not simply for a great past but for
a greater future, for a future that we know is worth fighting for.

Let us remember that economic safety for the Americas of the
future is impossible unless a greater economic stability comes to all
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 squalor and starvation any-
where in the world and spread everywhere in the world.

It is not enough for the United Nations to cooperate solely
in putting down aggression and resolving territorial disputes. We must
cooperate in helping each nation in its efforts to attain for its own
people the highest standard of life that can be made possible by a wise
and prudent use of their human and material resources. And in this,
obviously, we include the highest standard of living for our own American
people — indeed, higher standards than we have ever known before.

Naturally, we can be of no aid to the rest of the world unless
we are vigilant in keeping our own house in order.
There can be no place in America for economic defeatism. We have the knowledge, skill, and resources to make America worthy of the men and women who are fighting to preserve its highest ideals. We have the men and materials to rebuild our towns and our cities, to replace the slums 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.

No economic system can by itself provide complete security. Disease and accidents cause loss of earnings. Death removes breadwinners and leaves widows and dependent children. Business changes, seasonal variations—all kinds of conditions—cause temporary unemployment in the best-regulated economic system and in the most prosperous eras. When these tragedies come, the men, women, and children affected have the right—not merely the privilege, but the right—to look to their 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 part way toward achieving that kind of assurance. But there is still much to be done.
We have learned a lot by experience. We should now proceed to a single unified comprehensive system to which workers and employers and government all contribute their fair share. Such a system should ultimately cover all of the major economic hazards to which our people are exposed from the cradle to the grave.

We must not wait until the war is ended and then attempt hastily to improvise a system of personal and family safety. It is our obligation to our fighting men and women to do it now.

I set this before the Congress as an objective. I shall send to you much data and many studies bearing on needs and methods. I feel very certain that the people of this nation will support the objective by an overwhelming majority. I trust that the Congress will not so disagree on details that the purpose itself will be lost.

Victory in this war is the first and greatest goal before us. Victory in the peace is the next — and that means the keeping of the peace and the continued enlargement of the security of man, here and throughout the world, not only for the next generation but far as far into the future as any man can foresee.

The final Freedom — Freedom from Fear — can be fully realised 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.

There are cynics and 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. The philosophy of Nazism, Fascism and Japanese military autocracy is also based on profound contempt for the human race. If we, in the formation of our future policy, were to be guided by this same contempt, then we should be surrendering to the philosophy of our enemies and our victory would turn into defeat.

A nation is an entity composed of communities just as a community is an entity composed of individuals. The problem of maintaining order and peace in a community has been solved from time immemorial by the creation and maintenance of a constable or a sheriff or a police department. If in a community an individual with a gun on each hip walks the streets looking for trouble, he is picked up by the officers of the law and disarmed.

And in similar fashion, the community has a health department. If a contagious epidemic breaks out, the victims of the
disease and all those exposed to it are quarantined, whether they like it or not. A nation — an aggregation of communities — takes the same preventive measures against nation-wide crime and disease.

The world is an entity composed of nations. We can and we must apply on a world-wide scale the same methods of crime prevention and quarantine that we apply on a community or national scale, dominates first by force and ultimately by education and the extension of economic justice. We can clean out the political slums and plague spots of this earth where the deadly germs of war are bred.

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 silence. Sometimes, and for varying periods of human history, of human misery, the enemies of mankind have been for a time successful. But not for long and never permanently. The people have always broken through in the end and 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 well-being.
That is happening now. The people have regained 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 combination of forces, no trickery or deceit, can stop them now. They see before them again the hope of the world—a decent, peaceful life for all men everywhere.

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, or the Japanese war lords, or the Italian Fascists to say how long this war will last. It is for us of the United Nations to put the final period to this long story of world tragedy. We can prolong the war, or we can shorten it, depending entirely on the speed and the unity that we display in putting our combined forces into battle with our enemies—on battlefields of our own choosing.

Again, I do not prognosticate. Nobody can promise that 1943 will bring final, total victory to our arms—as Hitler promised the German people in 1940, and again in 1941, and again in 1942.
However, I can express the conviction that in 1945 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 73rd Congress, and to all our countrymen, everywhere, I say that we may look to the future with confidence. A tremendous and a costly and a 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.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 6, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR
GRACE

This is the copy as checked by Colonel Robinson of the War Department, with his notations. I imagine this copy should be kept for the record in case there is any questioning of the figures used.

Colonel Robinson came in this afternoon, at our request, and checked the ninth and final draft.

R. E. Sherwood
Personnel Overseas

Army       -       1,000,000
Navy       -       approx. 400,000 (all branches)
Here are some other production figures:

In 1942, we produced 55,963 combat vehicles, such as tanks and self-propelled artillery.

In 1942, we produced 670,000 machine guns, six times 1941 and three times greater than our production in the First World War.

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

We produced 100,000 mortars, twenty-two times greater than our total production in the First World War.

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

We produced 181 million rounds of artillery ammunition, twelve times our 1941 and ten times our total World War I production, in the First World War.
The assembling of this new Congress in a period of national crisis gives occasion for a review of the past year, and for consideration of the prospects which now confront the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government and the American people as a whole. The past year was perhaps the most crucial in modern civilization; the prospects of the coming year are filled both with anguish and 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 has been the inspiring demonstration of the great qualities of our fighting men. They have displayed their qualities in adversity as well as in glorious 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 —
all these and hundreds of thousands more have fought the enemy and endured the hardships of heat and cold, of wind and water, of loneliness and privation. Their unconquerable spirit will live forever.

The permanent chronicle of this world-wide war will not be concerned with the day-to-day headlines but with the ultimate significance of each event. Apparent successes or failures which may be the causes of rejoicing or lamentation this morning may well be forgotten when the final victory is won; and some event which is barely noted in the comment of the day may, by the end of the war, prove to have been a decisive factor.

In preceding years China, Great Britain and Russia had, each in turn, borne the brunt of the enemy's attacks. The year 1942 was marked by the magnificent Russian advance, followed by the beginning of their present great offensive. It was marked by the saving of the Near East by the British Forces in Egypt; by the American-British occupation of French North Africa; by the series of Japanese victories from the Philippines to the East Indies to Malaya to Burma; by the stopping of the Japanese advance in the Mic-Pacifis,
the South Pacific and the Indian Oceans; and, finally, by the unsurpassed American production program which is definitely guaranteeing to the United Nations a growing superiority in munitions, over and above anything that our enemies can produce.

The Axis Powers knew that for themselves the year 1942 was to be decisive; that they must win then or eventually lose everything. I do not need to tell you that our enemies did not win this war in 1942.

From the historical point of view, the actual military effect of the attack on Pearl Harbor proved to be only temporary. It might have been otherwise serious for us if the Japanese had followed up their Sunday morning effort with an actual landing in the Hawaiian Islands. But they did not follow up — and we must make absolutely sure, now and in future years after the war, that the same opportunity will never be given to them again.

In the Pacific area, the most important victory by our forces in 1942 was the air and naval battle for the security of Midway Island. That action is historically important because it freed 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. In these actions, our armed forces and those of our Allies have shown the kind of fighting power which insure our ultimate total triumph. But these actions were essentially defensive. They were part of the delaying strategy that characterized this phase of the war. They prevented the Japanese from advancing any further south or east, but they have not yet enabled us to make any substantial advances toward our real objective — which is Tokyo itself.

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 our first task in the war of the Pacific day-by-day and week-by-week destruction of more Japanese armament than Japanese industry could replace. Most certainly, that task has been and is being performed.
Our objective was and is to seek our Japanese forces and to make them fight 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 strength in ships and planes is going up and up. The eventual outcome can be put on a mathematical basis. That fact will become evident to the Japanese people themselves when we strike at their own home islands and subject their war factories and shipyards to heavy bombing.

In 1942 we did what we could and are still doing all that we can in getting supplies and weapons to the people of China, who are now in the sixth year of their war for survival. It is still far short of what we would want to send. But we now can give assurance to these heroic people, whose ideals of peace are so closely akin to our own, that however formidable are the obstacles that separate us, they will be overcome; that the present strength of our common enemy will be shattered; and that China will realize the security, the prosperity, and the dignity, which the Japanese have fought so ruthlessly to destroy.

We wage war against Japan not only by way of the Pacific, but by way of the Atlantic as well — across the route which leads to India and China. Of vital strategic importance to that route is the command of the Mediterranean Sea; and for
that command, the United Nations' forces, especially our British Allies, are now fighting against Germans and Italians in North Africa.

In the European zone it was clear that our first task was to ease the pressure on the Russian front by compelling Germany to divide her manpower and equipment among as many theatres of war as possible. Our big problem was to pick a point, which we could attack during 1942 and which would be successful in forcing Hitler further to disperse his strength.

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

By far the largest and most important developments in the whole strategic picture of 1942 have been the events on the long fronts in Russia. First -- the implacable defense of Stalingrad -- and, second, the series of offensives at
various points which started in the latter part of November and which roll on with great force and effectiveness.

I am sure that Americans will be glad to know that hundreds of thousands of the valiant Russian soldiers who now are capturing and killing vast numbers of German soldiers are using American-made arms and equipment -- they are nourished by American food -- they are advancing through the snows on specially designed American boots.

I have spoken of the fortitude and courage of our own boys who are fighting on sea and land and in the air. I want to 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.

On this roll of honor are the soldiers and fliers and seamen of others of the United Nations whose countries have been overrun by Axis hordes. They and their fellow countrymen within occupied Europe will never stop fighting and resisting until the day of liberation. We now see the first light of the dawn of that day.
We bear 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 essential in the planning and carrying out of the major strategic methods, in building up and maintaining the lines of supplies and in achieving agreement on the military objectives of the war.

I cannot prognosticate. I cannot tell you when or where the United Nations are going to strike next. 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 across the English Channel, 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 ton after ton of explosives on their industries and utilities and seaports.

Hitler and Mussolini will be made to understand the enormity of their miscalculation that the Nazis would always have the advantage of superior air-power, as they did when they bombed 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 to a large extent upon our progress on the production front. Throughout the past year and even before Pearl Harbor, we have heard persistent criticism in this country against the management and conduct of war production. Most of this self-criticism has had a generally 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.

The criticism which I described as being healthy is that kind of criticism which is based on facts.

But, we cannot say the same thing about criticism based on guesswork. 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. Some people even feared that the goals 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, and in the ability of our people to establish new records of accomplishment. That confidence has been more than justified.

Of course, we realized that some production objectives laid down 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 was all very well to have a high rate of munitions production, but that we could never build enough ships to get our products to the theatres of operation. They contended that we were turning our material just for storage in warehouses here at home.

However, in 1942, we built 8,090,000 tons of merchant ships. In this, we met the announced schedule. As a result of
this accomplishment in ship-building, we were able to ship to all fighting fronts for our own forces and those of our allies during 1942 all munitions produced with the exception of what was absolutely essential in the United States for training and required war reserves. As a matter of fact, shipments were so large, that the needs for equipment for the training of new troops in this country were barely met. For example, half of all the tanks we have produced to date have been shipped to our allies or to our own troops overseas.

Italy and Japan put together. Last month, December, we produced 5,500 military planes and the rate is rapidly rising.

It is important for you to note that for our enemies to note that the average weight of planes produced during the month of 1942 of December, 1942, is smaller.

The total number of planes has been reduced, but the average tonnage, the average striking power and the average number of man hours in the production of aircraft have been increased.

Similarly, in tank production, we have revised our schedule for good and sufficient reasons. As a result of hard experience in battle, we have diverted a portion of our tank producing capacity to the production of new, deadly field weapons, especially self-propelled artillery, on tank chassis.
this accomplishment in ship-building, we were able to ship to all fighting
fronts for our own forces and those of our allies during 1942 all munitions
produced with the exception of what was absolutely essential in the United
States for training and required war reserves. As a matter of fact, ship-
ments were so large, that the needs for equipment for the training of new
troops in this country were barely met. For example, half of all the tanks
we have produced to date have been shipped to our allies or to our own
troops overseas.

Italy and Japan put together. Last month, December, we produced
5,500 military planes and the rate is rapidly rising.

It is important for you to note—and for our enemies to note—
that the average weight of planes produced during the month of
December, 1942, was the third month than in December, 1941. The
average tonnage, the average striking power and the average number of
man-hours in the production of aircraft have been increased.

Similarly, in tank production, we have revised our schedule
for good and sufficient reasons. As a result of hard experience
in battle, we have diverted a portion of our tank producing
capacity to the production of new, deadly field weapons,
especially self-propelled artillery, on tank chassis.
Here are some other production figures:

- We produced 267,000 machine guns, more than twice times 1941.
- We produced 21,300 anti-tank guns, again 6 times 1941 production.
- We produced 113,000 anti-aircraft in June 1944. 6 times 1941.
- We produced 1,200 field artillery pieces; ten billion and a quarter in June 1944.
- Rounds of small arms ammunition and 175,000 two and one-half ton trucks.
- And we launched 3.4 million new fighting ships in the six major types of naval combat vessels -- a threefold increase over the preceding year.

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 will have his work cut out for him explaining to the German people just why it is that "decadent, inefficient democracy" can produce such phenomenal quantities of weapons and munitions.

We have made good our promise to construct an unbeatable arsenal of democracy. We have done this together -- we of industry and we of labor and we of government. 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 country cannot forego their political and economic
differences in time of crisis and pull 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 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.

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

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

As spokesmen for the United States Government, you and I may well 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, to the farmers who have faced an unprecedented task
of feeding not only a great nation but a great part of the
world -- to all the loyal anonymous, untiring men and women
who have worked and who have endured rationing and other
stringencies with good humor and good-will. They have con-
tributed magnificently to our common cause.

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

What optimist could expect us to divert a great proportion
of our resources to war and at the same time maintain our high
standard of living at its peacetime level?

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?
FIFTH DRAFT

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

No real American can summon much admiration for the housewife who asks, "What right has the Government to take the butter out of my icebox to send to foreign countries?" Strangely enough, the same housewife does not contest the Government's right to enlist her neighbors' sons for service overseas.

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 relief in areas that we occupy. In North Africa, for instance, we found conditions of misery and starvation which resulted from the systematic looting of that region by the Nazis and by Vichy France. We could not permit such conditions to continue in the interests of our military operations, if for no more humane reason.

In any case, the Government is not going to take all the butter out of the family icebox. But it is certainly the intention that no icebox shall receive more than enough butter
for the family's basic needs. We may as well reconcile ourselves
now to the fact that we cannot butter the bread on both sides of
the sandwich in this war.

Nineteen hundred and forty-three will not be an easy year
for us on the home front. No one can forecast accurately the
exact impacts that we shall sustain during the coming year. But
I can assure you they will be harsh. The most difficult, costly
phase of this war is immediately ahead of us. We shall feel
in many ways in our daily lives the sharp pinch of total war.

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

It is always easy 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 — all that matters is results. And the one
pertinent fact is that two years ago, in 1940, we were
unprepared, spiritually as well as physically, for total war; whereas today, at the beginning of 1943, we have become the most powerful nation in the history of the world.

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 made such fun of the obsolete methods of democracy, would gladly use all they could get of that same brand of energy and unity and actual achievement.

We all know that there have been mistakes due to the inevitable process of trial and error inherent in doing big things for the first time. There have been too many complicated forms and questionnaires. You do not have to tell me that. I have had to fill some of them out myself. But those forms and questionnaires represent an honest and sincere attempt by honest and sincere officials to learn all the facts, on which to base a policy which would be fair and just to all, rich and poor, management and labor, farmer and consumer 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 cheaters, for
chisellers, of for the manipulators of the Black Market.

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

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

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

But we have learned that we can never dig a hole so deep that it would be safe against predatory animals. We have also learned that if we do not exterminate 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.
Americans of today realize more clearly than ever before that the modern equipment of war can, in the hands of aggressor nations, bring danger overnight to our own national existence or to that of any other nation or any continent of the world.

Every normal American who goes through the hardships and dangers of war prays that neither he nor his sons nor his grandchildren will be compelled to go through this horror again. An essential part of his will to fight is a grim determination that whether he live or die, the Governments and the peoples of the United Nations will see to it that peace must be maintained by force if necessary.

We all know, that if Germany and Italy and Japan — or any one of them — remain armed at the end of this war, or if their war lords or military castes retain any powers of dictatorship or even of influence they will again embark upon an ambitious career of world conquest. We know, that all of the aggressors must remain disarmed — that they must be forced to abandon the philosophy, and the teaching of that philosophy, which has brought so much death and destruction to the 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 never again follow the road that is paved merely with good intentions. But — above all things — we must continue in the
days of peace the cooperation among the United Nations which is the
essential force in the winning of the war.

The United Nations, in solemn agreement that they themselves will
not commit acts of aggression or conquest against any of their neighbors,
can and must combine to maintain peace by preventing any attempt to
rearm in Germany, in Japan, in Italy, or in any other nation which seeks
to violate the Tenth Commandment — "Thou shalt not covet."

Two years ago I spoke in my annual message of Four Freedoms. The
blessings of two of these — 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.

Freedom from Want is among the still unrealized aspirations of
the human race. But Americans — like many others — demand its realization —
especially those young Americans who are so gallantly doing their part in
the fighting of this war.

Our men and women, when they are mustered out of their present
service, will demand and will have a right to expect full employment for
all able-bodied men and women in America who want to work.

They expect the opportunity to run their farms, their stores,
their garages, their factories for a reasonable profit. They are eager to
run the risks inherent in our system of free enterprise. They do not
want a post-war America which suffers from the blight of pauperism and
bread-lines — and the dole. They want no temporary job for a month or
a year, for they remember what happened to other veterans in 1929. Nor
do they want a 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 out
that they want to work for themselves and their families, and that they
consider that they have the right to work, as a part of their right to
life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

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

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

I dissent.

If the security 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 we must constantly be aware not only of the evil things we are fighting against, but of the good things we are fighting for. We are fighting not simply for a great past but for a greater future, for a future that we know is worth fighting for and, if need be, dying for.

Let us remember that economic safety for the America of the future is impossible unless a greater economic stability comes to all 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 squalor and starvation anywhere in the world and spread everywhere in the world.

It is not enough for the United Nations to cooperate solely in putting down aggression and resolving territorial disputes. We must cooperate in helping each nation in its efforts to attain for its own people the highest standard of life that can be made possible by a wise and prudent use of their human and material resources. And in this, obviously, we include the highest standard of living for our own American people — indeed, higher standards than we have ever known before.

Surely, we can be of no aid to the rest of the world unless we are vigilantly keeping our own house in order.
There can be no place in America for economic defeatism. We have the knowledge, skill and resources to make America worthy of the men and women who are fighting to preserve its highest ideals. We have the men and materials to rebuild our towns and our cities, to replace the slum dwellings in town and in country with modern low-cost homes, to conserve our soils, irrigate our lands and improve and diversify our agriculture, to modernise 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.

No economic system can by itself provide complete security. Disease and accidents cause loss of earnings. Death removes breadwinners and leaves widows and dependent children. Business changes, seasonal variations — all kinds of conditions — 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 their 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 part way toward achieving that kind of assurance. But there is still much to be done.
We have learned a lot by experience. We should now proceed to a single unified comprehensive system to which workers and employers and government all contribute their fair share. Such a system should ultimately cover all of the major economic hazards to which our people are exposed from the cradle to the grave.

We must not wait until the war is ended and then attempt hastily to improvise a system of personal and family safety. It is our obligation to our fighting men and women to do it now.

I set this before the Congress as an objective. I shall send to you much data and many studies bearing on needs and methods. I feel very certain that the people of this nation will support the objective by an overwhelming majority. I trust that the Congress will not so disagree on details that the purpose itself will be lost.

Victory in this war is the first and greatest goal before us. Victory in the peace is the next — and that means the keeping of the peace and the continued enlargement of the security of man, here and throughout the world, not only for the next generation but for as far into the future as any man can foresee.

The final Freedom — Freedom from Fear — can be fully realised 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.

There are cynics and 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. The philosophy of Nazism, Fascism and
Japanese military autocracy is also based on profound contempt for
the human race. If we, in the formation of our future policy, were
to be guided by this same contempt, then we should be surrendering to
the philosophy of our enemies and our victory would turn into defeat.

A nation is an entity composed of communities just as a
community is an entity composed of individuals. The problem of
maintaining order and peace in a community has been solved from time
immortal by the creation and maintenance of a constable or a sheriff
or a police department. If in a community an individual with a gun on
each hip walks the streets looking for trouble, he is picked up by the
officers of the law and disarmed.

And in similar fashion, the community has a health depart-
ment. If a contagious epidemic breaks out, the victims of the
disease and all those exposed to it are quarantined, whether they like it or not. A nation — an aggregation of communities — takes the same preventive measures against nation-wide crime and disease.

The world is an entity composed of nations. We can and we must apply on a world-wide scale the same methods of crime prevention and quarantine that we apply on a community or national scale. We can do this first by force and ultimately by education and the extension of economic justice. We can clean out the political slums and plague spots of this earth where the deadly germs of war are bred.

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 silence. Sometimes, and for varying periods of human history, of human misery, the enemies of mankind have been for a time successful. But not for long and never permanently. The people have always broken through in the end and civilisation, the decent life of men together on the earth, has swept forward toward a new realisation of the ancient human dream of peace and wellbeing.
That is happening now. The people have regained 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 combination of forces, no trickery or deceit, can stop them now. They see before them again the hope of the world—a decent, peaceful life for all men everywhere.

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, or the Japanese war lords, or the Italian Fascists to say how long this war will last. It is for us of the United Nations to put the final period to this long story of world tragedy. We can prolong the war, or we can shorten it, depending entirely on the speed and the unity that we display in putting our combined forces into battle with our enemies—on battlefields of our own choosing.

Again, I do not prognosticate. Nobody can promise that 1943 will bring final, total victory to our arms—as Hitler promised the German people in 1940, and again in 1941, and again in 1942.
However, I can express the conviction that in 1945 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 costly and a 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.
The assembling of this new Congress in a period of national crisis gives occasion for a review of the past year, and for consideration of the prospects which now confront the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government and the American people as a whole. The past year was perhaps the most crucial for modern civilization; the prospects of the coming year will be filled with distraction and with high promise of better things.

The final chronicle of this world-wide war will not be concerned with the day-to-day headlines but with the ultimate significance of each event. Apparent successes or failures which may be the causes of rejoicing or lamentation this morning may well be forgotten when the final victory is won; and some event which is barely noted in the comment of the day may, by the end of the war, prove to have been a decisive factor.

We must appraise the events of 1942 according to their relative importance; we must exercise a sense of proportion.
First in importance has been the inspiring demonstration of the great qualities of our fighting men. They have displayed their qualities in adversity as well as in glorious 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, or the Java Sea and Midway and the North Atlantic convoys — all these and hundreds and thousands more have fought the enemy and endured the hardships of heat and cold, of wind and of loneliness and privation. Their unconquerable spirit will live forever.

In preceding years China, Great Britain and Russia had, each in turn, borne the brunt of the enemy's attacks. The year 1942 was marked by the magnificent Russian defense, followed by the beginning of their present great offensive. It was marked by the saving of the Near East by the British Forces in Egypt; by the American-British occupation of French North Africa; by the series of Japanese victories from the Philippines to the East Indies to Malaya to Burma; by the
stopping of the Japanese advance in the Mid-Pacific, the South Pacific and the Indian Oceans; and, finally, by the unsurpassed American production program which is definitely guaranteeing to the United Nations a growing superiority in munitions.

The Axis Powers knew that for themselves the year 1942 was to be decisive; that they must win then or eventually lose everything. I do not need to tell you that our enemies did not win this war in 1942.

From the historical point of view, the actual military effect of the attack on Pearl Harbor proved to be only temporary. It might have been far more serious for us if the Japanese had followed up their Sunday morning effort with an actual landing in the Hawaiian Islands. But they did not follow up — and their chance is gone forever.

In the Pacific area, the most important victory won by our forces in 1942 was the air and naval battle for the security of Midway Island. That action is historically important because it freed 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. In these actions, our armed forces
and those of our Allies have shown the kind of fighting power
which insure our ultimate total triumph. But these actions
were essentially defensive. They were part of the delaying
strategy that characterized this phase of the war. They
prevented the Japanese from advancing any further south or
east, but they have not yet enabled us to make any substantial
advances toward our real objective — which is Tokyo itself.

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 our first task in the war of the Pacific day-by-day
and week-by-week destruction of more Japanese armament than
Japanese industry could replace. Most certainly, that task
has been and is being performed.
Although I do not know precisely what 1943 holds for us in a military sense, I can tell you our underlying military policy for this year: it is to seek out the enemy -- the Japanese in the Pacific, the Germans and Italians in Europe -- to bring the enemy to grips, and to give him no quarter. Within the limitations enforced by our judgement, it shall be our consistent aim from now on to force the enemy, to crowd him at all points, to hit him and hit him and hit him again. In 1943 we shall be on the offensive throughout the world. 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. We intend to strike at the Japanese islands themselves and subject their war factories and shipyards to constant bombing.

In 1942 we did what we could and are still doing all that we can to get supplies and weapons to the people of China, who are now in the sixth year of their war for survival. It is still far short of what we would want to send. But we can give assurance to these heroic people, whose ideals of
peace are so closely akin to our own, that however formidable
are the obstacles that separate us, they will be overcome;
that the present strength of our common enemy will be
shattered; and that China will realize the security, the
prosperity, and the dignity, which the Japanese have fought
so ruthlessly to destroy.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A

At the same time we desired to make
safe lands and seas which Germany
stood ready to attack.

**********
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT B

It has opened to attack what Mr. Churchill well described as "the soft body of the enemy" 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. Great rains, and especially appalling mud, have delayed the final battles for Tunisia. The Axis is reenforcing
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT B

its strong positions, and I am confident that though the fighting will
be tough, the whole south shore of the Mediterranean will be in allied
possession from Morocco to Syria before we are much older.

************
In the European theatre of war during this past year it was clear that our first task was to ease the pressure on the Russian front by compelling Germany to divide her manpower and equipment among as many theatres of war as possible. Our big problem was to pick a point, which we could attack in 1942 and which would be successful in forcing Hitler further to disperse his strength.

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

By far the largest and most important developments in the whole strategic picture of 1942, have been the events on the long fronts in Russia. First -- the implacable defense of Stalingrad -- and, second, the series of offensives at various points which started in the latter part of November and which roll on with great force and effectiveness.
I am sure that Americans will be glad to know that hundreds of thousands of the valiant Russian soldiers who now are capturing and killing vast numbers of German soldiers are using American-made arms and equipment — they are nourished by American food — they are advancing through the snows on specially designed American boots.

Such a brief review of the most significant military events is deficient in one important respect: it fails to convey the magnitude and diversity of the military activities in which this nation is now engaged. As I speak to you, considerably more than one million of our soldiers, sailors, Marines and flyers are stationed throughout the world. Together with our allies, the armed forces of the United States are now ready to carry the fight to the enemy from different outposts and theaters of operations. Our sailors are afloat on the waters of all the oceans. Our merchant seamen are carrying supplies to them and our allies over every sea lane. Day and night our flyers bomb and harass the enemy on ten different fronts. And this, after a year and a month a tale.

I have spoken of the fortitude and courage of our own boys who are fighting on sea and land and in the air. I want to pay tribute
to 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.

Included in this roll of honor are the soldiers and fliers and seamen of others of the United Nations whose countries have been overrun by Axis hordes. They and their fellow countrymen within occupied Europe will never stop fighting and resisting until the day of liberation. We now see the first light of the dawn of that day.

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 essential in the planning and carrying out of the major strategic methods, in building up and maintaining the lines of supplies and in achieving agreement on the military objectives of the war.

I cannot tell you when or where in Europe the United Nations are going to strike next. 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
ton after ton of explosives on their industries and utilities and
seaports.

Hitler and Mussolini are being made to 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. Throughout
the past year and even before Pearl Harbor, we have heard
persistent criticism in this country against the management
and conduct of war production. Much of this self-criticism
has had a generally healthy effect. It has spurred us on.
SIXTH DRAFT

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.

The criticism which I described as being healthy is that kind of criticism which is based on facts.

But, we cannot say the same thing about criticism based on guesswork. 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. Some people even feared that the goals 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, and in the ability of our people to establish new records of accomplishment. That confidence has been more than justified.
Of course, we realized that some production objectives laid down 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 was all very well to have a high rate of munitions production, but that we could never build enough ships to get our products to the theatres of operation. They contended that we were turning out material just for storage in warehouses here at home.

However, in 1942, we built 8,090,000 tons of merchant ships. In this, we exceeded the announced schedule. As a result, 75% of all the munitions produced already has been sent out of the country.

During 1942 we shipped to all fighting fronts, for our own forces and those of our Allies, _____ combat aircraft; _____ tanks; _____ anti-aircraft guns; _____ anti-tank guns; and _____ billion rounds of ammunition.

Our 1942 airplane production and tank production fell short, numerically, of the goals set a year ago. But we have plenty of reason to be proud of our record for 1942. We produced 49,000
military planes -- more than the airplane production of Germany,
Italy and Japan put together. Last month, December, we produced
5,400 military planes and the rate is rapidly rising.

It is important for us to note -- and for our enemies to
note -- that the proportion of heavy bombing planes produced in
1942 was much larger than was provided for in the original
schedule. The total number of planes has been reduced -- but
the total tonnage, the total striking power and the total number
of man hours in the production of aircraft have been increased.

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

Here are some other production figures:
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 threefold increase over
the preceding year.

These facts and figures will give no aid and comfort to the
enemy. On the contrary, I can imagine they will give him con-
siderable discomfort. I suspect Hitler will have his work cut
out for him explaining to the German people just why it is that
"decadent, inefficient democracy" can produce such phenomenal
quantities of weapons and munitions.

We have made good our promise to construct an unbeatable
arsenal of democracy. We have done this together -- we of
industry and we of labor and we of government. 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 country cannot forego their political and economic
differences in time of crisis and pull together toward a common
goal.

While we have been achieving this miracle of production,
during the past year our Armed Forces have grown from 6,000 to
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 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.

These three great goals of the home front in 1942 -- to raise our munitions production to the highest level ever conceived, to increase more than threefold our armed forces and to produce record quantities of food -- constitute the most ambitious economic program ever accomplished in so short a period of time.

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

What optimist could expect us to divert so vast a proportion of our resources to war and at the same time maintain our high standard of living at its peacetime level?

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?
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. For one thing, there have been too many complicated forms and questionnaires. You do not have to tell me that. I have had to fill some of them out myself.

But we are determined to see to it that our raw materials and machine tools get to the people who need them for war production. We are determined to see to it that our limited 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 for the average man at a stable level. All this required a great deal of information which was not otherwise available. 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 war-time 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 chislers or for the manipulators of the Black Market.
Of course, there have been in conveniences and disturbances and even hardships. And there will be many, many more before we finally win.

"No real American who knows the facts will have much regard for the housewife who asks, "What right has the Government to take the butter out of my icebox to send to foreign countries"? Strangely enough, the same housewife does not contest the Government's right to enlist her neighbors' sons for service overseas.

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 in areas that we occupy. In North Africa, for instance, we found conditions of misery and starvation which resulted from the systematic looting of that region by the Nazis and by Vichy France. We could not permit such conditions to continue in the interests of our military operations, if for no more humane reason.

In any case, the Government is not going to take all the butter out of the family icebox. But it is certainly the intention that no icebox shall receive more than enough butter
for the family's basic needs. We may as well reconcile ourselves now to the fact that we cannot butter the bread on both sides of the sandwich and at the same time expect to win this war.

Nineteen hundred and forty-three will not be an easy year for us on the home front. No one can forecast accurately the exact impacts that we shall sustain during the coming year. But I can assure you that they will be harsh. The most difficult, costly phase of this war is immediately ahead of us. We shall feel in many ways in our daily lives the sharp pinch of total war.

We Americans must do this great job together. We must have confidence in one another. We of this Government must never for one moment fail in our confidence in the people. And our people can with good reason have confidence in their Government -- in all branches of their Government.

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 -- all that matters is results. And the one pertinent fact is that two years ago, in 1940, we were unprepared, spiritually as well as physically, for total war; whereas today, at the beginning of 1943, we have become the most powerful nation in the history of the world.
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 made such fun of the obsolete methods of democracy, would gladly use all they could get of that same brand of energy and unity and actual achievement.

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 move and disperse their factories. They have had to continue work through bombings and black-outs. They have never quit.

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

As spokesmen for the United States Government, you and I may well 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, to the farmers who have faced an
unprecedented task of feeding not only a great nation but a great part of the world -- to all the loyal, anonymous, untiring men and women who have worked and who have endured rationing and other stringencies with good humor and good-will. They have contributed magnificently to our common cause.

A review of the events of the past year based on a sense of proportion naturally leads to a consideration of the years ahead -- the post-war world -- based again on a sense of proportion.

Regardless of how long it may be before we come to total victory -- it is now none too soon for us to be thinking of the historic responsibilities which this Nation will have in helping to build the kind of decent and durable peace for which our soldiers and sailors are fighting.

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

But we have learned that we can never dig a hole so deep that it would be safe against predatory animals. We have also learned that if we do not exterminate 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.

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

Every normal American who experiences the hardships and
dangers of war prays that neither he nor his sons nor his
grandsons will be compelled to go through this horror again.
An essential part of his will to fight is a grim determination
that whether he live or die, the Governments and the peoples
of the United Nations will see to it in the future that peace
shall be maintained -- by force, if necessary.

We all know, that if Germany and Italy and Japan -- or
any one of them -- remain armed at the end of this war, or
if their war lords or military castes retain any powers of
dictatorship or even of influence, they will again embark
upon an ambitious career of world conquest. That is just
plain common sense. We know that all of the aggressors
must be disarmed and kept disarmed -- that they must be
forced to abandon the philosophy, and the teaching of that philosophy, which has brought so much death and destruction to the 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 never again follow the road that is paved merely with good intentions. But -- above all things -- we must continue in the days of peace the cooperation among the United Nations which is the essential force in the winning of the war.

Today the United Nations are the mightiest military coalition in history. They must become the mightiest peacetime coalition. 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 combine to maintain 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".
SIXTH DRAFT

-23-

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 third Freedom -- Freedom from Want -- is among the still unrealized aspirations of the human race. But Americans -- like many others -- demand its realization -- especially those young Americans who are so gallantly doing their part in fighting this war.

Our men and women, when they are mustered out of their present service, will demand and will have a right to expect full employment for all able-bodied men and women in America who want to work.

They expect the opportunity to run their farms, their stores, their garages, their factories for a reasonable profit. 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 the blight of pauperism and bread-lines -- and the dole. They want no temporary job for a month or a year,
SIXTH DRAFT

for they remember what happened to other veterans in 1920. Nor
do they want a get-rich-quick era of bogus "prosperity" which
will end 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
out that they want to work for themselves and their families,
and that they consider that they have the right to work, as
a part of their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of
happiness.

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

But full employment for all is not enough. We must have
a vastly expanded insurance program covering the normal
hazards of family life from the cradle to the grave. We
must abolish every vestige of poverty in America.

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 security 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 we must constantly be aware not only of the evil things we are fighting against, but of the good things we are fighting for. We are fighting not simply for a great past but for a greater future, for a future that we know is worth fighting for.

Let us remember that economic safety for the America of the future is impossible unless a greater economic stability comes to all 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 squalor and starvation anywhere in the world and spread everywhere in the world.

Victory in this war is the first and greatest goal before us. Victory in the peace is the next -- and that means the keeping of the peace and the continued enlargement of the security of man, here and throughout the world, not only for the next generation but for as far into the future as any man can foresee.

The final Freedom -- Freedom from Fear -- can be fully 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.

There are cynics and 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". They demand that we clean out the political slums and plague spots of this earth where the deadly germs of war can breed. This is what our people demand. 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. The philosophy of Nazism, Fascism and Japanese military autocracy is also based on profound contempt for the human race. If we, in the formation of our future policy, were to be guided by this same contempt, then we should be surrendering to the philosophy of our enemies and our victory would 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 silence. Some-
times, and for varying periods of human history, of human
misery, the enemies of mankind have been for a time successful.
but not for long and never permanently. The people have always
broken through in the end and 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.

That is happening now. The people have regained 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 combination of forces, no trickery
or deceit, can stop them now. They see before them again the
hope of the world -- a decent peaceful life for all men everywhere.

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, or the Japanese war lords, or
the Italian Fascists to say how long this war will last. It is
for us of the United Nations to put the final period to this
long story of world tragedy. We can prolong the war, or we can shorten it, depending entirely on the speed and the unity that we display in putting our combined forces into battle with our enemies -- on battlefields of our own choosing.

Again, I do not prognosticate. Nobody can promise that 1943 will bring final, total victory to our arms -- as Hitler promised the German people in 1940, and again in 1941, and again in 1942.

However, I can express the conviction 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 costly and a 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 -- and the heart of this Nation is sound -- the spirit of this Nation is strong -- and the faith of this Nation is eternal.
The assembling of this new Congress in a period of national crisis gives occasion for a review of the past year, and for consideration of the prospects which now confront the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government and the American people as a whole. The past year was perhaps the most crucial for modern civilization; the coming year will be filled with destruction -- yet with high promise of better things.

The final chronicle of this world-wide war will be concerned not with the day-to-day headlines but with the ultimate significance of each event. Apparent successes or failures which may be the causes of rejoicing or lamentation this morning may well be forgotten when the victory is won; and some event which is barely noted in the comment of the day may, by the end of the war, prove to have been a decisive factor.

We must appraise the events of 1942 according to their relative importance; we must exercise a sense of proportion.
First in importance has been the inspiring demonstration of the great qualities of our fighting men. They have displayed their qualities in adversity as well as in glorious 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—all these and hundreds and thousands more have fought the enemy and endured the hardships of heat and cold, of wind and waves of loneliness and privation. Their unconquerable spirit will live forever.

In preceding years China, Great Britain and Russia had, each in turn, borne the brunt of the enemy’s attacks. The year 1942 was marked by the magnificent Russian defense, followed by the beginning of their present great offensive. It was marked by the saving of the Near East by the British Forces in Egypt; by the American-British occupation of French North Africa; by the series of Japanese victories from the Philippines to the East Indies to Malaya to Burma; by the
stopping of the Japanese advance in the Mid-Pacific, the South Pacific and the Indian Oceans; and, finally, by the unsurpassed American production program which is definitely guaranteeing to the United Nations a growing superiority in munitions.

The Axis Powers knew that for themselves the year 1942 was to be decisive; that they must win then or eventually lose everything. I do not need to tell you that our enemies did not win this war in 1942.

From the historical point of view, the actual military effect of the attack on Pearl Harbor proved to be only temporary. It might have been far more serious for us if the Japanese had followed up their Sunday morning effort with an actual landing in the Hawaiian Islands. But they did not follow up -- and their chance is gone forever.

In the Pacific area, the most important victory won by our forces in 1942 was the air and naval battle of Midway Island. That action is historically important because it freed 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. In these actions, our armed forces and those of our Allies have shown the kind of fighting power which insures our ultimate total triumph. But these actions were essentially defensive. They were part of the delaying strategy that characterized this phase of the war. They prevented the Japanese from advancing any further south or east, but they have not yet enabled us to make any substantial advances toward our real objective — which is Tokyo itself.

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 our first task in the war of the Pacific day-by-day and week-by-week destruction of more Japanese armament than Japanese industry could replace. Most certainly, that task has been and is being performed.

Although I cannot say precisely what 1943 holds for us I can tell you our underlying military policy for this year; it is to seek out the enemy — the Japanese in the Pacific,
the Germans and Italians in Europe -- to bring the enemy
to grips, and to give him no quarter. Within the limitations
enforced by our judgment, it shall be our consistent aim
from now on to force the enemy, to crowd him at all points,
to strike him and strike him again.

In 1943 we shall be on the offensive throughout the
world. 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. We intend to strike
at the Japanese islands themselves and subject their war
factories and shipyards to constant bombing.

In 1942 we did what we could and are still doing all
that we can to get supplies and weapons to the people of China,
who are now in the sixth year of their war for survival. It
is still far short of what we would want to send. But we can
give assurance to these heroic people, whose ideals of peace
are so closely akin to our own, that however formidable
are the obstacles that separate us, they will be overcome;
that the present strength of our common enemy will be shattered;
and that China will realize the security, the prosperity, and the
dignity, which the Japanese have sought so ruthlessly to destroy.

In the European theatre of war during this past year it was clear that our first task was to ease the pressure on the Russian front by compelling Germany to divide her manpower and equipment among as many theatres of war as possible. At the same time we desired to make safe lands and seas which Germany stood ready to attack.

The point selected was French North Africa. After months of secret planning and preparation in the utmost detail, an enormous amphibian expedition was embarked from the United States and the United Kingdom in eight hundred and fifty 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 soft body of the enemy" 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. Great rains, and especially appalling mud, have delayed the final battles for Tunisia. The Axis is reinforcing its strong positions, and I am confident that
though the fighting will be tough, the whole south shore of the Mediterranean will be in allied possession from Morocco to Syria before we are much older.

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.

By far the largest and most important developments in the whole strategic picture of 1942, however, have been the events on the long fronts in Russia. First — the implacable defense of Stalingrad — and, second, the series of offensives at various points which started in the latter part of November and which roll on with great force and effectiveness.

I am sure that Americans will be glad to know that hundreds of thousands of the valiant Russian soldiers who now are capturing and killing vast numbers of German soldiers are using American-made arms and equipment — they are nourished by American food — they are advancing through the snows on specially designed American boots.

Such a brief review of the most significant military events is deficient in one important respect; it fails to convey the magnitude and diversity of the military activities in which this nation is now engaged. As I speak to you, con-
siderably more than one million of our soldiers, sailors, marines and flyers are stationed outside our continental limits, all through the world. Our merchant seamen are carrying supplies to them and our allies over every sea lane. Day and night our flyers bomb and harass the enemy on ten different fronts. And this, after a year and a month at war.

I have spoken of the fortitude and courage of our own boys who are fighting on sea and land and in the air. I want to 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.

Included in this roll of honor are the soldiers and flyers and seamen of others of the United Nations whose countries have been overrun by Axis horses.

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 essential in
the planning and carrying out of the major strategic methods, in building up and maintaining the lines of supplies and in achieving agreement on the military objectives of the war.

I cannot prophecy. 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 ton after ton of explosives on their industries and utilities and seaports.

Hitler and Mussolini are being made to 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.
As spokesmen for the United States Government, you and I may well 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, to the farmers who have faced an unprecedented task of feeding not only a great nation but a great part of the world -- to all the loyal, anonymous, untrusting 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. They 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.

It is not too soon for us to turn some thought to the things we are fighting for -- just so long as we confine ourselves to the larger objectives and do 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 peace or under a durable peace.

Our boys at the front you will find are considering the broad problems 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 wicked -- almost sacriligious -- if this Nation and the world did not attain some real good out of all these efforts and sufferings and bloodshed and death.

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 dwindles into the economy of peace, they will have some kind of a right to expect full employment -- for
themselves and, because they are not selfish, full employment 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 a 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 temporary job for a month or a year. 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, and they consider they have the right to work, and that after the last war they 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 hazards of family life -- assurance that will extend from the cradle to the grave. They want economic safety for themselves, for their families, and for their neighbors.
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, you will know 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 or some assurance against life's hazards -- may loom very large as a task of America during the coming two years.

I do not call it an issue -- I call it a task to be undertaken joyfully, to be studied sympathetically, to be worked out with a constant regard for the unity of the objective, with fairness to all and 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 -- but, equally we fight for a greater future.
Thus, 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, a striving for the final Freedom -- Freedom from Fear.

I am a practical person. Therefore, I realize that it is of little account for any of us to talk of essential things and economic things, of driving out want, if we run the risk of another World War in ten or twenty or fifty years. Wars grow in size, in death and destruction, in the inevitability of engulfment of 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 woe breaks out when the babies of today get to fighting age.

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 that of any other nation -- or island -- or continent.

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

Also, it is clear to us that in 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 be forced to abandon the philosophy and the
teaching of that philosophy which has brought so much
destruction to the world.
After the first World War we tried to achieve a formula for permanent peace, based on a magnificent idealism. We failed. 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 combined 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 we in the formation of our future policy were guided by the same
contempt, then we should be surrendering to the philosophy of our enemies and our victory would turn to defeat.

I do not prophesy when this war will end. But I tell you it is within the realm of possibility that this Seventy-Eighth Congress may have the great privilege of helping greatly to save the world from future fear.

At least we know that 1943 will give to the United Nations a very substantial advance along the roads that lead to Berlin and Rome and Tokyo. Therefore, I say to you -- have confidence, redouble your 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 -- that the heart of this Nation is sound -- that the spirit of this Nation is strong -- and that the faith of this Nation is eternal.

**************************
SEVENTH DRAFT

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS
JANUARY 7, 1943

The assembling of this new Congress in a period of national crisis gives occasion for a review of the past year, and for consideration of the prospects which now confront the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government and the American people as a whole. The past year was perhaps the most crucial for modern civilization; the coming year will be filled with destruction -- yet with high promise of better things.

The final chronicle of this world-wide war will be concerned not with the day-to-day headlines but with the ultimate significance of each event. Apparent successes or failures which may be the causes of rejoicing or lamentation this morning may well be forgotten when the victory is won; and some event which is barely noted in the comment of the day may, by the end of the war, prove to have been a decisive factor.

We must appraise the events of 1942 according to their relative importance; we must exercise a sense of proportion.
First in importance has been the inspiring demonstration of the great qualities of our fighting men. They have displayed their 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—all these and hundreds and thousands more have fought the enemy and endured the hardships of heat and cold, of wind and of loneliness and privation. Their unconquerable spirit will live forever.

In preceding years China, Great Britain and Russia had, each in turn, borne the brunt of the enemy's attacks. The year 1942 was marked by the magnificent Russian defense, followed by the beginning of their present great offensive. Later marked by the saving of the Near East by the British forces in Egypt; by the American-British occupation of French North Africa; by the series of Japanese victories from the Philippines to the East Indies to Malaya to Burma; by the
It was marked by the series of Japanese victories in the Philippines, the East Indies, Malaya and Burma; by the stopping of the Japanese advance in the mid-Pacific; then South Pacific and the Indian Ocean; by the American-British occupation of North Africa; saving of the Near East by the British forces in Egypt; by 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.
stopping of the Japanese advance in the Mid-Pacific, the South-Pacific and the Indian Ocean; and, finally, by the unsurpassed American production program which is definitely guaranteeing to the United Nations a growing superiority in munitions.

The Axis Powers knew that for themselves the year 1942 was to be decisive; that they must win or eventually lose everything. I do not need to tell you that our enemies did not win this war in 1942.

From the historical point of view, the actual military effect of the attack on Pearl Harbor proved to be only temporary. It might have been far more serious for us if the Japanese had followed up their Sunday morning effort with an actual landing in the Hawaiian Islands. But they did not follow up -- and their chance is gone forever.

In the Pacific area, our most important victory [won by our forces] in 1942 was the air and naval battle of Midway Island. That action is historically important because it freed for our use communication lines stretching thousands of miles in every direction. In placing this emphasis on the battle of Midway, I am not unwilful 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. In these actions, our armed forces and those of our Allies have shown the kind of fighting power which insures our ultimate total triumph. But these actions were essentially defensive. They were part of the delaying strategy that characterized this phase of the war. They prevented the Japanese from advancing any further south or east, but they have not yet enabled us to make any substantial advances toward our real objective -- which is Tokyo itself.

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 our first task in the war of the Pacific day-by-day and week-by-week destruction of more Japanese armament than Japanese industry could replace. Most certainly, that task has been and is being performed.

Although I cannot say precisely what 1943 holds for us I can tell you our underlying military policy for this year: it is to seek out the enemy -- the Japanese in the Pacific, from flying ships and planes. And let us not forget that our submarines have taken a heavy toll of Japanese shipping, some of it at the very mouth of the harbor of Yokohama.
the Germans and Italians in Europe -- to bring the enemy
to grips, to give him no quarter. Within the limitations
enforced by our judgment, it shall be our consistent aim
from now on to force the enemy, to crowd him at all points,
to strike him and strike him again.

In 1943 we shall be on the offensive throughout the
world. 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. We intend to strike
at the Japanese islands themselves and subject their war
factories and shipyards to constant bombing.

In 1942 we did what we could and are still doing all
that we can to get supplies and weapons to the people of China,
who are now in the sixth year of their war for survival. It
is still far short of what we would want to send. But we can
give assurance to those heroic people, whose ideals of peace
are so closely akin to our own, that however formidable
are the obstacles that separate us, they will be overcome;
that the present strength of our common enemy will be shattered;
and that China will realize the security, the prosperity, and the
dignity, which the Japanese have sought so ruthlessly to destroy.

In the European theatre of war during this past year it was clear that our first task was to ease the pressure on the Russian front by compelling Germany to divide her manpower and equipment among as many theatres of war as possible. At the same time we desired to make safe lands and seas which Germany stood ready to attack.

After months of secret planning and preparation in the utmost detail, an enormous amphibian expedition was embarked from the United States and the United Kingdom in eight hundred and fifty 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 that 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. Great rains, and especially appalling mud, have delayed the final battles for Tunisia. The Axis is reinforcing its strong positions, but I am confident that
SEVENTH DRAFT

though the fighting will be tough, the south shore of the Mediterraean will be in Allied possession from Morocco to Syria before we are much older.

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.

By far the largest and most important developments in the whole strategic picture of 1942, however, have been the events on the long fronts in Russia. First -- the implacable defense of Stalingrad -- and, second, the series of offensives at various points which started in the latter part of November and which roll on with great force and effectiveness.

I am sure that Americans will be glad to know that hundreds of thousands of the valiant Russian soldiers who now are capturing and killing vast numbers of German soldiers are using American-made arms and equipment -- they are nourished by American food -- they are advancing through the snows on specially designed American boots.

Such a brief review of the most significant military events is deficient in one important respect: it fails to convey the magnitude and diversity of the military activities in which this nation is engaged. As I speak to you,
SITI' TH DRAFT

inwards of Ten

Million of our soldiers, sailors, marines and flyers are stationed outside our continental limits, all through the world. Our merchant seamen are carrying supplies to them and our allies over every sea lane. Day and night our flyers bomb and harass the enemy on ten different fronts. And this, after a year and a month at war.

I have spoken of the fortitude and courage of our own boys who are fighting on sea and land and in the air. I want to 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.

Included in this roll of honor are the soldiers and flyers and seamen of others of the United Nations whose countries have been overrun by Axis hordes.

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 essential in
the planning and carrying out of the major strategic methods, in building up and maintaining the lines of supplies and in achieving agreement on the military objectives of the war.

I cannot prophecy. 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 ton after ton of explosives on their vanities and utilities and seaports.

Hitler and Mussolini are being made to 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,
SEVENTH DRAFT

Our forward progress in this war has depended upon our progress on the production front. Throughout the past year and even before Pearl Harbor, we have heard persistent criticism in this country against the management and conduct of war production. Much of this self-criticism has had a generally 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.

The criticism which I describe as being healthy is that criticism which is based on facts. There has been some criticism based on guesswork. But, we cannot say the same thing about criticism based on malicious guesswork. Such criticism creates doubt and fear, and it is fatal to 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. Some people even feared that the goals were too high, that the nation would be discouraged by the hopelessness of attaining them. But we had confidence in the vision and established new records, the boldness of our people, and in the ability of our people... to establish new records of accomplishment. That confidence has been more than justified.

Of course, we realized that some production objectives laid down 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 was all very well to set a high goal of munitions because we could never get enough ships to carry them out to the theatres of operation. They contended that we were turning out material just for storage in warehouses...
However, in 1942, we built 8,090,000 tons of merchant ships. In this, we exceeded the announced schedule. As a result, 75\% of all the munitions produced already has been sent out of the country. During 1942 we shipped to all fighting fronts, for our own forces and those of our Allies, ___ combat aircraft; ___ tanks; ___ anti-aircraft guns; ___ anti-tank guns; and ___ billion rounds of ammunitions.

Our 1942 airplane production and tank production fell short, numerically, of the goals set a year ago. We have plenty of reason to be proud of our record for 1942. We produced 49,000 military planes -- more than the airplane production of Germany, Italy and Japan put together. Last month, December, we produced 5,400 military planes and the rate is rapidly rising. Materially, during the year 1942 and 1943, we have manufactured ___ of ___ of 1942.

It is important for us to note -- and for our enemies to note -- that the proportion of heavy bombing planes produced in 1942 was much larger than was provided for in the original schedule. The total number of planes has been reduced -- but the total tonnage, the total striking power and the total number of man hours in the production of aircraft have been increased.
In tank production, we revised our schedule for good and sufficient reasons. As a result of hard experience in battle, we have diverted a portion of our tank producing capacity to the production of new, deadly field weapons, especially self-propelled artillery.

Here are some other production figures:

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 threefold increase over the preceding year.

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 will have his work cut out for him explaining to the German people just why it is that "decadent, inefficient democracy" can produce such phenomenal quantities of weapons and munitions.
We have made good our promise to construct an unbeatable arsenal of democracy. We have done this together—we of industry and we of labor and we of government, and in the doing of it we have given the lie to certain misconceptions—especially the one which holds that the various interests groups within a free country cannot forego their political and economic differences in time of crisis and pull together toward a common goal. The dream of democracy is making headway.

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 farm some 5,000,000 of our youngest 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.

These three great goals of the home front in 1942 -- to raise our munitions production to the highest level ever conceived, to increase more than threefold our armed forces and to produce record quantities of food -- constitute the most ambitious economic program ever accomplished here in so short a period of time.

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

What optimist could expect us to divert so vast a proportion of our resources to war and at the same time maintain our high standard of living at its peacetime level?

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?
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. For one thing, there have been too many complicated forms and questionnaires. You do not have to tell me that. I have had to fill some of them out myself.

But we are determined to see to it that our raw materials and machining tools get to the people who need them for war production. 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 required a great deal of information which was not otherwise available.

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 war-time 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.

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.

1943, nineteen hundred and forty-three will not be an easy year for us on the home front. No one can forecast accurately the exact impacts that we shall sustain during the coming year.

But I can assure you that they will be harsh. The most difficult, costly phase of this war is immediately ahead of us. We shall feel in many ways in our daily lives the sharp pinch of total war.

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

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 -- all that matters is results. And the one pertinent fact is that only a few years after the woe of 1940, we were unprepared, spiritually as well as physically, for total war whereas today, at the beginning of 1942, we have become the most powerful nation in the history of the world.

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 are such...

the obsolete methods of democracy, would gladly use all they could get of that same brand of energy and unity and actual achievement.

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 move and disperse their factories. They have had to continue work through bombings and black-outs. They have never quit.

We Americans are in good, brave company in this war and we are playing our own, honorable part in the vast common effort.
As spokesmen for the United States Government, you and I may well 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, to the farmers who have faced an unprecedented task of feeding not only a great nation but a great part of the world -- 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. They 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 must pursue things we are fighting for, just as long as we continue to ourselves to the larger objectives and not get bogged down in argument over methods and details.
SEVENTH DRAFT

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 peace or under a durable peace.

Our boys at the front you will find are considering the broad problems 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 wicked -- almost sacrilegious -- if this Nation and the world did not attain some real good out of all these efforts and sufferings and bloodshed and death.

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 divested into the economy of peace, they will have some kind of a right to expect full employment -- for
themselves and [because they are not selfish, full employment] 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 a 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 temporary job for a month or a year. 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, and they consider they have the right to work, and that after the last war they 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 hazard of family life -- assurance that will extend from the cradle to the grave. They want economic safety for themselves, for their families, and for their neighbors.
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, you will know 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 some assurance against life's hazards -- may loom very large as a task of America during the coming two years.

I do not call it an issue -- I call it a task to be undertaken earnestly, to be studied sympathetically, to be worked out with a constant regard for the unity of the objective, with fairness to all and 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 -- [but,] equally we fight for a greater future.
Thus, 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, a striving for the Final Freedom -- Freedom from Fear.

I am a practical person. Therefore, I realize that it is of little account for any of us to talk of essential human needs, things and economic things of driving out want, if we run the risk of another World War in ten or twenty or fifty years. Wars grow in size, in death and destruction, in the inevitability of engulfment of 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 breaks out when the babies of today get to fighting age.

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 that of any other nation -- or island -- or continent.

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

Also, 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 be forced to abandon the philosophy and the
teaching of that philosophy which has brought so much
destruction to the world.
After the first World War we tried to achieve a formula for permanent peace, based on a magnificent idealism. We failed. 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 combined 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 we in the formation of our future policy were guided by the same
contempt, then we should be surrendering to the philosophy of our enemies and our victory would turn to defeat.

I do not prophesy when this war will end. But I tell you it is within the realm of possibility that this Seventy-Eighth Congress may have the privilege of helping greatly to save the world from future fear. This year At least we know that 1943 will give to the United Nations a very substantial advance along the roads that lead to Berlin and Rome and Tokyo. Therefore, I say to you -- have confidence, redouble your efforts.

A tremendously 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 -- that the heart of this Nation is sound -- that the spirit of this Nation is strong -- [and that] the faith of this Nation is eternal.

***************
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSE RT A – page #1

The Seventy-Eighth Congress
assembles in one of the great
moments in the history of this
Nation.
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 then the offensives by the Russian Army 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:
First in importance has been the inspiring proof of the great qualities of our fighting men. They have demonstrated their 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 convoy—all these and hundreds and thousands more have fought the enemy and endured the hardships of heat and cold, of storms at sea and in the air, of loneliness and privation. Their unconquerable spirit will live forever.

In preceding years China, Great Britain and Russia had each in turn, borne the brunt of the enemy's attacks. The year 1942 was marked by the magnificent Russian defense, followed by the beginning of their present great offensive. It was marked by the series of Japanese victories in the Philippines, the East Indies, Malaya and Burma; the stopping of the Japanese advance in the mid-Pacific, the South Pacific and the Indian Oceans; the successful defense of the Near East by the British forces in Egypt, and 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.

From the historical point of view, the actual military effect of the attack on Pearl Harbor proved to be only temporary. It might have been far more serious for us if the Japanese had followed up their Sunday morning effort with an actual landing in the Hawaiian Islands. But they did not follow up—and their chance is gone forever.

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 freed 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
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.
these actions were essentially defensive. They were part of
the delaying strategy that characterized this phase of the war.
They prevented the Japanese from advancing any further south
or east, but they have not yet enabled us to make any
substantial advances toward our real objective -- which is
Tokyo itself.

During this period we inflicted steady losses upon the
date -- great losses of Japanese planes, naval vessels,
transports and cargo ships. As early as one year ago, we
set as our first task in the war of the Pacific day-by-day
and week-by-week destruction of more Japanese material
than Japanese industry could replace. Most certainly, that
task has been and is being performed by our fighting ships
and planes. And let us not forget that our submarines have
taken a heavy toll of Japanese shipping, some of it at the
very mouth of the harbor of Yokohama.

Although I cannot say precisely what 1943 holds for us,
I can tell you our underlying military policy for this year:
it is to seek out the enemy -- the Japanese in the Pacific.
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 closely akin to our own. Even today we are flying as much 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.
the Germans and Italians in Europe -- to bring the enemy to grips. Within the limitations enforced by our judgment, it shall be our consistent aim from now on to force the enemy, to crowd him at all points, to strike him and strike him again. In 1943 we shall be on the offensive throughout the world.

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. We intend to strike at the Japanese islands themselves and subject their war factories and shipyards to constant bombing.

In 1942 we did what we could and are still doing all that we can to get supplies and weapons to the people of China, who are now in the sixth year of their war for survival. It is still far short of what we would want to send. But we can give assurance to these heroic people, whose ideals of peace are so closely akin to our own, that however formidable are the obstacles that separate us, they will be overcome; that the present strength of our common enemy will be shattered; and that China will realize the security, the prosperity, and the dignity, which the Japanese have sought so ruthlessly to destroy.
In the European theatre of war during this past year it was clear that our first task was to make the pressure on the Russian front by compelling Germany to divide her manpower and equipment among as many theatres of war as possible. At the same time we devised to make safe lands and seas which Germany stood ready to attack.

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 over hundred 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 especially appalling mud, 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 battle is finally joined, the last vestige of Axis power will be driven from the south shores of the Mediterranean.
Few Americans realize the amazing growth of our strength, though I am sure our enemy does. Day in and day out our forces are bombing and fighting the enemy and meeting him in combat in many different fronts over the world. And for those here and abroad who have questioned the quality of our aircraft and the ability of our flyers, I can point to the fact that in Africa we are shooting down the enemy two planes to every one and in the Pacific and in
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A - PAGE #6

-2-

the Southwest Pacific we are shooting
them down four to one.

************
e teri u ot ottm11vu
or

llo~ber

.....,

eb roll on with &r - t toree and

ett.et.h'enea~

Atl:t U'flP of the year 1942 -....t •phaahe

~ b

the

~*urxtn••ntq•rTD"SXJ'"'J•~

ucnl tude ano d lvualty

or

the aU l t.ary uet'hltlea ln which
.,.et...A

t hle n.tio~ n • bKo"ll.. engqed .

.utv<".J~~
111lon . our

A ........

'o~diers , 1a1'lor1 ,

~ ou.t;'W:~,~ntlnent~~l
....

-.f.i4_

A• 1 tpea.c to yw,~

urine• and 1'11er l a r •

l:tatu , all throu..th the world!.

~

':J"

Our . .rchant ••~ t;._r e carrylnc supplhl t.o thM and.., our alll ea

o•er e•ery aM

bne~

s

"

I

to ~ U.. wo rld c~uut whicb tM7 tou.&ht.

t

/


THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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 country.
EIGHTH DRAFT

Included in this roll of honor are the soldiers and fliers and seamen of others of the United Nations whose countries have been overrun by Axis hordes.

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 essential in planning and carrying out the major strategy in building up and maintaining the lines of supplies, and in achieving agreement on the military objectives of the war.

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 ton after ton of explosives on their war factories and utilities and seaports.
Hitler and Mussolini [are being made] 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. We have been criticized for the management and conduct of a war production. Much of this self-criticism has had a generally 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 guess-work 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 our ability to establish new records. That confidence has been more than justified.
Of course, we realized that some production objectives set down 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 said that it was useless to build all these munitions because we could never get enough ships to carry them to the theaters of operation. They contended that we were turning out material just for storage in warehouses.

However, in 1942, we built 8,090,000 tons of merchant ships. In this, we exceeded the goal set. As a result, 75% of all the munitions produced already has been sent out of the country. During 1942 we shipped to all fighting fronts, for our own forces and those of our Allies, _combat aircraft_; _tanks_; _anti-aircraft guns_; _anti-tank guns_; and _billion rounds of ammunition_.

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 _48,000_ military planes—more than the airplane
Here are some other production figures:

In 1942 we produced 55,963 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 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.
production of Germany, Italy and Japan put together. Last month, December, we produced 3,400 military planes and the rate is rapidly rising. Furthermore, our models have been improved materially during the year in size and in striking power.  

In tank production, we revised our schedule 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:

- 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 our large naval combat ship delivery in 1941 was tripled in 1942.

The arsenal 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 their weak out-out for them explaining to the German and Japanese people just why it is that "decadent, inefficient
"EIGHTH DRAFT"

-14-

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 youngest 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 accomplished without creating some dislocations in our normal national life, some inconveniences, and even some hardships?

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?
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. [For one thing] there have been too many complicated forms and questionnaires. [You do not have to tell me that] I have had to fill some of them out myself.

But we are determined to see to it that our raw materials and machine tools get to the people who need them for war production. 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 which was not otherwise available. 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 war-time 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 chislers 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.

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.

Yes, nineteen hundred and forty, there 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.

We Americans intend to do this great job together.

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 — all that matters is results. And the one pertinent fact is that after only a few years of preparation and only one year of warfare we are ready, spiritually as well as physically, for 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 energy and unity and actual

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 have faced an unprecedented task of feeding not only a great nation but a great part of the
world -- 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. They 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 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 peace or under a durable peace.

"The boys at the front and with them are considering the
broad issues 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 sacrilegious -- if this Nation and the world did not attain
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A - Page 20

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.
some real, lasting good out of all these efforts and sufferings and bloodshed and death. 

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.
EIGHTH DRAFT

When you talk with our young men and women you will find they want to work for themselves and their families, and they consider they have the right to work, and that after the last war they 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 [unearned poverty] — assurance that will extend from the cradle to the grave. The great economic safety for themselves, for their families, and for their neighbors this great government can and must provide this assurance.
Let us remember that economic safety for the America of the
threatened future is impossible unless a greater economic stability comes to all
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
economic as well as military, feeds on
crime or disease, can grow from the evil seeds of squabbles and strife—
—then anywhere in the world.
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, you will know 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.

That it will not be regarded as an issue but rather as an undertaking seriously to be studied sympathetically, to work out with a constant regard for the unity of the objective with fairness to all and 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.
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, a striving for the Fourth Freedom -- Freedom from Fear.

It is of little account for any of us to talk of essential human needs, of striving out west, 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, 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 are to fighting age.

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 that
of any other nation -- or island -- or continent.

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

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 destruction 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 combined 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 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.

I do not prophesy when this war will end. I tell you it is within the realm of possibility that this Seventy-Eighth Congress may have the historic privilege of helping
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. Sometimes, the enemies of mankind have been for a time successful. 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.

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 again the hope of the world -- a decent, peaceful life for all men everywhere.
greatly to save the world from future fear.

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.

Therefore, all of us -- have confidence, redouble your 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.
NINTH DRAFT

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 their 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 Batan 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 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 pro-
duced an important effect upon the whole situation of the war. It has opened to attack what Mr. Churchill well described as "the underbelly 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 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
bombed and meeting him in combat at many different fronts over the world. And for those who question the quality of our aircraft and the ability of our fliers, I point to the fact that, in Africa, we are shooting down two planes to every one we lose, and in the Pacific and in the Southwest Pacific we are shooting them down four to one.

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

We pay tribute to the soldiers and fliers and seamen 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 ton after ton of explosives on their war factories and utilities and seaports.

Hitler and Mussolini will understand the enormity of their miscalculation that the Allies 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 46,000 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, the average of our medals weigh less, take more man-hours to make, and have more striking power as each month passes by.

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:

56,000
In 1942 we produced 66,968 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 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 mechanism 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 chislers, 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, 1945 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, the most important 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 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 engineers, to the workers — men and women — in factories and arsenals and shipyards and mines and mills and forests. 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, 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
peace 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 suffer-
ings 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 thea — Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Reli-
gion — 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 ex-
pect 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 fair-
ness 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 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.

**********