January 7, 1943

[Message To Congress]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 24, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. HARRY L. HOPKINS
HON. SAMUEL I ROSENMAN
HON. ROBERT SHERWOOD

I am sending you each a copy of Part II, First Draft of the Annual Message. The President expects to dictate the first part of the speech a little later. The first part will be a report on the war and will take many pages. However, I thought you could be going over this and smoothing it out.

GRACE G. TULLY

Enclosures

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Fill with Space
State of the Union

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FIRST DRAFT
PART II

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

JANUARY 7, 1943

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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SECOND 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 presentation of certain major objectives which the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government must consider and together achieve in the days that lie before us.

An essential of any review is to appraise events of the year according to their relative importance — in other words, to exercise a sense of proportion.

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

The year 1942 may well appear, in the perspective of history, as the decisive year of the military phase of the war. China, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had each in turn borne the brunt of the enemy's fury. In this year, the United States began to marshal forces to take [its] their place in the front lines with them and with the other United

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Nations. At the outset we, and the other United Nations, were on the defensive. We continued on the defensive for many months. Our object was to hold the enemy at all vital points so as to give us time to bring our production into high gear, to outfit and transport our fighting forces and to complete our preparations for taking the offensive.

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

When the news first came from Pearl Harbor, the Nation was [properly] shocked, partly because the Japanese enemy claimed that our Navy in the Pacific had been destroyed, partly because we had actually suffered heavy losses in men, ships and planes, but especially because of the general American sense of decency which had felt secure in the old-fashioned belief that war is conducted in accordance with the Marquis of Queensbery rules.

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

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SECOND DRAFT

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

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

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SECOND DRAFT

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

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

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

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Japanese strength in ships and planes is going down and down and American production of ships and planes is going up and up. The eventual outcome can be put on a mathematical basis. ?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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 brief review of the past year, and for consideration of the prospects for the coming year 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 proof [demonstration] of the great qualities of our fighting men. They have displayed these [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 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 of soldiers, sailors, Marines and merchant seamen who fought our first battles of this war against overwhelming odds — they [more] have met [fought] the enemy and endured the rigors [hardships] of heat and cold, of wind and water,

Shouldn't the position of this paragraph and the next one be reversed?

They have met the tests of modern battle.
They have measured up to ancient traditions.
They are true fighting sons of a free heritage.

of skirmish and ambuscade, of loneliness and hunger. [Their unconquerable spirit will live forever.]

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 point 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, we in the United States began to gird up our loins [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. It was imperative for us [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. In this we have succeeded.

The Axis Powers knew that for themselves the year 1942 was to be decisive; that they must win then or lose everything. Our enemies pressed foreard in the Pacific, in Russia, in Africa. They gained great stretches

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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 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.

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 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 qualities which insure our ultimate total triumph. But these actions 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

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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 a 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] period of mere defensive attrition in the Pacific War has ended. Our objective now is to seek out Japanese forces and to [make] force them to 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] blast their war factories and shipyards [to heavy bombing] from the air.

In 1942 we did what we could and are still doing all that we can [in] to 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.

We assure these heroic people, whose ideals of peace are so closely akin to our own, that however formidable are the obstacles that

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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 as well. [Of vital strategic importance in that route is the command of the Mediterranean Sea; and] For command of that route, ~~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 dissipate her manpower and equipment among as many theatres of war as possible. Our main big problem was to pick a point, which we could attack during 1942, and which would force Hitler to disperse his strength.

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— Because of its importance to the whole strategic situation of the war, I want to review briefly that operation.

The point selected was French North Africa. After months of secret planning and a series of clandestine rendezvous with French military leaders, a gigantic amphibian expedition was embarked. It included battleships, aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, transports, tankers and hundreds of American and British ~~[illegible]~~ cargo vessels. Since it was not known definitely just where or to what extent we would meet with armed resistance, it was essential to take along all the vast paraphernalia for a variety of military operations.

This ambitious expedition converged from several directions in the pre-dawn of November 1, timed to coincide with the splendid offensive of the British Eighth Army in Egypt.

While our aircraft, operating from carriers, and our warships lying offshore, bombarded the fortresses of Oran and Casablanca, [since their commanders refused

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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 main problem was to pick a point, which we could attack during 1942, and which would force Hitler to disperse his strength.

insert

— Because of its importance to the whole strategic situation of the war, I want to review briefly that operation.

The point selected was French North Africa. After months of secret planning and a series of clandestine rendezvous with French military leaders, a gigantic amphibian expedition was embarked. It included battleships, aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, transports, tankers and hundreds of American and British cargo vessels. Since it was not known definitely just where or to what extent we would meet with armed resistance, it was essential to take along all the vast paraphenalia for a variety of military operations.

This ambitious expedition converged from several directions in the pre-dawn of November 1, timed to coincide with the splendid offensive of the British Eighth Army in Egypt.

While our aircraft, operating from carriers, and our warships lying offshore, bombarded the fortresses of Oran and Casablanca, [since their commanders refused to surrender], our transports slipped westward along the northern coast and put ashore small groups of soldiers, Marines and special service troops. Their equipment necessarily was rather light and during the succeeding weeks many of these small units made forced marches afoot by day and by night over strange territory---never quite sure where or when they would meet ambush or the treacherous mine fields.

Within _____ weeks our advanced units had reached Tunisia. Here they had to pause, for the logistics----the problem of supply---is enormously difficult in this barren stretch of the world. [Full seventy percent of the weight of all the supplies for this campaign was made up of gasoline and fuel.] Since that time we have been bringing up through rain and mud the planes, [and] the repair parts and the gasoline stores, the tanks and ammunition and artillery, the food and water and medical supplies which military prudence demands before our final offensive.

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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 as well. [Of vital strategic importance in that route is the command of the Mediterranean Sea; and] ~~for that command~~ For command of that route, [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 dissipate her manpower and equipment among as many theatres of war as possible. Our [big] main problem was to pick a point, which we could attack during 1942, and which would force 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. already have won back ___ of the Russian territory gained by the Nazis in 1941.

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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 living and dead — who have fought our common enemy.

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 can see the first light of the dawn of that day.

We bear tribute also to the fighting leaders of our Allies, to Winston Chruchill, to Joseph Stalin and to the Generalissimo Chiang Kai Chek. There is a very real unanimity between the leaders of the United Nations. There is effective 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.

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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] 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 shall hit them from the air constantly and mercilessly. Ours will be no wanton 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 heap ton after ton of explosives on their industries and utilities and sea-ports. factories

Hitler and Mussolini will [be made to] soon understand the enormity of their miscalculation that the German air force would always be as invincible, [as overpowering,] 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.

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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] Much 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

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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.

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 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. 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

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completely and others added. This was inevitable as we gained battle experience and as technological improvements were made.

In addition to those who thought the goals themselves were impossibly high, there were a few ~~Some of our~~ doubting Thomases who ~~put forth the~~ suggested that it was all very well to have a high rate of munitions production, but that we could never build enough ships to get it to the theatres of operation. They contended that we are 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 objective. 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 ammunitions.

Our 1942 airplane production and tank production fell short, numerically, of the goals set a year ago. But we have good 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.

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Note: Afraid this isn't true. Heavy bombers were 17% of original objective; heavy bombers actually produced were 14% of all types actually produced. Besides, the objective was unchanged throughout the year.

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 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.

No figures?

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 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. And They are advancing through the snows in

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specially designed American boobs.

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 can imagine the mental anguish of Hitler when he tries to explain [I suspect Hitler will have his work cut out for him in explaining] to the German people what queer quirk of "decadent, inefficient democracy" permits such phenomenal rates of war production.

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 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 -- pulling together 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

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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~~ the unprecedented task of feeding not only a great nation but a ~~great~~ large part of the world — to all the loyal anonymous, untiring men and women who have worked in factory or field or home, ~~who have endured rationing and other stringencies with good humor and good will~~ and who have thus 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~~ In so doing, they 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.

These three great goals of the home front in 1942 — to raise our munitions production to the highest level ever conceived, to more than triple our Armed Forces, and to produce record quantities of food — constitute the most ambitious economic program ever attempted in so short a period. And we have,

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in very large measure, accomplished it.

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 such 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 — 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.

13-a 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 don't 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~~

13-C

No real American who knows the facts can have much regard for a [can summon much admiration for the] housewife who asks "What right has the Government got to take the butter out of [any] my ice-box to send to foreign countries?" Strangely enough, the same housewife did not contest the Government's right to [enlist] induct her neighbors' sons for service overseas.

Fortunately there are only a few [in number] who place appetite above patriotism. The overwhelming majority realize that the food and other things we send

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abroad are for essential military purposes, for our own and allied fighting forces, and for necessary 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] will never take all the butter out of the ice-box. But it is certainly the intention that no ice-box shall receive more than enough butter for basic family 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.] and expect, at the same time, to win this war.

1943 will not be any 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 civilians are going to have to take it, too. We are going to have to earn the respect of the men at the fighting fronts for our contributions, just as they have earned our respect by their contributions. 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] carry on great job together. In our common labors we must build and fortify the very foundation of national unity — confidence in each other. [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.

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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 permeated with confusion and incompetence. and jealousy.

But — the fundamental and overwhelming fact is this: facts are these:

In 1940 we were unprepared, spiritually as well as physically, for total war; and but today, at the beginning of 1943, we are in top fighting trim. have become the To use a prize ring expression, we are in the pink. 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 had such contempt for made such fun of the obsolete methods of democracy would gladly use all they could get of our that same brand of energy and unity.

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 brief review of the past year, and for consideration of the prospects for the coming year 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. 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 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,

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of loneliness and hunger. Their unconquerable spirit will live forever.

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 point 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. Our enemies pressed forward in the Pacific, in Russia, in Africa. They gained great stretches

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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 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.

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 our 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 qualities which insure our ultimate total triumph. But these actions 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

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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 mere defensive attrition in the Pacific War has ended. Our objective now is to seek out Japanese forces and to make them to 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.

We assure these heroic people, whose ideals of peace are so closely akin to our own, that however formidable are the obstacles that

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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 force Hitler to disperse his strength.

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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 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

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specially designed American boobs.

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, inefficient democracy" permits such phenomenal rates of war production.

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 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 — 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

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

The 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 -- 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 factory or field or home, who have endured rationing and other stringencies with good humor and good will, and who have thus 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 4,000,000. 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.

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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 thanklesstask 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 got to take the butter out of my icebox to send to foreign countries?" Strangely enough, the same housewife did not contest the Government's right to enlist her neighbors' sons for service overseas.

Fortunately there are only a few in number who place appetite above patriotism. The overwhelming majority realize that the food we send

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abroad is for essential military purposes, for our own and allied fighting forces, and for necessary 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 all the butter out of the ice-box. But it is certainly the intention that no ice-box shall receive more than enough butter for basic family 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 any 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 aspossible.

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.

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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 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 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.

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 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

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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 chiselers, 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 term of this the 78 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 our soldiers and sailors are now 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 learnedthat 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 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 a short generation.

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Most Americans realize more greatly 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.

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 must be maintained by force.

We all know, that if Germany or 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 of harm, 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

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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 in my annual message of Four Freedoms. The blessingsoof 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

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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 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 becime a subject of national debate, you will know where I stand.

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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 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, like any form of crime or disease, can grow 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 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.

Surely, we can be of no aid to the rest of the world unless we are vigilantly keeping our own house in order.

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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 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 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 part way toward achieving that kind of insurance. But there is still much to be done.

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I am sure that Americans will be glad to know that these great offensives are being carried out with the aid of increasing quantities of American weapons and supplies — and that Russian workers behind the lines are maintaining their energy with increasing quantities of American food.

We have ~~lo~~ suffered heavy losses in transporting these supplies. Six hundred merchant seamen (of all nationalities?) have lost their lives fighting their way through enemy submarines, mine fields and aerial attack. Despite this we have delivered — not just shipped but actually delivered to Russian ports — by the end of November over 600 pursuit planes and 800 light and medium bombers; more than 1,600 light and medium tanks; over 7,200 Jeeps; ~~over~~ 2,300 motorcycles; ~~and~~ nearly 30,000 trucks; ~~and~~ 317,000 miles of field telephone wire;

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and 1,500,000 pairs of Army boots. In addition to a great variety of other weapons, raw materials and machinery we also delivered 153,000 tons of wheat, 137,000 tons of sugar, 132,000 tons of fresh and canned meat, 50,000 tons of lard and 15,000 tons of dried eggs.

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Mr. Hopkins:

I think some way can be found to answer in advance the guys who claim that you shouldn't talk "social reform" in time of war. It would fit in at the top of page 22 in this draft. I just started to work on it and hadn't found the answer, but what I am thinking about goes something like this:

"This need not dissipate our energies nor dange ously distract our attention from winning the war---unless we are people with one-track minds---and I do not think many of us are. On the contrary, I can think of no better stimulus to a hard-hitting conduct of the war than the firm knowledge that we shall arrive at something better when this is done.

Wilson

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SIXTH 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.

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.

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

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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 water, 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 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

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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

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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.

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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 inforced 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

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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.

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SIXTH DRAFT

Inthe European theatre of war during the 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.

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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 theatres of operation. 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.

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~~

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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 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

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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 Conventry. 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.

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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.

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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 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

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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.

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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 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 3,000,000 to 7,000,000. In other words, we have withdrawn from the labor force some 3,000,000 of our youngest workers.

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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.

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 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?

That optimist could expect us to divert so vast 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?

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We all know that there have been mistakes -- mistakes due to the inevitable process of trial and error inherent in doing big things for the first time. For one thing, there have been too many complicated forms and questionnairs. 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 averable 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 ~~xxx~~ 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

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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 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 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

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for the family's basic needs. We may as well reconcile ourselves not 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.

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

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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

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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 of 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

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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 peace-time 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".

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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,

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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

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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 grown 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

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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 Naxism, 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

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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 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

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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.

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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.

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First in importance has been the inspiring [demonstration] proof of the great qualities of our fighting men. They have [displayed] demonstrated 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 — who fought our first battles of this war against overwhelming odds — all these and hundreds and thousands more have [fought] met the enemy and endured the [hardships] rigors of heat and cold, of wind and waves, of loneliness and privation. [Their unconquerable spirit will live forever.] They have met the test of modern battle. They have measured up to ancient traditions. They are true fighting sons of a free heritage.

In the preceding years, China, Great Britain and Russia had, each in turn, borne the brunt of the enemy's attacks of the war. The year 1942 was marked by the [magnificent] stupendous 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] advances from the Philippines to the East Indies to Malaya to Burma; by the

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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 guarantees 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.] I need not tell you that 1942 has come and gone.

[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] 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] 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

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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 or week-by-week destruction of more Japanese armament than Japanese industry could replace. Most certainly, that task has been and is being performed.

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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] bomb their war factories and shipyards [to constant bombing] constantly from the air.

[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

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dignity, which the Japanese have sought so ruthlessly to destroy.]

In these offensives we shall be joined by the valiant Chinese. Our efforts to get supplies and weapons to Chiang Kai Shek

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dignity, which the Japanese have sought so ruthlessly to destroy.

In these offensives we shall be joined by the valiant Chinese. Our efforts to get supplies and weapons to Chiang Kai Chek have been beset with enormous obstacles — obstacles presented by distance and the ~~paucity of trans~~ lack of transportation facilities and by enemy action. But even today we are flying as much equipment into China as ever traversed the Burma Road — flying it in over mountains _____ feet high — flying blind most of the way through rain and snow. Gradually those obstacles are being overcome and the stream of supplies to China will broaden and deepen until together we can crush the strength of our common enemy.

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The period of our defensive attrition in the Pacific is passing. Now our aim is to force the Japs to fight. Last year we sought to delay; this year we seek to advance.

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, timed to coincide with the progress of the splendid offensive from Egypt by the British Eighth Army. 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 there. And I am confident that

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and we must expect the last phase of this campaign to be violent and not without cost. We may be assured that the Nazis will fight like cornered rats to keep a toe-hold on Africa. I will not attempt to set a date but I do predict that before we are much older the whole South shore of the Mediterranean will be in allied possession from Morocco to Syria.

~~[illegible]~~ VA

[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

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are using American arms and equipment -- they are nourished by American food -- they are advancing through the snows on specially designed American boots.]

By far the largest & most important developments in the whole strategic picture of 1942 have been the events on the long, agonized fronts in Russia. The epochal defense of Stalingrad ~~with~~ stands out as a great turning point in the war. The thrilling offensives of the Soviet armies which bring such invigorating news almost every day attest the incredible resilience of the Russian people and the hard competence of Russian arms. These two events have shattered forever the illusion of Nazi invincibility.

I am sure that Americans will be glad to know that these great offensives are being carried out with the aid of increasing quantities of American weapons and supplies — and that Russian workers behind the lines are maintaining their energy with increasing quantities of American food.

We have ~~lo~~ suffered heavy losses in transporting these supplies. Six hundred merchant seamen (of all nationalities?) have lost their lives fighting their way through enemy submarines, mine fields and aerial attack. Despite this we have delivered — not just shipped but actually delivered to Russian ports — by the end of November over 600 pursuit planes and 700 light and medium

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and 1,500,000 pairs of Army boots. In addition to a great variety of other weapons, raw materials and machinery we also delivered 153,000 tons of wheat, 137,000 tons of sugar, 132,000 tons of fresh and canned meat, 50,000 tons of lard and 15,000 tons of dried eggs.

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-

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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.

Surprisingly few Americans realize the amazing growth of our air strength — though I am sure the enemy does. Day in and day out our flyers are bombing and harassing the enemy and meeting him in combat on ten different fronts — all over the world (from the sub-zero cold of the Arctic to the sub-tropical heat of the South Pacific.)

And for those — here and abroad — who have had some question about the quality of our aircraft I can point to the fact that in the Pacific we are shooting down four Jap planes for every one we lose and in Africa we are ~~hitting~~ licking them two to one.

I think it is worth while mentioning right here the record of one group of airmen operating Flying Fortresses in the South Pacific. In a little over four months of continuous operation this group of thirty-five planes made contact with five hundred and six Jap aircraft. It lost five planes in the air and another fourteen from various operational causes or a total of nineteen. Against these losses this group destroyed one hundred and thirteen enemy planes in the air, thirteen more on the ground and badly damaged another fifty. In addition it sank four enemy ships, including

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or a total of nineteen. Against these losses this group destroyed one hundred and thirteen enemy planes in the air, thirteen more on the ground and badly damaged another fifty. In addition, it sank four enemy ships, including a battleship, badly damaged fourteen more and hit an additional ten for a total of twenty-eight.

[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 -- to 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.]

[To 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]

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Chiang-Kai-shek. There is a very real unanimity between the leaders of the United Nations. This unity is essential in

We Americans are in good, brave company in this war — and that applies to both the people and the leaders of our fighting Allies.

I want to pay the tribute of the United States of America to the fighting men of Russia and China and ~~British~~ Britain — to the millions of men living and dead — who through the years of this war have fought our common enemies and have blocked the paths to world conquest. I include on this roll of honor the soldiers and fliers and seamen of others of the United Nations whose countries lay prostrate but ready to rise and strike again.

To the fighting leaders of our Allies — to Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin and the Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek — I likewise bear the tribute of the United States of America. These three are great, stout leaders — men of courage and honor. Our cause is blessed and our success assured by their unshakable determination. And there is very real unanimity between the leaders of the United Nations in reaching agreement on all the important military moves and objectives of the war.

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DRAFT

END

In a world threatened by the forces of destruction and enslavement, our task is to preserve democracy; to assure a nation that is free, peaceful and strong; that provides no soil for the poisoned seed of the demagogue; a country in which every man has a stake, in which there are no disfranchise, no groups without hope to form a "fifth column" in the face of an enemy.

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WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AIR

DRAFT

MEMORANDUM 1/5/43.

Harry,
Here are a few ideas.
I am sorry about the rough draft form, but you indicated that speed was essential so I pass the paper along with apologies.
BMR

a an inspection trip in September, I stated be in excess of the rate of 60,000 a year by difications resulting from combat experience. ed.) This estimate was made good and well ed in December. The significant and gratifying f combat aircraft increased greatly during the of planes. Our production of striking force planes is on schedule and their performance in the test of battles around the globe has won the admiration of our allies and the fear of our enemies. Even better models are now coming off the lines and, with much larger production scheduled for 1943, the control of the air — so essential to victory — can be confidently expected.

b. An amazing and noteworthy fact in this global war has escaped attention of many in America. Surprisingly few people realize the endous growth of our air effort. Every flying day our air forces are ing the enemy in combat on ten fronts completely around the world. e Aleutians, in the Solomons, in New Guinea, Australia, China, India, , North Africa, England, and Iceland American planes, pilots and crews eeting and defeating the enemy. The theaters of operation vary from ero temperatures in our Arctic outposts to sub-tropical posts in the west Pacific. Operating out of improvised fields which hardly deserve ame, our squadrons are doing a job which, a year ago, was thought by to be impossible. These world wide operations and the tremendous job pply and maintenance they entail have given rise in the Services to a l Americanism — "The difficult we do promptly. The impossible takes tle longer."

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c. On production. The number of planes produced in 1942 is approximately eight times the production of 1940 and two and one-half times that of 1941. (1940 total production was 6,000; 1942 total production was 47,725; 1941 total production was 19,000.)

d. The performance of our combat aircraft in the test of actual battle has been superb and has astonished even our own military experts in addition to causing our enemy severe losses and most gratifying alarm. To take a single instance out of many gallant records of operations, there is the battle record of a group of Flying Fortresses operating in the South Pacific. In a little over four months of continuous operation this group made contact with 506 enemy planes. Of this number it destroyed 113 in the air, 13 on the ground and damaged an additional 50 in air actions, for a total of 176. In addition, during the same period in action against surface vessels this group sank four enemy vessels, including an enemy battleship, hit and badly damaged 14 and hit an additional ten for a total of 28. ~~This group, on its long range reconnaissance work, flew only seven missions as a striking force with six or more planes.~~ This group lost five planes in combat and 14 planes from various operational causes, including crash landings of damaged aircraft. Personnel casualties from all causes totaled 94 officers and men. (Extract from official report, 11th Bombardment Group, air action to November 7. This group of approximately 35 plane strength has been operating out of Espirito Santo, Efati, and Guadalcanal, being assigned to Navy operational command in the Guadalcanal Campaign.)

Marine fighter squadrons and Navy dive bomber squadrons in the South Pacific took a deadly toll of the enemy in the Guadalcanal area and in battles at sea. The box score of our air operations in 1942 indicates that our air forces have maintained the amazing record of shooting down

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insert B

Although I can not tell you precisely what 1943 holds in store for us in a military sense, But I can tell you our underlying military policy for 1943: it is to hound and harass and seek out the enemy, to bring him to heel, and to give him no quarter. During 1943 the United Nations will be on the offensive -- throughout the world.

I say to the defenders of Stalingrad that your ~~epochal~~ implacable defense has shattered & weakened the enemy irretrievably. ~~was one of the great turning points of the war.~~

I say to the valiant Chinese that the day approaches when the enemy will be driven back to the coast which he violated so long ago.

I say to the British who have held fast to their homeland through storm and fire ~~and battered highways~~ that the initiative has now passed to your hands.

I say to all the fearless, rugged guerilla fighters that before long we shall join you behind present enemy lines.

To all of you and to the American people I promise that within the limitations imposed by our judgment of the relative risks of various operations, it shall be our stubborn, persistent endeavor from now on to

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torture and torment the enemy, to crowd him at all points, to hit him and hit him and hit him again.

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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 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.

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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.

As we look back it becomes clear that

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[one of our doubting Thomases, but I felt 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 operations. They contended that we were turning out material just for storage in warehouses here at home.]

As we look back it becomes clear that the construction of new merchant ships was the most crucial task on the whole production front in 1942. During the year we launched 8,050,000 deadweight tons of ~~merchant~~ cargo vessels — more than the announced goal. ~~These new~~

These new ships were crucial to our whole military effort. As you know, there were a few Doubting Thomases who suggested that we ~~co~~ would never have enough ships to transport overseas the munitions we were planning to produce. Well, the fact is that we already have shipped 75% of the munitions we have made.

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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. But we have good plenty of reason to be proud of our record for 1942. We produced 48,000 military planes -- more than the airplane production of Germany, Italy and Japan put together and two and a half times the 1941 production. Last month, December, we produced the record number of 5,200 military planes and the rate is rapidly rising.

It is important for us to note -- and for our enemies to note -- that we are producing an increasing 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, even more than the numbers of finished planes.

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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 done] without creating some dislocations in our normal national life, some inconveniences, and even some hardships?

That 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?

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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] our good, old-fashioned democratic brand of energy and unity and actual achievement.

[We must not forget that our ahhievements 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.]

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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 done their share in the hard tasks of total war. The clamor of the harrows and drills and presses rang through the world in 1942. In 1943 they will echo in Berlin and Tokyo and Rome. [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] debate over methods and details.

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1/7/43

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,

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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.

As always,

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

The people at home and the people at the front -- men and women -- are today wondering about the Third Freedom -- Freedom from Want. To them it means that when they are mustered out, when the needs of war production dwindle [into the economy of peace], they will have some kind of a right to expect full employment -- for

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We, and all the United Nations, [want] are determined to have 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 sacriligeous -- if this Nation and the world did not attain ~~real advantage~~ some real good out of all these efforts and sufferings and bloodshed and death.

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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. This time, they must be assured that right

When you talk with our young men and women you will find that along with the opportunity for employment they want assurance ? some insurance against the unpredictable hazards of family life and business -- some minimum insurance -- assurance that will cover all the major economic risks extend from the cradle to the grave. They want economic protection against the fear of actual economic want safety for themselves, for their families, and for their neighbors.

If the security of the individual citizen, or the family, should ever 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 practical problem for a task of America during the coming two years. It is the kind of problem that should not be tackled in haste.

I do not call it an issue -- I call it a task to be undertaken willingly and vigorously joyfully, to be studied sympathetically, to be worked out with a constant regard for the universal acceptance unity of the objective, with fairness to all and injustice to none.

We Americans are in go

To the fighting leaders of our Allies — to WC I S + CKC — I likewise bear the tribute of the USA! These three are great, stout leaders — all men of courage and of honor. ~~The United Nations are~~ Our cause is blessed by their unshakable leadership. And there is very real

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naked competence of Russian arms.

By far the largest and most important developments in the whole strategic picture of 1942 have been the events on the long, agonized fronts in Russia. The epochal defense of Stalingrad will stand out in history as a ~~monument to the courage and spirit of men and women who~~ great turning point in this war. The thrilling offensives of the Soviet armies which bring us fresh tidings of victory each day attest the incredible resilience of ~~the Russian arms and~~ the Russian people and the land. These two events have shattered forever the illusion of Nazi invincibility. To the everlasting glory of the Soviet Union, they have proved that men and women who are willing to die for what they believe to be right can never be finally defeated. ~~Let justice record clearly and everlastingly. To all justice let it be recorded clearly and~~

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and we must expect the last phase of this campaign to be violent and not without cost. We may be assured that the Nazis will fight like cornered rats to keep a foo-hold on Africa. I will not attempt to set a date but I do predict that before we are much older the whole south shore of the Mediterranean will be in allied possession from Morocco to Syria.

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$75 - rate at yr end total ~~$2 - Jan '42~~
$65 - munitions & construction (Dec '41) ~~$20 - $21 - Jan '42~~
$22 - " " " " (Dec '41)
$25 - total rate Dec '41

Munitions & construction Jan '42 - $2
Nov. - $5.15
Dec (est) - $5.5

Total aircraft & related equip - Jan '42 - $383
Nov. 42 - $1060 } 3

planes — Jan - $190
Nov - $436 } 2½
Jan - $150
Nov. $492

Munitions alone — 1.4 - Jan
3.8 - Nov.
4.1 - Dec. } 3 X

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Our targets are selected and they are not secret.

But I can tell that no matter when and where we strike by land we shall hit them constantly and mercilessly from the air. There will be no wanton bombardment for the mere sake of fire and destruction. ~~But we shall heap upon them ton after ton of them day after day and night after night the~~ ~~But~~ ~~Day after day and night and night we shall heap upon their industrial~~ industry and utilities ~~and~~ the most deadly tonnage. Day in and night out we shall heap ton ~~upon ton of~~ after ton of explosives on their industry and utilities. ~~The German and Italian people will soon understand the enormity of~~ Hitler and Mussolini will soon understand the enormity of one miscalculation they made — their belief in the invincibility of the Luftwaffe. ~~And so will the~~

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p 4 - Jap strength vs US. strength

strike at home islands and on

last graph p 4 sounds as though UK was attack against Japan.

top 5 - medium - "The first task with regard to Germany was to compel her

& inadequate reference to African campaign -

p.6 - But I can tell you that no matter or when we strike on land, we going - straighten & strengthen whole reference to bombing.

"Already, day in and day out, our Air Forces are active on ten fronts"

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The first assembly

in the midst of the greatest & most terrible war in history

(no mention of part III (in first graph)

victories or defeats which cause rejoicing or lamentation this morning

"decisive year of military phase" — tie to 1942 production,

p. 2 (top) — to disperse our forces
1942 is past

Pearl Harbor paragraph?

"But, while — make two positive statements

"Up to now, our principal efforts

a month-by-month and week-by-week and day-by-day — ~~at a more~~
more rapidly than ~~it~~ could be replaced.

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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, ~~holding~~ tactics that characterize this phase of the war; they prevented our enemy from driving any farther south. They ~~could~~ have not enable us to.

~~are full~~ are filled with both anguish and with high promise of success.

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During this period, ~~our~~ the most important contribution to ultimate victory

During this period our main efforts have been directed toward inflicting steady losses upon the enemy

That aim has been and still is being realized.

The strain we have placed upon ~~upon his~~ the enemy's store of armaments has been heavy and he ~~has felt the losses~~ severely.

We have placed a heavy strain upon the enemy's store of armaments and is now feeling the severity of his losses.

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The inexorable ~~effect~~ results of Japan's diminishing strength and our increasing strength will become evident to ~~all~~ even the Japanese people themselves when the we strike at

and take up the methodical destruction of the munitions plants from the air.

~~What~~ During the past year we have sought to defend; but now we are ready to destroy.

As we ~~continue to~~ build up our own strength in the Pacific we are doing all that we can to get weapons and supplies to China, now in the sixth year of her war for survival.

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ease the pressure on the Russian front by

In the European zone, it was clear that our first task was to compel Germany to use her manpower and equipment to 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.

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To all of them our hearts go out in pride and gratitude.

~~There are no [illegible] words to describe this bravery~~

It is futile to grope for words to express ~~it~~ ~~we fail in our words for them~~ our

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Material for the President's "State of the Union" speech given January 7, 1943.

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

JANUARY 7, 1943

This annual message to the Congress traditionally affords an opportunity for a review of the past year and for consideration of the prospects for the coming year which confront the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government and the American people as a whole.

The 67th Congress convenes for the first time in the midst of the greatest and most terrible war in history. 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 events of the year just passed according to their 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 cause rejoicing or lamentation this morning may be forgotten when the final victory is won; and some events 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 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 its place in the front lines with the other United Nations. For many months we were on the defensive. We were obliged to disperse our fighting strength. 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 shift our production into high gear, to train and equip and transport our fighting forces and to establish bases for ultimate offensive operations.

The Axis knew that the year 1942 was to be decisive; that it must win then or lose everything. So it lashed out frantically in the Pacific, in Russia, in Africa. It gained great stretches of territory, but it could not reach its real objectives. Meanwhile the United Nations became stronger and stronger — until we were able to seize the initiative which we now hold.

In the Pacific area our most important victory was the air and naval battle for the security of Midway Island. That action is historically important because of its effect on communication lines

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

By far the most important development in the whole strategic picture of 1942 has been the events on the long, terrible fronts in Russia. First -- the stupendous defense of Stalingrad -- and, second, the series of smashing offensives at various points which started in the latter part of November and which still continue with great force and effectiveness.

These, then, are the significant military events of 1942. We have come through the defensive phase of the war. The United Nations now hold the initiative --in Russia, in Africa, in Burma -- an initiative

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which is the forerunner of major offensive action.

Such a brief review of a crowded year is deficient in one important respect; it fails to recognize the unprecedented valor and skill of a long procession of individuals and fighting units. The men of Wake and Bataan; the heroes of Guadalcanal; the living and dead of the Coral Sea and Midway; the hardy sailors of the North Atlantic convoys -- all these and hundreds of thousands more have fought the enemy and endured the privations of heat and cold, of wind and water, of disease and boredom. It is futile to grope for words to express our gratitude to them.

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 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 when and where we strike by land we shall hit them constantly and mercilessly from the air. Ours will be no wanton bombardment for the mere sake of fire and destruction. Our targets are selected and they are not secret. Day in and night out we shall heap ton after ton of explosives on their industry and utilities. Hitler and Mussolini will soon understand the

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enormity of one miscalculation -- their believe in the invincibility of the Luftwaffe. Yes, they asked for it -- and they are going to get it.

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

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I cannot tell you precisely what 1943 holds in store for us in a military sense. But I can tell you our underlying military policy for 1943: it is to hound and harass and seek out the enemy, to bring him to heel, and to give him no quarter. During 1943 the United Nations will be on the offensive---throughout the world.

I say to the defenders of Stalingrad that your epochal defense was one of the great turning points of the war.

I say to the valiant Chinese that the day approaches when ~~you can begin to drive~~ the enemy will be driven back to the coast which he violated so long ago.

I say to the British who have held fast to their homeland through hell and high water that the initiative has now passed to your hands.

I say to all the fearless, rugged guerilla fighters that before long we shall ~~soon~~ join you behind present enemy lines.

~~To all of you we are profoundly grateful.~~ And to the American people To all of you I promise that within the limitations imposed by our judgment of the relative risks of various ~~theatres of war~~ operations, it shall be our stubborn, persistent ~~aim~~ endeavor from now on to ~~harass~~ torture and torment the enemy, to crowd him at all points, to hit him and hit him and hit him again.

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ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

JANUARY 7, 1943

This annual message to the Congress traditionally affords an opportunity for a review of the past year and for consideration of the prospects for the coming year which confront the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government and the American people as a whole.

The 67th Congress convenes for the first time in the midst of the greatest and most terrible war in history. 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 events of the year just passed according to their 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 cause rejoicing or lamentation this morning may be forgotten when the final victory is won; and some events barely noted in the comment of the day may by the end of the war prove to have been decisive factors.

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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 its place in the front lines with the other United Nations. For many months we were on the defensive. We were obliged to disperse our fighting strength. 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 shift our production into high gear, to train and equip and transport our fighting forces and to establish bases for ultimate offensive operations.

The Axis knew that the year 1942 was to be decisive; that it must win then or lose everything. So it lashed out frantically in the Pacific, in Russia, in Africa. It gained great stretches of territory, but it could not reach its real objectives. Meanwhile the United Nations became stronger and stronger -- until we were able to seize the initiative which we now hold.

In the Pacific area our most important victory was the air and naval battle for the security of Midway Island. That action is historically important because of its effect on communication lines

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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 that area in the air and on land and afloat — especially those on the Coral Sea and New Guinea and in the Solomon Islands. In these actions, our armed forces and those of our allies have shown 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 characterizes this phase of the war; they prevented the enemy from advancing any farther south. They have not yet enabled us to make any substantial advances toward our real objective — which, of course, is Tokyo itself.

During this period, the most important contribution to ultimate victory in the Pacific area lies in the steady losses which we have inflicted upon the enemy — losses of Japanese planes, naval vessels, transports and cargo ships. As early as one year ago, I set as our first task in the war of the Pacific a day-by-day and week-by-week and month-by-month destruction of Japanese armament at a rate appreciably greater than the rate at which it could be replaced. That task has been and is being performed.

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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 reduced to a mathematical basis. The inexorable result of Japan's diminishing strength and our increasing strength will become evident to the Japanese people themselves when we strike at their own home islands and begin the methodical destruction of their munitions plants from the air.

The phase of mere defensive attrition in the Pacific War has ended. Our objective now is to seek out Japanese forces and to fight them as often as possible. During the past year we have sought to delay; now we seek to destroy them as often as possible.

As we build up our own strength in the Pacific we are doing all that we can to get supplies and weapons to China, now in the sixth year of her war for survival.

We assure these heroic people, whose ideals of peace are so closely akin to our own, that no matter how formidable the obstacles that separate us, they will be overcome; that the force of our common enemy surely will be shattered; and that China will realize the security, the prosperity, and the dignity which the Japanese have fought so ruthlessly to destroy.

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We Americans are in good, brave company in this war. And there is very real unanimity between the leaders of the United Nations. There is the kind of relationship between us which guarantees effective unity in planning and carrying out the major strategic moves. We may count ourselves more than fortunate to be associated in this great struggle with ~~(the massive figures of~~ Winston Churchill, Joseph Stalin and the Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek. ~~Here are three massive figures — three great leaders of warring nations — three honorable and distinguished allies.~~ ~~Each of them is a solid massive figure; each of them a strong, inspiring leader; each one a proud, honorable ally.~~

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Therefore it is my intention to communicate with you from time to time during the coming year on the problem of a better America after the war.

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

The Third Freedom — Freedom from Want — is something that the people at home and the people at the front — men and women — are wondering about today. It has a good deal to do with a better America after the war.

To the people at the front and in military training, freedom from want means that ~~they can~~ when they are mustered out of service, they can go back and find jobs.

To the people in the war plants, freedom from want means that when the war is over and the need for war production dwindles, they can keep their jobs or find new ones.

These people have some kind of a right to expect [~~that~~] employment — for themselves and [~~because they are not selfish~~] for all able-bodied men and women in America who want to work. They have a right to expect that if we can sustain full employment in war we should be able to do it in peace.

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SEVENTH DRAFT

~~[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] breadlines. 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 that [the] Freedom from Want means something else besides the opportunity for employment. It means the corollary protection of some insurance against the unpredictable hazards and disasters of family and business life — some minimum insurance that will cover all the major economic risks from the cradle to the grave.

They are eager to face the risks inherent in a system of free enterprise. They do not want — nor should they have — any featherbed system of insurance in which any able-bodied man or woman [illegible] of

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They are eager to face the risks inherent in a system of free enterprise. They do not want — nor should they have — any featherbed system of insurance in which any able-bodied man or woman can escape the responsibilities of supporting himself and his family.

But they do insist upon basic protection from [the fear of] actual economic want — for themselves, for their families, and for their neighbors.

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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.

(4) I am a practical person. Therefore, I realize that it is of little [account] use 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] We know that because of the conquest of the air, wars, if permitted to continue, would grow in size and in death and destruction and would ~~[illegible]~~ inevitably engulf all nations. I shudder to think of what will happen to humanity, including ourselves, if this war ends in an inconclusive peace and another wone breaks out when the [babies] young children of today [get to] reach 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.

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But [we have learned] most of us know that we can never dig a hole so deep that it would be safe against [predatory animals.] the bomber of tomorrow. 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. Therefore, we, and all the United Nations, are determined to have a decent and durable peace.

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After the first World War we tried to achieve a formula for permanent peace, based on a magnificent idealism. We failed. We cannot [maintain] rely on maintaining peace at this stage of human development by good intentions alone.

~~Also~~, It is clear to us today 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] a new 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.

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. They must do this first of all 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".

As always, there are cynics and skeptics who

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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 establish throughout the world the Freedom from Fear, save the world from future fear.

One thing we know. We know that during 1943 at least we know that 1943 will give to the United Nations will advance a very substantial distance along the roads that lead to Berlin and Rome and Tokyo. Therefore, I say to you and to all of our people at home and on the battle fronts — let us stand shoulder to shoulder, have confidence, redouble your efforts. let us not cringe or cry out, let us work and fight together, for final victory and lasting peace shall surely be ours.

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.

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

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

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

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

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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. No, we were not trying to fool the Axis or anyone else.)

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

Let's see how we made out in 1942.

In 1942 we produced 47,000 military airplanes, which is 80% of the objective. But in December we turned out the record number of 5400, or a rate of 64,800

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That's twice the number and three times the weight of a year ago.

units per year. And I am confident that by the end of this year we shall have again doubled the current rate.

We produced 24,000 light and medium tanks. Our original objective was 45,000, but that was reduced to 25,000 early in the year so we could divert a large proportion of our tank capacity to the production of self-propelled artillery. (Reference to success of this equipment in Africa?) So we actually turned out 98% of the revised objective. And the December rate of output was nearly 50,000 per year.

We produced [illegible] anti-aircraft guns, or 84% of the modified objective. January last year we produced 55 of all types; in December over 2,300.

In merchant ships, our objective was 8,000,000 deadweight tons. We actually launched 8, deadweight tons, or 100.- % of the goal. This is one and one-half times as much steel ship tonnage as was delivered during the most productive year of the World War program and only 30% less than during the entire 1917-1922 shipbuilding effort.

These were the four principal production objectives. In addition, during 1942:

We produced 1,650,000 rifles, more than five times our production in 1941.

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

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

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

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

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

This was the year in which we ~~not yet to resume~~ achieved the rates of production which will enable us, by the end of the ~~next~~ coming year, more munitions than all the rest of the world combined — Axis and Allies.

We must not be arrogantly boastful of this record. For in all humility our efforts should not be compared to the production of the Russians and British who have, under incredible difficulties, attained an amazing level of output.

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We may, however, be justly proud of what has been accomplished. And so to every owner and manager and supervisor, to every draftsman and engineer, to every worker in the aircraft plants and shipyards and arsenals, and to the shops and foundries and mines and mills and forests which feed them — to all of you collectively who toiled at the hard tasks of war production during 1942 — I say to you in full gratitude: well done.

Now let us get on with it, for the task is not yet finished. We dare not rest on our laurels. The most difficult part of all still lies ahead. Now, some of our doubting Thomases have put forth the suggestion that it's all very well to have a high rate of munitions production, but suppose we haven't enough ships to get it to the theatres of operation. Some of them would have us believe that we are turning out materiel just for the fun of storing it in warehouses.

But the facts show that as of the end of this year, 75% of all the munitions and equipment delivered to the Army already has been sent abroad. During 1942 we shipped to all fighting fronts, for our own forces and those

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

Russian figures

Of course, munitions are only a part of our supply problem and we are delivering vast quantities of raw materials, machinery, food and literally thousands of other items of supply.

So you see we are not only producing the goods and weapons of war; we are delivering them to the combat areas.

Simultaneously with the unparalleled industrial accomplishment of 1942, our Armed Forces have grown during the past year from a little over 2,000,000 to 7,000,000 men and women. In other words, we have withdrawn from the labor force some 5,000,000 of our youngest and most durable 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.

That naive person could believe that those great accomplishments could have been made without creating some disturbances, some inconveniences,

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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~~ our living standard ~~in the world?~~ at its peace-time level.

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

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

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

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Let us turn now to a review of progress on the production front. Throughout the past year and even before we went to war, there has been a consistent line of criticism against our war production effort. This has come from all sources. We have all taken part in it. And I am sure that when our enemies heard we were not satisfied with our own efforts they were pleased and reassured. For had they not been telling the world for nearly a decade that democracy was sterile, that the competitive economic system under which we operate was impotent? Were they not already convinced that the plutodemocracies were torn and dissipated by polyglot interests which would never pull in the same harness toward a common goal?

This self-criticism in which we have indulged during the past year and more has, I believe, had a generally healthy effect. It has spurred us on. It has prevented the enervating effects of self-satisfaction. And the great majority of this criticism has come from well-meaning persons. It has been intended to goad us into greater effort. Basically, I believe, it has been a reflection of a healthy American impatience to get on with the job and an equally typical American refusal to be staggered by the vision of enormous tasks. We are the kind of people who believe in doing the impossible and so we were never quite satisfied.

I do not wish for one moment to induce you to be satisfied with our effort —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 the year 1942---our first year of war against the Axis.

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At the beginning of the year----in my last message on the State of the Union----I announced certain production goals for 1942 and 1943. Some thought these goals were fantastically high. Some even thought they were so high that the Nation would be discouraged by the hopelessness of ever attaining them. But I had confidence in the vision, the imagination, the ingenuity, and the boldness of ~~the people~~ our people. I had faith in their ~~confidence~~ ability to reach out and up and to attain these goals. My confidence and my faith has been confirmed by the performance during 1942. Some adjustements in the original goals had to be made during the year because ~~of~~ battle experience dictated some shifts in emphasis upon particular weapons of war. We have fallen a bit short of some others. ~~of some of our objectives for 1942. For instance, I called for production during 1942 of 60,000 airplanes and during the 20 years 1942 and 1943 of 120.~~ But in the over-all, we actually produced during 1942 _____% of our total objectives. I hereby reaffirm my confidence and faith in the ability of this Nation to go on during this year and to reach the 1943 goals which I set a year ago. It should never be overlooked that by the end of this year we shall be producing more munitions than all the rest of the world combined---Axis and Allies. Only this Nation could conceive of such an effort. Only this Nation could achieve it. It is, of course, very easy to use to superlatives in describing the magnitude of this task. And it is perfectly accurate to use superlatives, because the world never before dreamed of such an effort. But for the sake of confirmation, let us look at the record----let us talk hard fact. These figures will give no aid and comfort to the enemy. On the contrary I can imagine that they will give him considerable discomfort. I imagine that there will even less sleeping done at Berchtesgaden after Herr Goebbels reports our progress on the production front this past year.

(Fill in figures on increases in specific weapons and dollar

expenditures; comparison with World War 1 (we'll spend [redacted] as much for war in the next two months as was spent during 1917 and 1918 combined.)

So we are today pouring out munitions at a rate unprecedented in the history of the world. But what is being done with them? Some people would have us believe that they are being produced for storage in warehouses and one vacant lots across the length and breadth of the land; that we haven't enough ships to get them to the theatres of operations. But the facts show that as of the end of this year, 75% of all the munitions and equipment delivered to the Army already had been sent abroad to fighting fronts [redacted] The remainder was being used for training or held in reserve.

As you know, I report to the Congress every two months on the progress of Lease-Lend ~~activities~~. But I think it is important [redacted] to mention here a few figures which cast some light on [redacted] the magnitude of our assistance to [redacted] our Allies. I want to speak especially of our aid to [redacted] Russia. I need not tell you how difficult, how perilous, it is to deliver these goods to [redacted] Russian ~~[redacted]~~ ports. Perhaps these perils will be more generally recognized if I tell you that more than 600 seamen have lost their lives fighting their way through ~~[redacted]~~ mine fields and submarine packs and aerial assault to deliver supplies to ~~[redacted]~~ It might be unwise to [redacted] make public at this time the number of airplanes and tanks that have been delivered to the gallant Russian people and armies, though I can assure you that they are very substantial. But I can tell you some of the non-munitions items delivered as of the first of October. By that [redacted] date we had actually delivered into the hands of the Russians [redacted] some ~~items~~ 30,000 trucks; more than one and half million pairs of Army boots; more than 33,000 tons of meat; more than 50,000 tons of ~~[redacted]~~ lard; more than 6,000 tons of butter, and nearly 15,000 tons of dried eggs. These are a few items picked more or less at random; in all there are _____ items which we are shipping to Russia under our protocol ~~[redacted]~~ agreement.

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I feel assured that when the historians have had time to evaluate and analyze the ~~[illegible]~~ importance of ~~significant accomplishments~~ major events during the course of the war, ~~that~~ they will attach ~~to~~ tremendous significance to the accomplishments ~~of~~ in the production front in the United States during the year 1942. I hazard the guess that the battles won in the ~~factories~~ ~~[illegible]~~ mines and mills and factories and on the fields and plains during the past twelve months will assume a stature not incomparable ~~[illegible]~~ with that of the Battle of Britain ~~won by the gallant RAF~~, with the great winter ~~campaigns~~ campaigns of the ~~Siberian armies~~ Soviet armies, and with the defeat of the Japanese at Midway Island. For this was the year in which the main structure of our arsenal of democracy was built up upon the foundation which had been carefully prepared during the preceding year. It has been built with great speed and with great strength. It has been built solidly and well. We have yet to add the superstructure---add it on ~~against overwhelming~~ in face of even greater difficulties, confronted with even greater urgencies, requiring even greater effort. Perhaps this ~~[illegible]~~ will be the most difficult part of the great engineering task upon we embarked _____ ago---to construct with our brains and hands and hearts and sweat the world's greatest industrial establishment---an arsenal of democracy which would assure beyond peradventure of doubt the preservation of free nations and ~~individual~~ individual liberties. The ~~crucial~~ crucial period in ~~of~~ the performance of that task was 1942.

And so to every farmer, every draftsmen and engineer, every manager and supervisor, every worker in the aircraft plants and shipyards and arsenals, the mines and mills---to all of you collectively who worked for his country at the hard tasks of war production during 1942---I say ~~[illegible]~~ to you in full gratitude: well done; you have earned the everlasting thanks of every

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American, of every lover of ~~mex~~ freedom and liberty and democracy and decency throughout the world.

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Let us not forget that simultaneously with the unparalleled industrial accomplishment of 1942, our Armed Forces have grown from _____ to _____, which means that we have withdrawn from the labor force several millions of our youngest and most durable workers. ~~into the Armed Forces fighting services~~. And for the ~~fifth~~ great theatre of home front effort, we have seen our farmers contribute more than their ~~there~~ share to the common effort by producing ~~[illegible]~~ the greatest quantity of food ever made available during a single year in all of histroy.

What naive person could believe that these great accomplishments could have been recorded without creating some distrubances, some inconveniecnes, and even some hardships?

What ~~[illegible]~~ rosey optimist could expect us to ~~[illegible]~~ divert unheard of quantities of resources to war and at the same time maintain the highest living standard in the world? Who could have hoped to have accomplished this without burdensome government regulations which are a nuisance to everyone, including those who have the thankless task of administering them, but which are nevertheless essential to the efficient prosecution of the war.

Of course, there have been inconveniences and ~~disturbances~~ (disturbances) and even hardships. And there will be many, many more before we have ~~[illegible]~~ beaten the last breath out of our enemies. But I give you my solemn assurance that the drastic contributions that will be asked of the civilian population will be based on one reason and one reason alone: that they will be actual contributions to the war effort. ~~that these contributions will go to the direct support of the war effort.~~

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Let us not forget that simultaneously with the unparalleled industrial accomplishment of 1942, our Armed Forces have grown from _____ to _____, which means that we have withdrawn from the labor force several millions of our youngest and most durable workers. And on the third great theatre of home front effort, we have seen our farmers contribute more than their share to the common effort by producing the greatest quantity of food ever made available during a single year, in all of histroy.

What naive person could believe that these great accomplishments could have been recorded without creating some distrubances, some inconveniecnes, and even some hardships?

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(1) were considered fantastically high - some thought so high that the Nation would be discouraged at the prospect of ever attaining them. But I had confidence - ~~had~~ ~~faith~~ in the vision, the imagination the ingenuity the boldness of the people to accept these goals had faith in their competence to attain them. They were so high that they will carry us by the end of next year to a point where we'll be producing more munitions than all the rest of the world combined - Axis & Allies put together. Only American could conceive of such an effort - only American could achieve it. Its easy to use superlatives - its perfectly accurate to use superlatives - the world had before dreamed of such an effort. But for the sake of confirmation lets look at the record. These figures will give no aid or comfort to our enemies. On the contrary.

Didn't make all of them but -

Figures on production increase, comparisons with WWI, etc.

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(3) Now, are these ~~goods~~ munitions being produced for storage in warehouses as some would have us think.

They're be shipped

Figures (P.S. Second objective) By end of 1942 75% of all Army purchases overseas)

This could lead into disturbances, restrictions.

Don't forget for a moment that with this unparalled industrial performance we increased Armed Forces from ___ to ___, ~~[illegible]~~ withdrawing our youngest & strongest into fighting services. And that our farmers more than did their share by producing more food for fighting forces, allies & the rest of us than ever before in history.

What naive person believes that the accomplishments could have been recorded without causing

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Let us turn now to a review of progress on the war production front. Throughout the past year and even before Pearl Harbor, we have heard persistent criticism against the management and progress of war production. This has come from many sources; almost all of us have taken part in it. ~~I assume that it was reassuring~~ It must have given heart to our enemies to learn ~~of our dissatisfaction~~ that we were dissatisfied with our own efforts. For had they not ~~been telling~~ told the world for ~~nearly a decade~~ many years that our democracy was sterile; and that our competitive economic system was impotent? Had they not said repeatedly that the "plutodemocracies" were ~~made up~~ comprised of polyglot (antagonistic) ~~interests which were~~ groups incapable of pulling together in the same harness toward a common goal?

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. Basically, this criticism has reflected a healthy American impatience to get on with the job and a typically American refusal

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to be impressed by the difficulties of enormous tasks. We are the kind of people who are never quite satisfied with anything short of miracles.

I do not wish to suggest that we should be satisfied with the extent of our 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 the year 1942 — our first year of war against the Axis.

At the beginning of the year — in my last message on the State of the Union — I announced certain production goals for 1942 and 1943. Some people, including some experts, thought these goals were fantastically high. Others thought that I 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 who were responsible for planning the military strategy and setting the production goals had great confidence

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in the vision and the boldness of our people. We had great faith in their ability to establish new levels of accomplishment. No, we were not trying to fool the Axis or anyone else.

Of course, I realized at that time that some of the production objectives laid out at the very beginning of the war would have to be changed -- some adjusted upward, and others adjusted downward; some items taken out of the program completely and other totally new ones added -- all this in the light of battle experience and new technological developments. This has happened.

In this place last year, I set goals for four major military items -- aircraft, anti-aircraft guns, tanks, and merchant ships. By the end of the year, our actual production in relation to these objectives was as follows:

Aircraft -- objective unchanged during the year -- 80% complete.

Anti-aircraft guns -- objective modified to shift the emphasis on heavier guns -- 84% of the modified objective completed.

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Tanks — objective modified downward to permit a drastic step-up in the production of self-propelled artillery — 96% of the revised objective completed.

Merchant ships — objective unchanged throughout the year — 99.8% completed.

Since the objectives during the year have, of necessity, been changed frequently, it is not possible to make a meaningful comparison of our over-all performance against our over-all objectives. If we took the evaluation of the highest set of total objectives at any time during the year, actual performance amounted to 72%; if we took the evaluation of the lowest set of total objectives, the performance was 94%. But by and large the figures just given you for the four major categories of military requirements are representative of the degree of accomplishment; it ranged generally from around 80% to over 100%. In many cases we have reached rates of production during the last few months which assure us maximum planned production this year. In several

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others, notably aircraft, we have tremendous increases still ahead of us.

What these figures do not portray accurately is the rate of increase that has been accomplished during the past year which we started with an already substantial output of munitions. Between January 1942 and December 1942 the following increases have been achieved:

Six major types of naval combat vessels — three times.

Merchant ships — nearly twelve times.

Aircraft — nearly doubled.

Medium tanks — nearly four times.

Light tanks — nearly five times.

37 mm anti-aircraft guns — nearly fifteen (?) times.

.30 mm machine guns — 3.5 times.

.50 mm machine guns — nearly seven times.

Rifles — more than five times.

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During the past twelve months the Army has received more than 1,650,000 rifles.

During the past twelve months the Army has received 670,000 machine guns.

During the past twelve months more than 131,000 two and one-half ton trucks were delivered to the Army.

During the past twelve months we produced _____ billion rounds of small arms ammunition.

During the past twelve months we built one and one half times as much steel ship tonnage as was delivered during the most productive year of the World War program and only 30% less than during the entire 1917-1922 shipbuilding effort. The November average building time for merchant ships was less than one-fifth of Hog Island's over-all average during the last war.

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.

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In my mind's eye I can even picture a nervous somnambulist pacing the bedroom floor through the long nights of Berchtesgaden ranting hysterically to the silent walls. Yes, and I suspect Herr Goebbel's will have his hands full explaining to the German people what peculiar aspect of democratic decadence permits such phenomenal rates of war production.

Let us be fair and honest in passing judgment on the progress of war production during the past year. In a few areas we have done considerably less than we had hoped to accomplish. 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. Today we are producing more munitions than any other country in the world. By the end of this year we shall be producing more munitions than all the rest of the world combined — Axis and Allies. 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 those

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sadly misinformed Axis leaders who didn't know that a democracy embracing many interest groups — a democracy permitting the free expression of opinion — could ever work in harness.

Yes, I feel assured that when the historians have had time to evaluate the importance of various events during the course of the war, they will attach tremendous significance to the accomplishments on the production front in the United States during the year 1942. I hazard the opinion that the production battles won in the mines and mills and factories, and on the fields and plains of America during the past twelve months will assume a degree of importance not incomparable to that of the Battle of Britain, or the great winter campaigns of the Soviet armies, or the defeat of the Japanese at Midway Island. For this was the year in which the great main structure of our arsenal of democracy was erected upon the foundation which had been prepared during the preceding year. It has been built with great speed and great strength. It has been built solidly and well. It is not yet finished,

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but the crucial period in the greatest engineering feat ever conceived was 1942 and that period has been passed with colors flying.

And so to every owner and manager and supervisor, to every draftsman and engineer, to every worker in the aircraft plants and shipyards and arsenals, and the shops and foundries and mines and mills which feed them -- to all of you collectively who worked with his heart and brain and hands at the hard tasks of war production during 1942 -- I say to you in full gratitude: well done; you have earned the everlasting thanks of every American, of every lover of freedom and liberty and decency and democracy throughout the world.

I know that the engineering and conversion and production problems have been many and difficult. I know that you have had to unlearn your accustomed tasks and learn new ones. I know that the standards have been rigid and exacting. I know many of the ingenius developments and devices that have sped munitions out of your factories and on to the field of battle. I know how long you have toiled -- much longer than some would have us believe.

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Letus pause in our labors only long enough to give credit where credit is due; to record accurately the accomplishments that have been made. And then let us get on with it, for the task is not yet finished. We have yet to add the superstructure of our arsenal of democracy. Perhaps this will be the most difficult part of all in our great home-front objective upon which we embarked together some _____ months ago — to build the world's greatest industrial establishment — a true arsenal of democracy which would assure beyond peradventure of doubt the preservation of free nations and individual liberties. We can finish that job only by adhering to the principle upon which the accomplishments of the past year have rested — that we are in this war together — every man, woman and child of us. By pulling together we can win. By pulling apart we only play the Axis game.

But, one may ask, what is being done with this unprecedented volume of war production. Some people would have us believe that it is being produced for storage in warehouses and on vacant lots across the length and breadth of the land; that we haven't enough ships to get it to the theatres of operation. The only way to clear up this point is

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to look at the facts. And the facts show that as of the end of this year, 75% of all the munitions and equipment delivered to the Army already has been sent abroad to the fighting fronts. The remainder was being used for training or held in reserve. We can well be as proud of this record as we are of the actual production figures.

And let us not forget that simultaneously with the unparalleled industrial accomplishment of 1942, our Armed Forces have grown during the past year from a little over 2,000,000 to 7,000,000. In other words, we have withdrawn from the labor force some 5,000,000 of our youngest and most durable workers. Nor can we overlook the fact that on the third great threatre of home front effort we have seen our farmers contribute more than their share to the common effort by producing the greatest quantity of food ever made available during a single year in all of history.

What naive person could believe that these great accomplishments could have been recorded without creating some disturbances, some inconveniences, and even some hardships?

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What optimist in his rosiest moments could expect us to divert unheard-of quantities of resources to war and at the same time maintain the highest living standard in the world?

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

Of course, there have been inconveniences and disturbances and even hardships. And there will be many, many more before we finally smash the last breath of life from our enemies.

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 that they will be harsh. We shall feel in many ways in our daily lives the sharp pinch of total war. If that means tightening the belt, we shall tighten it. If it means foregoing pleasures and conveniences and privileges, we shall forego them.

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If it means postponing the realization of some ambitions we shall postpone them.

For our belt-tightening, our foregoing and our postponements are not permanent. They are means to an end -- the end of winning the war as quickly as possible and something more.

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11

insert 2

54
12
~~64~~ 48

Let's see how we made out in 1942. In aircraft, we produced a total of 47,000 military planes.

Light on Navy side

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~~Let's press in our labors only long enough to give credit where credit is due; to record accurately the accomplishments that have been made. And then~~ Now let us get on with it, for the task is not yet finished. ~~We have yet to add the superstructure of our arsenal of democracy. Perhaps this will be the most difficult part of all in our great home-front objective upon which we embarked together some months ago -- to build the world's greatest industrial establishment -- a true arsenal of democracy which would assure beyond peradventure of doubt the preservation of free nations and individual liberties.~~ We can finish ~~that job~~ it only by adhering to the principle upon which the accomplishments of the past year have rested -- that we are in this war together -- every man, woman and child of us. By pulling together we can win. By pulling apart we only play the Axis game.

But, one may ask, what is being done with this unprecedented volume of war production. Some people would have us believe that it is being produced for storage in warehouses and on vacant lots across the length and breadth of the land; that we haven't enough ships to get it to the theatres of operation. The only way to clear up this point is

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my confidence and faith in the ability of this Nation to go on during ~~this~~ the coming year and to reach the 1943 goals which I set a year ago. ~~It should never be overlooked~~ We should overlook the fact ~~looks~~ that by the end of this year we shall be producing more munitions than all the rest of the world combined---Axis and Allies. Only this Nation could conceive of such an effort. Only this Nation could achieve it. It is, of course, very easy to ~~use~~ resort to superlatives in describing the magnitude of this task. And ~~it is perfectly accurate to~~ the use superlatives is entirely justified because the world never before dreamed of such an effort. But for the sake of confirmation, let us look at the record---let us talk hard fact. Those figures which I am going to give you will ~~give~~ provide no aid and comfort to the enemy. On the contrary, I can imagine ~~that~~ they will give him considerable discomfort. I imagine that there will be even less sleeping done at Berchtesgaden after Herr Goebbels reports our progress on the production front this past year.

(Fill in figures on increases in production of specific weapons and dollar expenditures; and comparisons with World War I [We'll spend as much for war in the next two months as was spent during 1917 and 1918 combined.])

So we are today pouring out munitions at a rate unprecedented in the history of the world. But what is being done with them? Some people

would have us believe that they are being produced for storage in warehouses and on vacant lots across the length and breadth of the Land; that we haven't enough ships to get them to the theatres of operations. But the facts show that as of the end of this year, 75% of all the munitions and equipment delivered to the Army already has been sent abroad to fighting fronts. The remainder was being used for training or held in reserve. We can well be as proud of this record as we are of the actual production figures

As you know, I report to the Congress every two months on the progress of Lease Lend aid. But I think it is important to mention here a few figures which cast some light on the magnitude of our assistance to our Allies. I want to speak especially of ~~our~~ aid to Russia. I need not tell you how difficult, how perilous, it is to deliver these goods to Russian ports. Perhaps these perils will be more generally recognized if I tell you that more than 600 seamen have lost their lives fighting their way through mine fields and submarine packs and aerial assault to deliver supplies to the gallant Russian armies and people ~~and armies~~. It might be unwise to make public at this time the number of airplanes and tanks that have been delivered—though I can assure you that they are very substantial. But I can tell you some of the non-munitions items delivered as of the first of October. By that date we had actually

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delivered into the hands of the Russians some 30,000 trucks; more than one and a half million pairs of Army boots; more than 33,000 tons of meat; more than 50,000 tons of lard; more than 6,000 tons of butter, and nearly 15,000 tons of dried eggs. These are a few items picked more or less at random; in all we are shipping more than ____ items of munitions, machinery materials and food ~~there are~~ _____ ~~items which are shipping~~ to Russia under our protocol agreement.

I feel assured that when the historians have had time to evaluate ~~and evaluate~~ the importance of various ~~major~~ events during the course of the war, they will attach tremendous significance to the accomplishments on the production front in the United States during the year 1942. I hazard the guess that the production battles won in the mines and mills and factories, and on the fields and plains of America during the past twelve months will assume a rank ~~stature~~ not incomparable with that of the Battle of Britain, or ~~with~~ the great winter campaigns of the Soviet armies, or ~~and with~~ the defeat of the Japanese at Midway Island. For this was the year in which the main structure of our arsenal of democracy was erected ~~built up~~ upon the foundation which had been prepared ~~carefully prepared~~ during the preceding year. It has been built with great speed and with great strength. It has been built solidly and well. We have yet to add the superstructure; and we must build this part of it ~~[illegible]~~

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delivered into the hands of the Russians some 30,000 trucks; more than one and a half million pairs of Army boots; more than 33,000 tons of meat; more than 50,000 tons of lard; more than 6,000 tons of butter, and nearly 15,000 tons of dried eggs. These are a few items picked more or less at random; in all we are shipping more than ____ items of munitions, machinery, material, and food ~~there are~~ _____ ~~items of~~ ~~[illegible]~~ to Russia under our protocol agreement.

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drastic contributions that will be asked of the civilian population during the coming year will be

based on one reason and one reason alone: that they ~~will be actual contri-~~ are needed and will be used in direct support of the war. ~~butions for the war effort.~~

~~Save that is all any patriotic citizen will~~

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MR. WILSON

PLEASE CALL MR. DICKINSON

BR. 3357

R.D.

[State of the Union Message, 1943 ?]

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

Throughout the past year and even before Pearl Harbor, we have heard persistent criticism against the management and progress of war production. This has come from many sources; almost all of us have taken part in it. I assume that it was reassuring to our enemies to learn of our dissatisfaction with our own efforts. For had they not been telling the world for nearly a decade that our democracy was sterile; that our competetive economic system was impotent? Had they not said repeatedly that the "plutodemocracies" were made up of polyglot interests which were incapable of pulling together in the same harness toward a common goal?

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. Basically, this criticism has reflected a healthy American impatience to get on with the job, and typically American refusal to be impressed by the difficulties of

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enormous tasks. We are the kind of people who ~~believe in doing the im-possible and so we were~~ are never quite satisfied with anything short of miracles.

I do not wish ~~for one moment to induce you to be satisfied with our effort~~ to suggest that we should be satisfied with the extent of our 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 the year 1942—our first year of war against the Axis.

At the beginning of the year—in my last message on the State of the Union—I announced certain production goals for 1942 and 1943. Some people, including some experts, thought these goals were fantastically high. Some even thought they were so high that the Nation would be discouraged by the hopelessness of ever attaining them. But I had confidence in the vision, the imagination, the ingenuity, and the boldness of our people. I had faith in their ability ~~to rise out and up and~~ to attain these goals. My confidence and my faith has been confirmed by the performance during 1942. Some adjustments in the original goals had to be made during the year because battle experience dictated some shifts in emphasis upon particular weapons of war. We have fallen a bit short of some others. But in the over-all, we actually produced during 1942 _____% of our total objectives. And I hereby reaffirm

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notes on performance.....

Dollar value of total objectives for munitions and construction during the year was under more or less constant change, ranging from a low of about $50 billion to a high of about $65 billion. Actual performance will be in the neighborhood of $47 billion. Therefore performance ranged between 72% and 94% of the over-all objectives for the year depending which of the four revisions during the course of the year is evaluated.

As far as the specific categories of weapons for which goals were assigned in the State of the Union message of last year, we stack up as follows:

1. Aircraft-80%
2. Tanks (modified later)-98%
3. anti-aircraft (modified later)-84%
4. Merchant ships-99.8%

Here is a suggested method for treatment.....

"At the beginning of the year——in my last message on the State of the Union——I announced certain production goals for 1942 and 1943. Some people, including some experts, thought these goals were fantastically high. Others thought that I 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 who were responsible for planning the military strategy and setting the production goals had great confidence in the vision, and the boldness of our people. We had great faith in their ability to establish new levels of accomplishment. We were not trying to fool the Axis or anyone else.

"Of course, I realized at that time, that some of the production objectives laid out at the very beginning of the war would have to be changed——

some adjusted upward, and others adjusted downward; some items taken out of the program completely and other totally new ones added—all this in the light of battle experience and new technological developments. This has happened. In this place last year, I set goals for four major military items—aircraft, anit-aircraft guns, tanks, and merchant ships. By the end of the year, our actual production in relation to these objectives was as follows:

Aircraft—objective unchanged during the year—80% complete.

Tanks—objective modified downward to permit a drastic step-up in the production of self-propelled artillery—98% of the revised objective completed.

anti-aircraft guns—objective modified to shift the emphasis on heavier guns—84% of the modified objective completed.

Merchant ships—objective unchanged throughout the year—99.8% completed.

Since, the objectives during the year have been frequently changed, of necessity, it is not possible to make a meaningful comparison of our over-all performance against our over-all objectives. If we look at the evaluation of the largest set of total objectives at any time during the year, actual performance amounted to 72%; if we took the evaluation of the lowest set of total objectives, the performance was 94%. But bye and large the figures just given you for the four major categories of military requirements are representative of the degree of accomplishment; it ranged generally from around 80% to over 100%. In many cases we have reached rates of production during the last few months which assure us maximum planned production this year. In severeal others, notably aircraft, we have tremendous increases still ahead of us.

~~I think we have done a good job. I think we have done a job of~~ which we

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What these figures do not portray accurately is the rate of increase (which we started with an already substantial output of munitions) that has been accomplished during the past year. Between January, 1942 and December, 1942, the following ~~[illegible]~~ increases have been achieved:

Six major types of naval combat vessels—three times.

Merchant ships—nearly twelve times.

Aircraft—nearly doubled.

Medium tanks—nearly four times.

Light tanks—nearly five times.

37 mm anti-aircraft guns—nearly 15 (?) times.

.30 mm machine guns— 3.5 times.

.50 mm machine guns—nearly 7 times.

Rifles - more than 5 times.

There are quite a few weapons which we were not producing at all in January, 1942. For instance, we produced our first 3-inch anti-tank gun in March; by the end of the year we had nearly 4,500. And in March we produced our first 40 mm anti-aircraft gun; by the end of the year we had nearly 9,000.

Even these figures may not perhaps give a full understanding of the quantitative magnitude of the job that has been done. Today we are producing more munitions than any other nation in the world. By the end of the year, we shall be turning out more munitions than all the rest of the world combined—Axis and Allies.

A few more figures and comparisons may be helpful.

In the two months of January and February of this year, war [illegible] will exceed [illegible] during the entire two years of 1917 and 1918.

During the past year the value of Army construction alone exceeds in value all construction for the five years 1934 to 1938 inclusive.

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

During the past twelve the Army has received more than 1,650,000 rifles.

During the past twelve months the Army has received 670,000 machine guns.

During the past twelve months more than 131,000 two and one-half tons trucks were delivered to the Army.

During the past twelve months we produced _____ billion rounds of small arms ammunition.

During the past twelve months we built one and half times as much steel ship tonnage as was delivered during the most productive year year of the World War program and only 30% less that during the entire 1917-1922 shipbuilding effort. The November average building time for merchant ships was less than one-fifth of Hog Island's over-all average during the last war.

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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. In my mind's eye I can even picture a nervous somnambulist pacing the bedroom floor through the long nights of Berchtesgaden ranting hysterically to the silent walls. Yes, and I suspect Herr Goebbel's will have his hands full explaining to the German people what peculiar aspect of democratic decadence permits such phenomenal rates of war production.

But, one may ask, what is being done with this unprecedented volume of war production. Some people would have us believe that it is being produced for storage in warehouses and on vacant lots across the length and breadth of the land; that we haven't enough ships to get it to the theatres of operation. The only way to clear up this point is to look at the facts. And the facts show that as of the end of this year, 75% of all the munitions and equipment delivered to the Army already has been sent abroad to the fighting fronts. The remainder was being used for training or held in reserve. We can well be as proud of this record as we are of the actual production figures.

Let us be fair and honest in passing judgement on the progress of war production during the past year. In a few areas we have done considerably less than we had hoped to accomplish. 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. Today we are producing more munitions than any other country in the world. By the end of this year we shall be producing more munitions than all the rest of the world combined---Axis and Allies. We have done this together-----we of industry and we of labor and we government---pulling in the same harness toward a common goal. And in the doing of it we have given the lie to these sadly misinformed Axis leaders who didn't know that a democracy embracing many interest groups---a democracy permitting the free expression of opinion-----could ever work in harness.

Yes, I feel assured that when the historians have had time to evaluate the importance of various events during the course of the war, they will attach tremendous significance to the accomplishments on the production front in the United States during the year 1942. I hazard the opinion that the production battles won in the mines and mills and factories, and on the fields and plains of America during the past twelve months will as use a degree of importance not incomparable to that of the Battle of Britain, or the great winter campaigns

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of the Soviet armies, or the defeat of the Japanese at Midway Island. For this was the year in which the great main structure of the our arsenal of democracy was erected upon the foundation which had been prepared during the preceding year. It has been built with great speed and great strength. It has been built solidly and well. It is not yet finished, but the crucuil period in the greatest engineering feat ever conceived was 1942 and that period has been passed with flying colors.

And so to every owner and manager and man-driver, to every foreman and engineer, to every worker in the aircraft plants and shipyards and arsenals, and the shops and foundries and mines and mills which feed them---to all of you collectively who worked with heart and brain and hands at the hard tasks of war production during 1942---I say to you in full gratitude: well done; you have earned the everlasting thanks of every American, of every lover of freedom and liberty and decency and democracy throughout the world.

I know that the engineering and conversion and production problems have been many and difficult. I know that you have had to unlearn your accustomed tasks and learn new ones. I know that the standards have been rigid and exacting. I know many of the ingenious developments and devices that have speed munitions

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out of your factories and on to the field of battle. I know how long you have toiled--much longer than some would have us believe.

Let us pause in our labors only long enough to give credit where credit is due; to record accurately the accomplishments that have been made. And then let us get on with it, for the task is not yet finished. We have yet to add the superstructure of our arsenal of democracy. Perhaps this will be the most difficult part of all in our great home-front objective upon which we embarked together some _____ months ago---- to build the world's greatest industrial establishment---a true arsenal of democracy which would assure beyond peradventure of doubt the preservation of free nations and individual liberties. We can finish that job only by adhering to the principles upon which the accomplishments of the past year has rested----that we are in this war together---every man, woman and child of us. By pulling together we can win. By pulling apart we only play the Axis game.

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in the face of greater difficulties, and confronted with greater urgencies ~~requiring even greater effort~~. Perhaps this will be the most difficult part of all the great engineering task upon which we embarked _____ ago— to construct with our brains and hands and hearts and sweat the worlds greatest industrial establishment——an arsenal of democracy which would assure beyond peradventure of doubt the preservation of free nations and individual liberties.

But the crucial period in the performance of that task was 1942, and it has been very largely accomplished.

And so to every farmer, every draftsman and engineer, every worker and supervisor, every worker in the aircraft plants and shipyards and arsenals and in the mines and mills——to all of you collectively who worked for his country at the hard tasks of war production during 1942——I say to you in full gratitude: well done. I know I can speak for ~~you have earned the everlasting thanks of~~ every American, for every lover of freedom and liberty and democracy and decency throughout the world, when I say you have earned the everlasting thanks of every one of us.

And let us not forget that simultaneously with the unparalleled industrial accomplishment of 1942, our Armed Forces have grown from during the past year a little over 2,000,000 to 7,000,000. In other words we have withdrawn from the labor force ~~which means that [illegible] from the labor force~~

these during the past years

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Nor can we overlook the fact that

some 5,000,000 ~~several~~ million~~s~~ of our youngest and most durable workers. ~~and~~ on the third great theatre of home front effort, we have seen our farmers contribute more than their share to the common effort by producing the greatest quantity of food ever made available during a single year in all of history.

What naive person could believe that these great accomplishments could have been recorded without creating some disturbances, some inconveniences, and even some hardships?

What ~~many~~ optimist in his rosiest moments could expect us to divert unheard-of quantities of resources to war and at the same time maintain the highest living standard in the world?

Who could have hoped to have accomplished this without burdensome government regulations which are a nuisance to everyone, including those who have the thankless task of administering them, but which are nontheless 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 ~~have beaten~~ finally smash the last breath of life from ~~out of~~ our enemies. ~~But I give you my solemn assurance that the~~

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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 that they will harsh. We shall feel in many ways in our daily lives the sharp pinch of total war. If that means tightening the belt, we shall tighten it. If it means foregoing pleasures and [redacted] and conveniences and privileges we shall forego them. If it means postponing the realization of some ambitions we shall postpone them.

For our belt-tightening, our foregoing and our postponements are not permanent. They are means to an end---the end of winning the war as quickly as possible and something more.

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Dec '42 ?

Mr. Hopkins:

I think this will fit at the bottom of the first paragraph on page 8.

You will not Lovett does not mention the ratio of losses in Africa. I added it on the basis of what you told me this morning.

Wilson

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Surprisingly few Americans realize the amazing growth of our air effort — though I am sure that the enemy does. Day in and day out our flyers are bombing and harassing the enemy and meeting him in combat on ten different fronts — all around the world — from the sub-zero cold of the Arctic to the sub-tropical heat of the Southwest Pacific.

And to those — here and abroad — who had some question as to the quality of our planes, I can say that in the Pacific area we have shot down four Japanese planes for each loss of our own, and in the African zone we have knocked them out of the air in the ratio of two to one.

Man for man and ship for ship our Air Forces are ready to shoot it out. I think it is worth while ~~discussing~~ mentioning right here the record of one group of Flying Fortresses operating in the

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South Pacific. In a little over four months of continuous operation this group of about thirty-five planes made contact with 506 enemy aircraft. It lost five planes in the air and fourteen more from various operational causes, or a total of nineteen. Against these losses, ~~these~~ this group destroyed 113 Japanese planes in the air, 13 more on the ground and badly damaged 50 others. In addition, it sank four enemy vessels, including a battleship, badly damaged 14 more and hit an additional 90 for a total of 28.

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Jan 7, 1943

One thing I forgot to mention: just after the reference to Washington as a mad-house, there is a line saying that the one pertinent fact is as follows:

"In 1940 we were unprepared, spiritually as well as physically; yet, today, at the beginning of 1943, we have become the most powerful nation in the world." This latter phrase disturbs me. We have always been the most powerful nation in the world for some time. Do you mean militarily? Even if that is what is meant, I think it would require some qualification.

Last night I suggested something as follows:

....."yet today....we are in top fighting condition. To use a prize ring expression, we are in the pink." (This implies both physical and spiritual condition).

Perhaps this is too captious.

But I think some better words can be found

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Mr. Hopkins:

Here are the suggested revisions and additions. In making them, I had some fairly definite reasons in mind, so will come in around ten in the morning in case you want to go over them with me. Also, I suspect the production figures had better be checked fairly promptly.

One question has occurred to me: does the President want to make any reference to Italy that would be more in line with the recent tendency to refer to her less as a belligerent and more as in the status of an occupied country?

Wilson

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Let us turn now to a review of progress on the ~~war~~ production front. Throughout the past year and even before Pearl Harbor, we have heard persistent criticism against the management and progress of war production. ~~This has come from many sources, almost all of us have taken part in it. I assume that it was reassuring to our enemies to learn of our dissatisfaction with our own efforts. For had they not been telling the world for nearly a decade that our democracy was sterile; that our competitive economic system was impotent? Had they not said repeatedly the "plutodemocracies" were made up of polyglot interests which were incapable of pulling together in the same harness toward a common goal?~~

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. ~~Typically, this criticism has~~ And obviously it has reflected a healthy American impatience to get on with the job and a typically American refusal

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to be impressed by ~~the difficulties of~~ enormous tasks. We are the kind of people who are never quite satisfied with anything short of miracles, And that is a good trait.

insert 1

I do not wish to suggest that we should be completely satisfied with ~~the outcome~~ 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 ~~summer~~ 1942. ~~(our first year of war against the Axis.)~~

~~At the beginning of the year (— in my first message on the State of the Union — I announced~~ 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 ~~who were responsible for planning the military strategy and setting the production goals~~ had ~~great~~ confidence

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INSERT A

Let us turn now to a review of progress on the production front. Throughout the past year, and even before we went to war, there has been a consistent line of criticism against our war production effort. Most of this ~~This self~~ ~~ix~~ criticism (in which we have indulged during the past year) has had a generally healthy effect (from one angle). It has spurred us on. It has avoided the influences of self-satisfaction and obviously it has reflected a healthy American impatience to get on the job and a typical American refusal to be staggered by visions of enormous tasks. We are the kind of people who are never satisfied with anything short of miracles.

The angle I refer to relates to criticism which is based ~~xxx xxxxxx~~ ~~has parted~~ on facts -- in other words, truths. (Approval of ~~any criticism is fully justified.~~ The criticism which I described as being healthy is that kind of criticism which is based on facts — in other words, truths.

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

insert 1

in the vision and the boldness of our people. We had ~~great~~ faith in our ability to establish new levels of accomplishment. No, we were not trying to fool the Axis or anyone else.

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

In this place last year, I announced goals for four major military items -- aircraft, anti-aircraft guns, tanks, and merchant ships. By the end of the year, our actual production in relation to these objectives was as follows:

Aircraft -- objective unchanged during the year -- 80% complete.

Anti-aircraft guns -- objective modified to shift the emphasis on heavier guns -- 84% of the modified objective completed.

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(4)

Let's see how we made out in 1942.

We produced 47,000 military airplanes, which is 80% of the objective. But in December we turned out the record number of 5400, or a rate of 64,800 units per year. And I am confident that by the end of this year we shall have doubled that rate.

We produced 24000 light and medium tanks. Our original objective was 45,000, but that was reduced to 25,000 early in the year so we could divert a large proportion of our tank capacity to the production of self-propelled artillery. (Reference to success of this equipment in Africa?). So we actually turned out 98% of the revised objective.

We produced _____ anti-aircraft guns, or 84% of the modified objective.

In merchant ships, our objective was 8,000,000 deadweight tons. We actually launched 8, _____ deadweight tons, or

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100.— of the goal. This is one and one-half times as much steel ship tonnage as was delivered during the most productive year of the World War program and only 30% less than during the entire 1917-1922 shipbuilding effort. ~~And it is encouraging to know that the November average building time for merchant ships was less than one-fifth of Hog Island's over all average during the last war.~~

These were the four principal production objectives. In addition, during 1942:

We produced 1,650,000 rifles, more than five times our production in 1940

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

We produced _____ anti-tank guns, _____ times 1941 production

We produced _____ field artillery pieces;

_____ billion rounds of small arms ammunition; and 131,000 two and one-half ton trucks.

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

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over the preceding year.

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

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

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

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

These facts & figures will give no aid and comfort to the enemy. On the contrary, I can imagine they will give him considerable discomfort.

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(7)

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

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In my mind's eye I can even picture a nervous somnambulist pacing the bedroom floor through the long nights of Berchtesgaden ranting hysterically at the silent walls. Yes, and I suspect Herr Goebbels will have his hands full explaining to the German people what peculiar aspect of democratic decadence permits such phenomenal rates of war production.

(8)

Let us be ~~[illegible]~~ temperate in passing judgment on the progress of war production during the past year. In a few areas we have done ~~considerably~~ less than we had hoped ~~to accomplish~~ 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. ~~Today we are producing more munitions than any other country in the world. By the end of this year we shall be producing more munitions than all the rest of the world combined — Axis and Allies.~~ 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 ~~those~~

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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.

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sadly misinformed Axis leaders who didn't know that a democracy embracing many interest groups — a democracy permitting the free expression of opinion -- could ever work in harness.

I feel assured that when the historians have had time to evaluate the importance of various events during the course of the war, they will attach tremendous significance to the accomplishments on the production front in the United States during the year 1942. ~~I [illegible] the opinion that the production battles won in the mines and mills and factories, and on the fields and plains of America during the past twelve months will assume a degree of importance not incomparable to that of the Battle of Britain, or the great winter campaigns of the Soviet armies, or the defeat of the Japanese at Midway Island. For this was the year in which the great main structure of our arsenal of democracy was erected upon the foundation which had been prepared during the preceding year. It has been built with great speed and great strength. It has been built solidly and well. It is not yet finished,~~

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

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

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

We must not be arrogantly boastful of this record. For, in all humility, our efforts should not be compared ~~qualitatively~~ to the ~~[illegible]~~ production ~~[illegible]~~ of the Russians and British who have, under incredible difficulties, attained an amazing ~~[illegible]~~ level of output.

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~~But~~ We may, however, be justly proud of what we have done during the past year.

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but the crucial period in the greatest engineering feat ever conceived was 1942 and that period has been passed with colors flying.

(13) And so to every owner and manager and supervisor, to every draftsman and engineer, to every worker in the aircraft plants and shipyards and arsenals, and the shops and foundries and mines and mills and forests which feed them -- to all of you collectively who worked with his heart and brain and hands at the hard tasks of war production during 1942 -- I say to you in full gratitude: well done! ~~you have earned the everlasting thanks of every American, of every lover of freedom and liberty and decency and democracy throughout the world.~~

I know that the engineering and conversion and production problems have been many and difficult. I know that you have had to unlearn your accustomed tasks and learn new ones. I know that the standards have been rigid and exacting. I know many of the ingenious developments and devices that have sped munitions out of your factories and on to the field of battle. I know how long you have toiled -- much longer than some would have us believe.

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Now let us get on with it, for the task is not yet done. We dare not rest on our oars. The most difficult stretch of all still lies ahead.

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Some of our doubting Thomases have ~~suppo~~ put forth the suggestion that it's all very well to have a high rate of munitions production, but suppose we haven't enough ships to get it to the theatres of operation. Some of them would have us believe that we are turning out material just for the fun of storing it in warehouses.

But the facts show that as of the end of this year, 75% of all the munitions and equipment delivered to the Army already has been sent abroad. We shipped to all fighting fronts, for our own forces & those of our allies, _____ combat aircraft; _____ tanks; _____ anti-aircraft guns; _____ anti-tank guns; and _____ billion rounds of ammunition. ~~Munitions are only part of our supply problem. We have actually delivered, [illegible] to the Russians~~

Of course munitions are only a part of our supply problem and we are delivering vast quantities of raw materials,

machinery, food and literally thousands of items of supply. So you see we are not only producing the goods and weapons of war; we are delivering them to the combat areas.

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~~to look at the facts. And~~ But ~~The facts show that as of the end of this~~ year, 75% of all the munitions and equipment delivered to the Army already has been sent abroad to the fighting ~~fronts~~ forces of the United States and our Allies. ~~The remainder was being used for training or held in reserve.~~ We can well be as proud of this record as we are of the actual production figures.

~~And let us not forget that~~ Simultaneously with the unparalleled industrial accomplishment of 1942, our Armed Forces have grown during the past year from a little over 2,000,000 to 7,000,000. In other words, we have withdrawn from the labor force some 5,000,000 of our youngest and most durable workers. And in addition ~~Nor can we overlook the fact that on the third great arrestre of home front effort we have seen~~ our farmers have contributed ~~[illegible]~~ their share to the common effort by producing the greatest quantity of food ever made available during a single year in all of history.

What naive person could believe that these great accomplishments could have been recorded without creating some disturbances, some inconveniences, and even some hardships?

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That optimist ~~(in his rosiest moments)~~ could expect us to divert a great ~~[illegible]~~ proportion of our resources to war and at the same time maintain the highest living standard in the world?

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

Of course, there have been inconveniences and disturbances and even hardships. And there will be many, many more before we finally win. ~~smash the last breath of life from our enemies.~~

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 ~~that~~ they will be harsh. We shall feel in many ways in our daily lives the sharp pinch of total war. But these contributions which we make to the war effort are not permanent sacrifices. They are the means to an end — the end of winning the war as quickly as possible ~~If it means tightening the belt, we shall tighten it. If it means foregoing pleasures and conveniences and privileges, we shall forego them.~~

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Tanks — objective modified downward to permit a drastic step-up in the production of self-propelled artillery -- 98% of the revised objective completed.

Merchant ships -- objective unchanged throughout the year — 99.8% completed.

Since the objectives during the year have, of necessity, been changed frequently, it is not possible to make a meaningful comparison of our over-all performance against our over-all objectives. If we took the evaluation of the highest set of total objectives at any time during the year, actual performance amounted to 72%; if we took the evaluation of the lowest set of total objectives, the performance was 94%. But by and large the figures just given you for the four major categories of military requirements are representative of the degree of accomplishment throughout the program; it ranged generally from around 80% to over 100%. In many cases we have reached rates of production during the last few months which assure us maximum planned production this year. In several

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others, notably aircraft, we have tremendous increases still ahead of us.

That these figures do not portray sufficiently accurately is the rate of increase (that has been accomplished) during the past year, which we started with an already substantial output of munitions.) Between January 1942 and December 1942 the following increases have been achieved:

Six major types of naval combat vessels -- three times.

Merchant ships -- nearly twelve times.

Aircraft -- nearly doubled.

Medium tanks -- nearly four times.

Light tanks -- nearly five times.

37 mm anti-aircraft guns -- nearly fifteen (?) times.

.30 mm machine guns -- 3.5 times.

.50 mm machine guns -- nearly seven times.

Rifles -- more than five times.

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There are quite a few weapons which we were not producing at all in January 1942. For instance, we produced our first 3-inch anti-tank gun in March; by the end of the year we had nearly 4,500. And in March we produced our first 40 mm anti-aircraft gun; by the end of the year we had nearly 9,000.

Even these figures may not perhaps give a full understanding of the quantitative magnitude of the job that has been done. Today we are producing more munitions than any other nation in the world. By the end of the year, we shall be turning out more munitions than all the rest of the world bombined — Axis and Allies.

A few more figures and comparisons may be helpful.

In the two months of January and February of this year, war expenditures will exceed total expenditures during the entire two years of 1917 and 1918.

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

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

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During the past twelve months the Army has received more than 1,650,000 rifles.

During the past twelve months the Army has received 670,000 machine guns.

During the past twelve months more than 131,000 two and one-half ton trucks were delivered to the Army.

During the past twelve months we produced _____ billion rounds of small arms ammunition.

During the past twelve months we built one and one half times as much steel ship tonnage as was delivered during the most productive year of the World War program and only 30% less than during the entire 1917-1922 shipbuilding effort. The November average building time for merchant ships was less than one-fifth of Hog Island's over-all average during the last war.

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.

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I

Let us turn now to a review of progress on the production front. Throughout the past year and even before we went to war, there has been a consistent line of criticism against our war production effort. This has come from all sources. We have all taken part in it. I am sure that when our enemies heard we were not satisfied with our own efforts, they were pleased and reassured. For had they not been telling the world for nearly a decade that democracy was sterile, that the competetive economic system under which we operate was impotent? Were they not already convinced that the "plutodemocracies" were torn and dissipated by polyglot interests which would never pull in the same harness toward a common goal?

This self-criticism in which we have indulged during the past year and more has, I believe, had a generally healthy effect. It has spurred us on. It has prevented the enervating effects of self-satisfaction. And the great majority of this criticism has come from well-meaning persons. It has been intended to goad us into greater effort. Basically, I believe, it has been a reflection of a healthy American impatience to get on with the job and an equally typical American refusal to be staggered by the vision of

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enormous tasks. We are the kind of people who believe in doing the impossible and so we were never quite satisfied.

I do not wish for one moment to induce you to be satisfied with our effort---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 the year 1942---our first year of war against the Axis.

At the beginning of the year---in my last message on the State of the Union----I announced certain production goals for 1942 and 1943. Some thought these goals were fantastically high. Some even thought they were so high that the Nation would be discouraged by the hopelessness of ever attaining them. But I had confidence in the vision, the imagination, the ingenuity, and the boldness of our people. I had faith in their ability to reach out and up and to attain these goals. My confidence and my faith has been confirmed by the performance during 1942. Some adjustments in the original goals had to be made during the year because battle experience dictated some shifts in emphasis upon particular weapons of war. We have fallen a bit short of some others. But in the over-all, we actually produced during 1942 _____% of our total objectives. I hereby reaffirm

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my confidence and faith in the ability of this Nation to go on during this year and to reach the 1943 goals which I set a year ago. It should never be overlooked that by the end of this year we shall be producing more munitions than all the rest of the world combined---Axis and Allies. Only this Nation could conceive of such an effort. Only this Nation could achieve it. It is, of course, very easy to use superlatives in describing the magnitude of this task. And it is perfectly accurate to use superlatives, because the world never before dreamed of such an effort. But for the sake of confirmation, let us look at the record----let us talk hard fact. These figures will give no aid and comfort to the enemy. On the contrary, I can imagine that they will give him considerable discomfort. I imagine that there will be even less sleeping done at Berchtesgaden after Herr Goebbels reports our progress on the production front this past year.

(Fill in figures on increases in specific weapons and dollar expenditures; comparisons with World War I (We'll spend as much for war in the next two months as was spent during 1917 and 1918 combined.)

So we are today pouring out munitions at a rate unprecedented in the history of the world. But what is being done with them? Some people

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would have us believe that they are being produced for storage in warehouses and on vacant lots across the length and breadth of the land; that we haven't enough ships to get them to the theatres of operations. But the facts show that as of the end of this year, 75% of all the munitions and equipment delivered to the Army already had been sent abroad to fighting fronts. The remainder was being used for training or held in reserve.

As you know, I report to the Congress every two months on the progress of Lease Lend aid. But I think it is important to mention here a few figures which cast some light on the magnitude of our assistance to our Allies. I want to speak especially of our aid to Russia. I need not tell you how difficult, how perilous, it is to deliver these goods to Russian ports. Perhaps these perils will be more generally recognised if I tell you that more than 600 seamen have lost their lives fighting their way through mine fields and submarine packs and aerial assault to deliver supplies to the gallant Russian people and armies. It might be unwise to make public at this time the number of airplanes and tanks that have been delivered--though I can assure you that they are very substantial. But I can tell you some of the non-munitions items delivered as of the first of October. By that date we had actually

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delivered into the hands of the Russians some 30,000 trucks; more than one and a half million pairs of Army boots; more than 33,000 tons of meat; more than 50,000 tons of lard; more than 6,000 tons of butter, and nearly 15,000 tons of dried eggs. These are a few items picked more or less at random; in all there are _____ items which we are shipping to Russia under our protocol agreement.

I feel assured that when the historians have had time to evaluate and analyze the importance of major events during the course of the war, they will attach tremendous significance to the accomplishments on the production front in the United States during the year 1942. I hazard the guess that the battles won in the mines and mills and factories and on the fields and plains during the past twelve months will assume a stature not incomparable with that of the Battle of Britain, with the great winter campaigns of the Soviet armies, and with the defeat of the Japanese at Midway Island. For this was the year in which the main structure of our arsenal of democracy was built up upon the foundation which had been carefully prepared during the preceding year. It has been built with great speed and with great strength. It has been built solidly and well. We have yet to add the superstructure---add it

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on in face of even greater difficulties, confronted with even greater urgencies, requiring even greater effort. Perhaps this will be the most difficult part of the great engineering task upon which we embarked _____ago--- to construct with our brains and hands and hearts and sweat the worlds greatest industrial establishment----an arsenal of democracy which would assure beyond peradventure of doubt the preservation of free nations and individual liberties. The crucial period in the performance of that task was 1942.

And so to every farmer, every draftsman and engineer, every manager and supervisor, every worker in the aircraft plants and shipyards and arsenals ---the mines and mills----to all of you collectively who worked for his country at the hard tasks of war production during 1942----I say to you in full gratitude: well done; you have earned the everlasting thanks of every American, of every lover of freedom and liberty and democracy and decency throughout the world.

Let us not forget that simultaneously with the unparalleled industrial accomplishment of 1942, our Armed Forces have grown from _____ to _____, which means that we have withdrawn from the labor force

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several millions of our youngest and most durable workers. And on the third great theatre of home front effort, we have seen our farmers contribute more than their share to the common effort by producing the greatest quantity of food ever made available during a single year in all of history.

What naive person could believe that these great accomplishments could have been recorded without creating some disturbances, some inconveniences, and even some hardships?

What rosey optimist could expect us to divert unheard of quantities of resources to war and at the same time maintain the highest living standard in the world?

Who could have hoped to have accomplished this without burdensome government regulations which are a nuisance to everyone, including those who have the thankless task of administering them, but which are nontheless 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 have beaten the last breath out of our enemies. But I give you my solemn assurance that the

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drastic contributions that will be asked of the civilian population will be based on one reason and one reason alone: that they will be actual contributions to the war effort.

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Presidential message Congress

MEMORANDUM

December 18, 1942

TO: Mr. Harry L. Hopkins

FROM: Oscar Cox

Here, in the very rough, are some ideas you may want to consider for the President's January 7th talk.

The meat is in the figures about production on the bottom of Page 1 and the top of Page 2. The stuff on jobs for soldiers, workers and farmers seems important to me. I'm not sure of the material on peace.

The figures on production are accurate, but they should be cross-checked. The figures on planes are not accurate, but illustrative. Along these lines, I think more specific figures should be given on the production of guns, ammunition, ships, etc., to show the colossal job which has been done.

Oscar Cox

Attachment

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In reporting upon the state of the Union, I can say that the accomplishments of the American people for the past year have been truly remarkable.

During the past weeks we have seen the start of a United Nations offensive. The strategic initiative is ours.

The victories we have achieved must not make us over-confident: We are grimly conscious of the long road we have yet to travel.

In the factories, on the farms and in the homes we have also taken the initiative.

A year ago, I set before you and the American people goals that then seemed impossible. But the men and women of this country have again achieved the incredible. We have more than met some of these goals. In others, we have fallen somewhat short. But we have performed far beyond expectations.

In the past two years, the American people have done a job which will stand out in history. Less than two years ago, we were producing virtually no war goods. Now, we are producing war goods at a rate in excess of 63-billion dollars per year. In war goods alone, we are producing more than all the consumers goods that were produced in the country in any of the years from 1930 through 1935. In fact, we are now producing almost as much in war goods as were produced in consumers goods in 1929.

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What is equally significant is that the consumers of this country are now using goods and services at the rate of 83-billion dollars per year. Today, the dollar value of goods and services used by the consumers is greater than at any time in our history. Today, the goods and services consumed amount to 83-billion dollars per year. Even in 1929, the goods and services consumed only amounted to 71-billion dollars.

Our total national production of goods and services is now at the rate of 162-billion dollars per year. That rate is rising. In 1929, our total national production of goods and services was 99-billion dollars.

We have proven by actual performance that we can actually produce far more than even the most imaginative theorists predicted.

The American people have approached the gigantic problems of modern war with a will and a spirit which even exceeds the past American tradition. By this will and spirit we have moved faster in less than two years than at any time in our history. In less than two years, we have outstripped the nearly 10 years of German war production.

Such overwhelming changes and results require adjustment in our ways of thinking and in our habits. We must look at and meet our problems of today and tomorrow with the same boldness, sweep and imagination that have resulted in our performance of the last two years.

I understand, of course, as you do, that it is not easy to accomplish such enormous changes. In accomplishing such changes, we have had to extend ourselves. We have had to change many of our habits and

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none of us particularly likes to do that. I know that the farmer does not have the same certainty of holding his help or getting gasoline for his tractor that he had two years ago. I know that the housewife can't get fuel oil and coffee and bacon and sugar and the other necessities the way she used to be able to two years ago. I know that the worker can't get the tires or the meat or the leisure time that he got two years ago.

It is the lot of us to suffer these changes. That must be our contribution--our sacrifice--to the war. There will be many more sacrifices which we will still have to make. Mistakes will be made in carrying forward such gigantic programs. We could have produced 5,000 planes last year with much less dislocation to our whole system. But we are producing planes at the rate of 120,000 a year. We could have had more fuel oil if we had built fewer tankers and supplied our forces with less oil for combat operations in North Africa and elsewhere.

The hardships and mistakes are, in fact, the clearest indications that we have set ourselves the highest and most unbelievable goals, rather than the lowest and easiest goals. Everything possible will, of course, be done to remedy the mistakes and to minimize the hardships. But the hard fact is that hardships and some mistakes will always be present if we are to make the enormous strides required for winning the war.

In extending ourselves to the limit, we must always remember that we are saving the lives of our boys and shortening the war.

Your sons and my sons have to put up with more sacrifices, inconveniences and changes of habit than we do, but they are doing it gladly and with an indomitable spirit. I am sure that you and I can and will match that spirit.

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The spirit and will which have been displayed by the American people toward the end objective of winning the war will be displayed in winning the war in still another way.

Part of winning the war is to supply rational foundations for the will to fight to the men and women on the battlefields, in the factories, on the farms and in the homes. They already have that will to a point of magnificence. But we owe more to them. It is our task to see that everything humanly possible is done now to apply the same spirit and the same cooperation that has made so much progress in the conduct of the war in the last two years, to assure our soldiers, our workers and our farmers that they will have jobs and full and productive employment as soon as our enemies are defeated.

In this war we have demonstrated beyond belief how we can get together for the task of defeating our enemies--the Axis powers. By the same token, we can and will defeat the enemy--Unemployment.

The problems of full and productive employment are not simple ones. Their solution will require close cooperation between the Congress and the Executive. They will require the thinking, the ideas and the cooperation of the American people. A great deal of spade work has been done by your Government. Far more must and will be done now and before the war is over. Additional groundwork will be done by your Government, discussions will be had with the legislative leaders and the Congress from time to time on specific measures going to the backbone of this problem of jobs for all who are ready, willing and able to work. Discussion and full debate will be required upon many of these problems. The Congress and the public can

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make as great a contribution on this phase of the war program as they have made on production, food and the other phases of the war's problems.

In fact, the performance of the American public in the past two years has proven that we can achieve productive employment beyond any prior expectations. The American people will prove that it can be done after the war.

A total victory in this war can never be won on the battlefield alone. This war is global. The peace will be global. Full and productive employment is necessary for achieving victory as well as peace.

We must also give thought now to some of the other things which comprise total war and total peace. In doing so, let no one mistake our objectives. Our present aim--our immediate objective--is the successful conclusion of this war. The things which men fight for have their direct bearing on the winning of the war. Total peace, with unemployment and insecurity in this country would be a temporary illusion.

There can be no successful conclusion of this war without a lasting peace. There can be no workable peace which has its beginning on the day the armistice is signed. The time to think and plan for peace is now. The problems of a global peace are no less complicated than those of global war.

The peoples of the United Nations will have to apply the same determination and spirit of cooperation to the peace that they have applied to the war.

On the problems of peace, as well as on the problems of productive employment in this country, cooperation between the Congress and the Executive and between the people of this country and its Government will

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be necessary. So, too, will full discussion and debate. We cannot win this war as quickly and as well if our people feel that they may be jobless, foodless, homeless and clotheless when the job is done. The same is true of the other peoples of the United Nations. There can be no satisfactory peace when hunger, sickness and want run rampant. The peoples of each of the United Nations will have to work together to face these common enemies. They are learning to work together by working together in defeating the Axis powers. But more is still to be done. I know that the American people and the Congress will do their part.

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President's Message to Congress

MEMORANDUM

December 22, 1942

TO: Mr. Harry L. Hopkins

FROM: Oscar Cox

There are several additional reasons for the President's mentioning in the State-of-the-Union Address, or soon thereafter, some part of his domestic front program.

More and more, the public has tended to concentrate on the President as the war leader and as an international statesman. I should think the time has come when he ought to clearly show that he can also more than lead on the home front.

There is also, of course, the remote possibility that the war may end by the Spring or Summer of '44. If this should possibly happen, without the President's having put forth some of his program, the Administration stands a good chance of being defeated because of the terrific dislocations and the depression which may begin to set in.

It would, therefore, even be better to have a program that has mass appeal with some of the specific measures defeated by Congress than to have no program or measures at all. Under such circumstances, the public might at least feel that the President and the Administration had tried to prepare for the end of the war and that the Republicans and the conservatives in Congress blocked him.

In addition to stating the general proposition that the Administration is concerned now with jobs for the soldiers, workers and farmers

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after the war, the President might state that the problem is a tough one and will require a good deal of thinking and planning by the Government, the Congress and the public. He might also suggest for the consideration of the Congress and the public the serious consideration of several specific measures as vertebrae on the backbone of this problem of jobs. Such specific measures might be something along the following lines:

1. The Armed Forces. The choice of a year in a college, university or technical school for anyone in the armed forces who wants to and is equipped to take such training. Such training would be paid for by the Government and the men would draw the same pay that they drew when the war terminated. For those who do not wish to or do not have the aptitudes for such training, a year's continuance at the rate of pay which they were getting when the war ended would be provided, this rate of pay to continue until they get productive employment. Incentives would be offered to the men to seek productive employment by granting them a lump sum payment of two or three months pay, for example, when they get productive employment.

2. The Workers. A year's dismissal pay would be paid by the Government to continue until they received other productive employment. Here again, incentives should be offered to the workers to obtain and to continue productive employment by means of a lump sum payment or otherwise.

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3. The Farmers. The Government, for one year, will purchase all that they can produce and which they cannot sell in the open markets.

It should also be indicated that these are but a few of the kinds of measures which will be required to meet some of the basic problems which are likely to confront us upon demobilization. From time to time, other specific measures will be suggested going to the central problem of jobs and full and productive employment. If this sort of an approach is taken, it would seem to me to be wise to discuss the matter with the legislative leaders before a statement is made by the President.

I should think that the opposition would have an unpopular task in bucking such types of problems.

Although proposing such things at the beginning of '43 may result in the public's not appreciating them, in '44 I should think that there would still be enough additional measures required to sustain their interest and support.

Oscar Cox

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✓ 80% of plane objective — machine guns - 78%
✓ made tanks (modified)
✓ made merchant ships
✓ a-a - 84% (modified)
a-t - 72% (modified substantially upward)

3" and 90 57 mm anti-tank: first one produced in March; by end of year nearly 3,500 completed

40 mm a-a: first one produced in March; by end of year nearly 9,000

~~Light tanks: in January less than 400 per mo; by end of year more than 10,000 per month.~~

~~Medium tanks: in Jan. less than 600, now nearly 14,000~~

~~.30s & .50s: 9,147 to 38,[illegible]~~

~~cargo vessels: 9 to 100; dwt: 87,000 to 1,039,000~~

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Six major types of naval combat ships triple '41.

merchant ships nearly 12 times (Add Dichony stuff)

Aircraft nearly doubled in numbers and ___ in weight.

medium tanks nearly 4 times

light tanks nearly 5 times

37 a-a more than 15 times

.40s - none

.90s - more than 6 times

30 m guns - 3.5 times
.50 m guns - nearly 7 times } more than 4

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1917 + 1918 - 1/2 b for military supplies

p. 7 "the second objective -

Hinrichs - Selected war industries -

bang on armed forces

Soviet exports: arrived by Oct. 1

trucks	30,000	
tanks	1,700	
Army boots	1,500,000	
meat	33,291	tons
lard	50,658	"
butter	6,652	
Dried eggs	14,654	

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merchant ship losses? Mem. 6081

We — American industry and labor and government have done this job.

Cut in civilian production?

"Supplies & equipment may not win wars; but without them wars are lost."

April '17 to April '19 spent over $12 for military supplies (check figures)

Jan. to Dec increases or '42 over '41

Salute to production jobs of engineering, conservation, short cuts, etc.

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