File No. 1451

1943 February 13

Address to White House Correspondents Association Dinner
It is nearly two years since I attended the last dinner of the White House Correspondents' Association. A great deal of water has flowed over the dam since then.

And several people have flown over the water.

Two years ago -- many months before Pearl Harbor -- I spoke to you of the thought that was then uppermost in our minds -- of the determination of America to become the arsenal of democracy. Almost all Americans had by that time determined to play their full part in helping to save civilization from the barbarians. Even then, we were in the midst of the historic job of production -- a job which the American people have been performing with zest and skill and, above all, success.
Tonight, as I speak to you, another thought is uppermost in our minds: That is our determination to fight this war through to the finish -- to the day when United Nations forces march in triumph through the streets of Berlin, Rome and Tokyo.

Last September I made a tour of inspection through this country. I saw war plants at work. I saw Army and Navy training camps and flying fields. I saw American men and women -- management and labor alike -- working to beat production schedules. I saw American soldiers and sailors and fliers doing the job of training for the fighting which lay ahead.

Now I have returned from one of the fronts overseas, where the production from American factories and the training given in American camps are being applied in actual warfare against the enemy. I have seen our troops in the field. I have inspected their superb equipment. I have talked and laughed and eaten with them.
I have seen our men -- the Nation's men -- in Trinidad, in Belem and Natal in Brazil, in Liberia, in Gambia. In these places there is no actual fighting, but there is hard, dangerous, essential work, and there is a tremendous strain upon the endurance and the spirit of our troops. They are standing up magnificently under that strain.

I have seen our men -- and some of our American women -- in North Africa. Out there is war. Those men know that before this war is over, many of them will have given their lives. But they know also that they are fighting to destroy the power of the enemies of their country -- that they are fighting for a peace which will be a real and lasting peace and a far better world for the future.

Our men in the field are worthy of the great faith, the high hopes, we have placed in them. That applies as well to the men of our Navy, without whom no American expeditionary force could land safely on foreign shores. And it applies
equally to the men of our Merchant Marine who carry essential munitions and supplies, without which neither the United States nor our Allies could continue the battle.

No American can look at these men, soldiers or sailors, without great emotion and great pride and a very deep sense of responsibility to them.

Because of the necessary secrecy of my trip, the men of our armed forces in every place I visited were completely surprised. The expression on their faces certainly showed it.

I wish that I could pay similar surprise visits to our men in the other fields of operation -- the naval bases, the islands of the Pacific, Australia, the mainland and islands of Alaska, the islands of the Atlantic, the two Guianas, the Canal Zone, Iceland, Britain, Central Africa, the Middle East, India, Burma and China. I wish I could tell them face to face that their Government and their people are very proud of the great job they are doing in helping to strengthen the vise that is slowly but surely squeezing the breath out of our enemies.
In every battalion and in every ship's crew you will find every kind of American citizen representing every occupation, every section, every origin, every religion, every political viewpoint.

Ask them what they are fighting for, and every one of them will say: "I am fighting for my country". Ask them what they really mean by that, and you will get what, on the surface, may seem to be a wide variety of answers.

One will say he is fighting for the right to say what he pleases, and to read and listen to what he likes.

Another will say he is fighting because he never wants to see the Nazi swastika flying over the First Baptist Church on Elm Street.

Another soldier will say he is fighting for the right to work and earn three square meals a day for himself and his folks.

A fourth soldier will say he is fighting in this world war so that his children and grandchildren will not have to go back to Europe, or Africa or Asia to do this ugly job all over again.
But all these answers really add up to the same thing:
every American fights for freedom. And today the personal
freedom of every American and his family depends, and in the
future will increasingly depend, upon the freedom of his
neighbors in other lands.

For today the whole world is one neighborhood. That
is why this war, which had its beginnings in seemingly remote
areas, has spread to every continent and most of the islands
of the sea, involving the lives and the liberties of the entire
human race. And unless the peace that follows recognizes that
the whole world is one neighborhood and does justice to the
whole human race, the germs of another World War will remain
as a constant threat to mankind.

I talked with many people in our armed forces --
along the coast and through the islands of the Western
Hemisphere and up the coast of West Africa. Many of our
soldiers and sailors were concerned about the state of the
home-front. They receive all kinds of exaggerated reports
and rumors that there is too much complaining here at home
and too little recognition of the realities of war;
the realities of war; that selfish labor leaders are threatening to call strikes which would greatly curtail the output of our war industries; that some farm groups are trying to profiteer on prices and are letting us down on food production; that many people are bitter over the hardships of rationing and priorities; and especially that there are serious partisan political quarrels over the petty things of life here in Washington.

I told them that most of these reports are just gross exaggerations; that the people as a whole in the United States are in this war to see it through with heart and body and soul; and that our population is willing and glad to give up some of their shoes and sugar, and coffee and automobile riding -- and privileges and profits -- for the sake of the common cause.

I could not deny to our troops that a few chiselers, a few politicians and a few publicists -- fortunately a very few -- have placed their personal ambition or greed above the Nation's interests.
Our troops know that the Nazis and Fascists and
Japanese are trying hard to sell the untruths of propaganda
to certain types of Americans. But our troops also know that
even if you pile a lot of molehills of deception one on top
of the other, you still cannot make a mountain big enough or
solid enough to fool many people, or to block the road to
victory and to an effective peace.

A fundamental of an effective peace is the assurance
to those men who are fighting our battles, that when they
come home they will find a country with an economy firm
enough and fair enough to provide jobs for all those who are
willing to work.

I am certain that private enterprise will be able
to provide the vast majority of those jobs -- and, in those
cases where this cannot be accomplished, that the Congress
will pass the legislation which will make good the assurance
of jobs.
There are still a few who say we cannot achieve this and other honorable, reasonable aims for the post-war world. In speaking of these professional skeptics -- these men of little faith -- there comes to my mind an old word in our language -- the word "pettifoggers".

The formal, dictionary definition and derivation of the word are neither here nor there. To most of us it brings to mind a man who is small and mean and tricky and picayune and -- in a word -- petty. It is the type of man who is always seeking to create a smoke screen, or fog, for the purpose of obscuring the plain truth.

Today, the pettifoggers are attempting to obscure the essential truths of this war. They are seeking to befog the present and the future and the clear purposes and high principles for which the free world now maintains the promise of undimmed victory.
In North Africa we are now massing armies -- British, French and American -- for one of the major battles of this war.

The enemy's purpose in the battle of Tunisia is to hold at all costs their last bridgehead in Africa, to prevent us from gaining access to the Straits that lead to Nazi-dominated Europe.

Our prime purpose in this battle of Tunisia is to drive our enemies into the sea.

The British First Army in this battle, commanded by General Anderson, contains many veterans of Flanders and Dunkirk. These men have a score to settle with the Nazis.

The British Eighth Army, commanded by General Montgomery, has to its eternal credit the smashing defeat of Marshal Rommel's Army and the now historic fifteen hundred mile pursuit of those once triumphant Nazi-Fascist forces.
The enemy in Tunisia will be attacked from the South by this great Eighth Army and by the French forces who have made a remarkable march all the way across the Sahara Desert under General Le Clerc, one of General de Gaulle's officers. From the West the enemy will be attacked by the combined forces of British and Americans, together with French troops under the command of General Giraud.

All these forces are commanded by General Eisenhower. I spent many hours in Casablanca with this young general—a descendant of Kansas pioneers. I know what a rine, tough job he has done and how carefully and skillfully he is directing the soldiers under him. I want to say to you tonight—and to him—that we have every confidence in his leadership. High tribute was paid to his qualities as a soldier when the British Government, through Mr. Churchill, took the lead at Casablanca in proposing him for the supreme command of the great Allied operations which are imminent.
The deputy to General Eisenhower is General Alexander, one of Britain's greatest fighting men. General Alexander commanded all British forces in the Middle East, including the Eighth Army which won the decisive battle at El Alamein. He and General Montgomery planned that engagement and the tremendous advance which followed it. At this moment -- as I speak to you tonight -- General Alexander is standing at the right hand of General Eisenhower planning new military operations.

These important facts reveal not merely cooperation but active collaboration between the United Nations. Let these facts be duly noted by our enemies.

Our soldiers in Tunisia are well trained and equipped, but they are facing for the first time actual combat with formidable opponents. We can be absolutely certain that they will conduct themselves as bravely and as effectively as did those young Americans under General Pershing who drove Germany's best troops through the Argonne forest and across the River Meuse.
The battle of Tunisia will cost us heavily in casualties. We must face that fact now, with the same calm courage as our men are facing it on the battlefield itself.

The enemy has strong forces in strong positions. His supply lines are maintained at great cost, but Hitler has been willing to pay that cost for he knows the consequences of Allied victory in Tunisia.

Those consequences are actual invasions of the continent of Europe. We do not disguise our intention to make these invasions. The pressure on Germany and Italy will be constant and unrelenting. The amazing Russian armies in the East have been delivering overpowering blows; we must do likewise in the West. The enemy must be hit and hit hard from so many directions that he never knows which is his bow and which is his stern.

It was made clear to us at Casablanca that all Frenchmen outside of France are uniting in one great paramount objective --
the complete liberation of France and of all the French people
who now suffer the torture of the Nazi yoke. As each day
passes, a spirit of unselfishness is more greatly uniting
all Frenchmen who have the opportunity to strike a blow for
liberation.

In the years of the American and French revolutions
the fundamental principle guiding our democracies was
established. The cornerstone of our whole democratic edifice
was the principle that from the people and the people alone
flows the authority of government.

It is one of our war aims, as expressed in the Atlantic
Charter, that the conquered populations of today be again
the masters of their destiny. There must be no doubt
anywhere that it is the unalterable purpose of the United
Nations to restore to conquered peoples their sacred rights.
French sovereignty rests with the people of France. Its expression has been temporarily suspended by German occupation. Once the triumphant armies of the United Nations have expelled the common foe, Frenchment will be represented by a government of their own popular choice.

It will be a free choice in every sense. No nation in all the world that is free to make a choice is going to set itself up under the Fascist form of government, or the Nazi form of government or the Japanese war-lord form of government. Such forms are the offspring of seizure of power followed by the abridgement of freedom. Therefore, the United Nations can properly say of these forms of government two simple words: "Never again".

The right of self-determination included in the Atlantic Charter does not carry with it the right of any government to commit wholesale murder or the right to make slaves of its own people or of any other peoples in the world.
And the world can rest assured that this total war --
this sacrifice of lives all over the globe -- is not being
carried on for the purpose or even with the remotest idea
of keeping the Quislings or Lavals in power anywhere on this
earth.

The decisions reached and the actual plans made at
Casablanca were not confined to any one theatre or war or to
any one continent or ocean or sea. Before this year is out,
it will be made known to the world -- in actions rather than
in words -- that the Casablanca Conference produced plenty
of news; and it will be bad news for the Germans and Italians --
and the Japanese.

We have lately concluded a long, hard battle in the
Southwest Pacific and we have made notable gains. That battle
started in the Solomons and New Guinea last summer. It has
demonstrated our superior power in planes and, most importantly,
in the fighting qualities of our individual soldiers and sailors.
American armed forces in the Southwest Pacific are receiving powerful aid from Australia and New Zealand and also directly from the British themselves.

We do not expect to spend the time it would take to bring Japan to final defeat merely by inching our way forward from island to island across the vast expanse of the Pacific.

Great and decisive actions against the Japanese will be taken to drive the invader from the soil of China. Important actions will be taken in the skies over China -- and over Japan itself.

The discussions at Casablanca have been continued in Chungking with the Generalissimo by General Arnold and have resulted in definite plans for offensive operations.

There are many roads which lead right to Tokyo. We shall neglect none of them.
In an attempt to ward off the inevitable disaster, the Axis propagandists are trying all of their old tricks in order to divide the United Nations. They seek to create the idea that if we win this war, Russia, England, China and the United States are going to get into a cat-and-dog fight.

This is their final effort to turn one nation against another, in the vain hope that they may settle with one or two at a time -- that any of us may be so gullible and so forgetful as to be duped into making "deals" at the expense of our Allies.

To these panicky attempts to escape the consequences of their crimes we say -- all the United Nations say -- that the only terms on which we shall deal with any Axis government or any Axis factions are the terms proclaimed at Casablanca: "Unconditional Surrender". In our uncompromising policy we mean no harm to the common people of the Axis nations.
But we do mean to impose punishment and retribution in full upon their guilty, barbaric leaders.

The Nazis must be frantic indeed if they believe that they can devise any propaganda which would turn the British and American and Chinese governments and peoples against Russia -- or Russia against the rest of us.

The overwhelming courage and endurance of the Russian people in withstanding and hurling back the invaders -- and the genius with which their great armies have been directed and led by Mr. Stalin and their military commanders -- all speak for themselves.

The tragedy of the war has sharpened the vision of the leadership and peoples of all the United Nations, and I can say to you from my own full knowledge that they see the utter necessity of our standing together after the war to secure a peace based on principles of permanence.
You can be quite sure that if Japan should be the first of the Axis partners to fall, the total efforts and resources of all the United Nations would be concentrated on the job of crushing Germany.

And, on the other hand, lest there be any question in Nazi or Japanese minds that we are wholly one in the prosecution of the war to a complete victory all over the world, the Prime Minister wished to make a formal agreement that if Germany should be conquered before Japan, all British would Empire resources and manpower \( \ldots \), of course, join with China and us in an out-and-out final attack on Japan. I told him that no formal statement or agreement along these lines was in the least bit necessary -- that the American people accept the word of a great English gentleman -- and that it was obvious and clear that all of us are completely in accord in our determination to destroy the forces of barbarism in Asia and in Europe and in Africa. In other
words -- our policy toward our Japanese enemies is precisely
the same as our policy toward our Nazi enemies: it is a
policy of fighting hard on all fronts and ending the war
as quickly as we can on the uncompromising terms of
unconditional surrender.

Today is the anniversary of the birth of a great,
plain American. The living memory of Abraham Lincoln is
now honored and cherished by all of our people, wherever
they may be, and by men and women and children throughout
the British Commonwealth, and the Soviet Union, and the
Republic of China, and in every land on earth where people
love freedom and will give their lives for freedom.

President Lincoln said, in 1862, "Fellow Citizens,
we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this
administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves.
No personal significance or insignificance can spare one
or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass
will light us .... in honor or dishonor, to the latest
generation".
Today, eighty years after Lincoln delivered that message, the fires of war are blazing across the whole horizon of mankind -- from Kharkov to Kunming -- from the Mediterranean to the Coral Sea -- from Berlin to Tokyo.

Again -- we cannot escape history. We have supreme confidence that, with the help of God, honor will prevail. We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the Twentieth Century, there came the time when men of good will found a way to unite and produce and fight to destroy the forces of ignorance, intolerance, slavery and war.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

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Sig. Reading Copy
ADDRESS
OF THE
PRESIDENT
DELIVERED AT THE
HOTEL STATLER, WASHINGTON, D. C.
TO
THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS' ASSOCIATION
BROADCAST NATIONALLY
FEBRUARY 12, 1943 (LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY)
AT 9.30 P.M., E. W. T.

MR. CORNELL, MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION:

It is nearly two years since I attended the last
dinner of (the) our White House Correspondents' Association.
(applause) A great deal of water has flowed over the dam
since then.

And several people have flown over the water.
(laughter)

Two years ago -- many months before Pearl Harbor --
I spoke to you of the thought that was then uppermost in our
minds -- of the determination of America to become the
arsenal of democracy. Almost all Americans had by that time
determined to play their full part in helping to save civil-
ization from the barbarians. Even then, we were in the midst
of the historic job of production -- a job which the American
people have been performing with zest and skill and, above
all, with success ever since. (applause)

Tonight, as I speak to you, we are in the war, and
another thought is uppermost in our minds; and that is our
determination to fight this war through to the finish -- to
the day when United Nations' forces march in triumph through
the streets of Berlin, and Rome, and Tokyo. (cheers and
This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.
applause)

Last September, as some of our publisher friends here tonight knew at the time, I made a tour of inspection through this country. (laughter) I saw war plants at work. I saw Army and Navy training camps and flying fields. I saw American men and women -- Management and labor alike -- working (to) with the objective of beating production schedules. I saw American soldiers and sailors and fliers doing the job of training for the fighting (which) that lay ahead.

Now I have returned from one of the fronts overseas, where the production from American factories and the training given in American camps are being applied in actual warfare against the enemy. I have seen our troops in the field. I have inspected their superb equipment. I have talked and laughed and eaten with them.

I have seen our men -- the Nation's men -- in Trinidad, in Belem, and Natal in Brazil, in Liberia, (in) and Gambia. We must remember that in these places there is no actual fighting, but there is hard, dangerous, essential work, and there is a tremendous strain (upon) on the endurance and the spirit of our troops. They are standing up magnificently under that strain. And I want them to know that we have not forgotten them. (applause)

I have seen our men -- and some of our American women -- in North Africa. Out there it is war. Those men know that before this war is over, many of them will have given their lives to their nation. But they know also that
they are fighting to destroy the power of the enemies, of (their) this country, that they are fighting for a peace (which) that will be a real and lasting peace and a far better world for the future.

Our men in the field are worthy of the great faith, the high hopes that we have placed in them. That applies as well to the men of our Navy, without whom no American expeditionary force could land safely on foreign shores. And it applies equally to the men of our Merchant Marine who carry the essential munitions and supplies, without which neither the United States nor our Allies could continue the battle.

No American can look at these men, soldiers or sailors, without a very great emotion and pride — great pride — and a (very) deep sense of our responsibility to them.

Because of the necessary secrecy of my trip, the men of our armed forces in every place I visited were completely surprised. And the expression on their faces certainly (showed it) proved that. (laughter)

I wish that I could pay similar surprise visits to our men in the other fields of operations. And don't let anybody, because I have said that, assume that next month I am flying to Guadalcanal. (laughter) But I wish I could see our men, and our naval bases, and the islands of the Pacific, and Australia, on the mainland and the islands of Alaska, the islands of the Atlantic, the two Guianas, the
Canal Zone, Iceland, Britain, Central Africa, the Middle East, India, Burma, and China. I wish I could tell them face to face that their Government and their people are very proud of the great job that they are doing, in helping to strengthen the vise that is slowly but surely squeezing the breath out of our enemies. (applause)

In every battalion, (and) in every ship's crew, you will find every kind of American citizen representing every occupation, every section, every origin, every religion, and every political viewpoint.

Ask them what they are fighting for, and every one of them will say, "I am fighting for my country." Ask them what they really mean by that, and you will get what on the surface may seem to be a wide variety of answers.

One will say that he is fighting for the right to say what he pleases, and to read and listen to what he likes.

Another will say he is fighting because he never wants to see the (Nazi) swastika flying over the old First Baptist Church on Elm Street. (applause)

Another soldier will say that he is fighting for the right to work, (and) to earn three square meals a day for himself and his folks.

(A fourth soldier) and another one will say that he is fighting in this world war so that his children and his grandchildren will not have to go back to Europe, or Africa, or Asia, or the Solomon Islands, to do this ugly job all over again.
But all these answers really add up to the same thing; every American (fights) is fighting for freedom. And today the personal freedom of every American and his family depends, and in the future will increasingly depend, upon the freedom of his neighbors in other lands.

For today the more you travel, the more you realize that the whole world is one neighborhood. That is why this war (which) that had its beginnings in seemingly remote areas -- China -- Poland -- has spread to every continent, and most of the islands of the sea, involving the lives and the liberties of the entire human race. And unless the peace that follows recognizes that the whole world is one neighborhood and does justice to the whole human race, the germs of another World War will remain as a constant threat to mankind.

Yes, I talked with many people in our armed forces, along the coast and through the islands of the Western Hemisphere, and up the coast of West Africa. Many of our soldiers and sailors were concerned about the state of the home-front. They receive all kinds of exaggerated reports and rumors that there is too much complaining back here at home, and too little recognition of the realities of war; that selfish labor leaders are threatening to call strikes (which) that would greatly curtail the output of our war industries; that some farm groups are trying to profiteer on prices, and are letting us down on food production; that many people are bitter over the hardships of rationing and priorities; and especially that there (are) is serious partisan (political) quarrel(s) over the petty
things of life here in our capital city of Washington, D. C.

I told them that most of these reports are just gross exaggerations; that the people as a whole in the United States are in this war to see it through with heart and body and soul; and that our population is willing and glad to give up some of their shoes, and their sugar, and coffee, and automobile riding -- and privileges and profits -- for the sake of the common cause. (applause)

I could not truthfully deny to our troops that a few chiselers, a few politicians, and a few -- to use a polite term -- publicists -- (laughter) -- fortunately a very few -- have placed their personal ambition or greed above the Nation's interests.

Our troops know that the Nazis and the Fascists and the Japanese are trying hard to sell the untruths of propaganda to certain types of Americans. But our troops also know that even if you pile up a lot of molehills of deception one on top of the other, you still cannot make a mountain big enough, or high enough, or solid enough to fool many people, or to block the road to victory and to an effective peace. (applause)

I think a fundamental of an effective peace is the assurance to those men who are fighting our battles, that when they come home they will find a country with an economy firm enough and fair enough to provide jobs for all those who are willing to work.

I am certain that private enterprise will be able
to provide the vast majority of those jobs, and in those cases where this cannot be accomplished that the Congress of the United States will pass the legislation (which) that will make good the assurance of (jobs) earning a living. (applause)

There are still a few men who say we cannot achieve this and other honorable, reasonable aims for the post-war (world) period. And in speaking of (these) those professional skeptics -- (these) those men of little faith -- there comes to my mind an old word in our language -- the word "pettifoggers."

The formal dictionary definition and derivation of (the word) that term, that is (are) neither here nor there. To most of us (it) pettifoggers bring(s) to mind a man who is small, (and) mean and tricky, and picayune. (and) In a word -- petty. It is the type of man who is always seeking to create a smoke screen, (or) and fog, for the purpose of obscuring the plain truth. And you and I know some pettifoggers.

Today, (the) those pettifoggers are attempting to obscure the essential truths of this war. They are seeking to befog the present and the future, and the clear purpose(s) and the high principle(s) for which the free world now maintains the promise of undimmed victory. (applause)

To use one example, in a small sector of the world's surface -- in North Africa -- we are now massing armies -- British, French, (and) American -- for one of the major battles of this war.
The enemy's purpose in the battle of Tunisia is to hold at all costs their last bridgehead in Africa, to prevent us from gaining access to the Straits that lead to Nazi-dominated Europe.

Our prime purpose in this battle of Tunisia is to drive our enemies into the sea. (applause)

The British First Army in this battle, commanded by General Anderson, contains many veterans of Flanders and Dunkirk. (These) these men have a score to settle with the Nazis, and they are going to even that score. (cheers and applause)

The British Eighth Army, commanded by General Montgomery, has to its eternal credit the smashing defeat of Marshal Rommel's Army, and the now historic fifteen hundred mile pursuit of those once triumphant Nazi-Fascist forces.

The enemy in Tunisia will be attacked from the South by this great Eighth Army, and by the French forces who have made a remarkable march all the way across the Sahara Desert under General Le Clerc, one of General de Gaulle's officers. From the West the enemy will be attacked by the combined forces of British and Americans, together with French troops under the command of General Giraud. (applause)

And I think that we take a certain satisfaction tonight that all of these forces are commanded by General Eisenhower. (applause) I spent many hours in Casablanca with this young general -- a descendant of Kansas pioneers. I know what a fine, tough job he has done, and how carefully
and skillfully he is directing the soldiers under him. I want to say to you tonight -- and to him -- that we have every confidence in his leadership. (applause) High tribute was paid to his qualities as a (soldier) man when the British Government, through Mr. Churchill, took the lead at Casablanca in proposing him for the supreme command of all the great Allied operations which are imminent in North Africa. (applause)

The deputy to General Eisenhower is General Alexander, one of Britain's greatest fighting men. (General Alexander) He commanded all the British forces in the Middle East, including the Eighth Army (which) that won the decisive battle at El Alamein. He and General Montgomery planned that engagement and the (tremendous) stupendous advance (which) that followed. (it). At this moment -- as I speak to you tonight -- General Alexander is standing at the right hand of General Eisenhower planning new military operations.

These important facts reveal not merely cooperation but active collaboration between the United Nations. Let these facts be duly noted by our enemies.

Our soldiers in Tunisia are well trained and equipped, but they are facing for the first time actual combat with formidable opponents. We can be absolutely certain that they will conduct themselves as bravely and as effectively as did those young Americans under General Pershing who drove Germany's best troops through the Argonne forest and across the River Meuse. (applause)
(The battle of) I think we should be prepared for the fact that Tunisia will cost us heavily in casualties. Yes, we must face that fact now, with the same calm (courage) as our men are facing it on the battlefield itself.

The enemy has strong forces, (in) and strong positions. His supply lines are maintained at great cost, but Hitler has been willing to pay that cost (for) because he knows the consequences of Allied victory in Tunisia.

(Those) the consequences are simple. They are the actual invasions of the continent of Europe. And we do not disguise our intention to make these invasions.

(appause) The pressure on Germany and Italy will be constant and unrelenting. The amazing Russian armies in (the East) Eastern Europe have been delivering overpowering blows; we must do likewise in the West. The enemy must be hit and hit hard from so many directions that he will never know(s) which is his bow and which is his stern. (laughter and applause)

And it was made clear (to us) also at Casablanca that all Frenchmen outside of France, for we know little of what is happening in France, but all Frenchmen who can, are uniting in one great paramount objective -- the complete liberation of France and of (all) the French people who now suffer the torture of the Nazi yoke. As each day passes, a spirit of unselfishness is more greatly uniting all Frenchmen who have the opportunity to strike (a) that blow for liberation.
In the years of the American Revolution, and the French Revolution(s), the fundamental principle that guided our democracies was established. Indeed the whole cornerstone of our democratic edifice was the principle that from the people and the people alone flows the authority of government.

It is one of our war aims, as expressed in the Atlantic Charter, that the conquered populations of today -- the over-run countries -- (be) shall again become the masters of their destiny. There must be no doubt anywhere that it is the unalterable purpose of the United Nations to restore to conquered peoples their sacred rights.

French sovereignty rests with the people of France. Its expression has been temporarily suspended by German occupation. Once the triumphant armies of the United Nations have expelled the common foe, Frenchmen will be represented by a government of their own popular choice. (applause)

And it will be a free choice in every (sense) way. No nation in all the world that is free to make a choice is going to set itself up under (the) a Fascist form of government, or (the) a Nazi form of government, or (the) a Japanese war-lord form of government. For such forms are the offspring of seizure of power followed by the abridgment of freedom. Therefore, -- and this is plain logic -- the United Nations can properly say of these forms of government -- Naziism, Fascism, Japanism -- if I might coin a new word -- the United Nations can properly say to that
form of government two simple words, "Never again." (applause)

For the right of self-determination included in the Atlantic Charter does not carry with it the right of any government anywhere in the world to commit wholesale murder, or the right to make slaves of its own people, or of any other peoples in the world.

And the world can rest assured that this total war, this sacrifice of lives all over the globe, is not being carried on for the purpose, or even with the remotest idea of keeping (the) Quislings or Laval's in power anywhere on this earth. (cheers and applause)

The decisions that were reached, (and) the actual plans that were made at Casablanca were not confined to any one theatre of war, or to any one continent, or ocean, or sea. Before this year is out I think it will be made known to the world, in actions rather than in words, that the Casablanca Conference produced plenty of news; and it will be bad news for the Germans and Italians -- and (the) Japanese. (applause)

We have lately concluded a long, hard battle in the Southwest Pacific, and we have made notable gains. That battle started in the Solomons and New Guinea last summer. It has demonstrated without question our superior power in planes, and most importantly in the fighting qualities of our individual soldiers and sailors.

American armed forces in the Southwest Pacific are receiving powerful aid from Australia and New Zealand, and also directly from the British themselves.
We do not expect to spend the time that it would take to bring Japan to final defeat merely by inching our way forward from island to island across the vast expanse of the Pacific. It would take too many years.

Great and decisive actions against the Japanese will be taken to drive the invader from the soil of China. (applause) Yes, important actions (will) are going to be taken in the skies over China -- and over the skies of Japan itself. (applause)

The discussions, (at) to go back to Casablanca, have been continued in Chungking with the Generalissimo by General Arnold, and (have) resulted in definite plans for offensive operations.

Remember that there are many roads (which) that lead right to Tokyo. And we (shall) are not going to neglect (none) any of them. (applause)

In an attempt to ward off the inevitable disaster that lies ahead of them, the Axis propagandists are trying all (of) their old tricks, in order to divide the United Nations. They seek to create the idea that if we win this war, Russia, and England, and China, and the United States are going to get into a cat-and-dog fight.

This is their final effort to turn one nation against another, in the vain hope that they may settle with one or two at a time -- that any of us may be so gullible and so forgetful as to be duped into making "deals" at the expense of our Allies.
To these panicky attempts -- and that is the best word to use: panicky -- to escape the consequences of their crimes, we say -- all the United Nations say -- that the only terms on which we shall deal with any Axis government, or any Axis faction(s), are the terms proclaimed at Casablanca: "Unconditional Surrender." (applause) We know, and the plain people of our enemies will eventually know, that (In our uncompromising policy) we mean no harm to the common people of the Axis nations. But we do mean to impose punishment and retribution in full upon their guilty, barbaric leaders. (applause)

The Nazis must be frantic -- not just panicky, but frantic -- (indeed) if they believe that they can devise any propaganda (which) that would turn the British and the American and the Chinese governments and peoples against Russia -- or Russia against the rest of us.

The overwhelming courage and endurance of the Russian people in withstanding and hurling back the invaders -- (and) the genius with which their great armies have been directed and led by Mr. Stalin and their military commanders -- all speak for themselves.

The tragedy of the war has sharpened the vision (of the) and leadership (and) of the peoples of all the United Nations, and I can say to you from my own full knowledge that they see the utter necessity of our standing together after the war to secure a peace based on principles of permanence.

You can be quite sure that if Japan should be the
first of the Axis partners to fall, the total efforts and resources of all the United Nations would be concentrated on the job of crushing Germany.

And, on the other hand, lest there be any question in Nazi or Japanese minds that we are wholly one in the prosecution of the war to a complete victory (all) over (the world) our enemies, the Prime Minister wished, at Casablanca, to make a formal agreement that if Germany should be conquered before Japan, all British Empire resources and manpower would, of course, join with China and us in an out-and-out final attack on Japan. (applause) And I told (him) Mr. Churchill that no formal statement of agreement along (these) those lines was in the least bit necessary, that the American people accept the word of a great English gentleman -- (applause) -- and that it (was) is obvious and clear that all of us are completely in accord in our determination to destroy the forces of barbarism in Asia, (and) as well as in Europe and in Africa. In other words, our policy toward our Japanese enemies is precisely the same as our policy toward our Nazi enemies: it is a policy of fighting hard on all fronts, and ending the war as quickly as we can, on the uncompromising terms of unconditional surrender. (applause)

Today is the anniversary of the birth of a great, plain American. The living memory of Abraham Lincoln is now honored and cherished by all of our people, wherever they may be, (and) by men and women and children throughout the British Commonwealth, and the Soviet Union, and the
Republic of China, and all of our sister American Republics, and indeed in every land on earth where people love freedom and will give their lives for freedom.

President Lincoln said in 1862, "Fellow Citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us.... in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation."

Today, eighty years after Lincoln delivered that message, the fires of war are blazing across the whole horizon of mankind -- from Kharkov to Kunming -- from the Mediterranean to the Coral Sea -- from Berlin to Tokyo.

Again -- we cannot escape history. We have supreme confidence that, with the help of God, honor will prevail. We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the Twentieth Century, there came (the) a time when men of goodwill found a way to unite, and produce, and fight to destroy the forces of ignorance, and intolerance, and slavery, and war. (prolonged cheers and applause)
HOLD FOR RELEASE

February 12, 1943

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast from the annual gathering of the White House Correspondents Association, Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C., MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:30 o'clock, P.M., W.T., Friday, February 12, 1943. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Mr. Cornell, Member of the Association:

It is nearly two years since I attended the last dinner of the White House Correspondents' Association, a great deal of water has flowed over the dam since then. (applause)

And several people have flown over the water. (laughter)

Two years ago -- many months before Pearl Harbor -- I spoke to you of the thought that was then uppermost in our minds -- of the determination of America to become the arsenal of democracy. Almost all Americans had by that time determined to play their full part in helping to save civilization from the barbarians. Even then, we were in the midst of the historic job of production -- a job which the American people have been performing with zest and skill and, above all, success, ever since. (applause)

Tonight, as I speak to you, another thought is uppermost in our minds; that is our determination to fight this war through to the finish -- to the day when United Nations' forces march in triumph through the streets of Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo. (cheers and applause)

Last September, I made a tour of inspection through this country. I saw war plants at work. I saw Army and Navy training camps and flying fields. I saw American men and women -- management and labor alike -- working to beat production schedules. I saw American soldiers and sailors and flyers doing the job of training for the fighting which lay ahead.

And I put the objective of national defense, as some of us publicists, friends here tonight knew at the time, "We must remember that.

I have seen our men -- the nation's men -- in Trinidad, in Belem, and Natal in Brazil, in Liberia, in Gambia. In these places there is no actual fighting, but there is hard, dangerous, essential work, and there is a tremendous strain upon the endurance and the spirit of our troops. They are standing up magnificently under that strain. And I want you to know that we have not forgotten them. (applause)

I have seen our men -- and some of our American women -- in North Africa. Out there is war. Those men know that before this war is over, many of them will have given their lives. But they know also that they are fighting to destroy the power of the enemies of their country, that they are fighting for the peace which will be a real and lasting peace and a far better world for the future.

Our men in the field are worthy of the great faith, the high hopes we have placed in them. That applies as well to the men
of our Navy, without whose help no American expeditionary force could land safely on foreign shores. And it applies equally to the men of our Merchant Marine who carry essential munitions and supplies, without which neither the United States nor our Allies could continue the battle.

No American can look at these men, soldiers or sailors, without great emotion and great pride, and a very deep sense of our responsibility to them.

Because of the necessary secrecy of my trip, the men of our armed forces in every place I visited were completely surprised. The expression on their faces certainly showed how proud they were of that. (Laughter)

I wish that I could pay similar surprise visits to our men in the other fields of operation -- the naval bases, the islands of the Pacific, Australia, the mainland and islands of Alaska, the islands of the Atlantic, the two Guianas, the Canal Zone, Iceland, Britain, Central Africa, the Middle East, India, Burma, and China. I wish I could tell them face to face that their Government and their people are very proud of the great job they are doing, in hope of strengthening the ties that is already but surely squeezing the breath out of our enemies. (Applause)

In every battalion, and in every ship’s crew, you will find every kind of American citizen representing every occupation, every section, every origin, every religion, every political viewpoint.

Ask them what they are fighting for, and every one of them will say, “I am fighting for my country,” Ask them what they really mean by that, and you will get what is on the surface, may seem to be a wide variety of answers.

One will say, “He is fighting for the right to say what he pleases, and to read and listen to what he likes.”

Another will say he is fighting because he never wants to see the next war take place, to see the First Baptist Church on Elm Street.

Another soldier will say he is fighting for the right to work, and earn three square meals a day for himself and his folks.

And another one.

One soldier will say, “He is fighting in this world war so that his children and grandchildren will not have to go back to Europe, or Africa, or Asia to do this ugly job all over again.”

But all these answers really add up to the same thing: every American fighter for freedom. And today the personal freedom of every American and his family depends, and in the future will increasingly depend, upon the freedom of his neighbors in other lands.

For today the whole world is one neighborhood. That is why this war, which had its beginning in seemingly remote areas, has spread to every continent, and most of the islands of the sea, involving the lives and the liberties of the entire human race. And unless the peace that follows recognizes that the whole world is one neighborhood and does justice to the whole human race, the germ of another World War will remain as a constant threat to mankind.

I talked with many people in our armed forces, along the coast and through the islands of the Western Hemisphere, and up the coast of West Africa. Many of our soldiers and sailors were concerned about the state of the home-front. They receive all kinds of exaggerated reports and rumors that there is too much complaining here at home, and too little recognition of the realities of war; that selfish labor leaders are threatening to call strikes which would greatly curtail the output of our war industries; that some farm groups are trying to profit on war prices, and are letting us down on food
production; that many people are bitter over the hardships of rationing and priorities; and especially that there are serious partisan political quarrels over the petty things of life here in Washington, D.C.

I told them that most of these reports are just gross exaggerations; that the people as a whole in the United States are in this war to see it through with heart and body and soul; and that our population is willing and glad to give up some of their shoes, and sugar, and coffee, and automobile riding -- and privileges and profits -- for the sake of the common cause. (applause)

I could not tell to our troops that a few chisellers, a few politicians, and a few publicists -- unfortunately a very few -- have placed their personal ambition or greed above the Nation's interests.

Our troops know that the Nazis and Fascists and Japanese are trying to sell the untrue propaganda to certain types of Americans. But our troops also know that even if you pile up a lot of melodramas of deception one on top of the other, you still cannot make a mountain big enough to fool many people, or to block the road to victory and to an effective peace. (applause)

P9. I think a fundamental of an effective peace is the assurance to those men who are fighting our battles, that when they come home they will find a country with an economy firm enough and fair enough to provide jobs for all those who are willing to work.

I am certain that private enterprise will be able to provide the vast majority of those jobs, and in those cases where this cannot be accomplished, that the Congress will pass the legislation which will make good the assurance of the American people.

There are still a few who say we cannot achieve this and other honorable, reasonable aims for the post-war world, in speaking of those professional skeptics -- these men of little faith -- these people come to my mind an old word in our language -- the word "pessimists." (applause)

The formal dictionary definition and derivation of the word can neither bear nor have there. To most of us it brings to mind a man who is small, and mean and tricky, and pinacene, and -- a word -- petty. It is in the type of man who is always seeking to create a smoke screen, or fog, for the purpose of obscuring the plain truth, and you and I know some pessimists. (applause)

Today, the pessimists are attempting to obscure the essential truths of this war. They are seeking to befog the present and the future, and the clear purpose and simple principles for which the free world now maintains the promise of unimpaired victory. (applause)

In North Africa we are now meeting armies -- British, French, and American -- for one of the major battles of this war.

Our prime purpose in this battle of Tunisia is to hold at all costs their last bridgehead in Africa, to prevent us from gaining access to the Straits that lead to Nazi-dominated Europe.

The enemy's purpose in the battle of Tunisia is to hold at all costs their last bridgehead in Africa, to prevent us from gaining access to the Straits that lead to Nazi-dominated Europe.

Our prime purpose in this battle of Tunisia is to drive our enemies into the sea. (applause)

The British First Army in this battle, commanded by General Anderson, contains many veterans of Flanders and Dunkirk. These men have a score to settle with the Nazis, and they are going to settle them.

The British Eighth Army, commanded by General Montgomery, has to its eternal credit the smashing defeat of Marshal Rommel's
Army, and the now historic fifteen hundred mile pursuit of those once triumphant Nazi-Fascist forces.

The enemy in Tunisia will be attacked from the South by this great Eighth Army, and by the French forces who have made a remarkable march all the way across the Sahara Desert under General Le Clerc, one of General de Gaulle's officers. From the West the enemy will be attacked by the combined forces of British and Americans, together with French troops under the command of General Giraud. (Applause)

And I think that we take a certain satisfaction tonight that all these forces are commanded by General Eisenhower. (Applause)

I spent many hours in Casablanca with this young general—a descendant of Kansas pioneers. I know what a fine, tough job he has done, and how carefully and skillfully he is directing the soldiers under him. I want to say to you tonight—and to him—that we have every confidence in his leadership. High tribute was paid to his qualities as a soldier when the British Government, through Mr. Churchill, took the lead at Casablanca in proposing him for the supreme command of the great Allied operations which are imminent in North Africa.

The deputy to General Eisenhower is General Alexander, one of Britain's greatest fighting men. General Alexander, in his command of the British forces in the Middle East, including the Eighth Army which won the decisive battle at El Alamein. He and General Montgomery planned that engagement and the tremendous advance which followed. At this moment—as I speak to you tonight—General Alexander is standing at the right hand of General Eisenhower planning new military operations.

These important facts reveal not merely cooperation but active collaboration between the United Nations. Let these facts be duly noted by our enemies.

Our soldiers in Tunisia are well trained and equipped, but they are facing for the first time actual combat with formidable opponents. We can be absolutely certain that they will conduct themselves as bravely and as effectively as did those young Americans under General Pershing who drove Germany's best troops through the Argonne Forest across the Rhine. (Applause)

I think we must be prepared for the fact that the battle of Tunisia will cost us heavily in casualties. Yes, we must face that fact now, with the same calm assurance as our men are facing it on the battlefield itself.

The enemy has strong forces, in strong positions. His supply lines are maintained at great cost, but Hitler has been willing to pay that cost, for he knows the consequences of Allied victory in Tunisia.

...
In the years of the American and French revolution, the fundamental principle guiding our democracies was established. The cornerstone of our whole democratic edifice was the principle that from the people and the people alone flows the authority of government.

It is one of our war aims, as expressed in the Atlantic Charter, that the conquered populations of today be again the masters of their destiny. There must be no doubt anywhere that it is the unalterable purpose of the United Nations to restore to conquered peoples their sacred rights.

French sovereignty rests with the people of France. Its expression has been temporarily suspended by German occupation. Once the triumphant armies of the United Nations have expelled the common foe, Frenchmen will be represented by a government of their own popular choice. (Applause)

And it will be a free choice in every way. No nation in all the world that is free to make a choice is going to set itself up under a Fascist form of government, or a Nazi form of government, or a Japanese war-lord form of government. Such forms are the offspring of seizure of power followed by the abridgment of freedom. Therefore, the United Nations can properly say of these forms of government two simple words: "Never again." (Applause)

-- and this is in plain language.

The right of self-determination included in the Atlantic Charter does not carry with it the right of any government to commit wholesale murder, or the right to make slaves of its own people, or of any other peoples in the world.

And the world can rest assured that this total war, this sacrifice of lives all over the globe, is not being carried on for the purpose, or even with the remotest idea of keeping the Quislings or Lavalis in power anywhere on this earth. (Applause)

The decisions, the decrees, and the actual plans made at Casablanca were not confined to any one theatre of war, or to any one continent, or ocean, or sea. Before this year is out, it will be made known to the world, in actions rather than in words, that the Casablanca Conference produced plenty of news; and it will be bad news for the Germans and Italians -- and the Japanese. (Applause)

We have lately concluded a long, hard battle in the Southwest Pacific, and we have made notable gains. That battle started in the Solomons and New Guinea last summer. It has demonstrated our superior power in planes, and, most importantly, in the fighting qualities of our individual soldiers and sailors.

American armed forces in the Southwest Pacific are receiving powerful aid from Australia and New Zealand, and also directly from the British themselves.

We do not expect to spend the time it would take to bring Japan to final defeat merely by inching our way forward from island to island across the vast expanses of the Pacific. It would take too many years. Great and decisive actions against the Japanese will be taken to drive the invader from the soil of China. (Applause)

Yes, important actions will be taken in the skies over China and over Japan itself. (Applause)

The discussions at Casablanca have been continued in Chungking with the Generalissimo by General Arnold, and have resulted in definite plans for offensive operations.

You are going to go back to the skies if you aren't going to go back to Tokyo. And we shall neglect none of them. (Applause)
In an attempt to ward off the inevitable disaster, the Axis propagandists are trying all of their old tricks in order to divide the United Nations. They seek to create the idea that if we win this war, Russia, England, China, and the United States are going to get into a cat-and-dog fight.

This is their final effort to turn one nation against another, in the vain hope that they may settle with one or two at a time—that any of us may be so gullible and so forgetful as to be duped into making "deals" at the expense of our Allies.

To these panicky attempts to escape the consequences of their crimes, we say—all the United Nations say—that the only terms on which we shall deal with any Axis government, or any Axis faction, are the terms proclaimed at Casablanca: "Unconditional Surrender." In an uncompromising policy we mean no harm to the common people of the Axis nations. But we do mean to impose punishment and retribution in full upon their guilty, barbaric leaders.

The Nazis must be crushed, and if they believe that they can devise any propaganda which would turn the British and the American and Chinese governments and peoples against Russia—or Russia against the rest of us—

The overwhelming courage and endurance of the Russian people in withstand and hurling back the invaders—and the genius with which their great armies have been directed and led by Mr. Stalin and their military commanders—all speak for themselves.

The tragedy of the war has sharpened the vision of the world leadership and peoples of all the United Nations, and I can say to you, with our full knowledge that they see the utter necessity of continuing together after the war to secure peace based on principles of permanence.

You can be quite sure that if Japan should be the first of the Axis partners to fall, the total efforts and resources of all the United Nations would be concentrated on the job of crushing Germany.

And, on the other hand, lest there be any question in Nazi or Japanese minds that we are wholly one in the prosecution of the war to a complete victory, let me say that the Prime Minister wished to make a formal agreement that if Germany should be conquered before Japan, all British Empire resources and manpower would, of course, join with China and us in an out-and-out final attack on Japan. He told me that no formal statement or agreement along these lines is in the least bit necessary, that the American people accept the word of a great English gentleman—and that it was obvious and clear that all of us are completely in accord in our determination to destroy the forces of barbarism in Asia, in Europe, and in Africa. In other words, our policy toward our Japanese enemies is precisely the same as our policy toward our Nazi enemies: it is a policy of fighting hard on all fronts, and ending the war as quickly as we can, on the uncompromising terms of unconditional surrender.

Today is the anniversary of the birth of a great, plain American. The living memory of Abraham Lincoln is now honored and cherished by all of our people, wherever they may be, and by men and women and children throughout the British Commonwealth, and the Soviet Union, and the Republic of China, and in every land on earth where people love freedom and will give their lives for freedom.

President Lincoln said in 1862, "Fellow Citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through
which we pass will light us ... in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation."

Today, eighty years after Lincoln delivered that message, the fires of war are blazing across the whole horizon of mankind -- from Kharkov to昆明 -- from the Mediterranean to the Coral Sea -- from Berlin to Tokyo.

Again -- we cannot escape history. We have supreme confidence that, with the help of God, honor will prevail. We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the Twentieth Century, there came a time when men of good will found a way to unite, and produce, and fight to destroy the forces of ignorance, and intolerance, and slavery, and war.

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(prolonged cheer and applause)
It is nearly two years since I attended the last dinner
of the White House Correspondents' Association. A great deal of
water has flowed over the dam since then.

And several people have flown over the water.

Two years ago — many months before Pearl Harbor — I spoke
to you of the thought that was then uppermost in our minds — of the
determination of America to become the Arsenal of Democracy. Almost
all Americans had by that time determined to play their full part in
helping to save civilization from the barbarians. [Even then, we were
building munition factories of all kinds.] Even then, we were in the midst of the
historic job of production — a job which the American people — with courage and skill and success.

Tonight, as I speak to you, another thought is uppermost in
our minds: That is our determination to fight this war through to the
finish — to the day when United Nations forces march in triumph through
the streets of Berlin, Rome and Tokyo. [Last September I made a tour
of inspection through this country. I saw plants building, plants at
work. I saw Army and Navy training camps and flying fields. I saw
American men and women — management and labor alike — doing the job
SECOND DRAFT

of production. I saw American soldiers and sailors and fliers doing
the job of training for the fighting which lay ahead.

Now I have returned from one of the fronts overseas, where
the production made in American factories and the training given in
American camps have been put into actual warfare against the enemy.
I have seen our troops in the field. I have inspected their superb
[magnificent] equipment. I have talked and laughed and eaten with them.

I have seen our men — the Nation's men, and some of the
Nation's girls — in Trinidad, in Sanaa and Natal, in Brazil, in
Liberia, in Gambia. In these places there is no actual fighting,
but there is hard, essential work, and there is a tremendous strain
upon the endurance and the spirit of our troops. They are standing
up magnificently under that strain.

I have seen our men and women in North Africa. Out there is

Before it is over, many of them will have given their lives.

[But those men know every fight for the saving of their country against
the foe of the enemies of their country — they have fighting real and
the barbarism and for a peace which will be real peace and a lasting
peace and a better world for their families to live in the future.]
Our men in the field are worthy of the great faith we have placed in them. That applies equally to the men of the Navy, without whom no American expeditionary force could land safely on foreign shores. And it applies equally to the men of our Merchant Marine who carry essential supplies, without which neither the United States nor our Allies could continue the battle.

No American can look at these men, soldiers or sailors without great emotion and great pride and a very deep sense of responsibility to them.

In every battalion and in every ships crew you will find every type and kind of American citizen representing every occupation, every section, every race, every political viewpoint.

Ask them what they are fighting for and you will get a wide variety of answers. One will say he is fighting for the right to say what he pleases and listen to what he likes.

Another will say he is fighting because he never wants to see the Nazi swastika flying over the First Baptist Church on Elm Street. Another soldier will say he is fighting for the right to work and earn three square meals and to have for himself and the things he needs and the fourth will say he is fighting in this world...
Because of the necessary secrecy of my trip, I think that in almost every place I visited the American armed forces were utterly surprised when they saw their Commander-in-Chief appear before them. The expression on their faces confirmed that.

I wish that I could pay surprise visits to our men in the other fields of operation -- the naval bases, the Islands of the Southwest Pacific, the mainland and Islands of Alaska, and our forces in Britain and the Persian Gulf. I wish I could tell them face to face and India and Burma and China. They know, I hope, that their Government and the American people are very well aware of their existence and of the magnificent work they are doing in pinching the circle that is slowly but surely closing in on our enemies. It is not enough that the President and the Government of the United States express the great pride and confidence which I felt throughout my trip. It will do them good if they know also that they have the pride and confidence of the whole American people at their back.
SECOND DRAFT

war so that his children will not have to fight in another world war. I go back to Africa, or Europe or Asia. I do this ugly yet all over again.

But all these answers really add up to the same thing — every American fights for freedom and he knows that his own personal freedom and the freedom of his children depend, and will depend upon the freedom of his neighbors in other lands.

For today the whole world is one neighborhood. That is why

this war is global in its extent, involving the lives and the liberties of the entire human race. And unless the war is to be repeated, the peace that follows must also be global in its extent.
Members of my party and I talked with many people in our armed forces -- down through the coasts and islands of the Western Hemisphere and up the coast of West Africa. Many of our soldiers and sailors were concerned about the state of the home-front. They had received all kinds of exaggerated reports and rumors of the extent of the complaining that goes on here at home: that selfish labor leaders were threatening to call strikes which would greatly curtail the output of our war industries; that our farmers were letting us down on food production; that millions of people were bitter over rationing and priorities; and especially that there were serious partisan political quarrels over the petty things of life in Washington.

I told them that most of the reports they were getting were just gross exaggerations; that the people as a whole in the United States were in this war to see it through with all their heart and mind and soul that our production and training are proceeding at an ever increasing pace; and that our population is willing and glad to give up some of their shoes and sugar and coffee and automobile - and privileges and profits - riding for the sake of the common cause.
I could not deny our troops that a few chislers, a few farm leaders, a few labor leaders, a few politicians and a few publicists have placed their personal ambition or greed above their fellow interests. Our troops know that the Nazis and Fascists and Japanese are trying hard to sell the untruths of propaganda to certain types of Americans. But our troops also know that even if you pile a lot of molehills of deception one on top of the other, it still would not dry enough or solid enough to fool anybody, or to make a mountain sufficient to continue them. They know that this country is behind everyone of our boys in uniform.

[Handwritten addition:]

[Length of the victory, or waste the opportunity of the peace.]
[Mark the road to victory and to an effective peace.]
Out of the funds

A fundamental of ian effective peace is the assurance to those men who are fighting our battles, that when they come home they will find a country with an economy firm enough and fair enough to provide jobs for all those others willing to work.

There are still a few who say we cannot achieve this, and the other honorable aims for the post-war world. In speaking of these professional sceptics — these men of little faith — their answer to my own — that an old word in our language — the word "foggers".

Now the word petty, because petty! "Fogger" signifies one who keeps on continually casting a gloom about the clear prospects and the high principles of those whose eyes are open and can see clearly ahead the promise of undimmed victory.
In North Africa

We are now massing armies -- British, French and American -- with tremendous equipment for one of the major battles of this war. The enemy's purpose in the battle of Tunisia will be to hold at all costs this last bridgehead in Africa, to prevent us from gaining access to the Straits that lead to the underwater route to Nazi-dominated Europe.

Our purpose in this battle will be to drive our enemies into the sea.

The British First Army in this battle, commanded by General Anderson, many veterans of Flanders and Dunkirk, these men have a score to settle with the Nazis. The British Eighth Army, commanded by General Montgomery, has of course to its eternal credit the smashing defeat of Marshal Rommel's triumphant army and the pursuit of those once powerful forces.

The French troops moving into Tunisia from the west are under the command of General Giraud. Those moving up from the south are under the command of General de Gaulle.

The whole Allied force in Tunisia is under the command of our own General Eisenhower. This staff is combined British, French and American.

Our own soldiers in Tunisia are extremely well trained and equipped, but they are facing actual combat with tough
Thus the Nazi position in Tunisia is being squeezed from the south by the British Eighth Army and by the forces under General Le Clair, one of General de Gaulle's officers, which have made a remarkable march all the way across the Sahara Desert, and the Nazis are being squeezed from the West by the combined forces of British and American and French troops (the latter being) under the command of General G. You have read yesterday that our own General Eisenhower is in supreme command in this whole theatre of war.
opponents for the first time. We can be confident that they
will conduct themselves as bravely and as effectively as
did these young Americans who drove Germany's best troops
through the Argonne forest and across the Meuse.

The battle of Tunisia will cost us heavily in
casualties. We must face that fact now, calmly...--
unwillingly as our men are facing it on the battlefield
strong itself. The enemy has forces in strong positions.
His supply lines are maintained at great cost to himself
but Hitler has been willing to pay that cost for he knows
the consequences of Allied victory in Tunisia.

Those consequences are actual invasions of the conti-
tinent of Europe. We do not disguise our intention to make
these invasions. The pressure on Germany and Italy will be
constant and unrelenting. The Russian armies have been
delivering overpowering blows; we must do likewise in the
West. The enemy must be hit and hit hard from so many
directions that he never knows which is his front and which
is his rear.
One important fact was made clear at Casablanca: that all Frenchmen outside of France are uniting in one great objective -- the complete liberation of France and of all the people still in France who suffer under the torture of the Nazi yoke. As each day passes a spirit of unselfishness and unity of all Frenchmen who have the power and opportunity to strike a blow for liberation.

In the years of the American and French revolutions the fundamental principle guiding our democracies was established in the Western and Eastern Hemispheres. The cornerstone of our whole democratic edifice was the principle that from the people and the people alone flows the authority of government.

It is for this unalterable principle that Frenchmen fought in this country in 1776, that our men fought at Chateau Thierry and in the Argonne. It is for this principle that Americans, British and French are now fighting side by side -- again on French soil -- and eventually on the soil of our enemies.

It is one of our war aims, as expressed in the Atlantic Charter, that the conquered populations of today...
be again the masters of their destiny. There must be no
doubt anywhere that it is the prime purpose of the United
Nations to restore to these conquered peoples the sacred
rights, as well as the material possessions which have been
restored to them.

With the people of France, rests the French sovereignty.

Its expression has been temporarily suspended by German
occupation. [Liberation from the Axis is the first supreme
task. It is a military job already planned by our military
leaders.] Once the triumphant armies of the United Nations
have expelled the common enemy, Frenchmen will be represented
by a government of their own choice, and of their own choice
only, according to the laws of the French Republic.

It will be a choice free in every sense, with one
single exception -- that no nation in all the world is going
to be allowed, at the end of this war, to set itself up under
a Fascist form of government or a Nazi form of government or
a Japanese war-lord form of government. The United Nations
say to these forms of government two simple words: "Never
again". For the right of self-determination included in the
Atlantic Charter does not carry with it the right to commit
wholesale murder or the right to make slaves of any other peoples in
the rest of the world.

And the world can rest assured that this total war --
this sacrifice of lives all over the globe -- is not being
carried on for the purpose or even with the remotest idea
of keeping the Quislings or Leavals in power anywhere on this
earth.
It is important to remember that the decisions reached and the actual plans made at Casablanca were not confined to any one theatre of war or any one continent or ocean or sea. Before this year is out, it will be known to the world that the Casablanca conference produced plenty of news and it will be bad news for the Germans and Italians — and the Japanese.

We have lately concluded a long, hard battle in the Southwest Pacific and we have made notable gains. That battle started in the Solomons and New Guinea last summer. It has demonstrated our superior power in planes and, most importantly, in the fighting qualities of our individual soldiers and sailors.

The fact that our supply lines to Australia are secure, and that we possess important jumping-off places for further attacks, in due to the fact that in hand to hand fighting our men and Australian men have proved their ability to beat the Japs.

Let the battle in Tunisia take note of that. We do not expect to spend the time in encirclement. However, it is obvious that it would take years to bring Japan to final defeat if we were content merely by

To inch our way forward from island to island across the vast expanse of the Pacific.
Even today American armed forces in the Southwest Pacific are receiving powerful aid from New Zealand and Australia, and I might add that some of the aid comes also directly from the British themselves.

[At Casablanca] all there be any question in Nazi or Japanese minds that the United Nations are not wholly of one mind on the prosecution of the whole war to a complete victory, the Prime Minister offered to make a solemn statement that when Germany cracks up all British resources would join with us in an out-and-out final attack on Japan. I told him that no formal statement or agreement was in the least bit necessary; that we were, all of us, so completely at one in destroying the forces of barbarism east and barbarism west that the American people would take the word of a great English gentleman.
Great and decisive actions against the Japanese will be taken on the soil of China and in the skies over China. Here again the enemy must be driven into the sea, while our naval and air forces are pounding him from other directions and cutting perilous lines of supply.

The discussions which have been held in Chungking by Field Marshal Dill and General Arnold with the Generalissimo have resulted in definite plans for positive action. There are many roads which lead to Tokyo. We shall neglect none of them.
In these days of defeat for the Axis, and in an attempt to ward off the inevitable disaster, their propaganda machine is trying all of their old tricks in order to divide and conquer the United Nations. They are grasping at a straw in a last effort to turn one ally against another, in the vain hope that they may settle with one or two at a time — that may be so gullible and so forgetful as to be duped into making "deals" at the expense of our Allies.

These panicky, desperate attempts to escape the consequences we say — all the United Nations say — the only terms on which we shall deal with any Axis government or any Axis faction are the terms proclaimed at Casablanca: "Unconditional Surrender." This meant no harm to the common people of the Axis nations. But it does mean punishment and retribution in full for their guilty, barbaric leaders.

The Axis must be frantic indeed if they believe that they can devise any propaganda which would turn the British and American governments and peoples against Russia. For they are trying hard to create the idea that if we win this war, Russia, England and the United States are going to get into a cat-and-dog fight.
The overwhelming courage and endurance of the Russian people in withstanding and hurling back the invaders -- and the genius with which their military actions have been directed and led -- all speak for themselves. I can say to you now that never before in this war has there been a more complete understanding and agreement between Mr. Stalin, Mr. Churchill and myself for the future course of action. Never before have I been more sure that after this war Britain and the United States Russia will stand with the rest of the United Nations in the securing of a peace that is based on principles which will guarantee permanence.
the anniversary of the birth of a
great, plain American. The living memory of Abraham Lincoln is now
honored and cherished by all Americans, wherever they may be, and by
men and women and children throughout the British Commonwealth, and
the Soviet Union, and the Republic of China, and in every land on
earth where people love freedom and will give their lives for freedom.

President Lincoln said in 1863, "Fellow Citizens, we cannot
escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be
remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or
insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through
which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest
generation."

Today, eighty years after Lincoln delivered

The fires that burned when those words were spoken — the fires
that Message, the fires of war
of hatred and antipathy — are now blazing across the whole horizon of

Mediterranean to the Coral Sea —

from Berlin to Tokyo.

Again — we cannot escape history. We have supreme confidence
that with the help of God the fires of today will light us down in honor.

We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle
of the Twentieth Century, there came the time when men of good will found
a way to unite and plan and produce and fight — to destroy the forces
of ignorance, intolerance, poverty and war.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 26, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR

TOI

This is all I can find
in my file of the original first
draft of the speech dictated by
the President and delivered February
12, 1943.

SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN
It is necessary to go places in order to see the proof that each country is dependent to a great extent on every other country.

I visited Trinidad, one of the larger islands of the West Indies. Trinidad sells certain commodities to the United States and buys certain commodities that we make in the United States and that buying and selling is dependent, to a great extent, on the work that people do in Trinidad and the compensation they get for that work. The more the individual down there has over and above his actual cost of living, the more he has to buy articles from us. One of the great lessons the United States has to learn is that trade is a two-way street and that you cannot forever keep on exporting things unless at the same time you import things — and vice versa.

It is the same way within our own big country. Ten years ago in many parts of our own South, the wages and standards of living were so low that they could buy practically no manufactured things from the North. Wages and standards of living have gone up tremendously in almost every part of the South and they are buying all kinds of things that are
manufactured in the North. That, too, is trade.

The second place I went to is Brazil, a huge country which is going through a difficult period. Brazil produces large quantities of raw materials but has very little in the way of its own manufactures. Today there are not enough ships to go around to enable Brazil to export its vast accumulated volume of coffee and is, therefore, unable to buy much in the way of manufactured goods from us or other manufacturing nations. Obviously, therefore, Brazil has been taking important steps to build more factories and become more self-sustaining. It is a pretty good rule to state that every nation ought to be, insofar as possible, self-sustaining.

No nation will ever be completely self-sustaining and there will be plenty of room left for all kinds of trade in articles or raw materials produced in excess in one country for the benefit of another country which is lacking in them. I think that the economic world studies that are being made in many places will greatly help sound trade economy when the peace comes.
In the same way, we and other nations are discussing world controls over certain things like food-stuffs -- wheat for example, where the total supply may be so large each year that the unmanageable surpluses may force the world price down to such a low point that no farmer can make both ends meet by growing more wheat. Things like food do not, of course, enter into the present war picture but we need to have a world rehabilitation period for all of the food-stuffs that can possibly be grown all over the world.
Many things were done at Casablanca, many decisions were made. They will be disclosed in actions rather than in words. We have agreed upon the continuing war of offense with the initiative in the hands of the United Nations.

All of the United Nations have been heartened by the military decision to make no negotiated armistice. We seek to destroy the military despotism of Germany, of Italy and of Japan. We ask for their unconditional surrender — and we told them that this means no harm to the common people of the Axis nations while, at the same time, it does mean punishment and retribution in full for their guilty barbarian leaders.

The points of attack by the United Nations are by no means limited to any one theater of war or to any one continent or ocean. Before this year is out the Casablanca conference will produce more news — bad news for the Nazis, Fascists and the Japs. People who do not think things through complain because Mr. Stalin and the Chinese Generalissimo were not at Casablanca. I have already reminded a few of them that Russia is not at war with Japan and that China, because of geography, is not in a position to wage war against Germany and Italy. Their answer has been "Oh, I had not thought of that."
The great leaders of China and Russia are, of course, in close touch with us -- I can safely say to you that there is no substantial disagreement among the four of us. It is no military secret that aid to Russia and China is primarily dependent on methods of delivery, on the securing of all-along supply route and with the creation on the part of the British and ourselves of as many second fronts against the three Axis powers as it is possible to maintain across the oceans. As one man well put it, we have well worked out a coordinated offensive in order to hit our enemy from so many different directions that he will never know which is his front and which is his rear.

We are slowly but surely placing our enemies in the position of trapped gangsters with the forces of law and order and the forces of avenging justice closing in on them from every side.

Your blatherskite politician or newspaper owner takes delight in saying we should send greater aid to Russia and to China and giving the deliberate and false impression that we could do it if we wanted to do it. Since my return, I have talked with one or two of these gentry and pointed out
for example, in the case of China, that we cannot blithely
ship anything, men or munitions, we want to across the Pacific
and directly to the ports of China and that at present they
will hope for better things later, the only access for aid
to China is by air or over the mountains. So far, each one
of them as said to me, "Oh, I didn't know that". And yet
that type of publicity is one you people hear so often that
some of you almost come to believe it.

I want to mention one more thing about my trip.
Members of my party and I talked with many people in our
armed forces -- down through the coasts and islands of the
Western Hemisphere and up the coast of West Africa many of
our soldiers and sailors were concerned about the state of
the home-front. They had received all kinds of exaggerated
reports and rumors of the extent of the complaining that
goes on here at home -- that strikes were greatly curtailling
the output of our war industries; that our farmers were letting
us down on food production -- that millions of people were
weeping over rationing and priorities -- and especially that
there were serious partisan political quarrels over the
petty things of life in Washington and in the various states.
I told them that the first things I have mentioned were not true; that the people as a whole in the United States were in this war to see it through with all their heart and minds and soul — that our production and training is proceeding apace and that our population is willing and glad to give up a pair of shoes or a lump of sugar, or a cup of coffee or a pleasure ride for the sake of the common cause. I did tell them that they were right about the partisan political quarrels here in Washington and in the various states and to that could be added quarrels between individuals who, as Woodrow Wilson would have said, have not grown in their jobs but have swelled.

Our troops know that a few chislers, a few farm leaders and a few labor leaders and a few politicians and a few publicists have placed their personal ambition or greed above their fellow interests. Our troops know that the Nazis and Fascists and Japanese are trying hard to sell the untruths of propaganda to certain types of Americans but our troops know that even if you piled a lot of molehills of deceptions one on top of the other, it still does not make a mountain and that the country is behind everyone of our boys in uniform. Our troops in North Africa frown when they
are told of dissensions among French leaders. They know one fact — that the French armies under General Giraud are fighting side by side with us in Tunis and that other French troops under General de Gaulle are fighting with the British Eighth Army only a few miles away in the great joint effort to drive Rommel into the sea.

One great fact was made clear at Casablanca that all Frenchmen outside of France are uniting in one great objective — the complete liberation of France and of the people still in France who suffer so greatly today under the Nazi yoke. As each day passes a spirit of unselfishness is uniting more greatly the Frenchmen who have the capacity to strike a blow for liberation. And we must not forget that in the occupation of North Africa millions of tons of food stuffs and other raw materials have already been taken from the hands of the Nazis who since 1940 have been milking the people of North Africa, driving them to the verge of starvation for the sole benefit of the barbarians.
SECOND DRAFT

SPREE OF THE PRESIDENT

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS' ASSOCIATION DINNER

STATLER HOTEL

FEBRUARY 12, 1943

It is nearly two years since I attended the last dinner of the White House Correspondents' Association. A great deal of water has flowed over the dam since then.

And several people have flown over the water.

Two years ago -- many months before Pearl Harbor -- I spoke to you of the thought that was then uppermost in our minds -- of the determination of America to become the Arsenal of Democracy. Almost all Americans had by that time determined to play their full part in helping to save civilization from the barbarians. Even then, we were in the midst of the historic job of production -- a job which the American people have been performing with above all skill and success.

Tonight, as I speak to you, another thought is uppermost in our minds: That is our determination to fight this war through to the finish -- to the day when United Nations forces march in triumph through the streets of Berlin, Rome and Tokyo.
Last September I made a tour of inspection through this country. I saw army plants building plants at work. I saw Army and Navy training camps and flying fields. I saw American men and women — management and labor alike — doing the job of production. I saw American soldiers and sailors and fliers doing the job of training for the fighting which lay ahead.

Now I have returned from one of the fronts overseas, where the production made in American factories and the training given in American camps have been put into actual warfare against the enemy. I have seen our troops in the field. I have inspected their superb equipment. I have talked and laughed and eaten with them.

I have seen our men — the Nation's men — in Trinidad, in Belem and Natal in Brazil, in Liberia, in Gambia. In these places there is no actual fighting, but there is hard, dangerous, essential work, and there is a tremendous strain upon the endurance and the spirit of our troops. They are standing up magnificently under that strain.
SECOND DRAFT

I have seen our men and women in North Africa. But there is war. Those men know that before this war is over, many of them will have given their lives. But they know also that they are fighting to destroy the power of the enemies of their country — that they are fighting for a peace which will be a real and lasting peace and a far better world for the future.

Our men in the field are worthy of the great faith, the high hopes, we have placed in them. That applies as well to the men of the Navy, without whom no American expeditionary force could land safely on foreign shores. And it applies equally to the men of our Merchant Marine who carry essential munitions and supplies, without which neither the United States nor our Allies could continue the battle.

No American can look at these men, soldiers or sailors without great emotion and great pride and a very deep sense of responsibility to them.

Because of the necessary secrecy of my trip, in every place I visited, the American armed forces were completely surprised when they saw their Commander-in-Chief appear before them. The expression on their faces certainly showed
I wish that I could pay similar surprise visits to our men in the other fields of operation — the naval bases, the Islands of the South Pacific, the mainland containing the Islands of the Atlantic, and the Thames and Islands of Alaska, and our forces in Iceland and Britain and Central Africa and the Middle East and India and Burma and China. I wish I could tell them face to face that their Government and their people are very proud of the great job they are doing in helping to strengthen the vice that is slowly but surely our enemies.

In every battalion and in every ship's crew you will find every type and kind of American citizen representing every occupation, every section, every political viewpoint. Every one of them will say: "I am fighting for democracy.

Ask them what they are fighting for and you will get what, on the surface, may seem to be a wide variety of answers.

One will say he is fighting for the right to say what he pleases and to read and listen to what he likes.
Another will say he is fighting because he never
wants to see the Nazi swastika flying over the First Baptist
Church on Elm Street,

Another soldier will say he is fighting for the
right to work and earn three square meals a day for himself
and his folks.

A fourth soldier will say he is fighting in this
world war so that his children and grandchildren will not
have to go back to Africa, or Europe or Asia to do this ugly
job all over again.

But all these answers really add up to the same
thing: every American fights for freedom, and he knows that
and today the personal freedom of every American and his family,
his own personal freedom and that of his children depend, and
will depend, upon the freedom of his neighbors in other lands.

For today the whole world is one neighborhood. That
is why this war is global in its extent, involving the lives
and the liberties of the entire human race. And unless the
war is to be repeated, the peace that follows it must also be
global in its extent.

Member of my party and I talked with many people in
our armed forces -- down through the coasts and islands of the
Western Hemisphere and up the coast of West Africa. Many
For today the whole world is one neighborhood. That is why this war, which started in seemingly remote areas, has spread to every continent and most of the islands of the sea, involving the lives and the liberties of the entire human race. And unless the peace that follows does substantial justice to the great majority of the human beings on all these continents and all the islands of the sea, the germs of a repetition of World War will remain as a constant threat to mankind.
of our soldiers and sailors were concerned about the state of the home-front. They had received all kinds of exaggerated reports and rumors of the extent of the complaining that goes on here at home; that selfish labor leaders were threatening to call strikes which would greatly curtail the output of our war industries; that some farm groups are trying to profit on prices and are letting us down on food production; that many people are bitter over such minor hardships as rationing and priorities; and especially that there are serious partisan political quarrels over the petty things of life in Washington.

I told them that most of the reports they were getting were just gross exaggerations; that the people as a whole in the United States are in this war to see it through with all their heart and mind and soul; and that our population is willing and glad to give up some of their shoes and sugar, and coffee and automobile riding — and privileges and profits — for the sake of the common cause.
I could not deny to our troops that a few chislers, a few farm leaders, a few labor leaders, a few politicians and a few publicists -- fortunately, a very few -- have placed their personal ambition or greed above their interests. Our troops know that the Nazis and Fascists and Japanese are trying hard to sell the untruths of propaganda to certain types of Americans. But our troops also know that even if you pile a lot of molehills of deception one on top of the other, it still will not make a mountain big enough or solid enough to fool anybody, or to block the road to victory and to an effective peace.

A fundamental of an effective peace is the assurance to these men who are fighting our battles, that when they come home they will find a country with an economy firm enough and fair enough to provide jobs for all those who are willing to work. Imagine that the Congress will cooperate in making this assurance.

There are still a few who say we cannot achieve this and the other honorable aims for the post-war world. In speaking of these professional skeptics -- these men of little faith -- there comes to my mind an old word in our language -- the word "pettifoggers".
I am certain that private enterprise will be able to provide the vast majority of these jobs, and those cases where this cannot be accomplished, the Congress will cooperate in passing the legislation which will make it good. This assurance I feel good.
neither here nor there, but to most of us it brings to mind a man who is small and mean and tricky and petty, who, at the conclusion of the purpose of obscuring the plain truth, the clear purposes and high principles for which we and the greater part of all the rest of the world seek to maintain in cloudless skies the promise of unstrained victory.

************
Today, the pettifoggers are attempting to obscure the essential truths of this war. They are besmirching the present and obscuring the future. They and their clean purposes and high principles for which the world now maintains the promise of undiminished victory.
Now, the word petty means, of course, petty!

"Fogger" implies one who continually casts a fog about the clear purposes and the high principles of those who can see clearly ahead the promise of undimmed victory.

In North Africa we are now massing armies --

British, French and American -- with all necessary equipment for one of the major battles of this war. The enemy's purpose in the battle of Tunisia is to hold at all costs this last bridgehead in Africa, to prevent us from gaining access to the Straits that lead to Nazi-dominated Europe.

Our purpose in this battle of Tunisia is to drive our enemies into the sea.

The British First Army in this battle, commanded by General Anderson, contains many veterans of Flanders and Dunkirk. These men have a score to settle with the Nazis.

The British Eighth Army, commanded by General Montgomery, has of course to its eternal credit the smashing defeat of Marshal Rommel's army and the now historic 1200 mile pursuit of those once triumphant forces.

The enemy in Tunisia will be attacked from the south by the British Eighth Army and by the French forces...
And all these forces are commanded by General Eisenhower. I spent many hours in Casablanca with this young General of our forces and I want to say to you tonight that we have every confidence in his leadership.

***************

I know what a fine tough job he has done and how carefully and skillfully he is directing the soldiers under him.
Very high tribute was paid to the

gallant services of General Eisenhower

as a soldier when the British Command

Through Mr. Churchill took the lead

at Casablanca in naming him for

the supreme command of the great

Allied operations which are imminent.
The deputy to General Eisenhower is General Alexander, one of Britain's greatest soldiers. General Alexander commanded all British forces in the Middle East, including the 8th Army which won at El Alamein. He planned that engagement and the tremendous advance which followed it. At this moment — and speak to you tonight — General Alexander is standing at the right hand of General Eisenhower planning military operations which are going to complete the destruction of Nazi and Fascist military power.

Let all these facts which reveal not merely cooperation but active collaboration between the United Nations, but these facts be duly noted by our enemies.
SECOND DRAFT

who have made a remarkable march all the way across the Sahara Desert under General Le Clézio, one of General de Gaulle's officers; and from the West by the combined forces of British and American forces together with French troops under the command of General Giraud.

And, as you have read yesterday, our own General Eisenhower is in supreme command in this whole theatre of war.

Our soldiers in Tunisia are very well trained and equipped, but they are facing actual combat with tough opponents for the first time. We can be confident that they will conduct themselves as bravely and as effectively as did those young Americans who drove Germany's best troops through the Argonne forest and across the Meuse.

The battle of Tunisia will cost us heavily in casualties. We must face that fact now, with the same calm courage as our men are facing it on the battlefield itself. The enemy has strong forces in strong positions. His supply lines are maintained at great cost but Hitler has been willing to pay that cost for he knows the consequences of Allied victory in Tunisia.
Those consequences are actual invasions of the continent of Europe. We do not disguise our intention to make these invasions. The pressure on Germany and Italy will be constant and unrelenting. The Russian armies in the East have been delivering overpowering blows; we must do likewise in the west. The enemy must be hit and hit hard from so many directions that he never knows which is his front and which is his rear.

One fact was made clear at Casablanca that all Frenchmen outside of France are uniting in one great paramount objective -- the complete liberation of France and of all the French people who now suffer the torture of the Nazi yoke. As each day passes a spirit of unselfishness is uniting more greatly all Frenchmen who have the power and opportunity to strike a blow for liberation.

In the years of the American and French revolutions the fundamental principle guiding our democracies was established in the Western and Eastern Hemispheres. The cornerstone of our whole democratic edifice was the principle that from the people and the people alone flows the authority of government.
It is one of our war aims, as expressed in the Atlantic Charter, that the conquered populations of today be again the masters of their destiny. There must be no doubt anywhere that it is the prime purpose of the United Nations to restore to conquered peoples their sacred rights.

French sovereignty rests with the people of France. Its expression has been temporarily suspended by German occupation. Once the triumphant armies of the United Nations have expelled the common enemy, Frenchmen will be represented by a government of their own choice, and of their own choice, freely, elected according to the laws of the French Republic.

It will be a choice free in every sense, with one single exception — that no nation in all the world is going to be allowed, at the end of this war, to set itself up under a Fascist form of government or a Nazi form of government or a Japanese war-lord form of government. The United Nations say to these forms of government two simple words: "Never again".

The right of self-determination included in the Atlantic Charter does not carry with it the right of any government to commit wholesale murder or the right to make slaves of its own people or of any other peoples in the world.
And the world can rest assured that this total war --
this sacrifice of lives all over the globe -- is not being

carried on for the purpose or even with the remotest idea

of keeping the Quislings or Lavals in power anywhere on this
earth.

The decisions reached and the actual plans made at
Casablanca were not confined to any one theatre of war or any
one continent or ocean or sea. Before this year is out, it
will be made known to the world -- in actions rather than in
words -- that the Casablanca conference produced plenty of
news; and it will be bad news for the Germans and Italians --
and the Japanese.

We have lately concluded a long, hard battle in
the Southwest Pacific and we have made notable gains. That
battle started in the Solomons and New Guinea last summer.
It has demonstrated our superior power in planes and, most
importantly, in the fighting qualities of our individual
soldiers and sailors.

American armed forces in the Southwest Pacific are
receiving powerful aid from Australia and New Zealand and
also directly from the British themselves.
SECOND DRAFT

We do not expect to spend the time it would take to bring Japan to final defeat merely by inching our way forward from island to island across the vast expanse of the Pacific.

Great and decisive actions against the Japanese will be taken on the soil of China and in the skies over China, where again the enemy must be driven into the sea, while our naval and air forces are pounding him from other directions and cutting his precious lines of supply. The discussions which have been held in Chungking with the Generalissimo, by Field-Marshal Bill and General Arnold have resulted in definite plans for positive action.

There are many roads which lead to Tokyo. We shall neglect none of them.

In an attempt to ward off the inevitable disaster, the Axis propagandists are trying all of their old tricks in order to divide the United Nations. They are trying hard to create the idea that if we win this war, Russia, England and the United States are going to get into a cat-and-dog fight.

This is their final effort to turn one nation against another, in the vain hope that they may settle with one or two at a time -- that any of us may be so gullible and so
SECOND DRAFT

forgetful as to be duped into making "deals" at the expense of our Allies.

To these panicky attempts to escape the consequences of their crimes we say -- all the United Nations say -- that the only terms on which we shall deal with any Axis government or any Axis faction are the terms proclaimed at Casablanca: "Unconditional Surrender". In our uncompromising policy we mean no harm to the common people of the Axis nations. But we do mean to impose punishment and retribution in full upon their guilty, barbaric leaders.

The Nazis must be frantic indeed if they believe that they can devise any propaganda which would turn the British and American governments and peoples against Russia.

The overwhelming courage and endurance of the Russian people in withstanding and hurling back the invaders -- and the genius with which their military actions have been directed and led -- all speak for themselves. I can say to you now that never before have I been more sure that after this war Russia, Britain, China and the United States will stand with the rest of the United Nations in the securing of a peace that is based on principles which will guarantee permanence.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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You can be quite sure that as a result of our conversations at Casablanca, if Japan should collapse and China should be free before Germany collapses then we would devote the united efforts of all and resources and resources would be concentrated on the job of the United Nations to crush Germany.

And as an illustration of the opposite side of the picture, let me say, lest there be any question in Nazi or Japanese minds that the United Nations are wholly of one
mind on the prosecution of the war to all over the world
a complete victory, the Prime Minister

I told him that no formal statement or agreement in the least bit necessary;

that we all of us, completely in accord in our determination to destroy at one in destroying the forces of barbarism east and barbarism west, that the American people would take the word, words - one policy toward one Japanese
The enemies is precisely the same as our policy toward our Nazi enemies: it is an unending policy of fighting as the war as forcibly and as quickly as we can on the terms of unconditional surrender.

uncompromising
Today is the anniversary of the birth of a great, plain American. The living memory of Abraham Lincoln is now honored and cherished by all Americans, wherever they may be, and by men and women and children throughout the British Commonwealth, and the Soviet Union, and the Republic of China, and in every land on earth where people love freedom and will give their lives for freedom.

President Lincoln said in 1862, "Fellow Citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us

in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation."

Today, eighty years after Lincoln delivered that message, the fires of war are blazing across the whole horizon of mankind -- from Kharkov to Kunming -- from the Mediterranean to the Coral Sea -- from Berlin to Tokyo.

Again -- we cannot escape history. We have supreme confidence that with the help of God the fires of today will

burn in honor. We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the Twentieth Century,
there came the time when men of good will found a way to
unite and produce and fight to destroy the forces
of ignorance, intolerance, and war.

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THIRD DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS' ASSOCIATION DINNER

STATLER HOTEL

FEBRUARY 12, 1943

It is nearly two years since I attended the last dinner of the White House Correspondents' Association. A great deal of water has flowed over the dam since then.

And several people have flown over the water.

Two years ago -- many months before Pearl Harbor -- I spoke to you of the thought that was then uppermost in our minds -- of the determination of America to become the arsenal of democracy. Almost all Americans had by that time determined to play their full part in helping to save civilization from the barbarians. Even then, we were in the midst of the historic job of production -- a job which the American people have been performing with zest and skill and, above all, success.

Tonight, as I speak to you, another thought is uppermost in our minds: That is our determination to fight this war through to the finish -- to the day when United Nations Forces march in triumph through the streets of Berlin, Rome and Tokyo.
Last September I made a tour of inspection through this country. I saw war plants at work. I saw Army and Navy training camps and flying fields. I saw American men and women -- management and labor alike -- doing the job of production. I saw American soldiers and sailors and fliers doing the job of training for the fighting which lay ahead.

Now I have returned from one of the fronts overseas, where the production of American factories and the training given in American camps have been put into actual warfare against the enemy. I have seen our troops in the field. I have inspected their superb equipment. I have talked and laughed and eaten with them.

I have seen our men -- the Nation's men -- in Trinidad, in Belém and Natal in Brazil, in Liberia, in Gambia. In these places there is no actual fighting, but there is hard, dangerous, essential work, and there is a tremendous strain upon the endurance and the spirit of our troops. They are standing up magnificently under that strain.
I have seen our men — and some of our American women in North Africa. Out there is war. Those men know that before this war is over, many of them will have given their lives. But they know also that they are fighting to destroy the power of the enemies of their country — that they are fighting for a peace which will be a real and lasting peace and a far better world for the future.

Our men in the field are worthy of the great faith, the high hopes, we have placed in them. That applies as well to the men of the Navy, without whom no American expeditionary force could land safely on foreign shores.

And it applies equally to the men of our Merchant Marine who carry essential munitions and supplies, without which neither the United States nor our Allies could continue the battle.

No American can look at these men, soldiers or sailors, without great emotion and great pride and a very deep sense of responsibility to them.

Because of the necessary secrecy of my trip, in every place I visited the American armed forces were completely surprised when they saw their Commander-in-Chief appear before them. The expression on their faces certainly showed it.
I wish that I could pay similar surprise visits to
our men in the other fields of operation -- the naval bases,
the islands of the Pacific, the mainland and islands of
Alaska, Australia and the islands of the Atlantic, the two
Guianas, the Canal Zone, our forces in Iceland and
Britain in Central Africa, the Middle East and India,
Burma and China. I wish I could tell them face to face
that their Government and their people are very proud of
the great job they are going in helping to strengthen the
wise that is slowly but surely 'squeezing the breath out of
our enemies.

In every battalion and in every ship's crew you will
find every kind of American citizen representing
every occupation, every section, every origin, every religion,
every political viewpoint.

Ask them what they are fighting for, and every one of
them will say: "I am fighting for my country". Ask them
what they really mean by that and you will get what, on the
surface, may seem to be a wide variety of answers.

One will say he is fighting for the right to say what
he pleases and to read and listen to what he likes.
Another soldier will say he is fighting for the right to work and earn three square meals a day for himself and his folks.

A fourth soldier will say he is fighting in this world war so that his children and grandchildren will not have to go back to Africa, or Europe or Asia to do this ugly job all over again.

But all these answers really add up to the same thing: every American fights for freedom. And today the personal freedom of every American and his family depends, and will depend, upon the freedom of his neighbors in other lands.

For today the whole world is one neighborhood. That is why this war, which started in seemingly remote areas, has spread to every continent and most of the islands of the sea, involving the lives and the liberties of the entire human race. And unless the peace that follows recognizes that the whole world is one neighborhood and does justice to the whole human race, the germs of another World War will remain as a constant threat to mankind.
I talked with many people in our armed forces -- down through the coasts and islands of the Western Hemisphere and up the coast of West Africa. Many of our soldiers and sailors were concerned about the state of the home-front. They had received all kinds of exaggerated reports and rumors of the extent of the complaints and too little recognition of the realities of war. They had been told that selfish labor leaders were threatening to call strikes which would greatly curtail the output of our war industries; that some farm groups are trying to profiteer on prices and are letting us down on food production; that many people are bitter over such minor hardships as rationing and priorities; and especially that there are serious partisan political quarrels over the petty things of life here in Washington.

I told them that most of the reports they were getting were just gross exaggerations; that the people as a whole in the United States are in this war to see it through with heart and soul; and that our population is willing and glad to give up some of their shoes and sugar, and coffee and automobile riding -- and privileges and profits -- for the sake of the common cause.
I could not deny to our troops that few chislers, a few farm leaders, a few labor leaders, a few politicians and a few publicists -- fortunately a very few -- have placed their personal ambition or greed above their nation's interests. Our troops know that the Nazis and Fascists and Japanese are trying hard to sell the untruths of propaganda to certain types of Americans. But our troops also know that even if you pile a lot of molehills of deception one on top of the other, it will not make a mountain big enough or solid enough to fool anyone, or to block the road to victory and to an effective peace.

A fundamental of an effective peace is the assurance to these men who are fighting our battles, that when they come home they will find a country with an economy firm enough and fair enough to provide jobs for all those who are willing to work.

I am certain that private enterprise will be able to provide the vast majority of those jobs, and in those cases where this cannot be accomplished, that the Congress will pass the legislation which will make this assurance of jobs, good.
There are still a few who say we cannot achieve this and the other honorable aims for the post-war world. In speaking of these professional skeptics -- these men of little faith -- there comes to my mind an old word in our language -- the word "pettifoggeras".

The formal, dictionary definition and derivation of the word are neither here nor there. To most of us it brings to mind a man who is small and mean and tricky and picayune and -- in a word -- petty. It is the type of man who is always seeking to create a smoke screen, or fog, for the purpose of obscuring the plain truth.

Today, the pettifoggers are attempting to obscure the essential truths of this war. They are seeking to befog the present and the future, and the clear purposes and high principles for which the free world now maintains the promise of undimmed victory.

In North Africa we are now massing armies -- British, French and American -- for one of the major battles of this war. The enemy's purpose in the battle of Tunisia is to hold at all costs last bridgehead in Africa, to prevent us from gaining access to the Straits that lead to Nazi-dominated Europe.
Our purpose in this battle of Tunisia is to drive our enemies into the sea.

The British First Army in this battle, commanded by General Anderson, contains many veterans of Flanders and Dunkirk. These men have a score to settle with the Nazis.

The British Eighth Army, commanded by General Montgomery, has to its eternal credit the smashing defeat of Marshal Hoessel's army and the now historic mile pursuit of those once triumphant forces.

The enemy in Tunisia will be attacked from the south by the British Eighth Army and by the French forces who have made a remarkable march all the way across the Sahara Desert under General Le Clerc, one of General de Gaulle's officers, and from the West by the combined forces of British and American forces together with French troops under the command of General Giraud. All these forces are commanded by General Eisenhower. I spent many hours in Casablanca with this young general. I know what a fine, tough job he has done and how carefully and skillfully he is directing the soldiers under him. I want to say to you tonight -- and to him -- that we have every
confidence in his leadership. High tribute was paid to his qualities of General Eisenhower as a soldier when the British Government, through Mr. Churchill, took the lead at Casablanca in appointing him for the supreme command of the great Allied operations which are imminent.

The deputy to General Eisenhower is General Alexander, one of Britain's greatest soldiers. General Alexander commanded all British forces in the Middle East, including the Eighth Army which won at El Alamein. He planned that engagement and the tremendous advance which followed it. At this moment -- as I speak to you tonight -- General Alexander is standing at the right hand of General Eisenhower planning military operations which are going to complete the destruction of Nazi and Fascist military power.

These important facts reveal not merely cooperation but active collaboration between the United Nations. Let these facts be duly noted by our enemies.

Our soldiers in Tunisia are well trained and equipped, but they are facing actual combat with tough opponents for the first time. We can be confident that they will conduct
THIRD DRAFT

-themselves as bravely and as effectively as did those under General George young Americans, who drove Germany's best troops through the Argonne forest and across the Meuse.

The battle of Tunisia will cost us heavily in casualties. We must face that fact now, with the same calm courage as our men are facing it on the battlefield itself. The enemy has strong forces in strong positions. His supply lines are maintained at great cost but Hitler has been willing to pay that cost for he knows the consequences of Allied victory in Tunisia.
Those consequences are actual invasions of the continent of Europe. We do not disguise our intention to make these invasions.

The pressure on Germany and Italy will be constant and unrelenting.

The Russian armies in the East have been delivering overpowering blows; we must do likewise in the West. The enemy must be hit and hit hard from so many directions that he never knows which is his bow and which is his stern.

It was made clear at Casablanca that all Frenchmen outside of France are uniting in one great paramount objective -- the complete liberation of France and of all the French people who now suffer the torture of the Nazi yoke. As each day passes a spirit of unselfishness is uniting more greatly all Frenchmen who have the opportunity to strike a blow for liberation.

In the years of the American and French revolutions the fundamental principle guiding our democracies was established. The cornerstone of our whole democratic edifice was the principle that from the people and the people alone flows the authority of government.

It is one of our war aims, as expressed in the Atlantic Charter, that the conquered populations of today be again the masters of their destiny. There must be no doubt anywhere that it is the purpose of the United Nations to restore to
It will be a free choice in every sense. No nation in all the world that is free to make a choice is going to set itself up under the Fascist form of government, or the Nazi form of government or the Japanese war-lord form of government. Such forms are the offspring of seizure of power followed by the abridgement of freedom. Therefore, the United Nations can properly say of these forms of government two simple words: "Never again".
conquered peoples their sacred rights.

French sovereignty rests with the people of France. Its expression has been temporarily suspended by German occupation. Once the triumphant armies of the United Nations have expelled the common enemy, Frenchmen will be represented by a government of their own popular choice.

It will be a choice free in every sense, with one exception -- that no nation in all the world is going to be allowed, at the end of this war, to set itself up under a Fascist form of government or a Nazi form of government or a Japanese war-lord form of government. The United Nations say to these forms of government two simple words: "Never again".

The right of self-determination included in the Atlantic Charter does not carry with it the right of any government to commit wholesale murder or the right to make slaves of its own people or of any other peoples in the world.

And the world can rest assured that this total war -- this sacrifice of lives all over the globe -- is not being carried on for the purpose or even with the remotest idea of keeping the Quislings or Lavals in power anywhere on this earth.
The decisions reached and the actual plans made at Casablanca were not confined to any one theatre of war or any one continent or ocean or sea. Before this year is out, it will be made known to the world -- in actions rather than in words -- that the Casablanca Conference produced plenty of news; and it will be bad news for the Germans and Italians -- and the Japanese.

We have lately concluded a long, hard battle in the Southwest Pacific and we have made notable gains. That battle started in the Solomons and New Guinea last summer. It has demonstrated our superior power in planes and, most importantly, in the fighting qualities of our individual soldiers and sailors.

American armed forces in the Southwest Pacific are receiving powerful aid from Australia and New Zealand and also directly from the British themselves.

We do not expect to spend the time it would take to bring Japan to final defeat merely by inching our way forward from island to island across the vast expanse of the Pacific.

Great and decisive actions against the Japanese will be taken to drive the invader from the soil of China. Actions will be taken in the skies over China and over Japan itself.
The discussions at Casablanca have been continued in Chungking with the Generalissimo by General Arnold and have resulted in definite plans for offensive operations.

There are many roads which lead to Tokyo. We shall neglect none of them.

In an attempt to ward off the inevitable disaster, the Axis propagandists are trying all of their old tricks in order to divide the United Nations. They are trying hard to create the idea that if we win this war, Russia, England and the United States are going to get into a cat-and-dog fight.

This is their final effort to turn one nation against another, in the vain hope that they may settle with one or two at a time -- that any of us may be so gullible and so forgetful as to be duped into making "deals" at the expense of our Allies.

To these panicky attempts to escape the consequences of their crimes we say -- all the United Nations say -- that the only terms on which we shall deal with any Axis government or any Axis factions are the terms proclaimed at Casablanca: "Unconditional Surrender". In our uncompromising policy we mean no harm to the common people of the Axis nations. But we do mean to impose punishment and retribution in full upon
The tragedy of the war has sharpened the vision of the leadership and peoples of all the United Nations and I can say to you from my own full knowledge that they see the utter necessity of our standing together after the war to secure a peace based on principles of permanence.
their guilty, barbaric leaders.

The Nazis must be frantic indeed if they believe that they can devise any propaganda which would turn the British and Chinese governments and peoples against Russia—or Russia against the rest of us.

The overwhelming courage and endurance of the Russian people in withstanding and hurling back the invaders — and the genius with which their military actions have been directed and led— all speak for themselves. I can say to you now that never before have I been more sure that after this war Russia, Britain, China and the United States will stand with the rest of the United Nations in the securing of a peace that is based on principles which will guarantee permanence.

You can be quite sure that as a result of our conversations at Casablanca, if Japan should fall before Germany, the efforts and resources of all the United Nations would be concentrated on the job of crushing Germany.

And, on the other hand, lest there be any question in Nazi or Japanese minds that the United Nations are wholly one in the prosecution of the war to a complete victory all over the world, the Prime Minister wished to make a solemn formal agreement that if Germany cracks up before Japan, all
British resources and manpower will, of course, join with us in an out-and-out final attack on Japan. I told him that no formal statement or agreement along these lines was in the least bit necessary -- that it was obvious and clear that all of us are completely in accord in our determination to destroy the forces of barbarism in the east and barbarism in the west. In other words -- our policy toward our Japanese enemies is precisely the same as our policy toward our Nazi and Axis foes: it is a policy of fighting and ending the war as quickly as we can on the uncompromising terms of unconditional surrender.

-- that the American people accept the word of a great English gentleman -- and
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THIRD DRAFT

-17-

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