

February 12, 1943

White House Correspondent's Dinner

FDR Speech File

February 19, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR FILES.

Attached to the final draft of President's speech of February 12, 1943, is copy of second draft, also copy of a memorandum I gave the President in his bedroom early in the morning of February 11th. The first draft of the speech was destroyed. It was concerning this draft that I wrote the President the memorandum. It seemed to me to be in impossible shape for a speech and far too critical of a lot of organizations. The President after reaching it readily agreed because I think he, too, felt the speech was inadequate and he worked on a new draft of the speech all of February 11th, made another draft that night and the final draft at luncheon with the President in the Cabinet Room on February 12th.

HARRY L. HOPKINS



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From the Papers of

Harry L. Hopkins

Feb-11-1943

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT:

I think the speech in its present form is ineffective; it would be a great mistake at this critical stage of the war to make this type of presentation. I believe that: one, the speech should be as short and direct as possible; two, that the following things should be said:

a. Describe sincerely in affirmative language what you saw in Africa and get over to the American people the great pride and confidence you felt in your contact with the troops. I think this part of your speech should be addressed not only to the soldiers and sailors but particularly to the whole American people.

b. I think you should describe and dramatize the impending battle telling about the Eighth Army attack on the Mareth Line and the Anglo-American determination to push the Germans into the sea from the west. The importance of this battle should be brought home to the American people. They should know that those soldiers are going into battle for the first time well trained and well equipped and confident of victory.

c. That we are not going to stop there, but with our Allies are going to move forward and attack the enemy in Europe and in the Mediterranean in enterprises which are even more dangerous and costly. This part of the speech should lead not only our own people but the people



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of the world to know that the pressure on Germany shall be constant and unrelenting.

d. The war against Japan both in China and the Southwest Pacific should be pointed up, indicating our determination to drive the Japs out of China. The moves that were decided at Casablanca, particularly about China, should be emphasized. In this speech it is essential that we hearten the Chinese people. I think that this is very essential because their spirit is very low. While Guadalcanal should not be over-emphasized, special attention should be paid to the Navy and Marines and the Army for what they have done, and assurances to the American people about what they are going to do.

e. I think the French in Africa should be handled briefly but forcefully. I hope that you will say that the United Nations have no intention of sacrificing thousands of lives in order to put the Laval or Quisling of the world into power anywhere on this earth.

f. Finally, I think it is very important that you pay tribute to the Russian Army and express your conviction that we can come to an understanding with Russia after the war. There is growing up a large body of public opinion that believes that having won the war, Russia, England, and the United States are going to get into a cat and dog fight. It is extremely important to the world that they -- the people -- have confidence that you believe that we can and will work out an arrangement with Russia and Great Britain for a durable peace.

W. H. H.



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SECOND 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 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.



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SECOND DRAFT

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Last September I made a tour of inspection through this country. I saw war plants building, 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 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, and some of the Nation's ~~girls~~ ^{women} -- in Trinidad, in Belen 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.



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SECOND DRAFT

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I have seen our men and 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 [?] ~~expensive~~ 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



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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 Southwest Pacific, the mainland 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 deeply moved and very ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ proud of the great job they are doing in helping to strengthen the vise that is slowly but surely closing in on 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 race, every political viewpoint.

Ask them what they are fighting for and you will get that, 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.



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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 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.

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



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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 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 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 these who are 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 skeptics -- these men of little faith -- there comes to my mind an old word in our language -- the word "pettifoggers".



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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



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who have made a remarkable march all the way across the Sahara Desert under General Le Clair, 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 own soldiers in Tunisia are extremely 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.



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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 important 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.



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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 only, 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.



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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 Lavalists 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.



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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. Here again the enemy must be driven into the sea, while our naval and air forces are pounding him from other directions and cutting his perilous lines of supply.

The discussions which have been held in Chungking with the Generalissimo, by Field Marshall Dill 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



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SECOND DRAFT

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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.

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 down, 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 Kunsing -- 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 light us down in honor. We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the Twentieth Century,



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SECOND DRAFT

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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.

.....
Peace



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FEBRUARY 12, 1943 - WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENTS
DINNER



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenberg

FIRST DRAFT

It has been nearly two years since I have attended a dinner of the White House Press Correspondent's Association. The last time I spoke here was in March, 1941, just after the enactment of the Lend Lease Law.

A great deal of water has flowed over the dam since then. And much has flown over the water.

Our Lend Lease material has gone overseas in ever increasing and ever more decisive quantities. And many thousands of Americans have travelled to distant theatres of war -- including, I am happy to say, myself.

Two years ago I endeavored to paint a picture of what America faced in its determination to become the arsenal of democracy -- in work, in taxes, in personal sacrifice of all kinds. For America was determined even then to play its full part, as we then saw it, in ^{helping to save} ~~saving~~ civilization from the barbarians who would disrupt and destroy it. } Two years ago,

I said to you that "Never in all our history, have Americans faced a

job so well worth while". *To-day we know that the American people - one hundred and thirty millions of them - look forward to historic jobs, and they are doing it -*
I want to report to you now that Americans have performed... and are performing ~~that job~~ courageously and skilfully and successfully.



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FIRST DRAFT

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Only a few months ago I travelled about this country and I reported my observations of many of our war plants and army camps and naval training stations and flying fields. I saw that American men and women - management and labor alike - were doing the domestic job of production, ^{down here} American soldiers and sailors and fliers were doing the job of training for the fighting which lay ahead.

And now I have just returned from the front^{on the} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~that~~ production made in American factories and ~~armies~~ ^{the} military training received in American camps ^{have} ~~has~~ been put into actual service in combat against the enemy. I have seen ^{our} these troops, I have ^{in the field} talked, and laughed, and ^{have} eaten their food. ^{have} I have talked ^{with them} with the soldiers and with their officers.

And I can tell you that our men in the field are worthy of the highest hopes that we have held for them - the greatest faith that we have placed in them. And that applies ^{equally} to the men of our Navy, without whom no American Expeditionary Force could land safely on foreign shores; and to the men of our Merchant Marine who carry the essential supplies without which neither ourselves nor our allies could continue the battle.



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FIRST DRAFT

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No American can look at these men — soldiers or sailors — without great emotion, great pride, and a very deep sense of our responsibility to them. It is the solemn obligation of us here at home to see to it that this nation is worthy of its fighting men, and that the peace for which they have fought, and for which many of them shall have given their lives, is a real peace, a lasting peace, and not merely another false armistice.

~~From persistently improving the supply system of our~~
~~improving the~~ ^{and gathering} ability to get the right kinds of material to the right place at the right time. Of course there are ^{ways in which} ~~some places where~~ ^{and will} improvements can be made — like delays in the mail, for example.

~~These details are gradually being improved.~~ But looking at the whole tremendous task of keeping ^{our} these troops supplied, over the long sea-lanes, through the gauntlet of U-boats, we may be very well satisfied with the way this difficult, dangerous ^{essential} job is being done.

What impressed me most in talking with our men was the repeated proof that here is a real army of democracy. Those in foreign lands who have an opportunity to observe the men of our armed forces will know that our theories of freedom and equal rights are not mere words in ancient documents: they are expressed in living terms by our people.



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(A) p-3

One of the most complex and most vital of the achievements of our army in North Africa has been the establishment of the service of supply. This requires the



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LAST DRAFT

- 4 -

In every battalion -- in every ship's crew -- you will find every type and kind of American citizen, representing every occupation, every section, every race, every political point of view.

R Ask these men what they are fighting for, and you will get a seemingly wide variety of answers; ~~you will say he is fighting so that his children won't have to fight again, or so that they can go to a free school, as he did; another will say he is fighting for the right to have an ice cream soda whenever he feels like it; a third will say that he is fighting because he never wants to see the Nazi swastika flying over the First Baptist Church on 42nd Street.~~

INSERT

(B)

But all the different answers really add up to the same thing: every American fights for freedom, and he knows that his own, personal freedom is dependent upon the freedom of his neighbors.

Today, the whole world is one neighborhood, ^{in its extent} That is why this war is global. That is why this war involves the lives and the liberties of the entire human race.

Many things were done at Casablanca; and many decisions were made. The American people of course realize why ^{these decisions} they cannot be disclosed -- yet. They will be disclosed, ^{and not in more carefully than is} ^{direct} any mere words, when the enemy is given the full impact of the various



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(B)

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

Another says he is fighting because he now wants to see the Nazi swastika flying over the First Baptist Church on Elm Street.

Another ^{soldier} says he is fighting for the right to work and earn three square meals a day for himself and his folks.

Another says he is fighting ~~because~~ ^{in this} ^{world} war so that his children will not have to fight in another world war.



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FIRST DRAFT

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military actions that we and our fighting Allies have planned. We

have agreed upon a continuous, progressive offensive warfare with the

initiative maintained in the hands of the United Nations. ^{There is some} ~~two-sided~~

*very tough fighting ahead of us, on land, on sea, and in the air. But
you will see much fighting yet but it is going to be on our side
Throughout this fighting it will be the United Nations who will
determine the times and places of attack and the objectives to*

~~that~~ be reached.

Those points of attack and objectives are by no means

limited to any one theatre of war — or any one continent or ocean.

it will be written in history that
Before this year is out, the Casablanca Conference ~~will~~ pro-
posed a wide variety of bad news for our enemies — for the Nazis

and the Fascists — and the Japanese.

~~You White House Correspondents and I have had many hund-~~
~~reds of conferences together, and in so far as the public interest~~
~~has permitted I have tried to be frank in my discussions with you.~~

record and out of place
in the same spirit of frankness I must say that both Mr. Churchill

and I regretted that it was not ~~practically~~ possible to have Mr.

Stalin and the Generalissimo Chiang Kai Chek as fellow participants

in this conference. *Lacking their actual presence, we kept them*
constantly advised of the progress of our discussions — and I can
safely say to you that there is no substantial disagreement among
the four of us.

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SAMUEL I. ROOSEVELT

and sailors
to members
of my party

There was ^{present} one topic of conversation in Carlsbad which was not included in the formal conferences. It was - as we say in our press conferences - completely off the record. It took the form of repeated questions by our soldiers concerning the state of the home front.

The members of our armed forces in distant places are apt to get exaggerated reports ^{and rumors} of the extent of the complaining ^{that goes on behind} rationing and other relatively minor hardships at home. ^{They hear many reports about the extent of the extent} the effect of strikes in war industries - ^{and about the effect of rationing} the ^{of} political differences ^{of} here in Washington and in the various States - and about disputes between ourselves and our allies.

Fortunately, we were able to ~~assure~~ give assurance that most of these reports are exaggerated. But we here at home had better be very sure that we are not failing our men in the field in any way.

Our troops know that ^{the few selfish people} ~~many~~ men or women who attempt to cheat or chisel on rationing ^{are} letting our country down in this war.

Our troops know that ^{any} the few labor leaders who place their own personal ambition and greed above the national interest are

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The forces were gathering in Tunisia for the major battle which is to come.

While we were planning at Casablanca the steps that, together with the heroic Russian ^{Defenders} will bring the inevitable defeat of the Nazis in Europe, a very stiff fight ^{is now approaching its climax} was raging at the other end of French North Africa.

Important French ^{troops} ~~forces~~ are ^{fighting} ~~there~~ ^{in Tunisia} ~~there~~ ^{joining us in that battle}. They operate under General Giraud in Tunis, and under General de Gaulle in areas where the ^{Magnificent} British Eighth Army is ^{operating} ~~advancing~~. ^{Many thousands} ~~Thousands of~~ ^{other young} ~~Frenchmen~~ ^{are eagerly eager to join} in restoring their country's freedom. *The United Nations force*

Thus, once again we rene^{is} the old ties of comradeship in arms and common ideals of human freedom, which have been continuous and unbroken ^{between} ~~from~~ France since the birth of this Nation.

This common union between the two peoples, ^{which began with} ~~rooted in~~ the very origins of their ^{democratic} ~~democratic~~ institutions, has given eloquent expression by the Archbishop of New ^{England} ~~England~~ ^{that magnificent form now under the best of} in his report to the French Constituent Assembly in 1789:

"It was proper", said the French Archbishop, "that this noble thought of human freedom, conceived in another hemisphere, should, by preference, be transplanted among ourselves first. We have participated in the events that have given to America her freedom; she now shows us on what principles we must base the preservation of our own. The New World, to whom in the past we only brought shackles, is now showing us how to prevent our bearing them ourselves."

Transition to A new page

In these historic years of 1776 and 1793 the fundamental principles guiding our democracies were established in our two countries. The cornerstones of our whole democratic edifice was then laid down—namely, that from the people and the people alone, flows the authority of government.

At Williamsburg in June, 1776, the Virginia Bill of Rights prescribed that—

"All authority belongs to the people, and in consequence emanates from them".

In a glorious echo from Paris in June, 1793, the National Convention edicts in the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man that—

x-ville 2.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
SAMUEL T. ROOSENBOM

~~"The sovereignty resides in the people--sovereignty is indivisible, inalienable and imprescriptible."~~

It is for these common principles that Frenchmen fought in this country in 1776, that our men fought at Chateau Thierry and in the Ardennes. It is for these principles that Americans, British and French are now fighting ^{side by side} and this time again on French soil.

It is the turn of destiny that it should now be America's lot to help in equipping the French army; as I promised General Giraud in Casablanca, ^{and de Gaulle} this we shall do and do promptly.

The army of the French democracy now recreated in North Africa ^{and remains the Army of the French people} is, and will remain, the army of the French people, so that France, ~~which~~ ^{which} fell under overwhelming odds and treacherous attack, shall again take her rightful place ^{the free and victorious nations of the world.} in the world.

Together with the French army the Allied armies will once more march under the Arc de Triomphe. France, confidence restored in her heart, her sons back from Germany, will again be among us as one of the Victorious Nations of the war.

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 in the wake of the American flag comes the assurance that the sacred rights of the people of Europe will be restored.

With the people of France rests the French sovereignty. ^{Her sovereignty} Its expression has been suspended by German occupation, ^{which has now spread} all over her once-free and happy lands.

^{no P But} ~~According to their tradition of liberty and equality~~ Frenchmen will be represented, once the triumphant armies of the United Nations have expelled the common enemy, by a government of their own choice, and of their own choice only.

(2) INSERT

~~I am sure that I formulate the ardent wish of my American fellow citizens and of the people of France when I say that the necessary conditions to allow the free expression of French popular decision should be safeguarded. I know that when I say that the necessary conditions will be safeguarded, and that the principles laid down in 1776 and 1793 will be preserved not only in France but throughout the world.~~

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(B)

Generals Giraud and de Gaulle are not ~~not~~ interested in any personal or political ~~political~~ government for France - either today or in the future. Their interest now is entirely ~~entirely~~ ~~in the~~ the military alliance of all Frenchmen opposed to ~~Germany~~ fascism and nazism - united in one the supreme objective of throwing the invading armies out of France. ~~That objective~~ ^{That objective} ~~every~~ ~~resistance~~ ~~will~~ ~~be~~ ~~given~~, so that not only France but all Europe will be free.

Liberation from the Axis is the first supreme task. This is a military job to be done by military leaders.

~~What~~ Once this has been done the first temporary ~~ad hoc~~ political administration of any ~~advises~~ ~~in~~ ~~any~~ ~~place~~ of the French colonial system will give way to the wishes of Frenchmen, freed from the Nazi yoke and expressing their ultimate ~~will~~ ^{interest} in a democratic free election according to the laws of the French Republic.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF

GENERAL I. ROBERTSON

ANNEX

French text of the declaration of the Archbishop
of Bordeaux, reporting before the "Comite de Constitution" on
July 27th, 1789:

"Cette noble idee, connue dans un autre hemisphere,
devait de preference se transplanter d'abord parmi nous.
Nous avons concouru aux evenements qui ont rendu a
l'Amerique septentrionale sa liberte: elle nous montre
sur quels principes nous devons appuyer la conserva-
tion de la notre; et c'est le Nouveau-monde, ou nous
n'avions autrefois apporte que des fers, qui nous
apprend aujourd'hui a nous garantir du malheur d'en
porter nous-memes."

French text of Article 25 of the "Declaration
des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen", proclaimed by the National
Convention on June 23rd, 1793 and published as the preamble to
the Constitution of the 24th of June, 1793:

"Art. 25. La souverainete reside dans le peuple.
Elle est une et indivisible, imprescriptible et
inalienable."



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From the Papers of
Samuel J. Rogersman

~~These five will light us down in business~~
~~dedicated to the future generation~~
There



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Boardman

Harry Hopkins, memo handwritten February 19, 1945.
Memorandum for the File

Handwritten: Handed

Attached to the final draft of President's speech of February 12, 1945, is copy of second draft, also copy of a memo I gave the President in his bedroom early in the morning of February 11th. The first draft of the speech was destroyed. It was concerning this draft that I wrote the President the memorandum. It seemed to me to be in impossible shape for a speech and far too critical of a lot of organizations. The President after reading it readily agreed because I think he, too, felt the speech was inadequate and he worked on a new draft of the speech all of February 11th, made another draft that night and the final draft at luncheon with the President (sic) in the Cabinet Room on February 12th.

(NOTE: Neither the above memo, nor the following note from Hopkins to the President, nor the circumstances of the Feb. 12, 1945 speech, are mentioned in Sherwood's book).

February 11, 1945

I think the speech in its present form is ineffective; it would be a great mistake at this critical stage of the war to make this type of presentation. I believe that: one, the speech should be as short and direct as possible; two, that the following things should be said.

a. describe sincerely in affirmative language what you saw in Africa and get across to the American people the great pride and confidence you felt in your contact with the troops. I think this part of your speech should be addressed not only to the soldiers and sailors but particularly to the whole American people.

b. I think you should describe and dramatize the impending battle, telling about the Eighth Army attack on the Harth Line and the Anglo-American determination to push the Germans into the sea from the west. The importance of this battle should be brought home to the American people. They should know that these soldiers are going into battle for the first time, well trained and well-equipped and confident of victory.

c. that we are not going to stop there, but with our Allies are going to move forward and attack the enemy in Europe and in the Mediterranean, in enterprises which are even more dangerous and costly. This part of the speech should let not only our own people but the people of the world know that the pressure on Germany shall be constant and unrelenting.



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d. the war against Japan both in China and the Southwest Pacific should be pointed up, indicating our determination to drive the Japanese out of China. The moves that were decided at Casablanca, particularly about China, should be emphasized. In this speech it is essential that we hearten the Chinese people. I think that this is very essential because their spirit is very low. While Gaudeloupe should not be overemphasized, special attention should be paid to the Navy and Marines and the Army for what they have done, and assurance to the American people about what they are going to do.

e. I think the French in Africa should be handled briefly but forcefully. I hope that you will say that the United Nations have no intention of sacrificing thousands of lives in order to put the Laval and Quislings of the world into power anywhere on this earth.

f. finally, I think it is very important that you pay tribute to the Russian Army and express your conviction that we can come to an understanding with Russia after the war. There is growing up a large body of public opinion that believes that having won the war, Russia, England and the United States are going to get into a cat and dog fight. It is extremely important that they-- the people-- have confidence that you believe that we can and will work out an arrangement with Russia and Great Britain for a durable peace.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

FIRST DRAFT

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS' DINNER

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.

^{years}
Two ~~ago~~ ago -- many months before Pearl Harbor

I spoke 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 what has become an historic job -- with courage and skill and success.

It is my constitutional obligation both as President and as Commander-in-Chief to see that things get done. It was with this objective that last September I made a tour of

inspection through this country. I saw plants building, plants at work. I saw Army and Navy camps, ^{training and} flying fields. I saw production that was ahead of schedule, and ^{some} production behind schedule. ^{that was} Taking it by and large and with consideration



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To you of the thought that was then when things to the point of the first step in the plan to win the war.

Under the light

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(A)

PI

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!

saw production that was ahead of schedule; and I saw production
behind schedule; but, taking it by and large and with consideration



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FIRST DRAFT

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS' LUNCHEON

February 12, 1943

It is nearly two years since I attended the first 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 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 what has become an historic job -- with courage and skill and success.

It is my constitutional obligation both as President and as Commander-in-Chief to see that things get done. It was with this objective that last September I made a tour of inspection through this country. I saw plants building, plants at work. I saw Army and Navy camps. I saw flying fields. I saw production that was ahead of schedule; and I saw production behind schedule; but, taking it by and large and with consideration



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[for tens of thousands of items for the equipping of men and the building of weapons, I told our people that what I saw was good.]

[Most of you know very well that for the accomplishment of this task your Government has employed, most certainly without partisanship, the great business and managerial brains of the United States. When the program was getting under way, my good friend Bill Knudsen was in the habit of sending me lists of names of eminent production leaders whom he proposed to employ. I OK'd them all until one day Bill Knudsen brought me a new list of twenty more names. I read it through and said, "Bill, you have made an awful mistake. Nineteen of these names are Republicans but you let one Democrat slip in". Knudsen replied, "Mr. President, he is listed as a Democrat all right but he voted for Wilkie". Nevertheless that name stayed on Knudsen's list.]

[It is true that most people who have been brought in to the running of the production end of a great war machine have made good. It is equally true that some of them have got into personal squabbles but I think the American people are not fooled by the efforts of certain types of publicity



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FIRST DRAFT

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to magnify the creaks in the machine out of all due proportion to the successes. The average American yawns and says Oh yes -- but the fact remains that the program was called fantastic a year ago and two years ago but the program is being carried out. More than that I, as an American, cannot demand.

In the same way, certain forms of publicity, deliberately or otherwise, create dis-unity by magnifying out of all perspective the personal inconveniences which war creates on the home-front. A newspaper owner, who is a professional sower-of-discord in our midst, recently tried to sell the American people the idea that the recent rationing of shoes to three new pairs a year would soon make every American child go barefooted -- and all xx with the objective of providing nice new shoes for the civil population of Britain. Under the Lend-Lease Act. He was dishonest enough to omit the fact that under Lend-Lease we are not sending shoes to the population of Britain but that we are providing shoes for the many thousands of British soldiers on the fighting front -- on the same fighting front that our own boys are fighting on. He was dishonest enough to try to throw an unnecessary



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FIRST DRAFT

-4-

and false sense into the families of Americans

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 magnificent equipment. I have talked and laughed and eaten with them.

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. [I say few Americans, yet you and I know some Americans who, in seeing our soldiers and sailors at the front, have the paramount thought -- the thought that "How can I make political capital or selfish gain of one kind or another out of this war?"]



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

(A) - p.4

I have seen our men - the Nation's men, and some of the Nation's girls - in ~~Gambia~~ Trinidad, in Belém 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 ^{magnificent} 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 war.

Before it is over, many of them will have given their lives, but those men know they fight for the saving of their country against the barbarians and for a peace which will be a real peace and a lasting peace and a better world for their families to live in.



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FIRST DRAFT

-4-

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^{No}
[Few] Americans can look at these men, soldiers or sailors without great emotion and great pride and a very deep sense of responsibility to them. [I say few Americans, yet you and I know some Americans who, in seeing our soldiers and sailors at the front, have one paramount thought -- the thought ~~xxxx~~ "How can I make political capital or selfish gain of one kind or another out of this war?"



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I have seen our men -- the Nation's men -- and some of the Nation's girls -- in North Africa. Out there is war. Before it is over, many of them will have given their lives, but those men know they fight for the saving of their country against the barbarians and for a peace which will be a real peace and a lasting peace and a better world for their families to live in.

I have seen our men in smaller out of the way places where there is no ^{actual fighting} war -- in Gambia, in Liberia, in Natal and Belem in Brazil, in Trinidad, though I could not visit them in Dutch Guiana and British Guiana, ^{to} all of them I sent word that they have not been forgotten back home and while in all probability they will never see the enemy or fire a shot they ^{are} performing a very necessary duty, guarding key points, ^{all} guarding precious oil fields and bauxite mines and rubber plantations and expediting the forwarding of supplies by air and by sea.

The same thing applies to thousands and thousands of our troops in St. Lucia, Antigua and the Bahamas and Jamaica and Bermuda and Newfoundland and Iceland -- and in the same manner it applies to other tens of thousands of American soldiers and sailors in the area of the Pacific and of the



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FIRST DRAFT

-6-

Indian Ocean all the way from the Aleutian Islands down through the North Pacific and the Middle Pacific and the South Pacific clear to Burma and India. And I must not be forgetting the American battalions and regiments which are helping to get through those precious supplies to Russia by the Northern route through the Arctic ice, through the head of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf and to China through the skies and over the high peaks of the Southeastern Himalayas. These men, whether in North Africa or in any other part of the whole round world, are the embodiment of American unity. No slinger of mud could last long in their ranks. They understand decent freedom.

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, 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.



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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 ^{2/} and the things they need and the fourth will say he is fighting in this world war so that his children will not have to fight in another world war.

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

For today the whole world is one neighborhood.

~~Some ask glibly "Why should we give a quart of milk a day to every Nottentot?". First of all that type of man would have your people think that that is the great American aim in life. Secondly, he deliberately omits the fact that if the population of India, and the population of Morocco and the population of Algiers and even the Nottentots could be helped to get a better standard of living, each one of them would have greater capacity to participate more greatly in the trade of the world and by so doing create employment needs~~



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FIRST DRAFT

-8-

among nations and, incidentally, assure greater markets for producing for the manufacturing nations of the world, including the people of the United States of America.

Slowly, oh, how slowly, the people of this country are beginning to realize ^{that is why} ~~that~~ this war is global in its extent. ^{And} unless the war is to be repeated, the peace ^{that follows} must ^{also} be global in its extent. ~~This is why this war~~ involves the lives and the liberties of the entire human race.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

SECOND DRAFT

It has been nearly two years since I have attended a dinner of the White House Press Correspondent's Association. The last time I spoke here was in March, 1941, just after the enactment of the Lend Lease Law.

A great deal of water has flowed over the dam since then. And much has flown over the water.

Our Lend Lease material has gone overseas in ever increasing and ever more decisive quantities. And many thousands of Americans have travelled to distant theatres of war -- including, I am happy to say, myself.

As you desired,
Two years ago I endeavored to paint a picture of what America faced in its determination to become the arsenal of democracy -- in work, *in fighting,* in taxes, in personal sacrifice of all kinds. For America was determined even then to play its full part, as we then saw it, in helping to save civilization from the barbarians who would disrupt and destroy it.

Now
~~Two years ago~~, I said to you that "Never in all our history, have Americans faced a job so well worth while". Today we know that the American people -- one hundred and thirty millions of them -- *were ready and willing* ~~have faced~~ that historic job; and they are performing it courageously and skilfully and successfully.



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SECOND DRAFT

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*Last 2 weeks I made a tour of inspection through
Only a few months ago I travelled ~~through~~ this country;*

and I reported my observations of many of our war plants and army camps and naval training stations and flying fields. I saw that American men and women - management and labor alike - were doing the job of production. I saw that American soldiers and sailors and fliers were doing the job of training for the fighting which lay ahead.

And now I have just returned from one of the fronts ^{gravel} where the production made in American factories and the military training received in American camps have been put into actual service in combat against the enemy. I have seen our troops in the field. I have inspected their equipment. I have talked, and laughed, and eaten with them.

And I can tell you that our men in the field are worthy of the highest hopes that we have held for them -- the greatest faith that we have placed in them. And that applies equally to the men of our Navy, without whom no American Expeditionary Force could land safely on foreign shores; ^{for it officers as well} and to the men of our Merchant Marine who carry the essential supplies without which neither ourselves nor our Allies could continue the battle.



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SECOND DRAFT

- 3 -

No American can look at these men -- soldiers or sailors -- without great emotion, great pride, and a very deep sense of our responsibility to them. It is the solemn obligation of us here at home to see to it that this nation is worthy of its fighting men, and that the peace for which they ^{are fighting} have fought, and for which many of them shall have given their lives, is a real peace, a lasting peace, and not merely another false armistice.

One of the most complex and most vital of the achievements of our army in North Africa has been the establishment of the service of supply. ^{service} This requires the ability to get the right kinds and quantities of material to the right places at the right time. Of course there are ways in which improvements can and will be made -- like delays in the mail, for example. But looking at the whole tremendous task of keeping our troops supplied, over the long sea-lanes, through the gauntlet of U-boats, we may be very well satisfied with the way this difficult, dangerous, essential job is being done.

What impressed me most in talking with our men was the repeated proof that here is a real army of democracy. Those in foreign lands who have an opportunity to observe the men of our armed forces will know that our theories of freedom and equal rights are not mere words in ancient documents; they are expressed in living terms by our people.



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SECOND DRAFT

- 4 -

In every battalion -- in every ship's crew -- you will find every type and kind of American citizen, representing every occupation, every section, every race, every political point of view.

Ask these men what they are fighting for, and you will get a seemingly wide variety of answers.

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

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

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

And a fourth will
Another says he is fighting in this world war so that his children will not have to fight in another world war.

But all the different answers really add up to the same thing: every American fights for freedom, and he knows that his own, personal freedom is dependent upon the freedom of his neighbors.

Today, the whole world is one neighborhood. That is why this war is global in its extent. That is why this war involves the lives and the liberties of the entire human race.



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SECOND DRAFT

- 5 -

Many things were done at Casablanca; and many decisions were made. The American people of course realize why these decisions cannot be disclosed -- yet. They will be disclosed ^{in action rather than in} ~~and not in any~~ _A same words ^{when} ~~if~~ when the enemy is given the full violent impact of the various military ^{operations} ~~actions~~ that we and our fighting Allies have planned. We have agreed upon a continuous, progressive offensive warfare with the initiative maintained in the hands of the United Nations. ^P There is some very tough fighting ahead of us, on land, on sea, and in the air. But throughout this fighting it will be the United Nations who will determine the times and places of attack and the objectives to be reached.

Those points of attack and objectives are by no means limited to any one theatre of war -- ^{of} ~~any~~ _A of any one continent or ocean. Before this year is out, it will be written in history that the Casablanca Conference produced a wide variety of bad news for our enemies -- for the Nazis and the Fascists -- and the Japanese.

Both Mr. Churchill and I regretted that it was not possible to have Mr. Stalin and the Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek as fellow participants in this conference.



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SECOND DRAFT

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Aside from the difficulties of geography, there were the extremely important facts that Russia is not at war with Japan, and China is not in a position to wage war against Germany and Italy.

Lacking their actual presence, we kept them constantly advised of the progress of our discussions -- and I can safely say to you that there is no substantial disagreement among the four of us.

It is important to remember that massive land operations over such great areas as those in Russia and China can be planned only on the actual scene. British and American planning in this stage of the war must be concerned primarily with the disposition of weapons and supplies, the methods of delivery, the securing of all the long supply routes, and with actual military operations in those strategic areas which we can reach with our own forces.

There is, however, an over-all United Nations planning which can be done and is being done. That is largely a matter of timing -- of coordinated offensives --to hit our enemy from so many different directions that he never knows which is his front and which is his rear.

Today our enemies are in the position of trapped gangsters, with the forces of law and order, the forces of avenging justice, closing in on them from all sides.



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- 1 -

The members of our armed forces in distant places are apt to get exaggerated reports and rumors of the extent of the complaining that goes on because of rationing and other relatively minor hardships. *Due to the fact* They hear ~~untrue~~ *wild rumors* reports about the extent of strikes in war industries -- and about partisan political quarrels here in Washington and in the various states -- and about ~~disputes~~ *such* disputes between ourselves and our Allies.

Fortunately, we were able to give assurance that most of these reports are exaggerated. But -- we here at home had better be very sure that we are not failing our men in the ^{overseas} ~~front~~ ^{Philippine front and elsewhere} in any way.

Our troops know that the few selfish people who attempt to cheat or chisel on rationing are letting our country down in this war.

Our troops know that ~~the~~ ^{the} labor leaders who placed ~~their~~ ^{his} own personal ambition and greed above the national interest ^{and} ~~are~~ ^{are} letting our country down in this war.



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A-1

- further

which they hope for,

I ~~learn~~ days of victory, and as
a prelude to victory, the Nazi propaganda
machine ~~was~~ tried to apply to
the "Hitler Youth" their ~~old~~ ^{new}
~~successful~~ ^{new} "Hitler Youth Camps".
Successful ~~was~~ applied the old trick
of ~~their old~~ ^{new} ~~trick~~ of
"wide and narrow". ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~tried~~
it a ~~Prussian~~ ^{and English} ~~Russian~~ ^{trick} ~~album~~ ^{trick}, ~~then~~ ^{then} ~~trick~~.

as to be dinged into making "deals" at the expense of our allies
of course, the sole purpose of such deals would be to save
the skins of the criminals who are responsible for this
war and for all the misery and ruination that it has caused.

consequences ^{the} To these parading, desperate attempts to dilage
day - all the United Nations say - the
only terms on which we shall deal
with any ~~other~~ ^{government or any organization} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{persons}
= "Unconditional Surrender". This means
no harm to the ^{common} people of the Axis
nations. But does it save ~~us~~
Bernhard + end. It takes in the fall
for this guilty, historic leaders.

(A) - 2

The Nazis must be frank
indeed if they ^{believe} ~~think~~ that ~~now~~ ~~these~~
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 invader - and the
genius with which ^{they} ~~they~~ ^{their military action} have been directed
and led - these achievements speak for
themselves. But 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. And never
before have I been more sure that ~~Russia~~
after this war Russia will stand with
the rest of the United Nations in the
securing of a peace that is based on free,
democratic principles.

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(A)-3

we have made many promises in this war, and some of them have taken a long time in fulfillment. Indeed, our enemies have claimed in the past that America would never contribute anything to this war but promises. However, as time has passed, we have made good on all that we promised. ~~we have good reason to believe that the Allies~~

Of all our allies, the one nation that has had to display the utmost in patience is China. The Chinese people have had to fight on, bearing of our vast production, and knowing that it was going to Russia ^{a corporation} and Britain and Africa while only small amounts of weapons and munitions reached them. A (B)

Tonight, I can say ^{with confidence} ~~with certainty~~ to the Chinese people that our promises to them are going to be made good. We have advised the Generalissimo of a substantial and immediate increase in the flow of ^{aid} ~~supplies~~ to China. Within the next few months the whole picture of the war on the continent of Asia will be changed - and that change will not be healthy for the Japanese.

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(B)

The Generalissimo & the Chinese
people understand why we have not
sent more; they know what the direct
insuperable difficulties are which
stand in the way. And they know
what is being done to overcome those
obstacles.



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SECOND DRAFT

These are things that you cannot fail to observe when you visit American troops who are within range of - The guns and planes of the enemy.

Our troops know that any one among us who seeks to divide us from our Allies ^{create} and ~~the~~ rifts in the solid front of the United Nations, is letting our country down in this war.

The Nazis and the Fascists and the Japanese are trying hard to make American fighting men believe that American civilians are not playing their full part in the great common task. Let us be careful not to provide our enemies with ammunition for this propaganda.

INSEKTS

(A)

~~Mile us at Casablanca were planning the steps that, together with the heroic Russian achievements, will bring the inevitable defeat of the Nazis in Europe.~~
Today, our ^{are assembling} ~~forces~~ ^{are assembling} in Tunisia for the major battle which is to come.

Important French troops are joining us ^{for} that battle. They operate under General Giraud in Tunis, and under General de Gaulle in those areas where the magnificent British Eighth Army ^{continues its advance.} ~~thousands~~ ^{Many} thousands of other young Frenchmen, in France and throughout the free world, are eager to join the United Nations forces in restoring their country's freedom.

Once again is renewed the old ties of comradeship in arms and common ideals of human freedom, which have been continuous and unbroken between us and France since the birth of this Nation.



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From the Papers of
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SECOND DRAFT

- 1 -

SECOND DRAFT
In 1789, The year when French freedom
the union between the two peoples had begun with
was born.

the very origins of their democracy, and given eloquent expression by

the Archbishop of Bordeaux in his report to the French Constituent Assembly ~~in 1800~~ said:

~~"It was proper," said the French archbishop, "that this~~

~~able thought of human freedom, conceived in another hemisphere;~~

~~should, by preference, be transplanted among ourselves first.~~

"We have participated in the events that have given to America her freedom; she now shows us on what principles we must base the preservation of our own. The New World, to whom in the past we only brought shackles, is now showing us how to prevent our bearing them ourselves."

This unalterable
It is for ~~this same~~ principle that Frenchmen fought in

this country in 1776, that our men fought at Chateau Thierry and in

the Argonne. It is for ^{this} ~~the~~ principle that Americans, British and

French are now fighting side by side -- ~~and~~ again on French soil -- and eventually on the soil of our enemies.

~~It is the view of doctors that it would now be possible~~

In Casablanca, Mr. Churchill and I promised General Giraud and de Gaulle ~~to equip the French army~~ ^{to equip the French army}. This we shall do and do promptly.

That we should help in equipping the
French fighting forces which are now being
raised and organized.

(A) - p. 9

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



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SECOND DRAFT

- 10 -

we recognize that
The army of the French democracy now recreated in North Africa
is the army of the French people. [It will remain the army of the French
people, so that France, which fell under overwhelming odds and treacherous
attack, shall again take her rightful place among the free and victorious
nations of the world.]

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 assurance that the sacred rights of these people
as well as the material possessions which have been
snatched from them.

With the people of France rests the French sovereignty. Its
expression has been temporarily suspended by German occupation. But,
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.

Neither *nor General* *is*
General Giraud *de Gaulle* *interested*
or potential government for France ~~in the future~~ in the future. Their
interest now is entirely in the military alliance of all Frenchmen opposed
to fascism and nazism -- united in the supreme objective of throwing the
invaders
out of France. Toward that objective every possible
Allied resource will be given, so that not only France but all Europe will
be free.



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SECOND DRAFT

- 11 -

Liberation from the Axis is the first supreme task. It is
planned
a military job ~~temporarily~~ by military leaders, ~~and to be carried~~
~~out by them~~

Once that has been done the ~~present~~ temporary political
administration *throughout* *be subject*
to the ~~will~~ of ~~the French people~~ the French Colonial system will ~~be~~ *be subject*
decision The French people themselves,
to the ~~will~~ of ~~the French people~~, freed from the Nazi yoke and expressing
their democratic will in a ~~democratic~~ free election according to the
laws of the French Republic.



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SECOND DRAFT

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS' DINNER

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 building munition factories of all kinds. Even then, we were in the midst of what has become an historic job -- 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



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SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

AIRCRAFT

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 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 Boleyn 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 war.

Before it is over, many of them will have given their lives, but those men know they fight for the saving of their country against the barbarians and for a peace which will be real peace and a lasting peace and a better world for their families to live in.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

SECOND DRAFT

- 3 -

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, 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 and to have for himself and the things they need and the fourth will say he is fighting in this world



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SECOND DRAFT

war so that his children will not have to fight in another world war.

But all these answers really add up to the same thing: he fights for freedom and he knows that his own personal freedom and the freedom of his children 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 is global in its extent. It involves 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.



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INERT A

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 Sicily. 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 army and the long 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



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INSERT A

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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, as calmly and as courageously as our men are facing it on the battlefield itself. The enemy has ~~strong~~ strong 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.

These 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 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.



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7
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INSERT A

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~~ ^{made} ~~notable~~ ^{fine} victories. That battle started in the Colonons and New Guinea last summer. It has demonstrated our superior power in ships and 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 ~~ixxxx~~ important jumping off places for further attacks, is due in the main to the fact that in hand to hand fighting our men and Australian men have proved their ability to beat the Japs.

Let the Nazis in Tunisia take note of that.

However, it is obvious that it would take years to bring Japan to final defeat if we were content merely to inch our way forward from island to island across the vast expanse of the Pacific.



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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 her perilous lines of supply.



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INSERT 1

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 riding for the sake of the common cause.



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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 also know that even if you piled a lot of molehills of deception one on top of the other, it still would not make a mountain sufficient to convince them. They know that this country is behind everyone of our boys in uniform.



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INSERT 2

One important fact was made clear at Casablanca: that all Frenchmen outside of France are uniting in one ^{Permanent} objective -- the complete liberation of France and of the people still in France ^{again in common justice} who suffer today the torture of the Nazi yoke. As each day passes a spirit of unselfishness and unity is uniting more ^{securely} ^{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



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EXHIBIT 2

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 snatched from 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



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INSERT 2

-2-

Atlantic Charter does not carry with it the right to commit
wholesale murder of the right to ^{this on purpose of} [try to] make slaves of ~~all~~
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 Lavalis in power anywhere on this
earth.



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INSERT 3

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 we may be so gullible and so forgetful as to be duped into making "deals" at the expense of our Allies.

To 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 means 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 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. 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.



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INSERT 3

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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. And never before have I been more sure that after this war 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.



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From the Papers of

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SECOND 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 ^{zeal} ~~ourage~~ 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.



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SECOND DRAFT

-2-

Last September I made a tour of inspection through this country. I saw war plants ~~building~~ ^{building} 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, and some of the Nation's girls -- in Trinidad, in Belen 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.



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SECOND DRAFT

-3-

I have seen our men and ^{and few 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



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SECOND DRAFT

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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 [Southwest] Pacific, the mainland 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 [deeply moved and] very ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ proud of the great job they are doing in helping to strengthen the vise that is ^{fastening the world} slowly but surely closing in on 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 ^{origin, every religion,} every political viewpoint.

Ask them what they are fighting for and you will get that, 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.



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SECOND DRAFT

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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 things: every American fights for freedom and he knows that 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.

[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



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SECOND DRAFT

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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 ^{are} 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 ^{were} were bitter over such minor hardships as rationing and priorities; and especially that there ^{were} 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 ^{are} were 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.



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SECOND DRAFT

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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 ~~own~~ ^{rather} 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 these who are 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 skeptics -- these men of little faith -- there comes to my mind an old word in our language -- the word "pettifoggers".



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SECOND DRAFT

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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



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who have made a remarkable march all the way across the Sahara Desert under General Le ~~Clair~~^{CLAIR}, 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 [own] soldiers in Tunisia are [extremely] 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.



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These 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 important 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.



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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 ^{freely} choice, and of their own choice only, 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.



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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 Loyalists 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.



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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. ^{and not before} Here again the enemy must be driven into the sea while our naval and air forces are pounding him from other directions and cutting his perilous lines of supply.

The discussions which have been held in Chungking with the Generalissimo, by Field Marshall Dill 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



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SECOND DRAFT

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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.



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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 down, 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 light us down in honor. We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the Twentieth Century,



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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.



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SECRET
Speech 2/4/42

THIRD DRAFT

It has been nearly two years since I have attended a dinner of the White House Press Correspondent's Association. The last time I spoke here was in March, 1941, just after the enactment of the Lend Lease Law.

A great deal of water has flowed over the dam since then.
200 million...
And much has flown over the water.

Our Lend Lease material has gone overseas in ever increasing and ever more decisive quantities. And many thousands of Americans have travelled to distant theatres of war -- including, I am happy to say, myself.

Two years ago, at your dinner, I endeavored to paint a picture of what America faced in its determination to become the arsenal of democracy -- in work, in production, in taxes, in personal sacrifice of all kinds. For America was determined even then to play its full part, as we then saw it, in helping to save civilization from the barbarians who would disrupt and destroy it.

I said to you then that "Never in all our history, have Americans faced a job so well worth while". Today we know that the American people -- one hundred and thirty millions of them -- were ready and willing to face that historic job; and they are performing it courageously and skilfully and successfully.



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THIRD DRAFT

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Last September I made a tour of inspection through this country; and I reported my observations of many of our war plants and army camps and naval training stations and flying fields. I saw that American men and women - management and labor alike - were doing the job of production. I saw that American soldiers and sailors and fliers were doing the job of training for the fighting which lay ahead.

And now I have just returned from one of the fronts overseas where the production made in American factories and the military training received in American camps have been put into actual service in combat against the enemy. I have seen our troops in the field. I have inspected their equipment. I have talked, and laughed, and eaten with them.

And I can tell you that our men in the field are worthy of the highest hopes that we have held for them -- the greatest faith that we have placed in them. And that applies equally to the men of our Navy, without whom no American Expeditionary Force could land safely on foreign shores. And it applies as well to the men of our Merchant Marine who carry the essential supplies without which neither ourselves nor our Allies could continue the battle.



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THIRD DRAFT

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No American can look at these men -- soldiers or sailors -- without great emotion, great pride, and a very deep sense of our responsibility to them. It is the solemn obligation of us here at home to see to it that this nation is worthy of its fighting men, and that the peace for which they are fighting and for which many of them shall have given their lives, is a real peace, a lasting peace, and not merely another false armistice.

One of the most complex and most vital of the achievements of our army in North Africa has been the establishment of the service of supply. This service requires the ability to get the right kinds and quantities of material to the right places at the right time. Of course there are ways in which improvements can and will be made -- like delays in the mail, for example. But looking at the whole tremendous task of keeping our troops supplied, over the long sea-lanes, through the gauntlet of U-boats, we may be very well satisfied with the way this difficult, dangerous, essential job is being done.

What impressed me most in talking with our men was the repeated proof that here is a real army of democracy. Those in foreign lands who have an opportunity to observe themen of our armed forces will know that our theories of freedom and equal rights are not mere words in ancient documents: they are expressed in living terms by our people.



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THIRD DRAFT

- 4 -

In every battalion -- in every ship's crew -- you will find every type and kind of American citizen, representing every occupation, every section, every race, every political point of view.

Ask these men what they are fighting for, and you will get a seemingly 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 says he is fighting because he never wants to see the Nazi swastika flying over the First Baptist Church on Elm Street.

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

And a fourth will say he is fighting in this world war so that his children will not have to fight in another world war.

But all the different answers really add up to the same thing: every American fights for freedom, and he knows that his own, personal freedom is dependent upon the freedom of his neighbors.

Today, the whole world is one neighborhood. That is why this war is global in its extent. That is why this war involves the lives and the liberties of the entire human race.



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THIRD DRAFT

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Many things were done at Casablanca; and many decisions were made. The American people of course realize why these decisions cannot be disclosed -- yet. They will be disclosed in actions rather than in words, when the enemy is given the full violent impact of the various military operations that we and our fighting Allies have planned. We have agreed upon a continuous, progressive offensive warfare, with the initiative maintained in the hands of the United Nations.

There is some very tough fighting ahead of us, on land, on sea, and in the air. But throughout this fighting it will be the United Nations who will determine the times and places of attack and the objectives to be reached.

Those points of attack and objectives are by no means limited to any one theatre of war -- or to any one continent or ocean. Before this year is out, it will be written in history that the Casablanca Conference produced a wide variety of bad news for our enemies -- for the Nazis and the Fascists -- and the Japanese.

But Mr. Churchill and I regretted that it was not possible to have Mr. Stalin and the Generalissimo Chiang Kai Chak as fellow participants in this conference.



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THIRD DRAFT

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Aside from the difficulties of geography, there were the extremely important facts that Russia is not at war with Japan, and that China is not in a position to wage war against Germany and Italy.

Lacking their actual presence, we kept them constantly advised of the progress of our discussions -- and I can safely say to you that there is no substantial disagreement among the four of us.

It is important to remember that massive land operations over such great areas as those in Russia and China can be planned only on the actual scene. British and American planning in this stage of the war must be concerned primarily with the disposition of weapons and supplies, the methods of delivery, the securing of all the long supply routes, and with actual military operations in those strategic areas which we can reach with our own forces.

There is, however, an over-all United Nations planning which can be done and is being done. That is largely a matter of timing -- of coordinated offensives -- to hit our enemy from so many different directions that he never knows which is his front and which is his rear.

Today our enemies are in the position of trapped gangsters, with the forces of law and order, the forces of avenging justice, closing in on them from all sides.



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THIRD DRAFT

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There was one frequent topic of conversation in Casablanca which was not included in the formal conference. It was -- as you and I say in our press conferences -- completely off the record. It took the form of repeated questions by our soldiers and sailors to members of my party concerning the state of the home front.

The members of our armed forces in distant places are apt to get exaggerated reports and rumors of the extent of the complaining that goes on here at home because of rationing and priorities and other relatively minor hardships. They hear wild rumors about the extent of strikes in war industries -- and about partisan political quarrels here in Washington and in the various states -- and about fancied disputes between ourselves and our Allies.

Fortunately, we were able to give assurance that most of these reports are exaggerated. But -- we here at home had better be very sure that we are not failing our men overseas in the performance of our own duties.

Our troops know that the few selfish people who attempt to cheat or chisel on rationing are letting our country down in this war.

Our troops know that any labor leader who places his own personal ambition and greed above the national interest is letting our country down in this war.



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THIRD DRAFT

- 8 -

Our troops know that any one among us who seeks to divide us from our Allies and create rifts in the solid front of the United Nations, is letting our country down in this war.

These are things that you cannot fail to observe when you visit American troops who are ^{71141 10} ~~within range~~ of the guns and planes of the enemy.

The Nazis and the Fascists and the Japanese are trying hard to make American fighting men believe that American civilians are not playing their full part in the great common task. Let us be careful not to provide our enemies with ammunition for this propaganda.

In days of victory, and as a prelude to further victory, the Nazi propaganda machine successfully applied the old trick "divide and conquer".

Now in days of defeat, and in an attempt to ward off disaster, the same propaganda machine is trying the same trick again in order to divide us. 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 we may be so gullible and so forgetful as to be duped into making "deals" at the expense of our Allies. Of course, the sole purpose of such deals which they hope for would be to save the skins of the criminals who are responsible for this war and for all the misery and ruination that it has caused.



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THIRD DRAFT

- 2 -

To 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 means 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 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 -- these achievements speak for themselves. But 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. And never before have I been more sure that after this war Russia will stand with the rest of the United Nations in the securing of a peace that is based on free, democratic principles.



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We have made many promises in this war, and some of them have taken a long time in fulfillment. Indeed, our enemies have claimed in the past that America would never contribute anything to this war but promises. However, as time has passed, we have made good on all that we promised.

Of all our Allies, the one nation that has had to display the utmost in patience is China. The Chinese people have had to fight on, bearing of our vast production, and knowing that it was going to Russia and Britain and Africa while only a comparatively small amounts of weapons and munitions reached them. The Generalissimo and the Chinese people understand why we have not sent more; they know what the almost insuperable difficulties are which stand in the way. And they know what is being done to overcome those obstacles.

Tonight, I can say with confidence to the Chinese people that our promises to them are going to be made good. We have advised the Generalissimo of a substantial and immediate increase in the flow of aid to China. Within the next few months the whole situation of the war on the Continent of Asia will be changed -- and that change will not be healthy for the Japanese.



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THIRD DRAFT

- 11 -

Today, our forces are assembling in Tunisia for the major battle which is to come.

Important French troops are joining us for that battle. They operate under General Giraud in Tunis, and under General de Gaulle in those areas where the magnificent British Eighth Army continues its advance. Many thousands of other young Frenchmen, in France and throughout the free world, are eager to join the United Nations forces in restoring their country's freedom.

^{We have}
~~Once again~~ renewed the old ties of comradeship in arms and common ideals of human freedom, which have been continuous and unbroken between us and France since the birth of this Nation.

In 1789, the year when French freedom was born, the Archbishop of Bordeaux in his report to the French Constituent Assembly, said:

"We have participated in the events that have given to America her Freedom; she now shows us on what principles we must base the preservation of our own. The New World, to whom in the past we brought only shackles, is now showing us how to prevent our bearing them ourselves."



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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.

In Casablanca, Mr. Churchill and I promised General Giraud and General de Gaulle that we should help in equipping the French fighting forces which are now being raised and organized. This we shall do and do promptly.

We recognize that the army of the French democracy now recreated in North Africa is the army of the French people.

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 snatched from them.



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With the people of France rests the French sovereignty. Its expression has been temporarily suspended by German occupation. But, 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.

Neither General Giraud nor General de Gaulle is interested in any provisional or potential government for France in the future. Their interest now is entirely in the military alliance of all Frenchmen opposed to fascism and nazism -- united in the supreme objective of throwing the invaders out of France. Toward that objective every possible Allied resource will be given, so that not only France but all Europe will be free.

Liberation from the Axis is the first supreme task. It is a military job planned by military leaders.

Once that has been done the temporary political administrations throughout the French Colonial system will be subject to the decision of the French people themselves, freed from the Nazi yoke and expressing their democratic will in a free election according to the laws of the French Republic.



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Samuel I. Rosenzweig

Today we celebrate 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 down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation."

The fires that burned when those words were spoken - the fires of Bull Run and Antietam - are now blazing across the whole horizon of mankind - from Kharkov to Kunming - from the Solomon Islands to Tunisia - 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 - and to destroy the forces of ignorance, intolerance, poverty and war.



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From the Papers of
SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

THIRD DRAFT

-2-

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 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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

THIRD DRAFT

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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.



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From the Papers of
SIR JOHN L. BODENHAM

THIRD DRAFT

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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, and our forces in Iceland and Britain and Central Africa and the wide East and Indian 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 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 type and 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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

THIRD DRAFT

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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 or more 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.



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THIRD DRAFT

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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 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 ~~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.



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THIRD DRAFT

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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 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 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 these 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.



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SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

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".

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 ^{that} ~~the~~ last bridgehead in Africa, to prevent us from gaining access to the Straits that lead to Nazi-dominated



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THIRD DRAFT

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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 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. And all these forces are commanded by our General Eisenhower. I spent many hours in Casablanca with this young General of our forces. 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



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THIRD DRAFT

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confidence in his leadership. Very high tribute was paid to the qualities of General Eisenhower as a soldier when the British Government, 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 Light 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



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THIRD DRAFT

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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.



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THIRD DRAFT

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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 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



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THIRD DRAFT

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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 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 Lavalis in power anywhere on this earth.



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THIRD DRAFT

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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.



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The discussions at Casablanca have been continued in Chungking with the Generalissimo by General Arnold and 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 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



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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.

You can be quite sure that as a result of our conversations at Casablanca, if Japan should fall before Germany, the united 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 of one mind on the prosecution of the war to a complete victory all over the world, the Prime Minister wished to make a solemn formal statement that if Germany cracks up before Japan, all



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THIRD DRAFT

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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 enemies: it is a policy of fighting and ending the war as forcibly and as quickly as we can on the uncompromising terms of unconditional surrender.



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THIRD DRAFT

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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 ~~to~~ 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 Kunning -- 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.



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THIRD DRAFT

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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.



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WAR DEPARTMENT
BUREAU OF PUBLIC RELATIONS
WASHINGTON

February 11, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR JUDGE ROSEMAN:

All of the information relative to this meeting is contained in the attached memorandum.

I believe it may be further developed along the line of acquainting eastern leaders with the plans made at Casablanca together with the coordination of offensive plans in that theater. Details further than those contained in the memorandum would be hazardous.

A. D. Series
A. D. SERIES,
Major General, U.S.A.,
Director.

Encl.

lcc



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From the papers of
Samuel I. Roseman



WAR DEPARTMENT
Bureau of Public Relations
PRESS BRANCH
Tel. - RM 6700
Rm. 3425 and 3770

February 11, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESS:

Field Marshal Sir John Dill, British Military Member of the Joint Staff Mission, Washington, Lieutenant General H. H. Arnold, Commanding General, Army Air Forces, and British Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell, all of whom are now in India, have made the following announcement today:

Field Marshal Sir John Dill, British Military Member of Joint Staff Mission, Washington, representing the Prime Minister of Great Britain and Lieutenant General H. H. Arnold representing the President of the United States, have concluded a series of conferences, with Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek in Chungking, and with Field Marshal Sir A. Wavell in India.

Immediately following the conference between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill at Casablanca and Joint Staff discussions which took place there, Field Marshal Sir John Dill and Lieutenant General Arnold accompanied by Brigadier General A. C. Wedemeyer, representing General Marshall, Chief of the General Staff, United States Forces came out East to acquaint the Generalissimo and Commander-in-Chief of India with plans made, and their implications for united war effort against Japan. ^{Condy Gen. U.S. Forces} Lieutenant General J. W. Stilwell, ~~Chief of~~ ^{in China, Burma, and India} General Staff in India, Generalissimo and General Ho Ying Chen, Secretary of War, and Chief of General Staff of the Chinese Forces took part in conferences and accompanied Lieutenant General H. H. Arnold and Field Marshal Sir John Dill on their return to India, where final conferences were held with Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell.

Complete accord was reached in coordination of offensive plans and signifying the united determination of powers concerned to insure full cooperation and mutual assistance in all operations against the Japanese. The fullest possible coordination will be insured by subsequent conferences between General MacArthur and Field Marshal Wavell.



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Today we celebrate the anniversary of the birth of a great, plain American who worked and who fought and who died that ~~government~~ ^{the} people, ~~by the people, for the people~~ ^{shall not perish from the earth} Today, ^{we} the living memory of Abraham Lincoln is honored and cherished by all Americans, wherever they may be, and throughout the British Commonwealth, and the Soviet Union, and the Republic of China, and in every land on earth where ^{people} men love freedom and will give their lives for freedom. President ^{in 1863} Lincoln said, "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."

The fires that burned ~~in~~ when those words were spoken - the fires of Bull Run and Antietam - are now blazing across the whole horizon of mankind - from Kharkov to Kunming - from the Solomon Islands to Tunisia - from Berlin to Tokyo.

Again - we cannot escape history. Again, this Nation, under God, rededicates itself to the principles upon which it was founded, and by which it has grown and come to greatness. ^{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 - and to destroy the forces of ~~ignorance, intolerance, poverty and war.~~ ^{ignorance, intolerance, poverty and war.}}

*Salut à
Pommet*

.....

While we were planning at Casablanca the steps that, together with the heroic Russian armies, will bring the inevitable defeat of the Nazis in Europe, a very stiff fight now approaching its climax was raging at the other end of French North Africa.

Important French forces are there, bravely fighting with us; they operate under General Giraud in Tunis, and under General de Gaulle in areas where the intrepid British Eighth Army is advancing towards Tunisia from Libya. Behind these French forces stand millions of other young Frenchmen, passionately eager to join them in restoring their country's freedom.

Thus once again we renew the old ties of comradeship in arms and common ideals of human freedom which have been continuous and unbroken with France since the birth of this Nation.

This common union between the two peoples, rooted in the very rigors of their democratic institutions, was given eloquent expression by the Archbishop of Brocseux, that magnificent town now under the Nazi heel, in his report to the French Constituent Assembly in 1789:

- "It was proper", said the French Archbishop, "that this noble thought of human freedom, conceived in another hemisphere, should, by preference, be transmitted among ourselves first; we have participated in the events that have given to America her freedom; she now shows us on what principles we must base the preservation of our own. The New World, to whom in the past we only brought shackles, is now showing us how to prevent our bearing them ourselves."

In these historic years of 1776 and 1793 the fundamental principles guiding our democracies were established in our two countries. The cornerstone of our whole democratic edifice was then laid down--namely, that from the people and the people alone, flows the authority of government.

At Williamsburg in June, 1776, the Virginia Bill of Rights prescribed that--

"All authority belongs to the people, and in consequence emanates from them".

In a glorious ode from Paris in June, 1793, the National Convention ~~proclaimed~~ *proclaimed* in the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man that--

X (Article 2)



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- 2 -

"The sovereignty resides in the people--sovereignty is indivisible, inalienable and imprescriptible."

It is for these common principles that Frenchmen fought in this country in 1776, that our men fought at Chateau Thierry and in the Ardennes. It is for these principles that Americans, British and French are now fighting, and this time again on French soil.

It is the turn of destiny that it should now be America's lot to help in equipping the French army, as I promised General Giraud in Casablanca, this we shall do and do promptly.

The army of the French democracy now recreated in North Africa is, and will remain, the army of the French people, so that France, who in 1940 fell under overwhelming odds and treacherous attack, shall again take her rightful place among us.

Together with the French army the Allied armies will once more march under the Arc de Triomphe. France, confidence restored in her heart, her sons back from Germany, will again be among us as one of the Victorious Nations of the war.

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 in the wake of the American flag comes the assurance that the sacred rights of man be restored.

With the people of France rests the French sovereignty. Only its expression has been suspended by German occupation, which has now spread all over her once free and happy land.

According to their tradition of liberty and equality Frenchmen will be represented, once the triumphant armies of the United Nations have expelled the common enemy, by a government of their own choice, and of their own choice only.

I am sure that I formulate the ardent wish of my American fellow citizens ~~and~~ *as well as that* of the people of France when I say that the necessary conditions to allow the free expression of French popular decision should be safeguarded. I trust that wish when I say that these conditions will be safeguarded, and that the principles laid down in 1776 and 1793 will be preserved.

.....



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and PARK, N. Y.

FROM THE ELEGY OF
SAMUEL I. ROOSEVELT

Handwritten:
Nash
June 1944

.....

While we were planning at Casablanca the steps that, together with the heroic Russian armies, will bring the inevitable defeat of the Nazis in Europe, a very stiff fight now approaching its climax was raging at the other end of French North Africa.

Important French forces are there, bravely fighting with us; they operate under General Giraud in Tunis, and under General de Gaulle in areas where the intrepid British Eighth Army is advancing towards Tunisia from Libya. Behind these French forces stand millions of other young Frenchmen, passionately eager to join them in restoring their country's freedom.

Thus once again we renew the old ties of comradeship in arms and common ideals of human freedom which have been continuous and unbroken with France since the birth of this Nation.

This common union between the two peoples, rooted in the very origins of their democratic institutions, was given eloquent expression by the Archbishop of Brocseaux, that magnificent town now under the Nazi heel, in his report to the French Constituent Assembly in 1789:

- * "It was proper", said the French Archbishop, "that this noble thought of human freedom, conceived in another hemisphere, should, by preference, be transplanted among ourselves first. We have participated in the events that have given to America her freedom; she now shows us on what principles we must base the preservation of our own. The New World, to whom in the past we only brought shadows, is now showing us how to prevent our bearing them ourselves."

In these historic years of 1776 and 1793 the fundamental principles guiding our democracies were established in our two countries. The cornerstone of our whole democratic edifice was then laid down—namely, that from the people and the people alone, flows the authority of government.

At Williamsburg in June, 1776, the Virginia Bill of Rights^x prescribed that—

"All authority belongs to the people, and in consequence emanates from them".

In a glorious echo from Paris in June, 1793, the National Convention enacts in the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man that—

^x 1776



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"The sovereignty resides in the people--sovereignty is indivisible, inexpressible and inalienable."

It is for these common principles that Frenchmen fought in this country in 1776, that our men fought at Chateau Thierry and in the Ardennes. It is for these principles that Americans, British and French are now fighting, and this time again on French soil.

It is the turn of destiny that it should now be America's lot to help in equipping the French army; as I promised General Giraud in Casablanca, this we shall do and do promptly.

The army of the French democracy, now recreated in North Africa is, and will remain, the army of the French people, so that France, who in 1940 fell under overwhelming odds and treacherous attack, shall again take her rightful place among us.

Together with the French army the Allied armies will once more march under the Arc de Triomphe. France, confidence restored in her heart, her suns back from Germany, will again be among us as one of the Victorious Nations of the war.

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 in the wake of the American flag comes the assurance that the sacred rights of the people of Europe will be restored.

With the people of France rests the French sovereignty. Only its expression has been suspended by German occupation, which has now spread all over her once free and happy land.

According to their tradition of liberty and equality Frenchmen will be represented, once the triumphant armies of the United Nations have expelled the common enemy, by a government of their own choice, and of their own choice only.

I am sure that I formulate the ardent wish of my American fellow citizens and of the people of France when I say that the necessary conditions to allow the free expression of French popular decision should be safeguarded. I trust that since when I say that I know that these conditions will be safeguarded, and that the principles laid down in 1776 and 1793 will be preserved.

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ANNEX

French text of the declaration of the Archbishop
of Bordeaux, reporting before the "Comite de Constitution" on
July 27th, 1793:

"Cette noble idee, conque dans un autre hemisphere,
devant de preference se transplanter d'abord parai nous.
Nous avons concouru aux evenements qui ont rendu a
l'Amerique septentrionale sa liberte: elle nous montre
sur quels principes nous devons appuyer la conserva-
tion de la notre; et c'est le Nouveau-Monde, ou nous
n'avions autrefois apporte que des fers, qui nous
apprend aujourd'hui a nous garantir du malheur d'en
porter nous-memes."

French text of Article 25 of the "Declaration
des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen", proclaimed by the National
Convention on June 23rd, 1793 and published as the preamble to
the Constitution of the 24th of June, 1793:

"Art. 25. La souverainete reside dans le peuple.
Elle est une et indivisible, imprescriptible et
inalienable."



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