
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
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Radio Address to the Home Front

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Shuft

July 11, 1943.

REMARKS DICTATED BY THE PRESIDENT TO BE USED IN RADIO ADDRESS

A friend, whom I had not seen in several months, came in the other day and said to me - "Mister President, I have been analyzing public opinion in different parts of the country and I have a theory which I believe to be sound. It is this:

"Prior to December 7, 1941, the average American was doing a lot of wishful thinking. He was confused by a small and noisy minority which insisted that what was going on -- a great war outside our borders -- had little to do with the health and happiness of the United States; he insisted that the United States was in no danger -- that the world convulsion did not greatly concern us -- that we were in no danger of attack -- that all other nations were trying to embroil us for the sake of their individual advantage -- and, finally, that the Government of the United States was made up of a bunch of crackpots, wild-eyed dreamers, communists and incompetents. Most of the people of our country took the word of its President that the United

States, whether it liked it or not, could be involved in the war; that the great expenditures for Army, Navy and Air were justified; that the American policy was consistent in its opposition to Nazi or Fascist domination of the world -- and, finally, that the ending of the terrible prostration from which the country had suffered from 1929 to 1933 had brought with it certain social gains which were wholly worthwhile even though, being new, their operation had creaked a bit in putting them into effect. "

He went on to say that the attack at Pearl Harbor had brought the country up with a round turn. The small and noisy minority had been forced into relative silence because they did not want to seem to oppose the war. As in any new situation we Americans, mostly in good faith, promptly devised happy thoughts as to just how to proceed. There was no law against amateur strategists. There was no law against making speeches as to how to organize a war government. It was all so new, and we had given so little thought to the whole picture, that the peaceful, old cracker barrel party became a madhouse.

My friend said "Here is the point I want to make. It became the easy and rather unthinking habit for a lot of people to say 'I am all for the conduct of the war but I don't like the way things are being handled domestically'. Therein lies the nub of our troubles. You cannot separate the conduct of the war from the conduct of domestic problems -- for the very simple reason that they are all tied in together and that when you hit the one you harm the other."

I had never thought of it in just that light before but it is, of course, essentially true.

War these days cannot be divided in such an easy fashion. War has to be conducted by an entire population. You cannot draw a line of demarcation between the soldier at the front and the soldier training back home. You cannot draw a line between the man or woman in uniform or the man or woman in civilian clothes. You cannot draw a line between the worker in a munition factory and the worker in a plow factory. You cannot draw a line between a worker turning out airplanes and a worker turning out copper or coal, or a worker turning out wheat or cotton or hogs. In the light of a war effort you cannot draw

a line between a trade union worker and an unorganized worker -- provided always that both of them are performing useful work.

But you can draw lots of line between the man on the team who keeps his eye on the ball and works for the victory of his team and the player who takes his eye off the ball and looks instead at the bevy of pretty girls sitting in the first row of the grandstand.

As you know, every community in the country has a certain percentage of people who are always complaining about things -- people who start their thoughts with the three words "I don't like" -- people who never see the doughnut because they are always looking at the hole in it.

It is because I have travelled a bit through the country and because I hear constantly from what the prayer books calls "all sorts and conditions of men" that I am more and more sure that the overwhelming majority of people throughout the nation are keeping their eyes on the ball, and that more and more they realize that the conduct of the war is far and away the biggest thing we have to face and that the conduct of the war necessarily covers the domestic field as well as the foreign field.

We are getting events into better focus and I think we have some reason to be proud of what this nation has really done. This is all to the good if, at the same time, people insist to themselves that we are going to keep up the good work and make the gains grow with every passing month.

In January, 1942 -- a month after Pearl Harbor -- a lot of "know-it-alls" shook their heads and said knowingly that when the President asked for _____ airplanes to be built that year and _____ tons of shipping, and full equipment to train and outfit four or five million fighting men, he was an unrealistic person. People said there were not enough shipyards or cans or factories or manpower or materials to go around. Every move -- even then -- was fought and criticized and laughed at by wiseacres or politicians.

But the nation as a whole responded -- magnificently -- and the proof of the pudding was in the eating. I do not suppose that ever before in history has such a stupendous task been accomplished in a democracy under democratic methods. Ships and tanks and planes and munitions and the training of our armed forces actually was put through with

with such good effect that by January of this year the program was enormously stepped up. The goal of the output of planes was jumped from 65,000 to 115,000. The output of merchant ships was increased from 9,000,000 tons to 18,000,000 tons, and recently to 20,000,000 tons. The goal of our Army, Navy and Air was jumped from 6,000,000 men to 10,000,000 men and women. And when it came to that terrible bugaboo of manpower the "know-it-alls" found they had forgotten to include the word "womanpower" as well, and that today in many plants we find as many women working as men. The carpers and critics wanted to know how we were doing all of this in view of their belief that we could not send men and munitions overseas because of lack of ships. ^H Yet today more than 2,000,000 Americans are in the armed forces on every continent and every ocean outside our home boundaries. And, incidentally, we have as many men overseas as we had in the first World War, with this difference. In 1917 and 1918 ~~xx~~ a very large proportion of our troops that went overseas had not completed their training and on their arrival had to go to training areas to complete their fighting availability.

In the first World War a very large part of the equipment -- guns, ammunition, planes and even clothing -- was borrowed by us from our Allies. Today every man overseas has been thoroughly trained before leaving his native soil, and every man is equipped -- fully equipped -- with materials made back home in the United States.

War concerns every citizen. The conduct of a World War means that every citizen's life will be dislocated back home, just as the normal life of the American fighting in Sicily is dislocated. If that boy over there or in the Aleutians or in the Southwest Pacific does his duty with a smile, he has a right to ask that every man and woman back home, whose lives are far less dislocated, will take that dislocation with a smile.

Draft

July 19, 1943.

DICTATED BY THE PRESIDENT TO BE INCORPORATED IN RADIO ADDRESS

Last September I assured our armed forces that we would not let them down when the war is won. I hope that the Congress will help in carrying out that assurance, because obviously the Executive Branch of the Government cannot do it without that help.

No one can tell when a return to a peace-time basis will occur, but we ought to have the plans ready instead of waiting to do a hasty and ill-considered job at the last moment.

The men in our armed services do not want or expect to return to a pampered or special privilege life when they come home. They do want a chance to pick up lost threads; they do want a chance to get started again in honest occupation; they do want assurance of opportunity to continue their education or obtain employment.

Nearly a year ago I asked the National Resources Planning Board to set up a committee to report on these problems. They have made this report and I have sent it to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House for their consideration when they reconvene in September.

It is only fair, however, that I should tell you that this planning board was recently abolished by the Congress and from now on I have no duly constituted agency in the Government which can do any over-all planning. The Senate has set up a small Senatorial Committee to make planning studies, but it is clear that all large scale planning is a full-time job requiring research of many kinds.

When the National Resources Planning Board was abolished I stated repeatedly that for common or garden efficiency there ought to be some Board, Bureau or Office for planning and program coordination in the Executive Branch of the Government, and also that I hope that the Congress will provide for a joint committee of the House and Senate with which the planning agency of the Executive Branch could cooperate on plans for full employment, security and the building up of the future America.

I still hope that the Congress will act along these lines.

The National Resources Planning Board has submitted a most interesting report relating to our returning soldiers, sailors and marines. In order to aid them in finding jobs and in making readjustment to a civilian status the report has unanimously approved recommendations for:

1. Three months' furlough at regular base pay not to exceed \$100 a month, plus family allowance.
2. After that time, if necessary, unemployment insurance for twenty-six weeks for those men who register with the United States Employment Service.
3. Special aid and counsel regarding readjustment and rehabilitation.
4. Special provision, including tuition and allowances, for those men who wish to pick up the broken threads of their education or who wish to follow some special course of training.

5. Safeguarding the rights and the credits of veterans for old-age and survivor insurance on the basis of service in the armed forces.

6. Opportunities for agricultural employment and settlement.

All of the above, while a Federal plan, calls of course for the cooperation of government and business and agriculture and, to an equal extent, the cooperation of state and local governments with the federal government.

I hope, and I think the country hopes, that the Congress will do something about this matter which so vitally affects our fighting men -- and affects, therefore, almost every home in the nation.

While I am speaking of planning, in the absence of any authorized planning agency in the Executive Branch of the Government, I want to say one word about the tendency of some people -- an indiscriminating minority -- to be penny wise and pound foolish. They are the people who now call the giving of jobs through the Works Progress Administration or the Civilian Conservation Corps or the Public Works Administration or the National Youth Administration in the early thirties a crazy, radical experiment of the New Deal. They pooh-pooh the thought that those agencies saved lives, saved homes and saved businesses when this country was just about flat on its back. Some of those who now shriek the words "communistic" and "radical" were themselves saved by Government action ten years ago.

They decline to remember that the reconstruction during the thirties did not grow up like Topsy. It was the result of planning. The Tennessee Valley Authority, for example -- extending into seven States -- is successfully

bringing a planned prosperity that covers flood control, the diversification of industries, the stopping of soil erosion, the reforestation of denuded hillsides, the improvement of transportation by land and water, the development of recreational areas, the development of fertilizers, the reduction of rates for electricity and the distribution of cheap electricity to sections which had none before to a huge area which had no planned economy before its existence.

The noisy minority has called the Tennessee Valley Authority a pure government operation of things which should be done by private business. Yet the figures and the facts show that private business throughout that whole area has grown by leaps and bounds in city and village and on farms. People as a whole throughout the nation did not get fooled by noisy minorities.

This Spring we have read of disastrous floods destroying lives and highways and bridges and crops in the Arkansas Valley -- a watershed which extends westward from the Mississippi through Oklahoma and Kansas and Colorado to the continental divide among the highest of the Rocky Mountains. Planning has proved that this destruction could have been avoided if my recommendations to the Congress had been followed out many years ago. The same thing is true of many parts of the Ohio watershed and of that great area which makes up the watershed of the Missouri River. And, incidentally, the cost to the taxpayers of America would be reimbursed to them many times over in a few years through the saving of lives and the destruction of property of all kinds and crops of all kinds.

Planning is worthwhile -- and the actual cost of planning is almost negligible compared with the cost of government as a whole. Yet, for some people, it takes much less effort to be penny wise and pound foolish.

Wright

July 23, 1943.

DICTATED BY THE PRESIDENT FOR RADIO ADDRESS

Events speak louder than words. ^{Everyone} knows when armed forces advance into enemy-held territories.

We have been thrilled by the occupation of Sicily by American and British and Canadian troops, with a small contingent of French Moroccan troops added. You do not have to be more than an amateur strategist to see from the map that the Island of Sicily opens up the possibility of attack against the mainland of Europe in half a dozen different directions. The situation which Germany held on interior lines has in this case been reversed, for today Germany and Italy are on outside lines, compelling them to hold the whole coast of France, of Italy, of Yugoslavia, and of Greece strongly enough to protect this long line against invasion.

Thus the taking of Sicily has gained an important strategic point -- a preliminary to further and larger attacks.

I must confess that I am of an impatient disposition -- that I would like, with our Allies, to decide on an operation

and get it going in a week or two. I was impatient when months went by -- after we had landed in Africa last November -- before we were able to concentrate a large enough force to accomplish the overwhelming success in Tunis. I was impatient when the prolonged rains bogged down the planes and the advancing ground forces. I was impatient when it took so long to get all the landing craft necessary to carry the armies across the Mediterranean into Sicily.

But all of us have come to realize that no Prime Minister, no President, no General can pick up the telephone and order a major operation to be started at once.

As you know, the great expedition against North Africa, which took place in November, 1942, was decided on in Washington in June, 1942. And the operation against Sicily was decided on when I was at Casablanca in January, and the earliest possible date we could put it into effect was the tenth of July this year.

I want to say a word about the officers and men who have conducted, and are conducting, this operation. They have shown magnificent courage and we are proud of them all -- Americans and their Allies alike. And it is also clear that the occupation of Sicily would not have been possible had it not been for magnificent staff work -- getting equipment from here to North

Africa or to England, and then arranging to have this equipment go forward with the troops and to the troops so that after the first landings were made they were able to maintain themselves and start advancing without any loss of time. That has been an essential factor in the victory we are gaining.

But I want to point out also that people back home in the United States had a great part in our success.

The speed with which the landing boats were constructed; the speed with which our merchant ships are growing in numbers week by week and month by month; the speed with which the Navy escort ships are coming along; the speed with which the guns and the ammunition are being made in our factories and transported to the seacoast for shipment overseas; the speed with which airplane production has gone ahead has given us and our Allies control of the air; the orderly shipping of machinery of all kinds -- tanks, trucks, and -- very important -- food has gone forward. All these things were a component part of the Sicily campaign.

The longer this war goes on the more certain I become that you and I cannot draw a blue pencil down the page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front". The two of them are inexorably tied up together. Every new division that is raised in this country is dependent for its equipment, and therefore for its training, on the people in civilian clothes in the factories and on the farms. That division is dependent on the workers of America and the manufacturing experts of America.

Every regiment that leaves our shores for the fighting fronts is dependent on the ship builders of America; the steel makers who make the ships, and the miners of coal and iron and many other things that go in as raw materials to the making of the steel; the truck builders, the railroad car builders, and the great army of railroad employees who keep our transportation system going; and, finally, to the spirit of the people of America as a whole who buy Victory Bonds, who willingly accept certain sacrifices, and who know that we are in this war not for the sake of controversy or personal bickerings but for the sake of winning the war and ridding the world of future threats of aggression and a series of new wars.

That is why there is no such thing as two fronts. We pay special honor and give special thanks to our boys who face death on the war fronts, but it is high time that we give some honor and some thanks to the people back home who are going about their work conscientiously and gladly for exactly the same purpose and in exactly the same cause.

It is greatly due to them that after a year and a half of war -- the same length of time that we were engaged from the beginning to the end of the first World War --

At that time we managed to get two million men overseas. Anyone who knows the history of that war realizes that the very large majority of all the troops we sent to France were only partially trained troops and that when they got there they had to go into some training area far back from the front before they were considered fit to go to the front. We realize that nearly all of them left these shores insufficiently equipped. Not all of them had American-made rifles or machine guns or ^{the}ammunition to go in them. Very few of them had American-made artillery. A very large part of their important equipment came from the British Army or the French Army. And you will remember, too,

that after a year and a half of war, nearly all of the planes which American fliers flew were planes of British or French manufacture.

Today, after a year and a half, we have again more than two million men overseas -- taken there under sea conditions far more difficult than in the days of 1917 and 1918. The submarine menace has been far greater and we have had to build not merely more transports but an infinite number of escort vessels to keep them safe.

But the comparison I want to make chiefly is that everyone of our soldiers sent overseas has been fully equipped. Not merely more elaborately equipped, but fitted out with every necessary weapon of war. Their rifles and machine guns were made here. The artillery, the anti-aircraft guns have been made here -- and in addition to the complete equipment of our own armed forces, we have greatly helped our Allies by turning out guns and tanks and ammunition and planes to help in the common cause.

In 1917 and 1918 the theatre of war was principally limited to the Western Front in Europe. Today, there is a front in every part of the world. It covers the whole of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea; and the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. It covers the Persian Gulf -- not for the protection of the lifeline to the Far East alone, but also in order to enable us to ship munitions and supplies of all kinds to the splendid fighting Russian army; it covers the Indian

Ocean; it covers the Bay of Bengal and the lifeline through which we are helping China and the approach to the Eastern Pacific where the Japs have initially won vast territories and from which they must and will be driven.

Nearer home, the South Atlantic has been and is an active field of operations -- keeping down the German and Italian submarines in their attacks against the troop and supply ships that come and go to the East Coast of South America and the West Coast of Brazil; the troop and supply ships that go around the Cape of Good Hope to Persia and the Far East; and I might add that this warfare in the Gulf of Mexico protects the oil ships which supply our own East Coast and carry oil to our Allies; it protects the moving of vast quantities of sugar from the West Indies and South America and it enables us, with added shipping facilities, to bring the much needed coffee from Brazil and other Republics to keep us and our friends going.

And it may be good news to you to know that with the constant gain which every week is adding more tonnage -- more tonnage over and above the tonnage sunk -- to the allied

tonnage of the world, I hope that the time is not far distant when we will be able to take off entirely the rationing of coffee and the rationing of sugar in our own midst. That is something which we can put down to foresight and good management. It is an example of how the war front and the home front are, in the last analysis, the same thing.

Go to another ocean. There were those in our midst who rather idiotically shrieked from the housetops, only a year ago, more or less, that we should abandon the Atlantic Front and the Mediterranean Front and the South Atlantic Front and the Near Eastern Front and the Indian Ocean Front and throw all our effort into defensive warfare in the Pacific. There were those who shrieked that the Japanese occupation of one or two islands in the Aleutians spelled the immediate invasion of our own Pacific Coast. Those were the people who talked glibly of reenforcing the Southwest Pacific with hundreds of thousands of our troops and most of our Navy -- forgetting of course to look at the map or make any calculations of just what effort was needed, how much time was needed to send even a battalion of troops from San Francisco to Australia.

It seems to me that our operations in the Pacific theatre have gone well. Some people did not believe me a year ago when I said simply that the occupation of the outer Aleutians did not constitute any great threat of invasion on the Pacific Coast. Today, in orderly process, the Japanese have been thrown out of the most westerly islands in that group. They retain only one of the thousands of islands that extend nearly a thousand miles west from the coast of Alaska. It is wonderful to relate to those who, last year could see only the hole in the doughnut and not the doughnut itself, that the Hawaiian Islands are ours and Midway and a chain of islands running from there to Australia are ~~xxx~~ in our hands and have made safe the lifelines of the Southwest Pacific.

New Zealand is still there, making a magnificent contribution to the cause of the United Nations.

Australia is still there, putting more and more men in the field, fighting side by side with us in the jungles of New Guinea.

The planes of the Allies have gained a definite superiority in the air and we have destroyed an infinitely larger number of Japanese ships and planes than we have lost of our own.

Time runs on our side. It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. I think it is safe, today, to say that the Japanese have lost more planes than they have been able to replace by new planes. I think it is possible now to say that the Japanese have lost many thousand tons more shipping than they have been able to turn out in their home yards.

If this process of whittling down can be effectually continued it will clearly be impossible for Japan to retain her foothold on that vast southern line that runs all the way from Burma and the Strait Settlement and Siam through the ark of the Dutch East Indies and New Guinea and the Solomons.

We have, too, the utmost admiration for the splendid continuing fight that the Chinese have put up in what is now their seventh year of constant war against the Japanese. It is only a year and a half ago that the Burma road was cut but we are working day and night to replace that road by air transport -- over high mountains -- in order that better equipment may be provided for the Chinese armies and so we can maintain and build up the heroic American air force operating in China and, we hope soon, operating out of China against Japan itself.

(INSERT RE SUGAR AND COFFEE)

And just as an aside to people with short memories, in the first World War you or your fathers and mothers paid as high as 22¢ a pound for sugar -- and in this war, although sugar has had to be lightly rationed because of submarine sinkings, the price of sugar to you has not been more than 7¢ a pound. If the American people in the first World War could stand for 22¢ a pound sugar without grouching, I think they can stand for 7¢ a pound sugar with a little gratification. Incidentally, the people who suffered from 22¢ sugar in the last war were the poor people and the rich people could afford to pay that price. In this war, rich and poor share alike.

In the Pacific theatre two great accomplishments stand out, as in the Atlantic theatre. First, the cooperation between the allied nations has reached a greater efficiency than has existed between allies in any prior war.

And the second is that the operations in the whole field of the Pacific cannot be separated from the domestic front. They are all one because it is the people back home that make possible the fine heroism and well conducted operations where we can get access to the forces of the enemy themselves.

I want to say a word about ill-considered statements. I read one mornign that the people in this country are letting down in their effort, on the ground that the war might just as well be considered won. I am told that production is falling off because people are not merely overconfident but that they are satisfied that the war will soon be over and that we shall have victory.

I read the next day that everything is going wrong and
and that there are grumblings and rumblings; that the allies are fighting among themselves; that there is no policy for the war, no policy for the peace. Perhaps these stories

constitute a good illustration of a healthy democratic spirit -- the idea that anybody, whether they know anything about the thing or not, can express an opinion and create a controversy which does not exist.

Neither side is right. We have no reason for overconfidence. We have no reason to assume that the end is in sight. We have no reason to sit back until there is some kind of an internal revolution in Germany or Italy or Japan. The war has got into its stride and the actual operations are working out on the whole with success.

But it is a long, long road to Berlin, and a long, long road to Tokyo. We have no right to count on a collapse of our enemies. We must fight the fight on the assumption that they will not collapse and that we will have to keep on hammering until we have overwhelmed them by force of arms.

The other view is equally wrong. There is the utmost cooperation between all of the United Nations in the conduct of the war, and there is high agreement between them in regard to what kind of a peace we are seeking. It is not the time to talk about boundaries. Let us win the war first. It is not the time to talk about what will be done with this little corner of the world or that little corner of the world.

Let us win the war first. We do have unanimity on the great and immediate objective. It is the winning of the war first -- and with it the crushing of the desire of the Fascists, the Nazis and the Japanese to carry an offensive into every part of the world and dominate it for their own purposes for all time to come. The objectives are expressed in the Atlantic Charter.

It is right that studies be made looking to a post-war world which will be a happier world for all mankind than in the world in which we live. But it seems to me a bit silly to make political issues of things which cannot possibly come to any reality until we have won the war and destroyed the philosophy of aggression.

When I tell you not to be too gloomy, I think it is poor policy to talk of the war ending six months from now or two years from now or, as it has been suggested, in 1949. I think I have as clear an over-all picture of the war as anybody else and I would be wholly unwilling to make any prediction about its end. I hope it will come quickly but, on the other hand, it may take a long time. Therefore, the only thing that we have any right to speculate about is whether today, or while the war lasts, we are doing -- every individual one

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I do not think for a moment that you overlook, either in the Western theatre or the Pacific theatre of the war, the tremendous part that the Soviet armed forces are playing. We might as well confess that the best military experts, in the Summer of 1941, believed that Russia could not hold out more than a few months at the most against the German armies, which attacked them without provocation. Their magnificent retirement, the moving of many of their munition plants from western Russia back to the center of the country, and the complete unanimity of the Russian population which threw itself into the defense of their homeland -- all these things astonished the experts. And when they held the line through that long Winter of 1941-1942, there were many all over the world who believed that the Summer of 1943 would see the downfall of Russia. And yet, when they held Stalingrad and saved the Caucasus, the world wondered some more. We have grown happier and happier over the fact that Russia today not only stand unconquered but that Russia has won the magnificent battle of Stalingrad, capturing vast German armies; that Russia delivered counterattacks during this past Winter which have pushed the Germans back hundreds of miles and,

finally, that Russia this Summer will, we expect and hope, not only yield no ground but will bring back into Russian possession hundreds of towns and villages which have suffered so cruelly at the hand of the Nazis.

And we know today that there exists still a small, noisy minority of Americans who sneer at Russia; who would have us once more leave a blank space on the world's map in that vast area inhabited by nearly two hundred million human beings -- the same noisy minority which falsely labels as Communists every man and woman in this country who has some ideals of the bettering of the human race.

Just as we ~~have~~ are fighting shoulder to shoulder ~~with~~ with the Russian Army in the conquest of Germany, so I believe that we can join with them in arriving at a just peace for all the world.

I am not endorsing polls on every controversial subject by any means -- political or otherwise -- but it is worth noting that the Fortune poll, taken a very short time ago, 82% said "That they believed that American soldiers could fight side by side with Russian soldiers in the winning of the war, and 82% said "That they believed that we Americans could work side by side with the Russians in the building of the peace.

(TELL THE FOCH STORY)

①

Draft #1

nineteen months.

We have ^{now} been in this war about the
~~same length of time as we were during the~~
~~at the end of the last war.~~ It is
interesting and instructive to ~~make~~
~~comparisons between~~ add up the account of
our achievements to date as compared with
our achievements during the nineteen
months between April 1917 and ~~Apr~~ November
1918

(2)

By November 1918 we had

~~at that time~~ we managed to get two million men overseas. *But*

[Anyone who knows the history of that war realizes that] the very
large majority of all the troops we sent to France, ^{in 1917 and 1918} were only
partially trained troops. [and that] when they got there they had
to go into some training area far back from the front before they
were considered fit to go to the front. [We realize that] nearly
all of them left these shores insufficiently equipped. Not all
of them had American-made rifles or machine guns, ^{the} or ammunition
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A very large part of their important equipment came from the
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FINAL DRAFT

(3)

that after a year and a half of war, ^{practically every} nearly all of the planes which American fliers flew were planes of British or French manufacture.

Today, after ^{was a} a year and a half, we have again more than two million men overseas. ^{the same period of} ~~They were transported~~ taken there under sea conditions far more

difficult than in the days of 1917 and 1918. The submarine menace — and it has faced us not only in the Atlantic but the Pacific has been far greater and we have had to build not merely more trans-

ports but an infinite number of escort vessels to keep them safe. ^{And} in this war to the submarine menace has been added the threat from land based and carrier-based bombers. But the comparison I want to make chiefly is that everyone

^{in this war} of our soldiers sent overseas has been fully equipped. Not merely more elaborately equipped, but fitted out with every necessary weapon of war. Their rifles and machine guns were made here. The artillery, the anti-aircraft guns have been made here -- and in addition to the complete equipment of our own armed forces, we have ^{greatly} helped ^{and sending them billions of dollars worth of} our Allies by turning ^{out} guns and tanks and ammunition and planes and ^{trucks} to help in the common cause.

In 1917 and 1918 the theatre of war was principally limited to the Western Front in Europe. Today, there is a front in every part of the world. It covers the whole of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea; and the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. It covers the Persian Gulf — ^{where we must fight not only} for the protection of the lifeline to the Far East, ^{alone,} but also in order to enable us to ship munitions and supplies of all kinds to the ~~splendid~~ fighting Russian army. It covers the Indian

(4)

FIRST DRAFT

- 7 -

Ocean; it ~~covers~~ the Bay of Bengal; and the lifeline through which we are helping China; and the ^{vast} approach to the Eastern Pacific where the Japs have initially won vast territories and from which they must and will be driven. ~~PA~~

Nearer home, the South Atlantic has been and is an active field of operations ^{where we have been} — keeping down the German and Italian submarines in their attacks against the troop and supply ships that come and go to the East Coast of South America and the West Coast of ~~Brasil~~ ^{Africa}; [the troop and supply ships that go around the Cape of Good Hope to Persia and the Far East] and I might add that this warfare in the Gulf of Mexico protects the oil ships which supply our own East Coast and carry oil to our Allies; it protects the moving of vast quantities of sugar from the West Indies and South America and it enables us, with added shipping facilities, to bring the much needed coffee from Brazil and other Republics. [to keep us and our friends going.]

And ^{by the way} it may be good news to you to know that with the constant ^{weekly} gain [which every week is adding more tonnage] — ~~more tonnage over and above the tonnage sunk~~ — to the allied

(5)
FIRST DRAFT

- 8 -

tonnage of the world, I ^{think} hope that the time is not far distant when we will be able to ^{and} take off entirely the rationing of coffee and the rationing of sugar. ^{in our own midst.} [That is something which we can put down to foresight and good management. It is an example of how the war front and the home front are, in the last analysis, the same thing.] ~~(A)~~

[Go to another ocean. There were those in our midst who rather idiotically shrieked from the housetops, only a year ago, more or less, that we should abandon the Atlantic Front and the Mediterranean Front and the South Atlantic Front and the Near Eastern Front and the Indian Ocean Front and throw all our effort into defensive warfare in the Pacific. There were those who shrieked that the Japanese occupation of one or two islands in the Aleutians spelled the immediate invasion of our own Pacific Coast. Those were the people who talked glibly of reinforcing the Southwest Pacific with hundreds of thousands of our troops and most of our Navy -- forgetting of course to look at the map or make any calculations of just what effort was needed, how much time was needed to send even a battalion of troops from San Francisco to Australia.]

(6)

Perhaps the greatest difference between this war and the last one lies in the fact that we now have a formidable enemy in the Pacific Ocean. ~~We now have the additional~~ ^{we now have the additional} job of fighting and beating the Japanese - one thousand miles away.

After thirteen months of war in 1918 the ~~Americans~~ after our entry into the first world war, the Allied forces defeated Germany and ended the war. Today we can not yet see the end of this war. But we can say - and our enemies know - that we and our fighting allies of the United Nations now hold the initiative - we are on the offensive all over the world. And we shall continue to hold the initiative and take the offensive until the moment of final victory.

7

July 23, 1943.

DICTATED BY THE PRESIDENT FOR RADIO ADDRESS

~~SECRET~~

Events speak louder than words everyone knows when armed forces advance into enemy-held territories.

We have been thrilled by the occupation of Sicily by American and British and Canadian troops^A with a small contingent of French Moroccan troops added. You do not have to be ^{an expert} more than an amateur strategist^A to see from the map that the Island of Sicily opens up the possibility of attack against the mainland of Europe in half a dozen different directions. The situation which Germany held on interior lines has ^{now} in this case been reversed; for today Germany and Italy are on outside lines, ^{compelled} ~~compelling~~ them to hold the whole coast of France, of Italy, ^{of Norway} of Yugoslavia, and of Greece strongly enough to protect ^{this} long line against invasion.

Thus the taking of Sicily has gained an important strategic point ^{as} ~~a~~ preliminary to further and larger attacks.

I must confess that I am of an impatient disposition -- that I would like, with our Allies, to decide on an operation¹⁷

(6)

-2-

and get it going in a week or two. I was impatient when months went by. After we had landed in Africa last November, ~~before~~ we were able to concentrate a large enough force to accomplish the overwhelming success in Tunis. I was impatient when the prolonged rains bogged down the planes and the advancing ground forces. I was impatient when it took so long to get all the landing craft necessary to carry the armies across the Mediterranean into Sicily.

But all of us have come to realize that no Prime Minister, no President, no General can pick up the telephone and order a major operation to be started at once. They all take planning — months and months of it.

As you know, the great expedition against North Africa, which took place in November, 1942, was decided on in Washington in June, 1942. And the operation against Sicily was decided on when I was at Casablanca in January, ^{of this year} and the earliest possible date we could put it into effect was the tenth of July this year.

On behalf of the American people, I want to say a word about the officers and men who have conducted, and are conducting, this operation. They have shown magnificent skill and courage and we are proud of them all — Americans and their Allies alike. [And it is also clear that the occupation of Sicily would not have been possible had it not been for magnificent staff work — getting equipment from here to North

(9)

^{Smashing}
The victory in Tunisia, and the
approaching victory in Sicily are the result
of brilliant planning and perfect coordination
of all arms, land, sea and air, and of ~~the~~
~~services of supply~~

The planning of these operations represented
long months of patient, painstaking work here
in Washington, and in London, and finally in
North Africa. Two thousand ships participated
in the actual invasion. But behind them were
other ships, sailing and guarding the ^{long, perilous} sea lanes,
carrying the men and the equipment and supplies
which were necessary to do this big job. And
behind those ships were the railroad lines and
highways that carried the men and the supplies
to the ports of embarkation - there were the factories
and the mines and the farms that supplied the
material - there were the training camps ~~that~~
where the men learned how to perform their
strange and different and dangerous tasks.

When the great undertaking started, every man,
every scrap of equipment, every ship had to be in
precisely the right place at precisely the right time.
We knew all too well that if we made any mistakes
they would have to be paid for ~~in~~ with the lives of
our sons. I believe I can say that not one mistake
was made.

The credit for the coordination ~~for~~ of the

diverse forces in the field was attributable primarily to the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower, Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder.

You will hear some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together - you will hear some people say that the Army and Navy and ^{real} Air Forces can never get along well together - that ^{real} cooperation between them is impossible. But I can tell you that if General Eisenhower and his splendid ~~command~~ staff had suffered from such narrow-minded prejudices, the historic victories in Tunisia and Sicily could never have been gained. In fact, if that kind of thinking prevailed, we should most certainly lose this war.

Ahead of us are ^{much} bigger fights. We and our allies will go into them as we went into Sicily - together. And we shall carry on together.

You will also hear some people say that while we are succeeding greatly ~~on~~ the fighting front we are failing miserably on the home front. ~~Each~~ people seem to believe that you can draw a ~~line~~ line down the

(11) ~~4~~
This supply service was done as thoroughly and efficiently
Africa or to England, and then arranging to have this equipment go forward with the troops and ^{after} the troops, so that after the first landings were made, ^{the troops} they were able to maintain themselves and start advancing without any loss of time. That has been an essential factor in the victory we are gaining.

But I want to point out also that people back home in the United States had a great part in our success.

The speed with which the landing boats were constructed; *increased and we still increasing*
the speed with which our merchant ships are growing in numbers
week by week and month by month; the speed with which the Navy *being built*
escort ships are coming along; the speed with which the guns and
the ammunition are being made in our factories and transported
to the seacoast for shipment overseas; the speed with which
airplane *have been built to give* production has gone ahead has given us and our Allies
control of the air; the *speedy and* orderly shipping of machinery of all
kinds, *trucks, trucks,* and *very important* food *has gone*
forward. *all these things were a component part of the Sicily campaign.*
an indispensable

War these days cannot be divided in such an easy

(B)

fashion. War has to be conducted by an entire population.

You cannot draw a line of demarcation between the soldier

at the front and the soldier training back home. You

cannot draw a line between the man or woman in uniform

or the man or woman in civilian clothes. You cannot draw

a line between the worker in a munition factory and the

worker in a plow factory. You cannot draw a line between

a worker turning out airplanes and a worker turning out

copper or coal, or a worker turning out wheat or cotton

or hogs. ~~In the light of a war effort you cannot draw~~

FIRST DRAFT

The longer this war goes on the more certain I become that
clearer it becomes that no one can
you and I cannot draw a blue pencil down the page and call one
side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front".
The two of them are inexorably tied up together. ⁽²⁾ Every new division
that is raised in this country is dependent for its equipment, and
therefore for its training, on the people in civilian clothes in
the factories and on the farms. That division is dependent on
the workers of America and the manufacturing experts of America.

Every regiment that leaves our shores for the fighting
fronts is dependent on the ship builders of America; the ^{makers of the} steel
from which ships are made;
makers who make the ships, and the miners of coal and iron and
many other things that go in as raw materials to the making of
the steel; the truck builders, the railroad car builders, and
the great army of railroad employees who keep our transportation
system going; and, finally, to the spirit of the people of
who pay their taxes, and
America as a whole who buy Victory Bonds, ^{to the end and who} who willingly accept
certain sacrifices, and who know that we are in this war not for
and
the sake of controversy ^{or} personal bickerings ^{- concentrating only on} but for the sake
of winning the war and ridding the world of future threats of
aggression and a series of new wars.

FIRST DRAFT

~~# 12~~ ~~11~~ (13)

That is why there is no such thing as two fronts. We pay special honor and give special thanks to our boys ^{daily hardship, danger, and} who face death on the war fronts, But ^{also} it is high time that we give [some] honor and [some] thanks to the people back home who are going about their ^{daily} work conscientiously and gladly for exactly the same purpose and in exactly the same cause.

It is greatly due to them that after a year and a half of war -- the same length of time that we were engaged from the beginning to the end of the first World War -- we have accomplished one of the great miracles of the history of warfare.

Durant
(X)

and then moving to the counter-offensive on a vast scale.

It is always dangerous to make any prophecies about the progress of the Russian armies. This fact has been brought home forcibly to that master ^{strategic} intuition, Adolf Hitler.

However, it is safe to say that the outlook today on the Russian front is more favorable than at any ^{previous} time in this war.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, ~~had no major objectives~~ was largely a desperate attempt to gain the appearance of a victory ~~for~~ ^{to} bolster ^{the} morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack - plans which were coordinated with the whole United Nations offensive strategy.

I cannot tell what will be the course of events in the next few months. But they will be costly months for Germany. The Russians are today ~~destroying~~ ^{considerable} great quantities of killing or capturing ~~large~~ numbers of German ~~troops and~~ ^{destroying} soldiers and destroying great quantities of German equipment in a relentless process of attrition.

INSERT

As important as anything to our present successes is
[I do not think for a moment that you overlook, either
in the Western theatre or the Pacific theatre of the war,] the
tremendous part that the Soviet armed forces are playing. We
might as well confess that the best military experts, in the
Summer of 1941, believed that Russia could not hold out more
than a few months at the most against the German armies, which *had*
attacked them without provocation. Their magnificent retire-
ment, the moving of many of their munition plants from western
Russia back to the center of the country, and the complete
unanimity of the Russian population which threw itself into
the defense of their homeland -- all these things astonished
the experts, *and the whole world.* [And when they held the line through that long
Winter of 1941-1942, there were many [all over the world] who
believed that the Summer of 1943 would see the downfall of
Russia. And yet,] *after* when they held Stalingrad and saved the
Caucasus, the world wondered some more. We have *all* grown *more secure*
[happier and happier over] the fact that Russia today [not
only] stand[unconquered] but that Russia has won the magnificent
battle of Stalingrad, *destroying an* ~~capturing vast~~ German armies *that*
Russia delivered counterattacks during this past Winter
which have pushed the Germans back hundreds of miles, *and*

INSERT
(K)

15
INGERT

~~Finally~~ that Russia this Summer will, We expect and hope, not only yield no ground but will bring back into Russian possession hundreds of towns and villages which have suffered so cruelly at the hand of the Nazis.]

And We know today that there exists still a small, noisy minority of Americans who sneer at Russia; who would have us once more leave a blank space on the world's map in that vast area inhabited by nearly two hundred million human beings -- the same noisy minority which falsely labels as Communists every man and woman in this country who has some ideals of the bettering of the human race. *That Americans and their*

Just as we ~~xxxx~~ are fighting shoulder to shoulder ~~xxxx~~ with the Russian Army in the conquest of Germany, so I believe that we can join with them in arriving at a just peace for all the world.

allies know how much of their present strategic position is due to the feats of the Russian Army

[It seems to me that] Our operations in the Pacific theatre have gone well. [Some people did not believe me a year ago when I said simply that the occupation of the outer Aleutians did not constitute any great threat of invasion on the Pacific Coast.] [Today] In orderly process, the Japanese have been thrown out of the most westerly islands in ^{the Aleutians} ~~that group~~. They retain only one of the thousands of islands that extend nearly a thousand miles west from the coast of Alaska. It is wonderful to relate to those who, last year could see only the hole in the doughnut and not the doughnut itself, that ^The Hawaiian Islands are ours and Midway and a chain of islands running from there to Australia are ~~not~~ in our hands and have made safe the lifelines of the Southwest Pacific.

New Zealand is still there, making a magnificent contribution to the cause of the United Nations.

Australia is still there, putting more and more men in the field, fighting side by side with us in the jungles of New Guinea.

The planes of the Allies have gained a definite superiority in the air and we have destroyed an infinitely larger number of Japanese ships and planes than we have lost of our own.]

Time runs on our side. It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. [I think it is safe, today, to say that] the Japanese have lost more planes than they have been able to replace by new planes. [I think it is possible now to say that] the Japanese have lost many thousand tons more shipping than they have been able to turn out in their home yards.

If this process of whittling down can be effectually continued it will clearly be impossible for Japan to retain her foothold on that vast southern line that runs all the way from Burma and the Strait Settlement and Siam through the ark of the Dutch East Indies and New Guinea and the Solomons.

We have, too, the utmost admiration for the splendid continuing fight that the Chinese have put up in what is now their seventh year of constant war against the Japanese. It is only a year and a half ago that the Burma road was cut but we are working day and night to replace that road by air transport -- over high mountains -- in order that better equipment may be provided for the Chinese armies and so we can maintain and build up the heroic American air force operating in China and, we hope soon, operating out of China against Japan itself.

In the Pacific theatre two great accomplishments stand out, as in the Atlantic theatre. First, the cooperation between the allied nations has reached a greater efficiency than has existed between allies in any prior war.

And the second is that the operations in the whole field of the Pacific cannot be separated from the domestic front. They are all one because it is the people back home that make possible the fine heroism and well conducted operations where we can get access to the forces of the enemy themselves.

[I want to say a word about ill-considered statements.]

R I read one mornign that the people in this country are letting down in their effort, on the ground that the war might just as well be considered won. I am told that production is falling off because people are not merely overconfident but that they are satisfied that the war will soon be over and that we shall have victory.

I read the next day that everything is going wrong and that there are grumblings and rumblings; that the allies are fighting among themselves; that there is no policy for the war, no policy for the peace. Perhaps these stories

FIRST DRAFT

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We read one day that the war will be over before Christmas, 1943; and the next day we read that we shall still be fighting the Japanese in 1949.

constitute a good illustration of a healthy democratic spirit -- the idea that anybody, whether they know anything about the thing or not, can express an opinion and create a controversy which does not exist.

Neither side is right. We have no reason for overconfidence. We have no reason to assume that the end is in sight. We have no reason to sit back until there is some kind of an internal revolution in Germany or Italy or Japan. The war has got into its stride and the actual operations are working out on the whole with success.

But it is a long, long road to Berlin, and a long, long road to Tokyo. We have no right to count on a collapse of our enemies. We must fight the fight on the assumption that they will not collapse and that we will have to keep on hammering until we have overwhelmed them by force of arms.

The other view is equally wrong. There is the utmost cooperation between all of the United Nations in the conduct of the war, and there is high agreement between them in regard to what kind of a peace we are seeking. It is not the time to talk about boundaries. Let us win the war first. It is not the time to talk about what will be done with this little corner of the world or that little corner of the world.

Let us win the war first. We do have unanimity on the great and immediate objective. It is the winning of the war first -- and with it the crushing of the desire of the Fascists, the Nazis and the Japanese to carry an offensive into every part of the world and dominate it for their own purposes for all time to come. The objectives are expressed in the Atlantic Charter.

It is right that studies be made looking to a post-war world which will be a happier world for all mankind than in the world in which we live. But it seems to me a bit silly to make political issues of things which cannot possibly come to any reality until we have won the war and destroyed the philosophy of aggression.

[When I tell you not to be too gloomy,] I think it is poor policy to talk of the war ending six months from now or two years from now or, as it has been suggested, in 1949. I think I have as clear an over-all picture of the war as anybody else and I would be wholly unwilling to make any prediction about its end. I hope it will come quickly but, on the other hand, it may take a long time. ^(Foch story?) Therefore, the only thing that we have any right to speculate about is whether today, or while the war lasts, we are doing -- every individual one

AMG Inset - 1

A vitally important part of the whole war picture today is the development of the Allied Military Government in regions occupied ~~and~~ by United Nations forces.

This is having its first test in Sicily. Our handling of this situation is being watched with understandable attention by the peoples of occupied countries, in Asia as well as in Europe. They want to ~~know that~~ see proof that the United Nations forces are the forces of liberation all over the world. And we intend to provide that proof.

The purposes of Allied Military Government, as now being applied in Sicily, are these:

First - To ^{establish and} maintain ~~order and~~ security and order. This is now being done, with gratifying ~~and~~ rapidity, and with the cordial cooperation of the Italian people in occupied areas.

Second - To ~~provide the~~ ensure that the civilian population is provided with the necessities of life - food, clothing, fuel, and so forth - until ^{comes when} ~~the~~ time ~~is~~ they are once more able to provide for themselves. Indeed, ~~the~~ the people in Sicily today are rejoicing in the fact that, for the first time in years they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labors - they can eat what they themselves grow instead of having it stolen from them by the Fascists and the Nazis.

Our third purpose - To weed out the Fascist

officials and dissolve the Fascist organizations which have been the instruments of Fascist tyranny. This too is being done - with the hearty cooperation of the Italian people.

Our final purpose is to enable the people to regain their own voice and to reassert their own sovereignty, so that they may choose their own ~~democratic~~ government according to the basic democratic principles of liberty and equality.

In every country conquered by the Nazis, the Fascists or the Japanese militarists, the people have been reduced to the status of slaves or chattels.

It is our determination to restore them to the dignity of human beings, masters of their own fate, captains of their own souls, entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

We have started to make good on that promise. And what we have started in Sicily will be continued as the forces of the United Nations push on to total victory.

The soldiers and sailors of France know this. That is why they are joining shoulder with the soldiers and sailors of Britain and America, and of Norway, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece.

I have spoken of the meticulous planning which made possible the successful occupation of North Africa and the invasion of Sicily. That same kind of ^{careful} planning will be required if we are ~~not to throw away the~~ ^{to keep the} fruits of victory and do our share in building the kind of ~~new~~ peaceful world which is the aim of all of us. The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. ~~However they are not agreed~~ They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in a discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. ~~world~~ This is not the time to lay out boundaries or to determine what will be done with every little corner of the world or every political controversy ^{now} shaping up in various parts of the world. The ~~most~~ ^{most} important thing now is to get on with the war, and to win it. The first thing to do is to destroy the forces of aggression and to overthrow the philosophy of aggression everywhere in the world. ~~The world~~

But I can tell you that with our eye on the ball, while we concentrate on military victory, we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, the freedoms which we know will make a

Happier world for all mankind than the world in which we live.

As an example of ^{that type of} planning — one which ^{has proved good for all the others —} ~~is not~~ ^{precedes} ~~our other plans~~ for the future — is the necessity of laying plans for the return to ~~the~~ civilian life of our gallant men in the armed services. While no one can predict the ~~time of peace~~ date of that happy event, we must, this time, have the plans ready instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at the last moment as we did in 1919.

The men in our army and navy and air force do not want or expect to return to a pampered or ~~especially a~~ special-privileged life when they come home. But they do want — they have every right to expect — a chance to pick up the loose threads, to get started again in their careers, to continue their education — and, above all, to ~~get~~ know ~~and get~~ that they are self-respecting members of a community in which there is ^{enough} work ~~enough~~ and enough happiness for all.

I have assured our men in the armed forces that the American people would not let them down when the war is over - that they would not return to a country suffering from inflation and ~~for~~ unemployment, ~~handicapped~~ ~~and~~ to take a place on a bread line or on a corner selling apples. The ~~spotter~~ ~~of~~ What happened after the last war - largely as a result of absence of planning - must not happen again.

I hope that the Congress will keep in carrying out this assurance, for obviously the Executive Branch of the government cannot do it alone. I have ^{full} confidence that the Congress will do its duty in this regard - and that the American people will insist on fulfilling this American obligation to the men and women - in civilian life as well as in the armed forces - who are winning this war for us.

a strong military power. Although our troops were advancing, victory in that year was far from certain. In the middle of that month, the Secretary of War protested to the President of the United States that the chairman of the War Industries Board should not hold a conference with business men to discuss post-war problems because such a conference might detract from the concentration of interest upon war production. In less than three weeks Germany had collapsed. Despite the fact that there had been much thoughtful discussion of post-war problems both on the floor of Congress and in the executive agencies, we had no plans ready. By the middle of December chaos reigned. It was too late then to formulate any workable plans. Returning soldiers walked the streets. Men in war industries were laid off without any machinery to insure their re-employment.

We must not let this happen again.

Before this war ends we ^{must} ~~will~~ have a fully developed program to insure that victory means victory ^{total} ~~on the home front as well as abroad~~ ^{- at home as well as on the battle field.}. Your government ^{is determined} ~~will~~ do everything humanly possible, in cooperation with business, farmers, and workers, to create the conditions under which the greatest possible amount of ~~general~~ employment is possible. Some steps have already

been taken to make sure that all plants and facilities financed by the Government for war purposes will be made available on a fair and equal basis to all industry for peace-time purposes. Equal access to strategic raw materials for peace time use should be assured to all business. ^P Assurances have already been given to the farmers on prices for their products after the war, in the Stabilization Act of October 2, 1942. But still more needs to be done to ^{provide for} ~~assure~~ the farmers the conditions which will make full employment and full production by them desirable. ^P Unlike the last war, the reconversion of industry to peace time pursuits and the demobilization of our men and women now in the armed services and the merchant marine must and will be handled so that all workers who are ready, willing and able, will have an opportunity to engage in productive employment as rapidly as possible. I do not intend to demobilize the men and women in our armed services and merchant marine into unemployment.

To make ^{immediate} provision for the men and women ^{now} in the armed forces and merchant marine [who are giving their lives for our way of life] is our first duty. To them, as indeed to all other workers in the factories, in the mines, on the railroads and on the farms, the one deep felt want is an assured opportunity to work when the war is over. This great country can and must provide jobs for everyone who wants one. I intend to propose to the Congress certain legislation which will assure the opportunity for jobs. We must make it possible for the government, private industry, workers and farmers to co-operate to this end, in much the same way as they are assuring us victory on the battlefield.]

In addition to ^{general planning} these legislative proposals] on the basic problems of jobs after the war, [I am going to see that] every possible action ^{will be} taken by the Executive Branch of the government within existing law, and ~~to~~ ~~will be~~ ~~done~~ suggest to the Congress ~~that it give consideration to~~ new legislation ^{suggested to the Congress, looking to the adjustment of} ~~cooling specifically with proposals for~~ our returning armed forces and ^{to civilian life.} ~~merchant marine.~~ These proposals involve

1. A dismissal wage equal to a maximum of one year's pay to every member of the armed forces and merchant marine when he or she is honorably

discharged. The exact amount of the dismissal wage should be related to the length of each individual's service.

2. An opportunity for every member of the armed services to have a year of training and education at a high school, trade school, technical school or university at the cost of their government. Additional periods of training and education should be provided for persons with proven abilities.

3. Credit should be given to all members of the armed forces, under the ^{unw} employment compensation and Federal old-age and survivors' insurance, for their period of service. For these purposes they should be treated as if they had continued their employment in private industry.

4. Provisions for hospitalization, rehabilitation and medical care of disabled members of the armed forces and merchant marine should be improved and liberalized.

5. Pensions for disabled members of the armed forces should be made sufficient. Any person whose ability to maintain himself through gainful employment has been limited because of injury or illness acquired while in the service of his country should be entitled to an income which at least will make it possible for him to have all of the necessities of life.



~~45~~ 5

All our calculations for the future, however, must be based on clear understanding of the problems involved. And that ~~can be~~ ^{can be} ~~only~~ gained only by straight thinking.

I confess that I myself am sometimes bewildered by ~~the~~ conflicting statements that I see in the press.

For instance, I read one day that the people of this country are slackening on the war effort because they are too complacent, too well satisfied with the way things are going, too sure that the war is already won.

But - The next day I read that the American people are letting down because they are so dissatisfied with the way things are ~~going~~ being handled on the home front - because they are convinced we can never successfully collaborate with our Allies, we can never achieve a just and durable peace.

One day I read an "authoritative" statement that we shall win the war this year, 1943 - and the next day comes another statement, equally "authoritative," that the war will still be going on in 1949.

Of course, both extremes - of optimism and pessimism - are wrong.

I believe that the American people as a whole are right in their judgment of the situation. They

(A) We have no reason for over-confidence. We have no

reason to assume that the end is in sight. We have no
reason to ^{suspect that there will soon be, or even be} sit back until ^{or domestic collapse} there is some kind of an internal
revolution in Germany or Italy or Japan. The war has got
into its stride and the actual operations are working out
on the whole with success.

But it is a long, long road to Berlin, and a long,
long road to Tokyo. [We have no right to count on a collapse
of our enemies.] We must fight the fight on the assumption
^{our enemies} that they will not collapse and that we will have to keep

on hammering until we have overwhelmed them by force of arms,
and ~~break them into the ground~~ ^{paralyzed the last} ~~paralyzed the last~~ ^{vestiges of their military power and of their evil doctrines.}

place themselves just about in the middle —
tending ^{but not too much} toward the optimistic side.

Obviously, we have no reason for over-
confidence, etc.

(A)

(B) — ~~But~~

The pessimistic view is equally
dangerous. We most certainly cannot do
our full job in this war if we are lacking
in confidence in our own country.

Of course there are some honest clashes of
opinion and some silly bickering here on
the home front. There will always be
arguments and clashes as long as this
nation ~~retains~~ remains a democracy — and
that means as long as we continue to be Americans.

The right to argue with your neighbor is
part and parcel of your respect for your
neighbor, and your ~~just~~ recognition of his
right to argue with you.

If the home front were a mess of confusion
and dissension and bumbling, then we should
be suffering disasters instead of gaining victories
on the fighting fronts. For the fighting fronts
depend ^{absolutely} on the home fronts. Our armed forces
depend upon our sources of production and training and

planning. Our individual soldiers and sailors depend upon their home folks, their home communities, for the essential spirit which makes them fighting men.

As for the ~~rumor~~ rumors of dissension among the Allies, either in the fighting of the war ~~is~~ or in plans for the future world - the American people know that some of these rumors are just, plain foolish, and some of them are deliberately malicious, but that all of them put together don't add up to a hill of beans.

At this moment, your Government is engaged in ~~planning~~ serious, constructive planning for a number of forward moves on the home front. These relate ~~to~~ primarily to problems connected with food, with manpower, and with prices and wages.

Within the next month I shall speak to you again and I shall announce definite actions to be taken by the Executive Branch of the Government and specific recommendations for new legislation by the Congress.

There is one thought to be borne constantly in mind by every single man and woman on the home front:

We and our Allies together are going to win this war. But the length of the war will

and in Latin America

depend upon the uninterrupted continuance of all-out effort on ~~the~~^{every} home front here and throughout the British and French Empires and in the Soviet Union and in China.

~~Every~~^{Every} war worker - and that includes those who make ploughs or who keep accounts as well as those who make machine guns - every man and woman who is involved in any way has the power to ~~influence~~ contribute to the shortening of the war.

Workers must have sufficient rest and recreation. They should have proper vacations. Efficiency is reduced among those who are forced or who force themselves to work at a killing pace.

However, ~~any~~^{any} worker who deliberately slackens his work, who lays off ~~it~~ because of overconfidence, or indifference, or for any other illegitimate reason, that worker is adding appreciably to the length of this war and is thus killing our own soldiers and sailors.

A falling off in our rate of production is tantamount to - and, in fact, can be directly responsible for - ~~a~~^a serious defeat on the field of battle.

Knowing something about the quality of the

American people, I can say with assurance
that they will not tolerate any falling
off in production. They will settle for
nothing less than total victory on all
fronts, abroad and at home.

We have now been in this war about nineteen months. It is interesting and instructive to add up the account of our achievements to date as compared with our achievements during the nineteen months between April 1917 and November 1918.

By November 1918 we had managed to get two million men overseas. But the very large majority of all the troops we sent to France in 1917 and 1918 were only partially trained troops. When they got there they had to go into some training area far back from the front before they were considered fit to go to the front. Nearly all of them left these shores insufficiently equipped. Not all of them had American-made rifles or machine guns, or the ammunition to go in them. Very few of them had American-made artillery. A very large part of their important equipment came from the British Army or the French Army. And, after a year and a half of war, practically every plane which American fliers flew was a plane of British or French manufacture.

Today, after the same period of a year and a half, we have again more than two million men overseas. They were transported under sea conditions far more difficult than in the days of 1917 and 1918. The submarine menace has been far greater -- and it has faced us not only in the Atlantic but the Pacific -- and we have had to build not merely more transports but an infinite number of escort vessels to keep them safe. And in this war, to the submarine menace has been added the threat from land-based and carrier-based bombers.

But the comparison I want to make chiefly is that everyone of our soldiers sent overseas in this war has been fully equipped. Not merely more elaborately equipped, but fitted out with every necessary weapon of war. Their rifles and machine guns were made here. The artillery, the anti-aircraft guns have been made here -- and in addition to the complete equipment of our own armed forces, we have helped arm our Allies by turning guns and sending them billions of dollars worth of ammunition and planes and trucks to help in the common cause.

In 1917 and 1918 the theatre of war was principally limited to the Western Front in Europe. Today, there is a front in every part of the world. It covers the whole of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea; the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. It covers the Persian Gulf --- where we must fight not only for the protection of the lifeline to the Far East, but also in order to enable us to ship munitions and supplies of all kinds to the fighting Russian army. It covers the Indian Ocean; the Bay of Bengal; and the lifeline through which we are helping China; and the vast approach to the Eastern Pacific where the Japs have initially won vast territories and from which they must and will be driven.

Nearer home, the South Atlantic has been and is an active field of operations -- where we have been keeping down the German and Italian submarines in their attacks against the troop and supply ships that come and go to the East Coast of South America and the West Coast of Africa; Warfare in the Gulf of Mexico protects the oil ships which supply our own East Coast and carry oil to our Allies; it protects the moving of vast quantities of sugar from the West Indies and South America

and it enables us, with added shipping facilities, to bring the much needed coffee from Brazil and other Republics.

And by the way it may be good news to you to know that with the constant weekly gain in the allied tonnage of the world, I believe that the time is not far distant when we will be able to end entirely the rationing of coffee and the rationing of sugar.

Perhaps the greatest difference between this war and the last one lies in the fact that we now have a formidable enemy in the Pacific Ocean. We now have the additional job of fighting and beating the Japanese -- six thousand miles away.

Nineteen months after our entry into the first World War, the Allied forces defeated Germany and ended the war. Today, we can not yet see the end of this war. But we can say -- and our enemies know -- that we and our fighting Allies of the United Nations now hold the initiative -- we are on the offensive all over the world. And we shall continue to hold the initiative and take the offensive until the moment of final victory.

We have been thrilled by the occupation of Sicily by American and British and Canadian troops -- with a small contingent of French Moroccan troops added. You do not have to be an expert to see from the map that the Island of Sicily opens up the possibility of attack against the mainland of Europe in half a dozen different directions. The situation which Germany held on interior lines has now been reversed; today Germany and Italy are on the outside lines, compelled to hold the whole coast of France, of Italy, of Norway, of Yugoslavia, and of Greece strongly enough to protect their long line against invasion.

The taking of Sicily is a preliminary to further and larger attacks.

I must confess that I am of an impatient disposition -- that I would like, with our Allies, to decide on an operation and get it going in a week or two. After we had landed in Africa last November I was impatient when months went by before we were able to concentrate a large enough force to accomplish the overwhelming success which was ours in Tunis. I was impatient when the prolonged rains bogged down the planes and the advancing ground forces. I was

impatient when it took so long to get all the landing craft necessary to carry the armies across the Mediterranean into Sicily.

But all of us have come to realize that no Prime Minister, no President, no General can pick up the telephone and order a major operation to be started at once. They all take planning -- months and months of it.

As you know, the great expedition against North Africa, in November, 1942, was decided on in Washington in June, 1942. The operation against Sicily was decided on when I was at Casablanca in January of this year, and the earliest possible date we could put it into effect was the tenth of July this year.

On behalf of the American people, I want to say a word about the officers and men who have conducted, and are conducting, this operation. They have shown magnificent skill and courage and we are proud of them all -- Americans and their Allies alike.

The smashing victory in Tunisia, and the approaching victory in Sicily are the result of brilliant planning and perfect coordination of all arms, land, sea and air.

The planning of these operations represented long months of patient, painstaking work here in Washington, and in London, and finally in North Africa. Two thousand ships participated in the actual invasion. But behind them were other ships, sailing and guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men and the equipment and supplies which were necessary to do this big job. And behind those ships were the railroad lines and highways that carried the men and the supplies to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the farms that supplied the materiel -- there were the training camps where the men learned how to perform their strange and difficult and dangerous tasks.

When the great undertaking started, every man, every scrap of equipment, every ship had to be in precisely the right place at precisely the right time. We knew all too well that if we made any mistakes they would have to be paid for with the lives of ^{our} sons. I believe I can say that not one mistake was made.

The credit for the coordination of the diverse forces in the field was attributable primarily to the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower,

Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder.

You will hear some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together -- you will hear some people say that the Army and Navy and Air Forces can never get along well together -- that real cooperation between them is impossible. But I can tell you that if General Eisenhower and his splendid staff had suffered from such narrow-minded prejudices, the historic victories in Tunisia and Sicily could never have been gained. In fact, if that kind of thinking prevailed, we should most certainly lose this war.

Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily -- together. And we shall carry on together.

You will also hear some people say that while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front we are failing miserably on the home front.

But I want to point out also that people back home in the United States had a great part in our success.

The speed with which the landing boats were constructed; the speed with which our merchant ships increased and are still

increasing in numbers week by week and month by month; the speed with which the Navy escort ships are being built; the speed with which the guns and the ammunition are being made in our factories and transported to the seacoast for shipment overseas; the speed with which airplanes have been built to give us and our Allies control of the air; the speedy and orderly shipping of tanks, trucks, machinery of all kinds, and food -- all these things were an indispensable part of the Sicily campaign.

The longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front". The two of them are inexorably tied up together.

War these days cannot be divided in such an easy fashion. War has to be conducted by an entire population. You cannot draw a line of demarcation between the soldier at the front and the soldier training back home. You cannot draw a line between the man or woman in uniform or the man or woman in civilian clothes. You cannot draw a line between the worker in a munition factory and the worker in a plow factory. You cannot draw a line between a worker turning out airplanes and

a worker turning out copper or coal, or a worker turning out wheat or cotton or hogs.

Every new division that is raised in this country is dependent for its equipment, and therefore for its training, on the people in civilian clothes in the factories and on the farms. That division is dependent on the workers of America and the manufacturing experts of America.

Every regiment that leaves our shores for the fighting fronts is dependent on the ship builders of America; the makers of the steel from which ships are made, and the miners of coal and iron and many other things that go in to the making of the steel; the truck builders, the railroad car builders, and the great army of railroad employees who keep our transportation system going; and, finally, to the spirit of the people of America as a whole who buy Victory Bonds, who pay their taxes, and who willingly accept certain sacrifices, and who know that we are in this war to the end and who for sake of controversy and personal bickerings -- concentrating only on winning the war and ridding the world of future threats of aggression and new wars.

That is why there is no such thing as two fronts. We pay special honor and give special thanks to our boys who daily face hardship, danger, and death on the war fronts. But we also give honor and thanks to the people back home who are going about their daily work conscientiously and gladly for exactly the same purpose and in exactly the same cause.

It is greatly due to them that after a year and a half of war -- the same length of time that we were engaged from the beginning to the end of the first World War -- we have accomplished one of the great miracles of the history of warfare.

As important as anything to our present successes is the tremendous part that the Soviet armed forces are playing. We might as well confess that the best military experts, in the Summer of 1941, believed that Russia could not hold out more than a few months at the most against the German armies, which had attacked them without provocation. Their magnificent retirement, the moving of many of their munition plants from western Russia back to the center of the country, and the complete unanimity of the Russian population which threw itself into the defense of their homeland -- all these things astonished the experts and the whole world.

And after they held the line through that long Winter of 1941-1942, there were many who believed that the Summer of 1943 would see the downfall of Russia. When they held Stalingrad and saved the Caucasus, the world wondered some more. We have all grown more secure by the fact that Russia today stands unconquered -- that Russia won the magnificent battle of Stalingrad, destroying an German army and then moving to the counter-offensive on a vast scale.

It is always dangerous to make any prophecies about the progress of the Russian armies. This fact has been brought home forcibly to that master of strategic intuition, Adolf Hitler.

However, it is safe to say that the outlook today on the Russian front is more favorable than at any previous time in this war.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was largely a desperate attempt to gain the appearance of a victory to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack -- plans which were coordinated with the whole United Nations offensive strategy.

I cannot tell what will be the course of events in the next few months. But they will be costly months for Germany. The Russians are today killing or capturing considerable numbers of German soldiers and destroying great quantities of German equipment in a relentless process of attrition.

We know that there exists still today a small, noisy minority of Americans who sneer at Russia; who would have us once more leave a blank space on the world's map in that vast area inhabited by nearly two hundred million human beings -- the same noisy minority which falsely labels as Communists every man and woman in this country who has some ideals of the bettering of the human race. Americans and their Allies know how much of their present strategic position is due to the feats of the Russian Army.

Just as we are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Russian Army in the conquest of Germany, so I believe that we can join with them in arriving at a just peace for all the world.

Our operations in the Pacific theatre have gone well. In orderly process, the Japanese have been thrown out of the most westerly islands in the Aleutians. They retain only one of the thousands of islands that extend nearly a thousand miles west from the coast of Alaska.

Time runs on our side. It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japanese have lost more planes than they have been able to replace by new planes. The Japanese have lost many thousand tons more shipping than they have been able to turn out in their home years.

If this process of whittling down can be effectually continued it will clearly be impossible for Japan to retain her foothold on that vast southern line that runs all the way from Burma and the Strait Settlement and Siam through the arm of the Dutch East Indies and New Guinea and the Solomons.

We have, too, the utmost admiration for the splendid continuing fight that the Chinese have put up in what is now their seventh year of constant war against the Japanese. It is only a year and a half ago that the Burma road was cut but we are working day and night to replace that road

by air -- over high mountains -- in order that better equipment may be provided for the Chinese armies and so we can maintain and build up the heroic American air force operating in China and, we hope soon, operating out of China against Japan itself.

In the Pacific theatre two great accomplishments stand out, as in the Atlantic theatre. First, the cooperation between the allied nations has reached a greater efficiency than has existed between allies in any prior war.

And the second is that the operations in the whole field of the Pacific cannot be separated from the domestic front. They are all one because it is the people back home that make possible the fine heroism and well conducted operations where we can get access to the forces of the enemy themselves.

I read one morning that the people in this country are letting down in their effort, on the ground that the war might just as well be considered won. I am told that production is falling off because people are not merely over-confident but that they are satisfied that the war will soon be over and that we shall have victory.

I read the next day that everything is going wrong and that there are grumblings and rumblings; that the allies are fighting among themselves; that there is no policy for the war, no policy for the peace. Perhaps these stories constitute a good illustration of a healthy democratic spirit -- the idea that anybody, whether they know anything about the thing or not, can express an opinion and create a controversy which does not exist.

Neither side is right. We read one day that the war will be over before Christmas, 1943; and the next day we read that we shall still be fighting the Japanese in 1949.

We have no reason for over-confidence. We have no reason to assume that the end is in sight. We have no reason to sit back until there is some kind of an internal revolution in Germany or Italy or Japan. The war has got into its stride and the actual operations are working out on the whole with success.

But it is a long, long road to Berlin, and a long, long road to Tokyo. We have no right to count on a collapse of our enemies. We must fight the fight on the assumption that they will not collapse and that we will have to keep on hammering until we have overwhelmed them by force of arms.

The other view is equally wrong. There is the utmost cooperation between all of the United Nations in the conduct of the war, and there is high agreement between them in regard to what kind of a peace we are seeking.

It is not the time to talk about boundaries. Let us win the war first. It is not the time to talk about what will be done with this little corner of the world or that little corner of the world. Let us win the war first. We do have unanimity on the great and immediate objective. It is the winning of the war first -- and with it the crushing of the desire of the Fascists, the Nazis and the Japanese to carry an offensive into every part of the world and dominate it for their own purposes for all time to come. The objectives are expressed in the Atlantic Charter.

It is right that studies be made looking to a post-war world which will be a happier world for all mankind than in the world in which we live. But it seems to me a bit silly to make political issues of things which cannot possible come to any reality until we have won the war and destroyed the philosophy of aggression.

I think it is poor policy to talk of the war ending six months from now or two years from now or, as it has been suggested, in 1949. I think I have as clear an over-all picture of the war as anybody else and I would be wholly unwilling to make any prediction about its end. I hope it will come quickly but, on the other hand, it may take a long time. (Foch story?)

Therefore, the only thing that we have any right to speculate about is whether today, or while the war lasts, we are doing -- every individual one of us -- all that we possibly can to prosecute the war.

Draft #2

SECOND DRAFT

- 1 -

We have now been in this war about nineteen months.
[It is interesting and instructive ^{It is a good time} to add up the account of our achievements to date as compared with our achievements during ^{of our participation in the first World War,} the nineteen months between April 1917 and November 1918.

By November 1918 we had managed to get two million men overseas. But the very large majority of all the troops we sent to France in 1917 and 1918 were only partially trained troops. When they got there they had to go into ^{intensive} training ^{and} a far back from the front ^{line} before they were considered fit to go ^{into action} to the front. Nearly all of them left these shores insufficiently equipped. Not all of them had American-made rifles or machine guns, or the ammunition to go in them. Very few of them had American-made artillery. [A very large part of their important equipment came from the British Army or the French Army. And, after a year and a half of war, practically every plane which American fliers flew was a plane of British or French manufacture.]

There were virtually no American-made planes in combat before Armistice Day 1918. A very large part of our guns and ammunition and practically all of our planes had to be furnished us by our Allies.

Today, after the same period of a year and a half, we have [again] more than two million men overseas. They were transported under [sea] conditions far more difficult than in the days of 1917 and 1918. The submarine menace has been far greater. *for we have had to cover the vast distances of the Pacific as well as the Atlantic.* ~~and it has faced us not only in the Atlantic but the Pacific.~~ [--]

and we have had to build not merely more transports but an infinite number of escort vessels to keep them safe. And in this war, to the ^{by much greater German} submarine menace has been added the threat from land-based and carrier-based bombers, *and from the Japanese navy.*

[But the comparison I want to make chiefly is that] *who has gone* everyone of our soldiers sent overseas in this war has been *with the essential and much the best* fully equipped, ~~not~~ merely more elaborately equipped, but fitted out with every necessary weapon of war. Their rifles and machine guns were made here. *the trucks, the tanks* The artillery, the anti-aircraft guns *in the United States.* have been made here ~~and~~ in addition to the complete equipment of our own armed forces, we have helped *and* arm our Allies by *lending* ~~turning~~ guns and sending them billions of dollars worth of ammunition and planes and trucks to help in the common cause.

ammunition, planes - all the equipment has

2 1/2

substantially in the equipment of our fighting allies throughout the world.

Just to give you an idea of what these equipment problems have been; in one recent bombing raid by Americans, we used up million gallons of gasoline which had to be transported safely thousands of miles across the ocean. And to anyone who may complain about gas rationing here at home I would like to say that if we had withheld this gasoline from ~~Germany~~ ^{Scaly} ~~Germany~~ it would have provided million of pleasure driving. Would any American urge us to do that ~~to take the next step in the submarine~~ ~~to take the next step in the submarine~~ ~~instead of using it in support of our troops in the field of battle?~~

The battle of Italy will probably take million of gallons

All of this has required an almost
unbelievable amount of shipping. That shipping
had both produced and has been produced. This
year we are producing 16000000 tons of
merchant shipping. In addition to the
greatest fighting ship construction in history.
Next year our merchant ship production is
over 20,000,000 tons. At the same time
we have been putting down more and more submarines
~~each~~ and have been losing fewer and
fewer ships. Every ocean and every sea has
been spanned by our bridge of ships.

This increased tonnage is ~~valuable~~
not only ~~and~~ helping to win the war
but is starting ~~the~~ the restoration of trade.
For example, ~~at present~~

and it enables us, with added shipping facilities, to bring the much needed coffee from Brazil and other Republics.

[And by the way it may be good news to you to know that with the constant weekly gain in the allied tonnage of the world, I believe that the time is not far distant when we ^{increased shipping will} ~~will be able~~ ^{enable us} to end entirely the rationing of coffee and the

rationing of sugar.

P In 1917-1918 the theatre of war was principally limited to the Western Front in Europe. To-day the whole world is a battle front.

[Perhaps the greatest difference between this war and the last one lies in the fact that we now have a formidable enemy in the Pacific Ocean. We now have the additional job of fighting and beating the Japanese -- six thousand miles away.]

Nineteen months after our entry into the first World War, the Allied forces defeated Germany and ended the war. [Today,] ^W we can not yet see the end of this war. But we can say -- and our enemies know -- that we and our fighting Allies of the United Nations now hold the initiative -- we are on the offensive all over the world. And we shall continue to hold the initiative and ^{push forward on} take the offensive until the moment of final victory.

4 1/2

Not so long ago it was the arrogant
claim of the Axis, the Fascists, and the Japanese
that the peace-loving democracies were hopelessly
inefficient as compared with the high-powered
machines developed under the dictatorships. It was
true that we seemed slow in getting started. But
once we did get started we found to our
enemies that we could produce machines far
more powerful than theirs and that these
machines in the hands of free men could
outfight the best that they could offer.

We have been thrilled by the occupation of Sicily by [American and] British ^{and American} and Canadian troops — with a small contingent of French Moroccan troops added. You do not have to be an expert to see from the map that the Island of Sicily opens up the possibility of attack against the mainland of Europe in half a dozen different directions. The situation which Germany held on interior lines has now been reversed ^{and to hold}.

Today Germany and Italy are on the outside lines, compelled to remain constantly on the alert along the whole coast of France, of Italy, of Norway, of ^{Holland, Belgium,} Denmark, of Yugoslavia, and of Greece ^{in order} [strongly enough] to protect their long line against invasion.

The taking of Sicily is a preliminary to further and larger attacks.

I must confess that I am of an impatient disposition — that I would like, with our Allies, to decide on an operation and get it going in a week or two. After we had landed in Africa last November, I was impatient when months went by before we were able to concentrate a large enough force to accomplish the overwhelming success which was ours in Tunis. ^{We were} I was impatient when the prolonged rains bogged down the planes and the advancing ground forces. ^{We were} I was

impatient when it took so long to get all the landing craft necessary to carry the armies across the Mediterranean into Sicily.

But all of us have come to realize that no Prime Minister, no President, no General can pick up the telephone and order a major operation to be started at once. ^{These operations} They all take planning -- months and months of it.

As you know, the great expedition against North Africa, in November, 1942, was decided on in Washington in June, 1942. The operation against Sicily was decided on ^{when I was} at Casablanca in January of this year, and ^{the} the earliest possible date we could put it into effect was the tenth of July this year.

On behalf of the American people, I want to say a word about the officers and men who have conducted, and are conducting, this operation. They have shown magnificent skill and courage and we are proud of them all -- Americans and their Allies alike. (A)

The smashing victory in Tunisia, and the approaching victory in Sicily are the result of brilliant planning and perfect coordination of all arms, land, sea and air.

(A) p. 6

By far the toughest part of the fighting has
been done by the British Eighth Army, but that is
no new experience for this magnificent
force.

The planning of these operations represented long months of patient, painstaking work here in Washington, and in London, and finally in North Africa. Two thousand ships participated in the actual invasion. But behind them were *more* ^{thousands of} other ships, sailing and guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men and the equipment and supplies which were necessary to do this big job. And behind those ships were the railroad lines and highways that carried the men and the supplies to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the farms that supplied the material -- there were the training camps where the men learned how to perform their strange and difficult and dangerous tasks.

When the great undertaking started, every man, every scrap of equipment, every ship had to be in precisely the right place at precisely the right time. We knew all too well that if we made any mistakes they would have to be paid for with the lives of ^{our} sons. I believe I can say that not one mistake was made.

The credit for the coordination of the diverse forces in the field was attributable primarily to the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower,

Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder.

You ^{have heard} will hear some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together -- you ^{have heard} will hear some people say that the Army and Navy and Air Forces can never get along well together -- that real cooperation between them is impossible. ^{Tunis & Sicily have given the lie to this, once and for all.} But I can tell you that if General Eisenhower and his splendid staff had suffered from such narrow-minded prejudices, ^{then} the historic victories in Tunisia and Sicily could never have been gained. In fact, if that kind of thinking ^{had} prevailed, ^{generally} we should ^{have lost} most certainly lose this war.

Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily -- together. And we shall carry on together.

You ^{have also heard it said} will also hear some people say that while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front we are failing miserably on the home front. ^{look} ~~This is a well known fact.~~ This is another of those theories -- easy to state but impossible to prove. But I want to point out also that people back home in the United States had a great part in our success.

The speed with which the landing boats were constructed; the speed with which our merchant ships increased and are still

transferring to X on p. 10

SECOND DRAFT

- 3 -

to x in front

increasing in numbers week by week and month by month; the speed with which the Navy escort ships are being built; the speed with which the guns and the ammunition are being made in our factories and transported to the seacoast for shipment overseas; the speed with which airplanes have been built to give us and our Allies control of the air; the speedy and orderly shipping of tanks, trucks, machinery of all kinds, and food -- all these things were an indispensable part of the ^{Tunisian and} Sicily campaign.

But the longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the ^{middle of a} page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front". The two of them are inescapably tied up together.

~~War these days cannot be divided in such an easy fashion. War has to be conducted by an entire population. You cannot draw a line of demarcation between the soldier at the front and the soldier training back home. You cannot draw a line between the man or woman in uniform or the man or woman in civilian clothes. You cannot draw a line between the worker in a munition factory and the worker in a plow factory. You cannot draw a line between a worker turning out airplanes and~~

SECOND DRAFT

- 10 -

a worker turning out copper or coal, or a worker turning out wheat or cotton or hogs.

[Every new division that is raised in this country is dependent for its equipment, and therefore for its training, on the people in civilian clothes in the factories and on the farms. That division is dependent on the workers of America and the manufacturing experts of America.] (A)

Every regiment that leaves our shores for the fighting fronts is dependent on the ship builders of America; the makers of the steel from which ships are made, and the miners of coal and iron and many other things that go in to the making of the steel; the truck builders, the railroad car builders, and the great army of railroad employees who keep our transportation system going; and, finally, to the spirit of the people of America as a whole who buy Victory Bonds, who pay their taxes, and who willingly accept certain sacrifices, and who know that we are in this war to the end and who for sake of controversy and personal bickerings -- ^{and concentrate} concentrating only on winning the war, and ridding the world of future threats of aggression and new wars.]

X Here take
transportation from
p. 8 + 9

A p 10.

~~If our home front were as bad~~

Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its crew and equipment as indeed it is for its manpower on the American people, in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home

That is why there is no such thing as two fronts. We pay special honor and give special thanks to our boys who daily face hardship, danger, and death on the war fronts. But we also give honor and thanks to the people back home who are going about their daily work conscientiously and gladly for exactly the same purpose and in exactly the same cause.

It is greatly due to them that after a year and a half of war -- the same length of time that we were engaged from the beginning to the end of the first World War -- we have accomplished one of the great miracles of the history of warfare.

(A) > [As important as anything to our present successes is the tremendous part that the Soviet armed forces are playing.]

P We might as well confess that the best military experts, in the Summer of 1941, believed that Russia could not hold out more than a few months at the most against the German armies, which had attacked them without provocation. [Their magnificent retirement, the moving of many of their munition plants from western Russia back to the center of the country, and the complete unanimity of the Russian population which threw itself into the defense of their homeland -- all these things astonished the experts and the whole world.] B

(A) p. 11

The force of our gigantic war effort is being felt today on many fields far removed from those on which our sons are now fighting. I am thinking particularly of the Russian front. We can be proud of the fact that we together with the British have contributed to the striking power of the Russian armies.

(B) p. 11

The ability of the Russians to retire without breaking, to move many of their industrial plants from western Russia far into the interior, to stand together with complete unanimity in their ~~total~~ defense of their home-land - these were the capacities in the Russian people with which ~~the experts~~ of the German high command had not reckoned. Frustrated the plans of the German high command for easy conquest.

[And after they held the line through that long Winter of 1941-1942, there were many who believed that the Summer of 1943 would see the downfall of Russia. When they held Stalingrad and saved the Caucasus, the world wondered some more. We have all grown more secure by the fact that Russia today stands unconquered -- that Russia won the magnificent battle of Stalingrad, destroying an German army and then moving to the counter-offensive on a vast scale.]

It is always dangerous to make any prophecies about the progress of the Russian armies. This fact has been brought home forcibly to that master of strategic intuition, Adolf Hitler.

However, it is safe to say that the outlook today on the Russian front is more favorable than at any previous time in this war.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was largely a desperate attempt to gain the appearance of a victory to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack -- plans which were coordinated with the whole United Nations offensive strategy.

I cannot tell what will be the course of events in the next few months. But they will be costly months for Germany. The Russians are today killing or capturing considerable numbers of German soldiers and destroying great quantities of German equipment in a relentless process of attrition.

We know that there exists still today a small, noisy minority of Americans who sneer at Russia; who would have us once more leave a blank space on the world's map in that vast area inhabited by nearly two hundred million human beings -- the same noisy minority which falsely labels as Communists every man and woman in this country who has some ideals of the bettering of the human race. Americans and their Allies know how much of their present strategic position is due to the feats of the Russian Army.

Just as we are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Russian Army in the conquest of Germany, so I believe that we can join with them in arriving at a just peace for all the world.

Who suspect that we will not be able to co-operate with Russia in the future world. But this does not represent American opinion. For Americans will not forget what the Russian Army has done for the cause of the United Nations in this war.

SECOND DRAFT

[Our operations in the Pacific theatre have gone well. In orderly process, the Japanese have been thrown out of the most westerly islands in the Aleutians. They retain only one of the thousands of islands that extend nearly a thousand miles west from the coast of Alaska.] (A)

[Time runs on our side.] It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japanese have lost more planes, ^{and more ships} than they have been able to replace, ^{by new planes.} [The Japanese have lost many thousand tons more shipping than they have been able to turn out in their home ^{yards.} years.] (B)

[If this process of whittling down can be effectually continued it will clearly be impossible for Japan to retain her foothold on that vast southern line that runs all the way from Burma and the Strait Settlement and Siam through the arch of the Dutch East Indies and New Guinea and the Solomons.]

We have, too, the utmost admiration for the splendid continuing fight that the Chinese have put up in what is now their seventh year of constant war against the Japanese. It is only a year and a half ago that the Burma road was out but we are working day and night to replace that road

A (14)

In the Pacific

We are pushing the Japs in all ~~Asian~~ [↑] ~~farther~~ places, from the Aleutians to New Guinea - for there too we have taken the initiative. And we are not going to let go of it.

(B) p 14

But it is important for all of us to remember that the Japanese have not yet suffered any substantial losses to their forces on land comparable, losses sustained by the Germans and ~~Italians~~ at Stalingrad or the Germans and Italians in Tunisia.

The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition can drive the Japanese back from one advanced position to another and break their life lined lines of communication. It is obvious, however, that the final defeat of Japan will have to be accomplished on land - on the soil of China.

(over)

After that, we can move across to the
islands of Japan themselves.

3
THIRD DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

JULY 1943

We have now been in this war about nineteen months.

It is a good time to add up the account of our achievements to date as compared with our achievements during the nineteen months of our participation in the first World War -- between April 1917 and November 1918.

By *Armistice Day* ~~November 1918~~ we had managed to get two million men overseas. But the very large majority of all the troops we sent to France in 1917 and 1918 were only partially trained. When they got overseas, they had to go into intensive training far back from the front line before they were considered fit to ~~go~~ *set* into action. Nearly all of them left these shores insufficiently equipped. Not all of them had American-made rifles or machine guns, or the ammunition to go in them. Very few of them had American-made artillery.

There were virtually no American-made planes in combat before Armistice Day 1918. A very large part of our guns and ammunition and practically all of our planes had to be furnished us by our Allies.

- 2 -

Everyone of our soldiers who has gone overseas in this war has been fully equipped with the essential and the best weapons of war. Their rifles and machine guns were made here. The artillery, trucks, tanks, the anti-aircraft guns, ammunition, planes -- all the equipment has been made here in the United States. In addition to the complete equipment of our own armed forces, we have helped ~~xxxxxxxalliesxxxxxxxalliesxxxxxxxallies~~ ~~xxxxxxxalliesxxxxxxxalliesxxxxxxxallies~~ substantially in the equipment of our fighting allies throughout the world.

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Just to give you our idea of what these equipment problems have been: in one recent bombing raid, we used up _____ million gallons of gasoline which had to be transported safely thousands of miles across the ocean. The battle of Sicily will probably take _____ millions of gallons. And to anyone who may complain about gas rationing here at home, I would like to say that if we had withheld this gasoline from Sicily it would have provided _____ miles of pleasure driving. Would any American urge us to do that instead of using it in support of our troops on the field of battle?

All of this has required an almost unbelievable amount of shipping. That shipping had to be produced and has been produced. This year we are producing sixteen million tons of merchant shipping -- in addition to the greatest ^{Combat} fighting ship construction in history. Next year our merchant ship production will be over twenty million tons. At the same time, we have been sinking more and more submarines and have been losing fewer and fewer ships. Every ocean and every sea has been spanned by our bridge of ships.

This increased tonnage is not only helping to win the war but is starting the restoration of trade. For example, I believe that the time is not far distant when merchant shipping will enable us to end entirely the rationing of coffee and the rationing of sugar.

In 1917-1918 the theatre of war was principally limited to the Western Front in Europe. Today the whole world is a battle front.

Nineteen months after our entry into the first World War, the Allied forces defeated Germany and ended the war. We cannot yet see the end of this war. But we can say -- and our enemies know -- that we and our fighting Allies of the United Nations now hold the initiative -- we are on the offensive all over the world. And we shall continue to hold the initiative and push forward on the offensive until the moment of final victory. *But this means that production here at home not only keeps up but increases month after month*

Not so long ago it was the arrogant claim of the Nazis, the Fascists and the Japanese that the peace-loving democracies were hopelessly inefficient ~~as~~ compared with the high-powered machines developed under the dictatorships. ~~It was true that~~ ^A

INSERT A - PAGE #4

Germany and Japan -- and to a less extent Italy -- started to build up what they thought would be an undefeatable war machine back as far as 1930. ^{Then, realizing even then, our conquest of the world} The democracies of the world relied on decency and good-will and failed to increase their armed forces. Then came 1939 and the Axis armies swept all before them for a time. ^{just now} It was only then that the Allies began to build, and we know now that if it had not been for the last ditch stand of Britain in the Summer and Fall of 1940 it is wholly probable that Germany would have succeeded in dominating the world.

Even in 1941 the German armies felt themselves sufficiently strong to take Russia, with the result that vast Russian territories were occupied by that Autumn. Germany and Italy felt themselves so successful that in December Japan climbed aboard the winning team, aiming to eliminate the United States from any possible aid to the other nations that almost literally had their backs to the wall. We had our defense programs well under way by then. Plans were made, factories had begun to go up and the Selective Service army was in the making. Our actual ? of war did not find us wholly unprepared as it did April,

INSERT A - PAGE #4 (continued) -2-

1917. Our already increased output was multiplied many times over and we proved to our enemies that we could produce machines far more powerful than theirs and that these machines in the hands of free men could outfight the best that they could offer.

INSERT B

Germany and Italy are now on the receiving end -- and if their lines are contracted by retirement ^{into} within what they call "The Fortress of Europe", they automatically make it shorter and easier for our great bombing squadrons to reach [into for victory in] every part of Germany and Poland and Czechoslovakia and Austria and Hungary and Roumania.

~~we seemed slow in getting started. But once we did get started-~~
we proved to our enemies that we could produce machines far more powerful than theirs and that these machines in the hands of free men could outfight the best that they could offer.

We have been thrilled by the occupation of Sicily by British, Canadian and American troops. You do not have to be an expert to see from the map that the Island of Sicily opens up the possibility of attack against the mainland of Europe in half a dozen different directions. The situation which Germany used to hold on interior lines has now been reversed. Today Germany and Italy are on the outside lines, compelled to remain constantly on the alert along the whole coast of France, Italy, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Yugoslavia, and Greece in order to protect their long line against invasion. B.

The taking of Sicily is a preliminary to further and larger attacks.

I must confess that I am of an impatient disposition -- that I would like, with our Allies, to decide on an operation and get it going in a week or two. After we had landed

THIRD DRAFT

-6-

in Africa last November, I was impatient -- we were all impatient -- when months went by before we were able to concentrate a large enough force to accomplish the overwhelming success which was ours in Tunis. We were impatient when the prolonged rains bogged down the planes and the advancing ground forces. We were impatient when it took so long to get all the landing craft ^{oper} necessary to carry the armies across the Mediterranean into Sicily.

But all of us have come to realize that no Prime Minister, no President, no General can pick up the telephone and order a major operation to be started at once. These operations all take planning -- months and months of it.

As you know, the great expedition against North Africa, in November, 1942, was decided on in Washington in June, 1942. The operation against Sicily was decided on at Casablanca in January of this year, and yet the earliest possible date we could put it into effect was the tenth of July this year.

On behalf of the American people, I want to say a word about the officers and men who have conducted, and are conducting, this operation. They have shown magnificent skill and courage and we are proud of them all -- Americans

and their Allies alike.

By far, the toughest part of the fighting has been borne by the British Eighth Army, but that is no new experience for this magnificent force.

The planning of these operations represented long months of patient, painstaking work here in Washington, and in London, and finally in North Africa. Two thousand ships participated in the actual invasion. But behind them were more thousands of ships, sailing and guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men and the equipment and supplies which were necessary to do this big job. And behind those ships were the railroad lines and highways that carried the men and the supplies to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the farms that supplied the materiel -- there were the training camps where the men learned how to perform their strange and difficult and dangerous tasks.

When the great undertaking started, every man, every scrap of equipment, every ship had to be in precisely the right place at precisely the right time. We know all too well that if we made any mistakes they would have to

THIRD DRAFT

* * *

be paid for with the lives of our sons. I believe I can say
that ^{no major} ~~not-one~~ mistake was made.

The credit for the coordination of the diverse forces in the field was attributable primarily to the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower, Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder.

You have heard some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together -- you have heard some people say that the Army and Navy and Air Forces can never get along well together -- that real cooperation between them is impossible. Tunis and Sicily have given the lie to this, once and for all. I can tell you that if General Eisenhower and his splendid staff had suffered from such narrow-minded prejudices, their historic victories in Tunisia and Sicily could never have been gained. In fact, if that kind of thinking had prevailed generally, we should most certainly have lost this war.

Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily -- together. And we shall carry on together.

You have also heard it said that while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front, we are failing miserably on the home front. This is another of those theories -- easy to state but impossible to prove.

But the longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the middle of a page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front". The two of them are inexorably tied up together.

Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its crew and equipment, as indeed it is for its manpower, on the American people in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home.

Every regiment that leaves our shores for the fighting fronts is dependent on the ship builders of America; the makers of the steel from which ships are made, and the miners of coal and iron and many other things that go in to the making of the steel; the truck builders, the railroad car builders, and the great army of railroad employees who keep our transportation system going, and, *finally, be* *they are dependent on* the spirit of the people of America

as a whole who buy Victory Bonds, who pay their taxes, and who willingly accept certain sacrifices, ~~and who~~ know that we are in this war to the end and who forsake controversy and personal bickerings -- and concentrate only on winning the war.

The speed with which the landing boats were constructed; the speed with which our merchant ships increased and are still increasing in numbers week by week and month by month; the speed with which the Navy escort ships are being built; the speed with which the guns and the ammunition are being made in our factories and transported to the seacoast for shipment overseas; the speed with which airplanes have been built to give us and our Allies control of the ^(-C)air; the speed and orderly shipping of tanks, trucks, machinery of all kinds, and food -- all these things were an indispensable part of the Tunisian and Sicily campaigns.

That is why there is no such thing as two fronts. We pay special honor and give special thanks to our boys who daily face hardship, danger, and death on the war fronts. But we also give honor and thanks to the people back home who are going about their daily work conscientiously, ~~and~~ ^{and without complaining} gladly for exactly the same purpose and in exactly the same cause.

It is greatly due to them that after a year and a half of war -- ~~the same length of time that we were engaged from the beginning to the end of the first World War~~ -- we have accomplished ^{here and overseas} one of the great miracles of ~~the~~ history, ~~or~~

~~-----~~

The force of our gigantic war effort is being felt today on many fields far removed from those on which our own sons are now fighting. I am thinking particularly of the Russian front. We can be proud of the fact that we, together with the British, have contributed ^{so much} to the striking power of the Russian armies.

[We might as well confess that] the best military experts, in the Summer of 1941, believed that Russia could not hold out more than a few months at the most against the German armies, which had attacked them without provocation.

The ability of the Russians to retire without breaking, to move many of their industrial plants from western Russia far into the interior, to stand together with complete unanimity in their defense of their homeland -- these were the capacities in the Russian people which frustrated the plans of the German high command for easy conquest.

It is always dangerous to make any prophecies about the progress of the Russian armies. This fact has been brought home forcibly to that master of strategic intuition, Adolf Hitler.

However, it is safe to say that the outlook today on the Russian front is more favorable than at any previous time in this war.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was largely a desperate attempt to gain the appearance of a victory to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack -- plans which ~~were~~ coordinated with the whole United Nations offensive strategy.

I cannot tell what will be the course of events in the next few months. But they will be costly months for Germany. The Russians are today killing or capturing considerable numbers of German soldiers and destroying great quantities of German equipment in a relentless process of attrition.

We know that there exists still today a small, noisy minority of Americans who insist that we will not be able to cooperate with Russia in the future world. But this does not

represent American opinion. For Americans will not forget what the Russian Army has done for the cause of the United Nations in this war.

Just as we are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Russian Army in the conquest of Germany, so I believe that we can join with them in arriving at a just peace for all the world.

In the Pacific we are pushing the Japs^{Asians} in all places, from the Aleutians to New Guinea -- for there too we have taken the initiative. And we are not going to let go of it.

It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japs~~ese~~ have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

But it is important for all of us to remember that the Japs~~ese~~ have not yet suffered any substantial losses to their forces on land, comparable ^{to the} losses sustained by the Germans at Stalingrad or the Germans and Italians in Tunisia. The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition ~~can~~ ^{will} drive the Japanese back from one advanced position to another and break their lengthened lines of communication. It is obvious,

however, that the real smashing of Japanese power will have to be accomplished on land -- on the soil of China. After that, we can move across to the islands of Japan themselves.

We have, too, the utmost admiration for the splendid continuing fight that the Chinese have put up in what is now their seventh year of constant war against the Japanese. It is only a year and a half ago that the Burma Road was cut, but we are working day and night to replace that road by air -- over high mountains -- in order that better equipment may be provided for the Chinese armies and so we can maintain and build up the heroic American air force operating in China ^{with} ~~and we hope soon,~~ ~~operating out of China against Japan itself.~~

A vitally important part of the whole war picture today is the development of the Allied military government in regions occupied by United Nations forces.

This is having its first test in Sicily. Our handling of this situation is being watched with understandable attention by the peoples of occupied countries, in Asia as well as in Europe.

They want to see proof that the United Nations forces are the forces of liberation all over the world. ~~And we intend to provide that proof.~~ ^(E.)

The purposes of Allied Military Government, as now being applied in Sicily, are these:

First -- to establish and maintain security and order.

This is now being done, with gratifying rapidity, and with the cordial cooperation of the Italian people in occupied areas.

Second - to ensure that the civilian population is provided with the necessities of life -- food, clothing, fuel, and so forth - until the time comes when they are once more able to provide for themselves. Indeed, the people in Sicily today are rejoicing in the fact that, for the first time in years, they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labors -- they can eat what they themselves grow instead of having it stolen from them by the Fascists and the Nazis.

Our third purpose -- to weed out the Fascist officials and dissolve the Fascist organizations which have been the instruments of Fascist tyranny. This too is being done -- with the hearty cooperation of the Italian people.

Such forces mean an end to the tyranny of dictatorships and the creation of opportunities for orderly government beginning in the localities themselves and the formation of national government based on the principles of peace and decent living.

Our final purpose is to enable the people to regain their own voice and to reassert their own sovereignty, so that they may choose their own government according to the basic democratic principles of liberty and equality.

In every country conquered by the Nazis, the Fascists or the Japanese militarists, the people have been reduced to the status of slaves or chattels.

It is our determination to restore them to the dignity of human beings, masters of their own fate, captains of their own souls, entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

We have started to make good on that promise. And what we have started in Sicily will be continued as the forces of the United Nations push to total victory *everywhere.*

~~The soldiers and sailors of France know this. That is why they are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the soldiers and sailors of Britain and America, and of Norway, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece.~~

I have spoken of the meticulous planning which made possible the successful occupation of North Africa and the invasion of Sicily. That same kind of careful planning will be required if we are to keep the fruits of victory and do our share

in building the kind of peaceful world which is the aim of all of us. The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in a discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. This is not the time to lay out boundaries or to determine what will be done with every little corner of the world or every political controversy now shaping up in various parts of the world. The all-important thing now is to get on with the war -- and to win it. The first thing to do is to destroy the forces of aggression and to overthrow the philosophy of aggression -- everywhere in the world.

But I can tell you that with our eye on the ball, while we concentrate on military victory, we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, the freedoms which we know will make a happier world for all mankind than the world in which we live.

As an example of that type of planning -- one which has priority over all the others -- is the necessity of laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant men in the armed services. While no one can predict the date of that happy event, we must, this time, have the plans ready instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at

the last moment as we did in 1919.

The men in our army and navy and air force do not want or expect to return to a pampered or special-privileged life when they come home. But they do want -- they have every right to expect -- a chance to pick up the lost threads, to get started again in their careers, to continue their education -- and, above all, to know that they are self-respecting members of a community in which there is enough work and enough happiness for all.

I have assured our men in the armed forces that the American people would not let them down when the war is won -- that they would not return to a country suffering from inflation and unemployment, to take a place on a bread line or on a corner selling apples. What happened after the last war -- largely as a result of absence of planning -- must not happen again.

I hope that the Congress will help in carrying out this assurance, for obviously the Executive Branch of the Government cannot do it alone. I have full confidence that the Congress will do its duty in this regard -- and that the American people will insist on fulfilling this American obligation to the men and women -- in civilian life as well as in the armed forces -- who are winning this war for us.

Before this war ends we must have a fully developed program to insure that victory means total victory -- at home as well as on the battle field. Your government, in cooperation with business, farmers, and workers, is determined to create the conditions under which the greatest possible amount of employment is possible. Some steps have already been taken to make sure that all plants and facilities financed by the Government for war purposes will be made available on a fair and equal basis to all industry for peace-time purposes. Equal access to ~~strategic~~ ^{industrial} raw materials for peace time use should be assured to all ^{nations} ~~business~~.

Assurances have already been given to the farmers on prices for their products after the war, in the Stabilization Act of October 2, 1942. But still more needs to be done to provide for the farmers the conditions which will make full employment and full production by them desirable.

Unlike the last war, ~~the reconversion of industry to peace time pursuits and the demobilization of our men and women must and will be handled so that~~ workers who are ready, willing and able, ^{must} ~~will~~ have an opportunity to engage in productive employment, ~~as rapidly as possible~~. I do not intend to see them demobilized into unemployment.

But to make immediate provision for the men and women now in the armed forces and merchant marine is our first duty. To them, as indeed to all other workers in the factories, in the mines, on the railroads and on the farms, the one deep felt want is an assured opportunity to work when the war is over. This great country can and must provide jobs for everyone who wants one. I intend to propose to the Congress certain legislation which will assure the opportunity for jobs. We must make it possible for the government, private industry, workers and farmers to cooperate to this end, in much the same way as they are assuring us victory on the battlefield.

In addition to general planning on the basic problems of jobs after the war, every possible action will be taken by the Executive Branch of the government within existing law, and new legislation will be suggested to the Congress, looking to the adjustment of our returning armed forces to civilian life.

These proposals involve:

- Mustering out pay*
1. ~~Dismissal wage equal to a maximum of one year's~~

~~pay~~ to every member of the armed forces and merchant marine when he or she is honorably discharged. The exact amount of the dismissal wage should be related to the length of each individual's service, (7)

INSERT F PAGE 20

, but in no case less than enough to fill in the gap
between discharge and the finding of a new job.

2. An opportunity for every member of the armed ~~services~~ services to have ~~a year of~~ training and education at a high school, trade school, technical school or university at the cost of their government. ~~Additional periods of training and education should be provided for persons with proven abilities.~~

3. Credit should be given to all members of the armed forces, under the unemployment compensation and Federal old-age and survivors' insurance, for their period of service. For these purposes they should be treated as if they had continued their employment in private industry.

4. Provisions for hospitalization, rehabilitation and medical care of disabled members of the armed forces and merchant marine should be improved and liberalized.

5. Pensions for disabled members of the armed forces should be made sufficient. Any person whose ability to maintain himself through gainful employment has been limited because of injury or illness acquired while in the service of his country should be entitled to an income which at least will make it possible for him to have all of the necessities of life.

All our calculations for the future, however, must be based on clear understanding of the problems involved. And that can be gained only by straight thinking.

I confess that I myself am sometimes bewildered by conflicting statements that I see in the press.

For instance, I read one day that the people of this country are slacking on the war effort because they are too complacent, too well satisfied with the way things are going, too sure that the war is already won.

But -- the next day I read that the American people are letting down because they are so dissatisfied with the way things are being handled ~~on the home front~~ -- because they are convinced we can never successfully collaborate with our allies, we can never achieve a just and durable peace. — (G)

One day I read an "authoritative" statement that we shall win the war this year, 1943 -- and the next day comes another statement, equally "authoritative", that the war will still be going on in 1949.

INSERT G PAGE 22

-- because the United States must not be interested in what happens anywhere outside our borders -- because, any way, the Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter are a kind of silly unattainable dream like the dream of the Ten Commandments, or the Sermon on the Mount. Remember that the prototypes of these modern cynics jeered at the idealism of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution itself.

Of course, both extremes -- of optimism and pessimism -- are wrong.

~~I believe that the American people as a whole are right in their judgment of the situation. They place themselves just about in the middle -- tending, but not too much, toward the optimistic side.~~

Obviously, we have no reason for overconfidence. We have no reason to assume that the end is in sight. We have no reason to suspect that there will soon be, or ever be some kind of an internal revolution or domestic collapse in Germany or Italy or Japan. The war has got into its stride and the actual operations are working out on the whole with success.

But it is a long, long road to Berlin, and a long, long road to Tokyo. We must fight the fight on the assumption that our enemies will not collapse and that we will have to keep on hammering until we have overwhelmed them by force of arms, and smashed the last vestiges of their military power and of their evil doctrines.

The pessimistic view is equally dangerous. We most certainly cannot do our full job in this war if we are lacking in confidence in our own country.

(H)

Of course, there are some honest clashes of opinion and some silly bickering here ^{at home.} ~~on the home front~~. There will always be arguments and clashes as long as this nation remains a democracy -- and that means as long as we continue to be Americans.

The right to argue with your neighbor is part and parcel of your respect for your neighbor, and your recognition of his right to argue with you.

If the home front were a mess of confusion and dissension and bungling, then we should be suffering disasters instead of gaining victories on the fighting fronts. ~~For the fighting fronts depend absolutely on the home fronts.~~ Our armed forces depend upon our sources of production and training and planning. Our individual soldiers and sailors depend upon ^{each other and upon} their home folks, their home communities, ~~for the essential spirit which makes them fighting men.~~

As for the rumors of dissension among the Allies, either in the fighting of the war or in plans for the future world -- the American people know that some of these rumors are just plain foolish, and some of them are deliberately malicious, but that all of them put together don't add up to a hill of beans.

At this moment, your Government is engaged in serious, constructive planning for a number of forward moves *both in the field and at* ~~on the home front~~. These relate primarily to problems connected with food, with manpower, and with prices and wages. Within *a few weeks* ~~the next month~~ I shall speak *with* you again *in regard to* ~~and I shall announce~~ definite actions to be taken by the Executive Branch of the Government and specific recommendations for new legislation by the Congress.

There is one thought to be borne constantly in mind by every single man and woman *here* ~~on the home front~~.

We and our Allies together are going to win this war. But the length of the war will depend *on* ~~upon~~ the uninterrupted continuance of all-out effort on every home front here and in Latin America and throughout the British and French Empires and in the Soviet Union and in China.

Every war worker -- and that includes those who make ploughs or who keep accounts as well as those who make machine guns -- every man and woman who is involved in any way has the power to contribute to the shortening of the war.

8. Workers must have sufficient rest and recreation. They should have proper vacations. Efficiency is reduced among those who are forced or who force themselves to work at a killing pace.

However, if any worker deliberately slackens his work, who lays off because of overconfidence, or indifference, or for any other illegitimate reason, that worker is adding appreciably to the length of this war and is thus killing our own soldiers and sailors.

A falling off in our rate of production is tantamount to -- and, in fact, can be directly responsible for -- a serious defeat on the field of battle.

Knowing something about the quality of the American people, I can say with assurance that they will not tolerate any falling off in production. They will settle for nothing less than total victory on all fronts, abroad and at home!

Final Draft

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

JULY, 1943

INSERT

(A)
The pirate philosophy of the Fascists and Nazis cannot stand adversity. That is what the collapse of Mussolini meant to us ^{when we heard the good news} on Sunday afternoon.

It means also that the military superiority of the United Nations ^{on} sea and land and in the air ^{was} applied in the right place and at the right time.

Hitler ^{refused} [was unwilling] to send sufficient help to ~~save~~ Mussolini. ^{He even} [It is reported that he went a step further — in fact, he went even further than that: in Sicily, the ~~German~~ troops stole all the motor equipment from the Italian divisions, ^{Hitler's} [two weeks ago] thereby leaving the Italians in places where they could not get out and could ^{only} ~~not~~ surrender. It is a repetition of what the Germans did to the Italians ^{this one time again on the Russian front and} [more than once] in the long retreat from Egypt through Libya and Tripoli to the final surrender in Tunis.

Over a year and a half ago I said to the Congress:
"The militarists in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo started this war, but the massed, angered forces of common humanity ^{will} finish it!" ^P
~~That prophecy is in the process of being fulfilled.~~

Fourth Draft

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

JULY, 1943

INSERT

(A)

The pirate philosophy of the Fascists and Nazis cannot stand adversity. That is what the collapse of Mussolini meant to us ^{when we heard the good news} on Sunday afternoon.

It means also that the military superiority of the United Nations ^{on} sea and land and in the air ^{was} applied in the right place and at the right time.

Hitler ^{refused} was unwilling to send sufficient help to ^{save} Mussolini. ^{He} ~~It is reported that he went a step further --~~
^{In fact, he went even further than that --}
~~that in Sicily, the German troops stole all the motor~~
^{Hitler's}
equipment from the Italian divisions, ^{two weeks ago,} thereby leaving the Italians in places where they could not get out and could ^{only} not surrender. It is a repetition of what the Germans did to the Italians ^{time and time again on the Russian front and} ^{more than once} in the long retreat from Egypt through Libya and Tripoli to the final surrender in Tunis.

Over a year and a half ago I said to the Congress:

"The militarists in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo started this war, but the massed angered forces of common humanity ^{will} finish it". ^R ~~The prophecy is in the process of being fulfilled.~~

Fourth draft

(A)

They will continue
to go forward, from
many directions
converging upon their
ultimate objectives, Berlin and Tokyo.

The massed, angered forces of common
humanity are on the march. They are
going forward - on the Russian front, in
many parts of the vast Pacific area, ~~and~~ in
~~across~~ the skies over Europe and across
the Mediterranean Sea. ✓

The first great crack in the Axis has been
achieved.

The Fascist regime in Italy has collapsed.

Mussolini came to the reluctant conclusion that the "jig was up"; he could see the shadow of the long arm of the law.

[INSERT]

-2-

[The first myth -- the Fascist one -- is being exploded.

The other myth may be tougher but they will suffer the same fate.]

Our ^{to Italy} terms are still "unconditional surrender".

Mussolini and his Fascist gang will be brought to justice. No criminal will be allowed to escape by the expedient of "resignation".

Italy will ^{essentially} be reconstituted herself. ^{It will be} The people of Italy

who will do that. And, in the meantime, the United Nations will not

follow the pattern set by Mussolini for ^{the} treatment of occupied

countries -- the pattern of pillage and starvation. We are

already helping the civilian population, as is being proved in

~~Sicily. The people of that great island are cooperating for~~

~~the achievement of peace and good order.~~ [We know they will

have ^{more} food -- some from the outside but most by letting

them keep what they grow instead of stealing it in order to

ship it to Hitler.]

and Hitler and the Japanese

and punished for their crimes against humanity.

The purposes of Allied Military Government, as now being applied in Sicily, are these:

First -- to establish and maintain security and order. This is now being done, with gratifying rapidity, and with the cordial cooperation of the Italian people in occupied areas.

Second - to ensure that the civilian population is provided with the necessities of life -- food, clothing, fuel, and so forth - until the time comes when they are once more able to provide for themselves. Indeed, the people in Sicily today are rejoicing in the fact that, for the first time in years, they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labors -- they can eat what they themselves grow instead of having it stolen from them by the Fascists and the Nazis.

Our third purpose -- to weed out the Fascist officials and dissolve the Fascist organizations which have been the instruments of Fascist tyranny. This too is being done -- with the hearty cooperation of the Italian people.

4

Our final purpose is to enable the people to regain their own voice and to reassert their own sovereignty, so that they may choose their own government according to the basic democratic principles of liberty and equality.

In every country conquered by the Nazis, the Fascists or the Japanese militarists, the people have been reduced to the status of slaves or chattels.

It is our determination to restore them to the dignity of human beings, masters of their own fate, captains of their own souls, entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

We have started to make good on that promise. And what we have started in Sicily will be continued as the forces of the United Nations push to total victory.

The events leading directly to Mussolini's downfall began in June, 1942, when Mr. Churchill was ^{here} in Washington, and when Axis forces were advancing in Egypt and threatening the Suez Canal and the whole Middle East.

Then we started the planning of the North African campaign, and on November 8th the ^{first} ^{American} landings were made. Our troops at that time carried with them more ~~troops~~ small arms ammunition than the total supplied to our armies in France in ~~the first~~ the first world war. In the past eight months we have shipped to North Africa more tonnage than was shipped to the entire AEF in 1917 and 1918.

Our first task in North Africa was to drive the Nazis and the Fascists out of Tunisia into the ^{sea} ~~sea~~. That was a tough fight and it took time.

6

I must confess that I am of an impatient disposition -- that I would like, with our Allies, to decide on an operation and get it going in a week or two. After we had landed

THIRD DRAFT

in Africa last November, I was impatient -- we were all impatient -- when months went by before we were able to concentrate a large enough force to accomplish the overwhelming success which was ours in Tunis. We were impatient when the prolonged rains bogged down the planes and the advancing ground forces. *It after the great victory in Tunisia,* We were impatient when it took so long to get all the landing craft ^{over} necessary to carry the armies across the Mediterranean into Sicily.

But all of us have come to realize that no Prime Minister, no President, no General can pick up the telephone and order a major operation to be started at once. These operations all take planning -- months and months of it.

7

The planning of these operations represented long months of patient, painstaking work here in Washington, and in London, and finally in North Africa. Two thousand ships participated in the actual invasion. But behind them were more thousands of ships, sailing and guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men and the equipment and supplies which were necessary to do this big job. And behind those ships were the railroad lines and highways that carried the men and the supplies to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the farms that supplied the materials -- there were the training camps where the men learned how to perform their strange and difficult and dangerous tasks.

It was necessary to manufacture special equipment, necessary to give the troops special training for a difficult amphibious operation which would be followed later by fighting ^{on the mountainous island of Sicily.} ~~in the mountains which constitute the greater part of the island.~~ It was necessary to assemble the transportation, the destroyers, the cruisers, and the battleships which would protect the ^{from Africa.} ~~flotilla of boats as it crossed the straits of Sicily.~~

Our airmen were perfecting their schemes to blast Axis airplanes out of the sky over Sicily. For weeks, ~~the the RAF and our own~~ British and American bombers had been attacking ^{slaying} enemy bases and lines of supply.

Every ~~fort~~ ^{major} fortress that bombed harbor installations at Naples required 1,110 gallons of gasoline for each mission, which equals about 444 "C" gasoline ration tickets. ^{- as well as tanks, trucks and jeeps.} Multiply this by ^{many} hundreds of planes ~~every day~~ and you will realize why we must do without pleasure driving here at home -

9

~~Sicily and to soften up the forces on the ground prior to the final assault.~~

We planned to make the landing on the south coast of Sicily at 2:45 A.M. on July 10th. This required that each unit be at its proper place along a 100-mile stretch prepared to go ashore on a beach which was heavily defended by mines and with barbed wire extending into the water, defensive lines of trenches, pill boxes and artillery. To be deployed opposite these beaches were a total of 3,000 ships of all sizes and speeds ranging from a 21,000-ton liner which moves at a speed of 21 knots, to a 153-foot craft with a speed of 6 knots. Each vessel had to arrive at its appointed place at a certain time. Aboard these ships were 160,000 men, 14,000 vehicles, 600 tanks, and 1800 guns. The men and their equipment had to be put ashore ready for immediate fighting. In addition, it was necessary to arrange our naval and air supporting forces so as to protect this armada from submarines, surface naval warships, and bombers overhead.

[Prior to the departure of the naval and ground forces, our plan of air attack had to provide for the destruction of enemy airdromes, aircraft, communications and supply systems.]

Airborne landings by parachutists and men in gliders had to be coordinated with all other parts of our fighting

It was by all odds the most complicated operation team. [And above all, the weather had to be right, otherwise such landing in the entire history of warfare. 4]
~~craft would have flourished in the surf.~~ The success of our operations

in Sicily to date has paid dividends on the meticulous care with which the operation was planned. Our casualties in men, ships and material have been low, in fact, far below our estimates.

On behalf of the American people, I want to say a word about the officers and men who have conducted, and are conducting, this operation. They have shown magnificent skill and courage and we are proud of them all -- Americans

~~THIRD DRAFT~~

and their Allies alike.

By far, the toughest part of the fighting has been borne by the British Eighth Army, but that is no new experience for this magnificent force.

The credit for the coordination of the diverse forces in the field was attributable primarily to the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower, Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder.

You have heard some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together -- you have heard some people say that the Army and Navy and Air Forces can never get along well together -- that real cooperation between them is impossible. Tunis and Sicily have given the lie to this; once and for all. I can tell you that if General Eisenhower and his splendid staff had suffered from such narrow-minded prejudices, their historic victories in Tunisia and Sicily could never have been gained. In fact, if that kind of thinking had prevailed

conducting, this operation. They have shown magnificent skill and courage and we are proud of them all -- Americans

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Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily -- together. And we shall carry on together.

(11)

I often wonder if the magnitude of our effort in this global war is fully understood, particularly when compared with what we term World War I. For instance, in the last war problems of shipping by comparison were relatively simple, requiring as they did only the movement of supplies from our east coast ports to France. Already we have shipped more tonnage to General Eisenhower than was shipped to the AEF in France. The monthly peak load of shipping in 1918 was 800,000 short tons of cargo. Last June we shipped 1,200,000 short tons of cargo overseas.

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*we were in the last war for
a period of nineteen months.*

length of time in this war
Today, after the same ~~period of a year and months,~~

we have more than two million men overseas. They were transported under conditions far more difficult than in the days of 1917 and 1918. The submarine menace has been far greater. We have had to cover the vast distances of the Pacific as well as the Atlantic. We have had to build not merely more transports but an infinite number of escort vessels to keep them safe. And in this war, to the much greater German submarine menace has been added the threat from land-based and carrier-based bombers, and from the Japanese navy.

...that The very large majority of all the troops we sent to France in 1917 and 1918 were only partially trained. When they got overseas, they had to go into intensive training far back from the front line before they were considered fit to go into action. Nearly all of them left these shores insufficiently equipped. Not all of them had American-made rifles or machine guns, or the ammunition to go in them. Very few of them had American-made artillery.

There were virtually no American-made planes in combat before Armistice Day 1918. A very large part of our guns and ammunition and practically all of our planes had to be furnished us by our Allies.

Everyone of our soldiers who has gone overseas in this war has been fully equipped with the essential and the best weapons of war. Their rifles and machine guns were made here. The artillery, trucks, tanks, the anti-aircraft guns, ammunition, planes — all the equipment has been made here in the United States. In addition to the complete equipment of our own armed forces, we have helped ~~xx~~ ~~xx~~ substantially in the equipment of our fighting allies throughout the world.

(13)

In 1918, the Allied forces completely lacked American tanks. In this war, we have delivered 21,000 ~~to the~~ tanks to the fighting forces of the United Nations.

All of this has required an almost unbelievable amount of shipping. ^{These boats} ~~That shipping~~ had to be produced and

has been produced. This year we are producing ~~eleven~~ ———

million tons of merchant shipping — in addition to the

greatest ^{combat vessel} ~~fighting ship~~ construction in history. Next

year our ~~merchant ship~~ production will be over ~~twenty~~ ———

million tons. At the same time, we have been sinking

more and more submarines and have been losing fewer and

fewer ^{boats} ~~ships~~. ~~Every ocean and every sea has been spanned.~~

This increased tonnage is not only helping to win the war but is starting the restoration of trade. For example, I believe that the time is not far distant when merchant shipping will enable us to end entirely the rationing of coffee and the rationing of sugar.

In 1917-1918 the theatre of war was principally limited to the Western Front in Europe. Today the whole world is a battle front.

(14)

The force of our gigantic war effort is being felt today on many fields far removed from those on which our own sons are now fighting. I am thinking particularly of the Russian front. We can be proud of the fact that we, together with the British, have contributed ^{Somewhat} to the striking power of the Russian armies.

When Hitler made his unprovoked attack upon Russia in the summer of 1941, most of the military experts of the world outside Russia, agreed with the Nazi High Command that ~~the~~ the German Army could quickly and decisively defeat the Russian army and subjugate that great country.

The ability of the Russians to retire without breaking, to move many of their industrial plants from western Russia far into the interior, to stand together with complete unanimity in their defense of their homeland -- these were the capacities in the Russian people which frustrated the plans of the German high command for easy conquest.

THIRD DRAFT

* L* *

15

~~12~~ -

It is always dangerous to make any prophecies about the progress of the Russian armies. This fact has been brought home forcibly to that master of strategic intuition, Adolf Hitler.

However, it is safe to say that the outlook today on the Russian front is more favorable than at any previous time in this war.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was largely a desperate attempt to gain the appearance of a victory to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack -- plans which ~~was~~ coordinated with the whole United Nations offensive strategy.

I cannot tell what will be the course of events in the next few months. But they will be costly months for Germany. The Russians are today killing or capturing considerable numbers of German soldiers and destroying great quantities of German equipment in a relentless process of attrition.

We know that there exists still today a small, noisy minority of Americans who insist that we will not be able to cooperate with Russia in the future world. But this does not represent American opinion. For Americans will not forget what the Russian Army has done for the cause of the United Nations in this war.

(16)

The world has never seen greater devotion, determination and self-sacrifice than has been displayed by the Russian people and their armies.

By their heroic efforts, they have definitely saved their country from the Nazi menace. Furthermore, they have destroyed so much of Germany's power to wage war that the defeat of Hitlerism by the Allied Forces is sure. The only doubtful point is when will it be completed.

With a nation that has written such a glorious page in the history of the world, this country should always be willing to be a good neighbor and a sincere friend — in peace as in war.

✓ In the Pacific we are pushing the Japs ^{around} in all places, from the Aleutians to New Guinea -- for there too we have taken the initiative. And we are not going to let go of it.

It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japanese have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

But it is important for all of us to remember that the Japanese have not yet suffered any substantial losses to their forces on land, comparable ^{to the} losses sustained by the Germans at Stalingrad or the Germans and Italians in Tunisia. ~~the~~

The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition will drive the Japs back from an overlong line that extends from Burma and the Strait Settlements and Siam and the Dutch Indies to eastern New Guinea and the Solomons. Their shipping and their planes cannot support such outposts indefinitely.

Twice, during the past three weeks, our bombers have attacked Paramuchino in the northern Kuriles. This is a

very sensitive spot to the Japanese, ~~we struck~~ ^{RR} The superiority, both of our planes and especially of the American, Australian, New Zealand and Dutch fliers, is being forced painfully upon the Japanese, ^{They} ~~who~~ are finding with methodical regularity that the ratio of air losses is 6 to 1 against them ^{Sometimes as much as} on their best days and 20 to 1 ~~on the off occasion~~. Within a relatively short period our air forces have bombed the Japanese on Wake Island, on Ocean Island, on Nauru, on Tarawa, on Milli, Jaluit and Beru in the Gilbert and Marshall Islands. These raids are not diversionary gestures but full-fledged devastating attacks which have caught the Japs napping. Japanese bases in Java and Celebes have recently been struck. Our losses in these ^{operations} ~~attacks~~ have been light.

On the ground we are now teaching the Japs some new lessons in the technique of jungle warfare at which ^{they were originally} ~~he was~~ so adept. Despite the fact that ^{they have} ~~they~~ assembled powerful forces, ~~he has~~ been driven out of Guadalcanal, and in rapid succession ^{have} ~~has~~ been wiped out at Gona, Mubo on New Guinea; Segi, Wickham Anchorage, Viru Harbor on New Georgia, and Rendova. ~~In addition~~ ^{we} have occupied numerous islands which provide our fliers with important airfields. The enemy is now struggling frantically and hopelessly ^{we are softening} ~~at~~ Munda and Salamaua, ~~and is pondering his fate while we soften him up on Kiaka.~~

[At sea we find him lacking in the bold freedom of action so evident at the beginning of the war.] Our naval strength in the Pacific is constantly growing.

If the Japanese future plans for the Pacific are based on a long period of consolidation and exploitation of her conquered resources, it might be well for ~~the~~ ^{the Jap} planners to review their problem.

~~on~~ ^{on} ~~the Asiatic theater~~ ^{mainland of Asia} we are involved in offensive actions designed primarily to assist China, ~~which has been fighting the Japanese~~ ^{the people of} now in their seventh year of war. ~~he must deliver~~ ^{since 1937} The heroic armies of planes and vital war supplies for Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's forces, ~~which I intend that he shall get, are flowing to China in~~ ^{and we shall do so, at all costs.}

~~over increasing quantities~~ ^{FR} Our air supply line from India to China across enemy territory continues unabated despite attempted Japanese interference.

We have seized the initiative from the Japanese in the air over Burma and now enjoy superiority. We are ~~now~~ bombing Japanese communications, supply dumps, and bases in China, Indo-China and Burma. Military targets at

Rangoon, Mandalay, Bangkok, Hongkong, Canton, Haiphong in Indo-China and the island of Hainan receive frequent visits from our ~~heavy bombers,~~ ^{heavy bombers,} ~~Very recently~~ ^{are rendering} Our air forces in China were able to render valuable assistance ~~to Chiang Kai-shek's ground forces when the Japanese undertook a futile~~ ^{The Generalissimo's} attack in the vicinity of Ichang.

From Great Britain the United Nations are proceeding with a planned and systematic destruction of Axis means of waging war. From bases in the United Kingdom hundreds of planes, carrying many thousands of pounds of bombs, depart almost daily on missions directed against German industrial

The tide in the entire Pacific area has definitely turned - 9 - It will continue to roll inward until we have reached the islands of Japan itself.

19-a

We are still far from our main objectives in the war against Japan. But let us remember how far we were, a year ago, from any of our objectives in the European war.

We are constantly weakening the long lines of Japanese conquests by attacks on the flanks. We are pushing forward to occupation of positions ~~from~~ which ~~the~~ will enable us to attack the Japanese Islands themselves from the North, from the South, from the East, and from the West.

~~SECRET DRAFT~~

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You have also heard it said that while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front, we are failing miserably on the home front. This is another of those theories -- easy to state but impossible to prove.

But ~~the~~ longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the middle of a page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front". The two of them are inextricably tied up together.

Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its crew and equipment, as indeed it is for its manpower, on the American people in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home.

Every regiment that leaves our shores for the fighting fronts is dependent on the ship builders of America; the makers of the steel from which ships are made, and the miners of coal and iron and many other things that go in to the making of the steel; the truck builders, the railroad car builders, and the great army of railroad employees who keep our transportation system going; and, finally, ^F ~~and~~ ^{they are dependent on} the spirit of the people of America

1

(A)

go into action ~~on~~
Saturday

-- planes which leave the factory on a Monday and fly direct
from there in four or five days to the actual ^{flying} front in North
Africa; or fly from the factory in two weeks to the fighting
fronts in the Aleutians or ⁱⁿ the Southwest Pacific; pilots and
crews which fly a newly completed bomber out of the factory on
Monday and go into action with it on Saturday.

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as a whole who buy Victory Bonds, who pay their taxes, and who willingly accept certain sacrifices, ^{For they} ~~and~~ know that we are in this war to the end and ^{they} ~~who~~ forsake controversy and personal bickerings -- and concentrate only on winning the war.

The speed with which the landing boats were constructed; the speed with which our merchant ships increased [and are still increasing] in numbers week by week and month by month; the speed with which the Navy escort ships ^{were} [are being built]; the speed with which the guns and the ammunition ^{were} [are being made] in our factories and transported to the seacoast for shipment overseas; the speed with which airplanes have been built to give us and our Allies control of the air ^{— Insert A reworked —} the speed and orderly shipping of tanks, trucks, machinery, ~~of all kinds~~, and food -- all these things were an indispensable part of the Tunisian and Sicily campaigns.

That is why there is no such thing as two fronts. We pay special honor and give special thanks to our boys who daily face hardship, danger, and death on the war fronts. But we also give honor and thanks to the people back home who are going about their daily work conscientiously and ^{without} ~~without~~ ^{grousing,} ~~grousing~~ for exactly the same purpose and in exactly the same cause.

~~SECRET~~
22.

THIRD GRADE

~~SECRET~~

It is greatly due to them that after a year and a half of war [-- the same length of time that we were engaged from the beginning to the end of the first World War --] we have ^{here and witness a miracle.} accomplished ~~one of the great miracles of the history of~~

~~SECRET~~

The same kind of careful planning as was used in North Africa and Sicily will be required if we are to keep the fruits of victory and do our share

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~~22~~
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in building the kind of peaceful world which is the aim of all of us. The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in a discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. This is not the time to lay out ^{any} boundaries ^{and settle} or to determine what will be done with every little corner of the world or every political controversy ^{in all} now shaping up in various parts of the world. The all-important thing now is to get on with the war -- and to win it. [The first thing to do is to destroy the forces of aggression and to overthrow the philosophy of aggression -- everywhere in the world.]

[But I can tell you that with our eye on the ball, while we concentrate ^{ing} on military victory, ^{but, at the same time,} we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, the freedoms which we know will make a happier world for all mankind than the world in which we live.

As an example of that type of planning ^{- there is} [one which has priority over all the others --] is the necessity of laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant men in the armed services. While no one can predict the date of that happy event, we must, this time, have the plans ready instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at

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the last moment, as we did in 1919.

The men in our army and navy and air force do not want or expect to return to a pampered or special-privileged life when they come home. But they do want -- they have every right to expect -- a chance to pick up the lost threads, to get started again in their careers, to continue their education -- and, above all, to know that they are self-respecting members of a community in which there is enough work and enough happiness for all.

I have assured our men in the armed forces that the American people would not let them down when the war is won -- that they would not return to a country suffering from inflation and unemployment, to take a place on a bread line or on a corner selling apples. What happened after the last war -- largely as a result of absence of planning -- must not happen again.

I hope that the Congress will help in carrying out this assurance, for obviously the Executive Branch of the Government cannot do it alone. I have full confidence that the Congress will do its duty in this regard -- and that the American people will insist on fulfilling this American obligation to the men and women -- in civilian life as well as in the armed forces -- who are winning this war for us.

To make immediate provision for the men and women now in the armed forces and merchant marine is our first duty. To them, as indeed to all other workers in the factories, in the mines, on the railroads and on the farms, the one deep felt want is an assured opportunity to work when the war is over. This great country can and must provide jobs for everyone who wants one. I intend to propose to the Congress certain legislation which will assure the opportunity for jobs. We must make it possible for the government, private industry, workers and farmers to cooperate to this end, in much the same way as they are assuring us victory on the battlefield.

In addition to general planning on the basic problems of jobs after the war, every possible action will be taken by the Executive Branch of the government within existing law, and new legislation will be suggested to the Congress, looking to the adjustment of our returning armed forces to civilian life.

These proposals involve:

1. ~~A dismissal wage equal to a maximum of one year's~~ *Minutemen - out pay*

~~pay~~ to every member of the armed forces and merchant marine when he or she is honorably discharged. The exact amount of the dismissal wage should be related to the length of each individual's

service - but in no case less than enough to bridge the gap between discharge and the finding of a new job.

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2. An opportunity for every member of the armed ~~xxxxxxx~~ services to have a year of training and education at a high school, trade school, technical school or university at the cost of their government. Additional periods of training and education should be provided for persons with proven abilities.

3. Credit should be given to all members of the armed forces, under the unemployment compensation and Federal old-age and survivors' insurance, for their period of service. For these purposes they should be treated as if they had continued their employment in private industry.

4. Provisions for hospitalization, rehabilitation and medical care of disabled members of the armed forces and merchant marine should be improved and liberalized.

5. Pensions for disabled members of the armed forces should be made sufficient. Any person whose ability to maintain himself through gainful employment has been limited because of injury or illness acquired while in the service of his country should be entitled to an income which at least will make it possible for him to have all of the necessities of life.

6. Provision for making small loans to returning veterans with ~~had left small businesses to~~ ~~make them to set themselves up again with certain~~ skills and training to set themselves up in small businesses.

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Of course, both extremes -- of optimism and pessimism -- are wrong.

I believe that the American people as a whole are right in their judgment of the situation. They place themselves just about in the middle -- tending, but not too much, toward the optimistic side.

*John
story*

Obviously, we have no reason for overconfidence.

We have no reason to assume that the end is in sight. We have no reason to suspect that there will soon be, or ever be some kind of an internal revolution or domestic collapse in Germany or Italy or Japan. [The war has got into its stride and the actual operations are working out on the whole with success.

But it is a long, long road to Berlin, and a long, long road to Tokyo. We must fight the fight on the assumption that our enemies will not collapse and that we will have to keep on hammering until we have overwhelmed them by force of arms, and smashed the last vestiges of their military power and of their evil doctrines.]

The pessimistic view is equally dangerous. We most certainly cannot do our full job in this war if we are lacking in confidence in our own country.

INSERT H PAGE 23

I read recently that in 1918 some newspaper men in France ^{kept asking} constantly asked the chauffeur of General Foch's automobile whether he had heard the General ^{drop any hint as to} intimate when the war would ^{end.} ~~be over~~. The chauffeur said "the General ^{has not} never ^{spoken.} ~~talks to me~~ But if he does I will tell you what he says."

One day the chauffeur said to his inquirers, "the General ^{spoken!}" ~~has talked and I will tell you what he said.~~ Notebooks and pencils came out to record the great announcement. ~~The chauffeur said, "the General spoke to me this morning: and said 'John, when ^{Herr} ^{will} ^{end?} ~~do you think~~ the war ~~will be over~~"~~

~~about the end of the war.~~ "Tell us what he," ^{will,} said, they all exclaimed, ^{very excitedly,} replied the chauffeur, he said

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~~THIRD DRAFT~~

~~not~~

[Of course, there are some honest clashes of opinion and some silly bickering here on the home front. There will always be arguments and clashes as long as this nation remains a democracy -- and that means as long as we continue to be Americans.

The right to argue with your neighbor is part and parcel of your respect for your neighbor, and your recognition of his right to argue with you.]

If the home front were a mass of confusion and dissension and bungling, then we should be suffering disasters instead of gaining victories on the fighting fronts. [For the fighting fronts depend absolutely on the home fronts. Our armed forces depend upon our sources of production and training and planning. Our individual soldiers and sailors depend upon their home folks, their home communities, for the essential spirit which makes them fighting men.]

As for the rumors of dissension among the Allies, either in the fighting of the war or in plans for the future world -- the American people know that some of these rumors are just plain foolish, and some of them are deliberately malicious, but that all of them put together don't add up to a hill of beans.

At this moment, your Government is engaged in serious, constructive planning for a number of forward moves *Let us have,* on the home front. These relate primarily to problems connected with food, with manpower, and with prices and wages. Within *a few weeks* *with* *in regard* ~~the next month~~ I shall speak to you again and I shall announce definite actions to be taken by the Executive Branch of the Government and specific recommendations for new legislation by the Congress.

There is one thought to be borne constantly in mind by every single man and woman, ~~on the home front,~~

(We and our Allies together are going to win this war. But the length of the war will depend upon the uninterrupted continuance of all-out effort on every home front here and in Latin America and throughout the British and French Empires and in the Soviet Union and in China. *)*

Every war worker -- and that includes those who make ploughs or who keep accounts as well as those who make machine guns -- every man and woman who is involved in any way has the power to contribute to the shortening of the war.

(31)

Your boys in the armed forces love to grouse about this, that or the other thing. But the fact remains that they do not slacken their work or change their jobs or let down in their efficiency.

That is a pretty good rule for everybody. We civilians back home have a right to grouse -- to complain -- if we do it with a smile. But, like the soldier, we have no right to slacken our work, to change our job, or let down in our general efficiency.

We have seen in the Mediterranean how the products of our industry and our labor can be used by our armed forces in knocking out our enemies.

Have bigger jobs ahead of us. Our
-- not be stalled, it
-- the supply

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We have seen in the Mediterranean how the products of our industry and our labor can be used by our armed forces in knocking out our enemies.

We have bigger jobs ahead of us. Our production must ~~be~~ not be stalled, it must constantly be increased to supply the vastly larger theatres of war in Europe and in Asia in which the United Nations will be advancing.

Let every American realize that he ^{or she} can have the personal satisfaction of sending the Hitler gang and the Tojo gang to join the Mussolini gang in ~~the~~ obilition.

And, by the way -- the German propagandists have been attributing Mussolini's "resignation" to "ill health."

In a sense, that is true. But the same delirium from which Mussolini suffered will become an epidemic which will afflict and destroy ~~about~~ ^{many} more brutal, boastful tyrants in Germany and Japan.

JULY 1943

Over a year and a half ago I said to the Congress:
"The militarists in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo started this war,
but the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish
it".

That prophecy is in the process of being fulfilled.
The massed, angered forces of common humanity are on the march.
They are going forward -- on the Russian front, in many parts
of the vast Pacific area, ^{and into} ~~in the skies over Europe and across~~
~~the Mediterranean Sea. They will continue to go forward, from~~
~~many directions, converging~~ upon their ultimate objectives, Berlin
and Tokyo.

The first ~~great~~ crack in the Axis has been achieved.
criminal, corrupt
~~no~~ *no* ~~The~~ ^{The} Fascist regime in Italy ~~[has collapsed]~~ ^{is going to pieces.}

The pirate philosophy of the Fascists and Nazis cannot
stand adversity. [That is what the collapse of Mussolini meant
to us when we heard the good news on Sunday afternoon.

It means also that ^t ~~J~~ the military superiority of the
United Nations -- on sea and land, and in the air -- was applied
in the right place and at the right time.

Hitler refused to send sufficient help to save Mussolini. In fact, [he went even further than that] [in Sicily,

Hitler's troops stole [all the motor equipment] [from] the Italian

[divisions], leaving [the Italian] [in places where they could not

get out and could only surrender.] [It is a repetition of what the

once again betrayed their Italian allies as they had done
The Germans [did] to the Italians] time and time again on the Russian

front and in the long retreat from Egypt, through Libya and Tripoli, to the final surrender in Tunisia,

Mussolini came to the reluctant conclusion that the "jig was up"; he could see the shadow of the long arm of ^{retribution.} ~~the law.~~

But he
[Mussolini] and his Fascist gang will be brought to justice, and punished for their crimes against humanity. No criminal will be allowed to escape by the expedient of "resignation".

Our terms to Italy are still "unconditional surrender".

✓ Italy will eventually reconstitute herself. It will be the people of Italy who will do that, ^(A) In the meantime, the United Nations will not follow the pattern set by Mussolini and Hitler and the Japanese for the treatment of occupied countries -- the pattern of pillage and starvation. We are already helping the civilian population in Sicily.

The same as our terms to Germany and Japan.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

A p2

Choosing their own
government in accordance
with the basic democratic
principles of liberty and
equality.

The purposes of Allied Military Government, as now being applied in Sicily, are these:

First -- to establish and maintain security and order.

This is now being done, with gratifying rapidity, and with the cordial cooperation of the Italian people in occupied areas.

Second -- to ensure that the civilian population is provided with the necessities of life -- food, clothing, fuel, and so forth -- until the time comes when they are once more able to provide for themselves. Indeed, the people in Sicily today are rejoicing in the fact that, for the first time in years, they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labors -- they can eat what they themselves grow instead of having it stolen from them by the Fascists and the Nazis.

Our third purpose -- to weed out the Fascist officials and dissolve the Fascist organizations which have been the instruments of Fascist tyranny. This too is being done -- with the hearty cooperation of the Italian people.

Our final purpose is to enable the people to regain their own voice and to reassert their own sovereignty, so that they may choose their own government according to the basic democratic principles of liberty and equality.

FOURTH DRAFT

- 4 -

In every country conquered by the Nazis, the Fascists or the Japanese militarists, the people have been reduced to the status of slaves or chattels.

It is our determination to restore ^{these conquered peoples} ~~them~~ to the dignity of human beings, masters of their own fate, [captains of their own souls,] entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

We have started to make good on that promise. [And what we have started in Sicily will be continued as the forces of the United Nations push to total victory.]

The events leading directly to Mussolini's down-
a little more than a year ago,
fall began in June, 1942, when Mr. Churchill was here in Washington,

Apparently inevitable
~~German~~ Axis forces were advancing in Egypt, and threatening the Suez Canal and the whole Middle East.

At that time
Then we started the planning of the North African campaign; and ~~on~~ November eighth the first landings were made.

[Our American troops at that time carried with them more small arms ammunition than the total supplied to our armies in France in the first World War.] In the past eight months we have shipped to North Africa more tonnage than was shipped to the entire A.E.F. in 1917 and 1918.

, which seemed inevitable,

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WASHINGTON

B p 4

With their help we are
establishing and maintaining
security and order —
we are ~~providing them~~
dissolving the organizations
which have kept them under
Fascist tyranny — we are
providing them with the
necessaries of life until the
time comes when they
can fully provide for
themselves

^{as if}
to provide ~~for themselves~~ Indeed, the people in Sicily today
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they can eat what they themselves grow instead of having it
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

B p 4

With their help we are
establishing and maintaining
security and order —
we are ~~proceeding~~ ~~there~~
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which have kept them under
Fascist tyranny — we are
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necessaries of life until the
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can fully provide for
themselves

^{no 7}
~~to provide for themselves~~ Indeed, the people in Sicily today
are rejoicing in the fact that, for the first time in years,
they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labors --
they can eat what they themselves grow instead of having it
stolen from them by the Fascists and the Nazis.

Our first task in North Africa was to drive the Nazis and the Fascists out of Tunisia into the sea. That was a tough fight and it took time.

I must confess that I am of an impatient disposition -- that I would like, with our Allies, to decide on an operation and get it going in a week or two. After we had landed in Africa last November, I was impatient -- we were all impatient -- *in were delayed* when months went by ~~before we were able to concentrate a large enough force to accomplish the overwhelming success which was ours in Tunis.~~ We were impatient when the ^{by} prolonged ^{while} rains bogged down ~~our~~ ^{our} ~~the~~ ^{our} ~~air~~ ^{our} ~~and~~ ^{our} ~~the~~ ^{our} advancing ground forces.

After the ~~last~~ ^{final} victory in Tunisia, we were impatient when it took so long to ^{in May} ~~assemble all the landing craft~~ ^{assemble all the landing craft} ~~get all the landing craft over~~ ^{transports, destroyers, cruisers, and battleships} ~~necessary to carry the armies across the Mediterranean into Sicily.~~

~~But~~ All of us have come to realize that no Prime Minister, no President, no General can pick up the telephone and order a major ^{military} operation to be started at once. [These operations all take planning -- months and months of it.]

The planning ~~of these operations~~ represented long months of patient, painstaking work here in Washington, and in London, and finally in North Africa. ~~Two thousand ships participated in the North African invasion.~~ ^{The invasion forces} Behind them were ~~near~~ ^{thousands} thousands

of ships, ^{and planes} ~~setting~~ ^{coming} and guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men and the equipment and supplies which were necessary to do this big job. And behind those ships ^{and planes} were the railroad lines and highways that carried the men and the supplies to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the ~~factories~~ ^{and the special equipment for difficult amphibious warfare} farms that supplied the materials -- there were the training camps where the men learned how to perform their strange and difficult and dangerous tasks ^{on the beaches and in the mountains of Sicily.}

[It was necessary to manufacture special equipment, necessary to give the troops special training for ^{this} difficult amphibious operation which ^{was to} ~~would~~ be followed later by fighting on the mountainous island of Sicily. It was necessary to assemble the transportation, the destroyers, the cruisers, and the battle-ships which would protect the flotilla of boats as it crossed the straits from Africa.]

Our airmen were perfecting their ^{plans} ~~schemes~~ to blast Axis airplanes out of the sky over Sicily. For weeks, British and American bombers had been attacking enemy bases, ~~and~~ lines of supply ^{and the beaches and lines of defense.}

Every Flying Fortress that bombed harbor installations at Naples required 1,110 gallons of gasoline for each mission, ^{the equal of} ~~which equals~~ about ~~144~~ ^{375 "A"} "C" gasoline ration tickets. Multiply this ^{thousands} ~~by many hundreds~~ of planes — as well as ^{hundreds of thousands of jeeps, trucks and} ~~trucks and jeeps~~ — and you will realize why we must do without pleasure driving here at home.

— enough gasoline to drive ~~the armadas~~ ^{your car} for times across this continent.

We planned to make the landing on the south coast of Sicily at 2:45 A.M. on July 10th. This required that each unit be at its proper place along a 100-mile stretch prepared to go ashore on a beach which was heavily defended by mines and with barbed wire extending into the water, defensive lines of trenches, pill boxes and artillery. To be deployed ^{by us} ~~opposite~~ these beaches were a total of 3,000 ships of all sizes and speeds, ranging from a 21,000-ton liner which moves at a speed of 21 knots, to a 153-foot craft with a speed of 6 knots. Each vessel had to arrive at its appointed place at ^{precisely the appointed} ~~a certain~~ time. Aboard these ships were — ^{American, British, Canadian, and French} ~~—~~ 160,000 men, 14,000 vehicles, 600 tanks, and 1800 guns. ^(A) The men and their equipment had to be put ashore ready for immediate fighting. In addition, it was necessary to arrange our naval and air supporting forces so as to protect this armada from submarines, surface naval warships, and bombers overhead.

Ⓟ p 7

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

And this was only the
first wave ~~of~~ going
through the darkness of
night to make the
first landings.

Airborne landings by parachutists and men in gliders had to be coordinated with all other parts of our fighting team. It was by all odds the most complicated operation in the entire history of warfare. (A)

The success of our operations in Sicily to date has paid dividends on the meticulous care with which the operation was planned. Our casualties in men, ships and materiel have been low, in fact, far below our estimates. B

[On behalf of the American people, I want to say] a word about] the officers and men who have conducted, and are conducting, this operation. [They have shown magnificent skill and courage and we are proud of them all -- Americans and their Allies alike.]

By far, the toughest part of the fighting has been borne by the British Eighth Army, but that is no new experience for this magnificent force.

The credit for the coordination of the diverse forces in the field was attributable primarily to the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower, Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

And following this ~~first~~ wave
~~came~~ day and night
there A p. 8

And ~~at~~ every day and
night that followed the
first wave, came
thousands and thousands
of reinforcements of
men and supplies
and material.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

B

All of us are
proud of the ~~superb~~
~~and of the~~ ~~superb~~
skill and courage
of

You have heard some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together -- you have heard some people say that the Army and Navy and Air Forces can never get along well together -- that real cooperation between them is impossible. Tunis^{and} Sicily have given the lie ^{to these} [to this], once and for all [I] can tell you that if General Eisenhower and his splendid staff had suffered from such narrow-minded prejudices, [their historic victories in Tunisia and Sicily could never have been gained. In fact, if that kind of thinking had prevailed generally, we should most certainly have lost this war.]

Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily -- together. And we shall carry on together.

I often wonder if the magnitude of our effort in this global war is fully understood, particularly when compared with what we term World War I. For instance, in the last war problems of shipping by comparison were relatively simple, requiring as they did only the movement of supplies from our east coast ports to France. Already we have shipped more tonnage to General Eisenhower than was shipped ^{entire} to the AEF in France. The ^{most we ever shipped in any one month} monthly peak load of shipping in 1918 was 800,000 [short] tons of cargo. Last ^{month} ~~year~~ we shipped [1,200,000] —

[short] tons of cargo overseas.

We were in the last war for a period of nineteen months.

Today, after the same length of time in this war we have more than ~~one~~ *million men under arms of whom* ~~one~~ *are* million men overseas. They were transported under conditions far more difficult than in the days of 1917 and 1918. The submarine menace has been far greater. We have had to cover the vast distances of the Pacific as well as the Atlantic. [We have had to build not merely more transports but an infinite number of escort vessels to keep them safe.] And in this war, to the much greater German submarine menace has been added the threat from land-based and carrier-based bombers, and from the Japanese Navy.

The very large majority of all the troops we sent to France in 1917 and 1918 were only partially trained. When they got overseas, they had to go into intensive training far back from the front line before they were considered fit to go into action. [Nearly all of them left these shores insufficiently equipped.] *We did not have enough* [Not all of them had American-made rifles or machine guns, for the ammunition to go in them. Very few of them had] *and hardly any with which American-made artillery its equip I have.*

There ^{was actually only one} ~~were~~ virtually ~~no~~ American-made planes in combat before Armistice Day 1918. A very large part of our guns and ammunition and practically all of our planes had to be furnished us by our Allies.

✓ Everyone of our soldiers who has gone overseas In this war! has been fully equipped with the essential and the best weapons, of war. Their rifles and machine guns were made here. ^{This} ~~Some~~ artillery, trucks, tanks, the anti-aircraft guns, ammunition, planes -- all their equipment has been made here. In the United States. ^{And} In addition, to the complete equipment of our own armed forces, we have hiped ^{to} substantially in the ^{to} equipment of our fighting allies throughout the world.

In 1918, the allied forces completely lacked American tanks. In this war, we have delivered 21,000 tanks to the fighting forces of the United Nations.

All of this has required an almost unbelievable amount of shipping. Those ^{ships} ~~boats~~ had to be produced, and ^{have} ~~has~~ been produced.

This year we are producing ^{over 19} million tons of merchant shipping --

^{we are achieving this year} In addition ~~to~~ the greatest combat vessel construction in history.

This is more than -- times our total merchant ship construction during all of the last war. --

of merchant ships. (A)

Next year our production will be over 21 million tons. At the same time, we have been sinking more and more submarines, and have been losing fewer and fewer ~~merchant ships~~.

This increased tonnage is not only helping to win the war but is ~~improving our bill of fare~~ ^{restoring the restoration of trade}. For example, I believe

that the time is not far distant when ^{our additional} merchant shipping will enable us to ^{resume our normal consumption} ~~and entirely the rationing~~ of coffee and [the rationing of] sugar. I think that is good news.

In 1917-1918 the theatre of war was principally limited to the Western Front in Europe. Today the whole world is a battle front. ^{The heaviest and most decisive fighting today is going on in Russia.}

The force of our gigantic war effort is being felt today on many fields far removed from those on which our own sons are now fighting. ~~Less thinking goes into the Russian front.~~

We can be proud of the fact that we, together with the British, have contributed somewhat to the striking power of the Russian armies.

[When Hitler made his unprovoked attack upon Russia in the Summer of 1941, most of the military experts of the world, outside Russia, agreed with the Nazi High Command that the German Army could quickly and decisively defeat the Russian Army and subjugate that great country.]

(A) p 12

~~27~~

During this year and next year we shall have produced more shipping - ~~both~~ merchant ships and combat ships - than were in existence on all ~~the~~ seas before this war started.

under all flags

~~The ability of~~ ^{in 1941 and 1942 were able} the Russians to retire without breaking, to move many of their industrial plants from western Russia far into the interior, to stand together with complete unanimity in their defense of their homeland. ^{qualities} These were the ¹ [capacities] in the Russian people which frustrated the plans of the German high command for easy conquest.

It is always dangerous to make any prophecies about the progress of the Russian armies. This fact has been brought home forcibly to that master of strategic intuition, Adolf Hitler.

However, it is safe to say that the outlook today on the Russian front is more favorable than at any previous time in this war.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was largely a desperate attempt to gain the appearance of a victory to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack — plans which coordinate with the whole United Nations offensive strategy.

I cannot tell what will be the course of events in the next few months. But they will be costly months for Germany.

[The Russians are today killing or capturing considerable numbers of German soldiers and destroying great quantities of German equipment in a relentless process of attrition.]

[We know that there exists still today a small noisy minority of Americans who insist that we will not be able to cooperate with Russia in the future world. But this does not represent American opinion. For Americans will not forget what the Russian Army has done for the cause of the United Nations in this war.]

The world has never seen greater devotion, determination and self-sacrifice than has been displayed by the Russian people and their armies. By their heroic efforts, they have definitely saved their country from the Nazi menace, ^{and} ~~Furthermore~~, they have destroyed so much of Germany's power [to wage war] that the defeat of Hitlerism by the Allied Forces is sure. ~~The only~~ ~~doubted point is when will it be completed.~~

With a nation that has written such a glorious page in the history of the world, this country should always be [willing] ^{glad} to be a good neighbor and a sincere friend ~~in peace as in war~~

in the world of the future

In the Pacific we are pushing the Japs around in all places, from the Aleutians to New Guinea,--for ^{There} too we have taken the initiative-- And we are not going to let go of it.

It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japs have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

But it is important for all of us to remember that the Japs have not yet suffered any substantial losses to their forces on land, comparable to the losses sustained by the Germans at Stalingrad or the Germans and Italians in Tunisia.

The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition will drive the Japs back from ^{that} ~~an~~ overlong line that extends from Burma and the Strait Settlements and Siam and the Dutch Indies to eastern New Guinea and the Solomons. Their shipping and their planes cannot support such outposts indefinitely.

Twice, during the past three weeks, our bombers have attacked Paramushiro in the northern Kuriles. ^(A) ~~This is a very sensitive spot to the Japanese.~~

• (A)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

we have also bombed
Wake Island, Java and
many other points which
are sensitive spots to the
Japanese.

slit

The superiority [both] of our planes and especially of the American, Australian, New Zealand and Dutch fliers, is being forced painfully upon the Japanese. They are finding with methodical regularity that the ratio of air losses is 6 to 1 against them on their best days and sometimes as much as 20 to 1. Within a relatively short period our air forces have bombed the Japanese on Wake Island, on Ocean Island, on Mairu, on Tarawa, on Millie, Jaluit and Beru in the Gilbert and Marshall Islands. These raids are not diversionary gestures but full-fledged devastating attacks which have caught the Japs napping. Japanese bases in Java and Celebes have recently been struck. Our losses in these operations have been light.

On the ground, we are now teaching the Japs some new lessons in the technique of jungle warfare at which they were originally so adept. Despite the fact that they assembled powerful forces, they have been driven out of Guadalcanal, and in rapid succession have been wiped out at Gona, Mubo on New Guinea; Segi, Wickham Anchorage, Viru Harbor on New Georgia, and Rendova. We have occupied numerous islands which provide our fliers with important airfields. The enemy is now

struggling frantically -- and hopelessly -- at Munda and Salamaua.
We are softening him up on Kiska.

Our naval strength in the Pacific is constantly growing.
If the Japanese ^{are basing their} future plans for the Pacific [are based] on a long
period of consolidation ^{in which they will be permitted to} and exploitation ^{their} of her conquered resources,
~~they had better start revising their plans now. I give them to~~
~~it might be well for the Jap planners to review their problems~~
~~them as a helpful suggestion.~~

On the mainland of Asia we are involved in offensive
operations designed primarily to assist the people of China, now in
their seventh year of war. ^{are} We ~~must~~ deliver ^{big} planes and vital war
supplies for the heroic armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek,
~~conquer~~ ^{must do more} and we ~~shall do so~~, at all costs.

Our air supply line from India to China across enemy
territory continues unabated despite attempted Japanese interference.
We have seized the initiative from the Japanese in the air over Burma
and now enjoy superiority. We are bombing Japanese communications,
supply dumps, and bases in China, Indo-China and Burma. ~~Military~~
~~targets at Rangoon, Mandalay, Bangkok, Hongkong, Canton, Haiphong~~
~~in Indo-China and the island of Hainan receive frequent visits from~~
~~our heavy bombers.~~ Our air forces in China are rendering valuable
assistance to the Generalissimo's ground forces.

FOURTH DRAFT

-17-A-

We are still far from our main objectives in the war
against Japan. But let us remember how far we were, a year ago,
from any of our objectives in the European ~~area~~ *theatre*.

[We are constantly weakening the long lines of Japanese conquests by attacks on the flanks.] ^{NOT} We are pushing forward to occupation of positions which will enable us to attack the Japanese Islands themselves from the North, from the South, from the East, and from the West.

You have heard it said that while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front, we are failing miserably on the home front. This is another of those theories -- easy to state but ~~easy~~ *not true in the essential facts.*
~~possible to prove.~~

The longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the middle of a page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front". The two of them are inexorably tied up together.

Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its ~~crew and~~ *and ammunition and food,* equipment, as indeed it is for its manpower, on the American people in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home.

Every regiment that leaves our shores for the fighting fronts is dependent on the ship builders of America; the makers of the steel from which ships are made, and the miners of coal

and iron and many other things that go in to the making of the steel; the truck builders, the railroad car builders, and the great army of railroad employees who keep our transportation system going. Finally, they are dependent on the spirit of the people of America as a whole who buy Victory bonds, who pay their taxes, and who willingly accept certain sacrifices. For they know that we are in this war to the end, and they forsake controversy and personal bickerings -- and concentrate only on winning the war.

The speed with which the landing boats were constructed; the speed with which our merchant ships increased in numbers week by week and month by month; the speed with which the Navy escort ships were built; the speed with which the guns and the ammunition ~~xxxx~~ were made in our factories and transported to the seacoast for shipment overseas; the speed with which airplanes have been built to give us and our Allies control of the air -- planes which leave the factory on a Monday and fly from there in four or five days direct to go into action-Saturday on the fighting front in North Africa; or which fly from the factory in two weeks to the fighting fronts in the Aleutians or in the Southwest Pacific -- ~~xxxxxx~~ the speed and orderly shipping of tanks, trucks, machinery, and food -- all these things were an indispensable part of the Tunisian and Sicily campaigns.

[That is why there is no such thing as two fronts.] [We pay special honor and give special thanks to our boys who daily face hardship, danger, and death on the war fronts. But we also give honor and thanks to the people back home who are going about their daily work conscientiously and without grouching, for exactly the same purpose and in exactly the same cause.]

It is greatly due to ^{these civilians} ~~them~~ that after a year and a half of war we have accomplished here and overseas a miracle.

The same kind of careful planning ^{has gained victory} ~~as was used~~ in North Africa and Sicily will be required if we are to [keep the fruits of victory] ^{make an enduring reality} and do our share in building the kind of peaceful world which ^{will justify the sacrifices made in this war.} ~~is the aim of all of us.~~ [The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in a discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. ^{We must not relax our pressure on the enemy by taking time out to define} ~~This is not the time to lay out every boundary and settle every~~ political controversy in all parts of the world. The all-important thing now is to get on with the war -- and to win it.]

^{While} ~~We are~~ concentrating on military victory, [but, at the same time,] we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, for more decency and greater justice throughout the world, the freedoms which we know will make ^{for more decency and greater justice throughout the world.} ~~a happier world for all mankind~~ ^{than the world in which we live.} ~~of greater decency and justice.~~

As an example of that type of planning -- there is the necessity of laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant men in the armed services. While no one can predict the date of that happy event, we must, this time, have ^{these} plans ready instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at the last moment.

The men in our army and navy and air force do not want or expect to return to a pampered or ^aspecial-privileged life when they come home. But they do want -- they have every right to expect -- a chance to pick up the lost threads, to get started again in their careers, to continue their education -- and, above all, to know that they are self-respecting ^{self-sufficient} members of a community in which there is enough work and enough happiness for all.

I have assured our men in the armed forces that the American people would not let them down when the war is won -- that they would not ^{be demobilized into an environment of} return to a country suffering from inflation and unemployment, to take a place on a bread line or on a corner selling apples. What happened after the last war -- largely as a result of absence of planning -- must not happen again.

And During many other things we are, today,

I hope that the Congress will help in carrying out this assurance, for obviously the Executive Branch of the Government cannot do it alone. I have full confidence that the Congress will do its duty in this regard -- and that the American people will insist on fulfilling this American obligation to the men and women ~~AA~~ in civilian life as well as in the armed forces ~~AA~~ who are winning this war for us.

[To make immediate provision for the men and women now in the armed forces and merchant marine is our first duty. To them, as indeed to all other workers in the factories, in the mines, on the railroads and on the farms, the one deep felt want is an assured opportunity to work when the war is over. This great country can and must provide jobs for everyone who wants one. I intend to propose to the Congress ~~certain~~ legislation which will assure the opportunity for jobs. We must make it possible for the government, private industry, workers and farmers to cooperate to this end, in much the same way as they are assuring us victory on the battlefield.]

[In addition to general planning on the basic problems of jobs after the war, every possible action will be taken by the Executive Branch of the Government within existing law, and new legislation will be suggested to the Congress, looking to the ~~adjustment of our returning armed forces to civilian life.~~ These

~~proposals involve~~

P The least to which they are entitled are:

1. Mustering-out pay to every member of the armed forces and merchant marine when he or she is honorably discharged, ~~the exact amount of the dismissed wage should be related to the length of each individual's service~~ but in no case less than ^{large} enough to ~~cover a reasonable period of time~~ bridge the gap between discharge and the finding of a new job.

2. An opportunity for every member of the armed services to have training and education at a high school, trade school, technical school or university at the cost of their government.

^{Allowance of}
3. Credit [^] [should be given] to all members of the armed forces, under the unemployment compensation and Federal old-age and survivors' insurance, for their period of service. For these purposes they should be treated as if they had continued their employment in private industry.

- Improved and liberalized*
4. Provisions for hospitalization, rehabilitation and

medical care of disabled members of the armed forces and merchant marine *[should be improved and liberalized.]*

- sufficient*
5. Pensions for disabled members of the armed forces,

[should be made sufficient.] Any person whose ability to maintain himself through gainful employment has been limited because of injury or illness acquired while in the service of his country should be entitled to an income which at least will make it possible for him to have all of the necessities of life.

6. Provision for making small loans *for* to returning veterans, *enable them to* with certain skills and training, to set themselves up in small businesses, *or to resume businesses or professions which they had to*

To come back to the purpose of the war!
of course of course, both extremes, -- of optimism and pessimism -- *had to*
are wrong. *argue when the*
entire
the
armed
service

Obviously, we have no reason for overconfidence. We have no reason to assume that the end is in sight. We have no reason to suspect that there will soon be, or ever be some kind of an internal revolution or domestic collapse in Germany or Italy or Japan..

[The pessimistic view is equally dangerous. We most certainly cannot do our full job in this war if we are lacking in confidence in our own country.

I read recently that in 1918 some newspaper men in France kept asking the chauffeur of General Foch's automobile whether he had heard the General drop any hint as to when the war would end. The chauffeur said "the General has not spoken. But if he does I will tell you what he says". One day the chauffeur said to his inquirers, "the General has spoken!" "Tell us what he said," they all exclaimed, very excitedly. "Well", replied the chauffeur, "he said to me this morning 'Henri, when will the war end'?"

If the home front were a mess of confusion and dissension and bungling, then we should be suffering disasters instead of gaining victories on the fighting fronts.]

[As for the rumors of dissension among the Allies, either in the fighting of the war or in plans for the future world -- the American people know that some of these rumors are just plain foolish, and some of them are deliberately malicious, but that all of them put together don't add up to a hill of beans.]

At this moment, your Government is [engaged in] ^{drawing up other} serious, constructive ^{plans} planning for [a number of] forward moves here at home. They

^{include} [These relate primarily to problems connected with] food, [with] man-power, [and with] prices and wages. Within a few weeks I shall speak with you again in regard to definite actions to be taken

by the Executive Branch of the Government and specific recommendations for new legislation by the Congress.

^{7 A attached} There is one thought to be borne constantly in mind by every single man and woman. We and our Allies together are going to win this war. But the length of the war will depend upon the uninterrupted continuance of all-out effort ^{on the fighting front} ~~in every home front~~ and here at home --

~~here and in Latin America and throughout the British and French Empires and in the Soviet Union and in China.~~

Every war worker -- and that includes those who make ploughs or who keep accounts as well as those who make machine guns --

①
~~THIRD DRAFT~~

Insert A

All our calculations for the future, however, must be based on clear understanding of the problems involved. And that can be gained only by straight thinking.

I confess that I myself am sometimes bewildered by conflicting statements that I see in the press.

[For instance, I read one day that the people of this country are slacking on the war effort because they are too complacent, too well satisfied with the way things are going, too sure that the war is already won.

But -- the next day I read that the American people are letting down because they are so dissatisfied with the way things are being handled [on the home front] -- because they are convinced we can never successfully collaborate with our allies, we can never achieve a just and durable peace.]

10 TP One day I read an "authoritative" statement that we shall win the war this year, 1943 -- and the next day comes another statement, equally "authoritative", that the war will still be going on in 1949.

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(2)

Insert A
(Cont)

~~THIRD DRAFT~~

Of course, both extremes -- of optimism and pessimism -- are wrong.

[I believe that the American people as a whole are right in their judgment of the situation. They place themselves just about in the middle -- tending, but not too much, toward the optimistic side.]

Obviously, we have no reason for overconfidence. We have no reason to assume that the end is in sight. We have no reason to suspect that there will soon be, or ever be some kind of an internal revolution or domestic collapse in Germany or Italy or Japan. [The war has got into its stride and the actual operations are working out on the whole with success.

But it is a long, long road to Berlin, and a long, long road to Tokyo. We must fight the fight on the assumption that our enemies will not collapse and that we will have to keep on hammering until we have overwhelmed them by force of arms, and smashed the last vestiges of their military power and of their evil doctrines.]

The pessimistic view is equally dangerous. We most certainly cannot do our full job in this war if we are lacking in confidence in our own country.

FIFTH DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

JULY 28, 1943

Over a year and a half ago I said to the Congress:

"The militarists in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo started this war, but the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it".

That prophecy is in the process of being fulfilled.

The massed, angered forces of common humanity are on the march.

They are going forward -- on the Russian front, in ~~many parts~~ ^{Europe} of the vast Pacific area, and into ¹converging upon their ultimate objectives, Berlin and Tokyo.

The first crack in the Axis has ~~been achieved~~ ^{come}. The criminal, corrupt Fascist regime in Italy is going to pieces.

The pirate philosophy of the Fascists and Nazis cannot stand ~~adversity~~. The military superiority of the United Nations -- on sea and land, and in the air -- ^{has been} ~~was~~ applied in the right place and at the right time.

Hitler refused to send sufficient help to save Mussolini.

In fact, Hitler's troops in Sicily stole the Italian's motor equipment, leaving Italian soldiers ^{so} stranded ~~so~~ that they had no choice but to surrender. The Germans ¹once again betrayed their Italian allies as they had done time and time again on

the Russian front and in the long retreat from Egypt, through Libya and Tripoli, to the final surrender in Tunisia.

Mussolini came to the reluctant conclusion that the "jig was up"; he could see the shadow of the long arm of

~~retribution~~ justice.

But he and his Fascist gang will be brought to ~~justice~~ ^{book}, and punished for their crimes against humanity. No criminal will be allowed to escape by the expedient of "resignation".

Our terms to Italy are still the same as our terms to Germany and Japan -- "unconditional surrender".

Eventually Italy will reconstitute herself. It will be the people of Italy who will do that, choosing their own government in accordance with the basic democratic principles of liberty and equality. In the meantime, the United Nations will not follow the pattern set by Mussolini and Hitler and the Japanese for the treatment of occupied countries -- the pattern of pillage and starvation. ^P We are already helping the civilian population in Sicily.

W P With their help we are establishing and maintaining security and order -- we are dissolving the organizations which have kept them under Fascist tyranny -- we are providing them with the necessities of life until the time comes when they can fully provide for themselves.

Indeed, the people in Sicily today are rejoicing in the fact that, for the first time in years, they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labors -- they can eat what they themselves grow instead of having it stolen from them by the Fascists and the Nazis.

~~As per~~ (X)
In every country conquered by the Nazis, the Fascists or the Japanese militarists, the people have been reduced to the status of slaves or chattels.

these conquered peoples
It is our determination to restore ~~them~~ to the dignity of human beings, masters of their own fate, entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

We have started to make good on that promise.

(A) The events leading directly to Mussolini's downfall
a little more than a year ago,
began in June, 1942, when Mr. Churchill was here in Washington.

Meanwhile, the war in Sicily and Italy goes on. It must ^{and will go on} go on until the Italian people [fully] realize the futility of continuing to fight in a lost cause -- a cause which ^{to} [I am very certain] the people of Italy never gave their whole approval.

It is a little over a year since we planned the North African campaign. It is six months since we planned the Sicilian campaign. I confess that I am of an impatient disposition, but I think that I understand, and that most people understand, the amount of time necessary to prepare for any major military or naval operation. We cannot pick up the telephone and order a new campaign [overnight] *to start next week.*

For example, behind the invasion ^{lines} of North Africa were thousands of ships and planes (for the) guarding [of] the long, perilous searoutes, [which carried] ^{carrying} the men, the equipment and the supplies to the point of attack.

And behind all ^{these} ~~these~~ were the railroad lines and highways that carried the men and the munitions to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the farms that turned out the materials -- there were the training ^{schools} ~~comps~~ where the men learned how to perform their strange and difficult and dangerous tasks which ^{would} ~~would~~ meet them on the beaches and in

the deserts and the mountains.

All had to be repeated in the attack on Sicily. Here the factor of air attack was added -- for we could use North Africa as the base for softening up the landing places and lines of defense. It is interesting for us to realize that every

base in North Africa flying fortress that bombed harbor installations at Naples required 1,110 gallons of gasoline for each single mission, and that this is the equal of about 375 A gasoline ration tickets -- enough gasoline to drive your car five times across

this continent. You will better understand your part in the war if you multiply this by the gasoline needs of thousands of planes and hundreds of thousands of jeeps, trucks and tanks now serving overseas.

I think that the personal convenience of the individual or the individual family back home here in the United States will appear somewhat less important when I tell you that the [first wave of attack] on Sicily [on the nights of July 9-10] involved 3,000 ships which carried 160,000

men -- Americans, British, Canadians and French -- together with 14,000 vehicles, 600 tanks and 1800 guns. [And that was only the first wave --]

followed every day and every night by thousands of reinforcements:

~~The success of our operations in Sicily to date~~

has paid dividends on the meticulous care with which the operation was planned. ^{For} Our casualties in men, ships and material have been low. In fact, far below our estimate.

All of us are proud of the superb skill and courage of the officers and men who have conducted and are conducting this operation. All of the troops have behaved magnificently. The toughest part of the fighting has been borne by the British 8th Army, but that is no new experience for that magnificent fighting force.

But we must give credit to the coordination of the diverse forces in the field, and to the planning of the whole campaign under the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower, Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder.

→ Substrate X

The success of our operations in Sicily to date has paid dividends on the meticulous care with which the operation was planned. Our casualties in men, ships and material have been low. In fact, far below our estimate.

All of us are proud of the superb skill and courage of the officers and men who have conducted and are conducting this operation. ~~All of the troops have behaved magnificently~~ *resistance has developed on the part of* The toughest part of the fighting has been borne by the British *which included The Canadians* 8th Army, [^] But that is no new experience for that magnificent fighting force.

~~And~~ ^{for} we must give credit ^{for} to the coordination of the diverse forces in the field, and ^{for} to the planning of the whole campaign, ^{to} under the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower, Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder *have been terms of strength in handling the complex details of naval, ground and air activities,*

which has made The Americans pay a heavy price for each hour of delay in the final victory. The American T.E. Army, after a stormy landing on the exposed beaches of Southern Sicily, has swept with rapid speed across the island into Palermo. For many of our troops this was their first battle experience but they have carried themselves like veterans.

~~SECRET~~

You have heard some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together -- you have heard some people say that the Army and Navy and Air Forces can never get along well together -- that real co-operation between them is impossible. Tunisia and Sicily have given the lie, once and for all, to these narrow-minded prejudices.

Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily -- together. And we shall carry on together.

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We thought in 1917-18 that we did a good job in getting two million men to France in nineteen months. It is a fact, however, that when our men got to France most of them had to be kept in back areas for several months before they were sufficiently trained to go to the front. Today we have more than two million men overseas. And all of them have been completely trained before they left our shores.

In 1917-1918 a very large part of the equipment of our troops abroad came from our Allies -- the British and the French. That was true ~~with~~ ^{of} ammunition and guns and tanks and planes. Today, all of our forces overseas are fully equipped ^{and support} with American-made ~~material~~ ^{weapons and} ammunition of all kinds, ~~and~~ ^{In} addition, we are sending vast supplies to the other United Nations.

^{In 1918} Then the U-boat menace was less ^{dangerous} than now; and our shipbuilding program was only starting to produce ships when the war ended. Today, our production of ships is almost unbelievable; ^{This} year we are producing over 19 million tons of merchant shipping and next year our production will be over 21 million tons. And we can add to our shipping problems by realizing that we are conducting war in the Aleutians, in the

INSERT C

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distant parts of the Southwest Pacific and in the Bay of Bengal.

For several months we have been losing fewer ships by sinkings and we have been destroying more and more U-boats. We hope, but cannot assume, that this will continue. We must keep our fingers crossed *for our huge ships.*

✓ One tangible result of our great increase in merchant shipping -- which will be good news to civilians at home -- is that tonight we are able to terminate the rationing of coffee. ^{also} We expect that within a short time we ^{shall} will get greatly increased allowances of sugar.

But we are not interested in the war in the Mediterranean alone. The heaviest and most decisive fighting today is going on in Russia. I am glad that the British and we have been able to contribute somewhat to the striking power of the Russian armies.

In 1941-1942 the Russians were able to retire without breaking, to move many of their war plants from western Russia far into the interior, to stand together with complete

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unanimity in the defense of their homeland. These were the qualities of the Russian people themselves which frustrated the plans of the German high command for an easy conquest. The success of the Russian armies ^{has} ~~have~~ shown ^{that it is dangerous to make} ~~the danger of outside~~ prophecies ^{about them} a fact forcibly brought home to that mystic master of strategic intuition, Herr Hitler.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was a desperate attempt to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack -- plans which coordinate with the whole United Nations offensive strategy.

The world has never seen greater devotion, determination and self-sacrifice than has been displayed by the Russian people and their armies.

With a nation that is saving itself from the Nazi menace and thereby helping to ^{save} ~~save~~ all the world ~~from it~~, this country should always be glad to be a good neighbor and a sincere friend in the world of the future.

In the Pacific we are pushing the Japs around from the Aleutians to New Guinea. There too we have taken the initiative -- and we are not going to let go of it.

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24- (8)

It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japs have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition will drive the Japs back from their over-extended line running from Burma ^{and Siam} and the Straits Settlement ~~and Siam~~ through the Netherlands Indies to eastern New Guinea and the Solomons. We have good reason to believe that their shipping and their air power cannot support such outposts.

The superiority of our planes and especially of the American, Australian, New Zealand and Dutch fliers, is being forced painfully upon the Japanese. They are finding with methodical regularity that the ratio of air losses is 4 to 1 against them on their best days and sometimes as much as 20 to 1.

On the ground, we are now teaching the Japs some new lessons in the technique of jungle warfare at which they were originally so adept.

✓ Our naval strength in the Pacific is constantly growing. If the Japanese are basing their future plans for the Pacific on a long period in which they will be permitted to consolidate and exploit their conquered resources, they had better start revising their plans now. I give that to them as a helpful suggestion.

We are delivering planes and vital war supplies for the heroic armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and we must do more at all costs.

Our air supply line from India to China across enemy territory continues unabated despite attempted Japanese interference. We have seized the initiative from the Japanese in the air over Burma and now enjoy superiority. We are bombing Japanese communications, supply dumps, and bases in China, Indo-China and Burma. ~~Our air forces in China are rendering valuable assistance to the Generalissimo's ground forces.~~

We are still far from our main objectives in the war against Japan. But let us remember how far we were, a year ago, from any of our objectives in the European theatre. We are pushing forward to occupation of positions which ^{in time} will enable us to attack the Japanese Islands themselves from the North, from the South, from the East, and from the West.

You have heard it said that while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front, we are failing miserably on the home front. This is another of those theories -- ^{a false slogan} -- easy to state but untrue in the essential facts.

The longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the middle of a page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front". The two of them are inexorably tied up together.

Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its equipment and ammunition and food, as indeed it is for its manpower, on the American people in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home.

It is greatly due to these civilians that after a year and a half of war we have accomplished a miracle here and overseas.

The same kind of careful planning that gained
15
victory in North Africa and Sicily ~~was~~ required if we are to make victory an enduring reality and do our share in building the kind of peaceful world which will justify the sacrifices made in this war.

The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in ^{an international} discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. We must not relax our pressure on the enemy by taking time out to define every boundary and settle every political controversy in ^{every part} ~~the~~ part of the world. The all-important thing now is to get on with the war -- and to win it.

While concentrating on military victory, we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, the freedoms which we know will make for more decency and greater justice throughout the world.

Among many other things we are, today, laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant men in the armed services. We must, this time, have these plans ready instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at the last moment.

The men in our army and navy and air force do not want or expect to return to a pampered or a special-privileged life when they come home. But they do want -- they have every right to expect -- a chance to pick up the lost threads, to get started again in their careers, to continue their education -- and, above all, to know that they are self-respecting, self-supporting members of a community in which there is enough work and enough happiness for all.

I have assured our men in the armed forces that the American people would not let them down when the war is won -- that they would not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a bread line or ^{on} a corner selling apples. ~~What happened after the last war --~~
~~largely as a result of absence of planning -- must not happen~~
~~again.~~

I hope that the Congress will help in carrying out this assurance, for obviously the Executive Branch of the Government cannot do it alone. I have full confidence that the Congress will do its duty in this regard -- and that the American people will insist on fulfilling this American obligation to the men and women in the armed forces who are winning this war for us.

The least to which they are entitled ^{is: must (A)} ~~soon~~

1. Mustering-out pay to every member of the armed forces and merchant marine when he or she is honorably discharged, large enough to cover a reasonable period of time between discharge and the finding of a new job. ~~_____~~

2. An opportunity for ~~every~~ member of the armed services *to get further education or trade training*
~~to have training and education at a high school, trade school, technical school, or university~~ at the cost of their government.

3. Allowance of credit to all members of the armed forces, under the unemployment compensation and Federal old-age and survivors' insurance, for their period of service. For these purposes they should be treated as if they had continued their employment in private industry.

6

INSERT A

p. 19

Of course the returning soldier and sailor and marine are a part of the problem of demobilizing the rest of the millions of Americans who have been working and living in a war economy since 1941. That larger objective of reconvertng war-time America to a peace-time basis is one for which your government is laying plans to be submitted to the Congress for action in time.

But the members of the armed forces have been compelled to make greater economic sacrifice than the rest of us and are entitled to definite action to help take care of their special problems.

4. Improved and liberalized provisions for hospitalization, rehabilitation and medical care of disabled members of the armed forces and merchant marine.

5. Sufficient pensions for disabled members of the armed forces.

6. Provision for making small loans for returning veterans, with certain skills and training, to enable them to set themselves up in small businesses or to resume businesses or professions which they had to abandon when they entered the armed service.

At this moment, your Government is drawing up other serious, constructive plans for forward moves here at home. ^{certain immediate}
They concern food, manpower, ^{and other domestic problems.} ~~prices and wages~~. Within a few weeks I shall speak with you again in regard to definite actions to be taken by the Executive Branch of the Government and specific recommendations for new legislation by the Congress.

All our calculations for the future, however, must be based on clear understanding of the problems involved. And that can be gained only by straight thinking. *not phisic law*

I confess that I myself am sometimes bewildered by conflicting statements that I see in the press. One day I read an "authoritative" statement that we shall win the war this year, 1943 -- and the next day comes another statement equally "authoritative", that the war will still be going on in 1949.

Of course, both extremes -- of optimism and pessimism -- are wrong.

Obviously, we have no reason for over-confidence. We have no reason to assume that the end is in sight. We have no reason to suspect that there will soon be, or ever be some kind of an internal revolution or domestic collapse in Germany ~~(or Italy)~~ or Japan.

The pessimistic view is equally dangerous. ~~Most~~ ^{law} certainly cannot do our full job in this war if we are lacking ultimate victory, *without a date tag on it.* in confidence in our own country.

~~There is no thought to be borne constantly in mind by every single man and woman. We and our Allies together are going to win this war. ^{largely} The length of the war will depend upon the uninterrupted continuance of all-out effort on the fighting fronts~~

and here at home. *The effort is all one.*

Suggested

[Every war worker -- and that includes those who make ploughs or who keep accounts as well as those who make machine guns -- every man and woman who is involved in any way in this war -- and that includes the entire population of the United States of America -- has the power to shorten or to lengthen the war.]

The American soldier ~~at the front~~ ^{now} ~~may~~ not like ^{the necessity} ~~the conditions~~ *of waging war.*
~~those under which he is fighting.~~ And yet -- if he lays off for one single instant he may lose his own life and sacrifice the lives of his comrades. *He may not like the driving demands of army life.*
~~He may contribute to the loss of an important~~

~~section~~

By the same token -- a worker here at home may not like ^{driving, wartime} the conditions under which he has to work or live. And yet -- if ^{gets complacent or indifferent and} he slacks on his job he too may sacrifice the lives of American ^{and contribute} soldiers ~~and contribute~~ to the loss of an important battle. ~~Many~~

~~As to the length of the war and be responsible for the death of American soldiers and sailors.~~

suggested The plans we made for the knocking out of Mussolini and his gang have succeeded. But we still have to knock out Hitler and his gang and Tojo and his gang. No one of us pretends that this will be an easy matter.

By the concentration of an enormous amount of our national effort, we were able to beat Mussolini and his Fascists on their own home grounds. *Still have to defeat* We ~~must now stay on fighting until we have~~ *defeated* Hitler and Tojo on their own home grounds.

But this will require a far greater concentration of our national energy and our ingenuity and our skill. It is not too much to say that we must pour into this war the entire strength and intelligence and will-power of these United States.

~~All of our plans for the future depend on all-out effort by all Americans in fighting and producing.~~ We are a great nation -- a rich nation -- but we are not so great ^{or} rich that we can afford to gamble with our chances for survival.

Insert Apr 23

We shall not settle for less than total victory. That is the determination of every American on the fighting fronts. That must be and will be the determination of every American here at home.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

waste our substance or the lives
of our men by relaxing as we
reach that turn in the road
which leads ~~to~~ direct to final,
total victory.

Insert A - P. 23

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Lead

Not used for
writing of Sixth Draft.
Inserts dictated and
inserted.

FIFTH DRAFT

- 4 -

Axis forces, which seemed invincible, were then advancing in Egypt, and threatening the Suez Canal and the whole Middle East.

At that time we started the planning of the North African campaign. On November eighth the first landings were made.

Our first task in North Africa was to drive the Nazis and the Fascists out of Tunisia into the sea. That was a tough fight and it took time.

suggested cut [I must confess that I am of an impatient disposition -- that I would like, with our Allies, to decide on an operation and get it going in a week or two. After we had landed in Africa last November, I was impatient -- we were all impatient -- when we were delayed by prolonged rains which bogged down our planes and our advancing ground forces.

After the final victory in Tunisia, in May, we were impatient when it took so long to assemble all the landing craft, transports, destroyers, cruisers, and battleships necessary to carry our armies across the Mediterranean into Sicily.

All of us have come to realize that no Prime Minister, no President, no General can pick up the telephone and order a major military operation to be started at once. [

The planning of these operations represented long months of patient, painstaking work here in Washington, and in London, and finally in North Africa. Behind the invasion forces were thousands of ships and planes, ^{covering} ~~and~~ guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men and the equipment and supplies which were necessary to do this big job. And behind those ships and planes were the railroad lines and highways that carried the men and the supplies to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the farms that supplied the materials and the special equipment for difficult amphibious warfare -- there were the training camps where the men learned how to perform their strange and difficult and dangerous tasks on the beaches and in the mountains of Sicily.

Our airmen were perfecting their plans to blast Axis airplanes out of the sky over Sicily. For weeks, British and American bombers had been attacking enemy bases, lines of supply and the beaches and lines of defense.

Every Flying Fortress that bombed harbor installations at Naples required 1,110 gallons of gasoline for each mission, the equal of about 375 "A" gasoline ration tickets --

FIFTH WAVE

- 6 -

enough gasoline to drive your car over sixteen thousand miles -- five times across this continent. Multiply this by many thousands of planes -- as well as hundreds of thousands of jeeps, trucks and tanks and you will realize why we must do without pleasure driving here at home.

We planned to make the landing on the south coast of Sicily at 2:45 A.M. on July 10th. This required that each unit be at its proper place along a 100-mile stretch prepared to go ashore on a beach which was heavily defended by mines and with barbed wire extending into the water, defensive lines of trenches, pill boxes and artillery. To be deployed by us opposite these beaches were a total of 3,000 ships of all sizes and speeds. Each vessel had to arrive at its appointed place at precisely the appointed time. Aboard these ships were 160,000 men -- American, British, Canadians and French -- 14,000 vehicles, 600 tanks, and 1800 guns. And this was only the first wave going through the darkness of night to make the first landings.

The men and their equipment had to be put ashore, ready for immediate fighting. In addition, it was necessary to arrange our naval and air supporting forces so as to protect this armada from submarines, surface naval warships, and bombers overhead.

Airborne landings by parachutists and men in gliders had to be coordinated with all other parts of our fighting team. And every day and night that followed the first wave, came thousands ^{thousands of tons of} [and thousands] of reinforcements of men and supplies and material.

It was by all odds the most complicated operation in the entire history of warfare.

Mention Roosevelt - Churchill letters to Stalin people.

The success of our operations in Sicily to date has paid dividends on the meticulous care with which the operation was planned. Our casualties in men, ships and materiel have been low, in fact, far below our estimates.

All of us are proud of the superb skill and courage of the officers and men who have conducted, and are conducting, this operation.

[By far,] the toughest part of the fighting has been borne by the British Eighth Army, but that is no new experience for this magnificent force.

The credit for the coordination of the diverse forces in the field was attributable primarily to the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower, Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder.

Insert B

You have heard some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together -- you have heard some people say that the Army and Navy and Air Forces can never get along well together -- that real cooperation between them is impossible. Tunisia and Sicily have given the lie, once and for all, to these narrow-minded prejudices.

Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily -- together. And we shall carry on together.

I often wonder if the magnitude of our effort in this global war is fully understood, particularly when compared with what we term World War I. For instance, in the last war problems of shipping by comparison were relatively simple, requiring as they did only the movement of supplies from our east coast ports to France. Already we have shipped more tonnage to General Eisenhower than was shipped to the entire AEF in France. The most we ever shipped in any one month in 1918 was 300,000 tons of cargo. Last month we shipped _____ tons of cargo overseas.

We were in the last war for a period of nineteen months, and at the Armistice we had ~~3 million~~ ^{and at the Armistice we had 3 million men under arms already} million men under arms. Today, after the same length of time in this war, we have more than 7 million men under arms of whom two million men

are overseas. They were transported under conditions far more difficult than in the days of 1917 and 1918. The submarine menace has been far greater. We have had to cover the vast distances of the Pacific as well as the Atlantic. And in this war, to the much greater German submarine menace has been added the threat from land-based and carrier-based bombers, and from the Japanese Navy.

The very large majority of all the troops we sent to France in 1917 and 1918 were only partially trained. When they got overseas, they had to go into intensive training far back from the front line before they were considered fit to go into action.

We did not have enough American-made rifles or machine guns, and hardly any American-made artillery with which to equip them.

There was actually only one American-made plane in combat before Armistice Day 1918. A very large part of our guns and ammunition and practically all of our planes had to be furnished us by our Allies.

In this war everyone of our soldiers who has gone overseas has been fully equipped with the essential and the best weapons. Their rifles and machine guns were made here in the United States. Their artillery, trucks, tanks, [the] anti-aircraft guns, ammunition, planes -- ^{practically} all their equipment has been made here. And in addition, we have helped substantially to equip our fighting allies throughout the world.

Part C
[In 1918, the allied forces completely lacked American tanks. In this war, we have delivered 21,000 tanks to the fighting forces of the United Nations.]

All of this has required an almost unbelievable amount of shipping. Those ships had to be produced, and have been produced. This year we are producing over 19 million tons of merchant shipping -- more than _____ times our total merchant ship construction during all of the last war. In addition, we are achieving this year the greatest combat vessel construction in history. Next year our production will be over 21 million tons of merchant ships.

INSERT C PAGE 10

In this war, the number of American-made tanks which have been put into combat or are on their way to the fighting forces of the United Nations is approximately 25,000. Many thousands more tanks are here in the United States for training purposes or are awaiting shipment.

During this year and next year we shall ~~have produced more~~^{almost as much merchant}
shipping ~~as now~~ ~~merchant ships and combat ships~~ ~~then were~~ in existence
under all flags on all seas before this war ^{we entered} started.

^{during the last three months}
(At the same time,) we have been sinking more and more sub-
marines, and have been losing fewer and fewer ships.

[The time is not far distant when our additional merchant
shipping will enable us to resume our normal consumption of coffee
and sugar. I think that is good news.]

← Insert A.
In 1917-1918 the theatre of war was principally limited to
the Western Front in Europe. Today the whole world is a battle
front.

The heaviest and most decisive fighting today is going
on in Russia.

We can be proud of the fact that we, together with the
British, have contributed somewhat to the striking power of the
Russian armies.

The Russians in 1941 and 1942 were able to retire without
breaking, to move many of their industrial plants from western

Russia far into the interior, to stand together with complete unanimity in their defense of their homeland. These were the qualities in the Russian people which frustrated the plans of the German high command for easy conquest.

It is always dangerous to make any prophecies about the progress of the Russian armies. This fact has been brought home forcibly to that master of strategic intuition, Adolf Hitler.

However, it is safe to say that the outlook today on the Russian front is more favorable than at any previous time in this war.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was ~~hardly~~ a desperate attempt ~~to gain the appearance of a victory~~ to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack -- plans which coordinate with the whole United Nations offensive strategy.

[I cannot tell what will be the course of events in the next few months. But they will be costly months for Germany.]

The world has never seen greater devotion, determination and self-sacrifice than has been displayed by the Russian people and their armies. ~~By their heroic efforts,~~ they have definitely saved their country from the Nazi menace, and they have destroyed so much of Germany's power that the defeat of Hitlerism by the Allied Forces is sure.

is saving itself from the Nazi
With a nation that has written such a glorious page ~~in the history of the world,~~ *in saving itself from the Nazi* this country should always be glad to be a good neighbor and a sincere friend in the world of the future.

In the Pacific we are pushing the Japs around ~~the~~ *places* from the Aleutians to New Guinea. There too we have taken the initiative -- and we are not going to let go of it.

It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japs have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

But it is important for all of us to remember that the Japs have not yet suffered any substantial losses to their forces on land, comparable to the losses sustained by the Germans at Stalingrad or the Germans and Italians in Tunisia ~~and Sicily~~.

The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition will drive the Japs back from their ^{extended} overlong line ~~that~~ ^{running} ~~extense~~ from Burma and the Straits Settlements and Siam ^{through} ~~and~~ the Netherlands Dutch Indies to eastern New Guinea and the Solomons. [Their] ^{we have} ~~good reason to believe that their~~ shipping and their ^{air forces} ~~planes~~ cannot support such outposts. [Indefinitely.]

Twice, during the past three weeks, ~~our~~ ^{Celebes} bombers have attacked Paramushiro in the northern Kuriles. We have also bombed Wake Island, Java ~~and~~ many other points which are sensitive spots to the Japanese.

The superiority of our planes and especially of the American, Australian, New Zealand and Dutch fliers, is being forced painfully upon the Japanese. They are finding with methodical regularity that the ratio of air losses is 2 to 1 against them on their best days and sometimes as much as 20 to 1.

SIXTH DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

JULY 28, 1943

Over a year and a half ago I said to the Congress: "The militarists in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo started this war, but the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it".

That prophecy is in the process of being fulfilled. The massed, angered forces of common humanity are on the march. They are going forward -- on the Russian front, in the vast Pacific area, and into Europe -- converging upon their ultimate objectives, Berlin and Tokyo.

The first crack in the Axis has come. The criminal, corrupt Fascist regime in Italy is going to pieces.

The pirate philosophy of the Fascists and Nazis cannot stand adversity. The military superiority of the United Nations -- on sea and land, and in the air -- has been applied in the right place and at the right time.

Hitler refused to send sufficient help to save Mussolini. In fact, Hitler's troops in Sicily stole the Italian's motor equipment, leaving Italian soldiers so stranded that they had no choice but to surrender. Once again the Germans betrayed their Italian allies

INSERT A PAGE 2

We will have no truck with Fascism in any way,
shape or manner. We will permit no vestige of Fascism
to remain.

as they had done time and time again on the Russian front and in the long retreat from Egypt, through Libya and Tripoli, to the final surrender in Tunisia.

Mussolini came to the reluctant conclusion that the "jig was up"; he could see the shadow of the long arm of justice.

But he and his Fascist gang will be brought to book, and punished for their crimes against humanity. No criminal will be allowed to escape by the expedient of "resignation".

Our terms to Italy are still the same as our terms to Germany and Japan -- "unconditional surrender". (A)

Eventually Italy will reconstitute herself. It will be the people of Italy who will do that, choosing their own government in accordance with the basic democratic principles of liberty and equality. In the meantime, the United Nations will not follow the pattern set by Mussolini and Hitler and the Japanese for the treatment of occupied countries -- the pattern of pillage and starvation.

We are already helping the ^{Italian people} civilian population in Sicily. With their ^{cordial co-operation,} help we are establishing and maintaining security and order -- we are dissolving the organizations which

INSERT A - PAGE #3

I am sorry if I stepped on the toes
of those Americans who, playing party
politics at home, call that kind of
foreign policy "crazy altruism" and
["none-of-our-business"]. "starry-eyed
dreaming."

have kept them under Fascist tyranny -- we are providing them with the necessities of life until the time comes when they can fully provide for themselves.

Indeed, the people in Sicily today are rejoicing in the fact that, for the first time in years, they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labors -- they can eat what they themselves grow instead of having it stolen from them by the Fascists and the Nazis.

In every country conquered by the Nazis, the Fascists or the Japanese militarists, the people have been reduced to the status of slaves or chattels.

It is our determination to restore these conquered peoples to the dignity of human beings, masters of their own fate, entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

A We have started to make good on that promise.

(A) Meanwhile the war in Sicily and Italy goes on. It must go on, and will go on, until the Italian people realize the futility of continuing to fight in a lost cause -- a cause *while hunted* to which the people of Italy never gave their whole approval and *support*.

It is a little over a year since we planned the North African campaign. It is six months since we planned the Sicilian campaign. I confess that I am of an impatient disposition, but I think that I understand, and that most people understand, the amount of time necessary to prepare for any major military or naval operation. We cannot ^{just} pick up the telephone and order a new campaign to start ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{next} week.

For example, behind the invasion forces of North Africa were thousands of ships and planes guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men, the equipment and the supplies to the point of attack. And behind all these were the railroad lines and highways that carried the men and the munitions to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the farms that turned out the materials -- there were the training ^{Camps} ~~schools~~ where the men learned how to perform the strange and difficult and dangerous tasks which were to meet them on the beaches and in the deserts and the mountains.

All this had to be repeated in the attack on Sicily. Here the factor of air attack was added -- for we could use North Africa as the base for softening up the landing places and lines of defense *in Sicily, and the lines of supply in Italy.*

It is interesting for us to realize that every flying fortress that bombed harbor installations at Naples from its base in North Africa required 1,110 gallons of gasoline for each single mission, and that this is the equal of about 375 "A" ~~ration~~ ration tickets -- enough gas ~~to~~ to drive your car five times across this continent. You will better understand your part in the war -- and what gasoline rationing means -- if you multiply this by the gasoline needs of thousands of planes and hundreds of thousands of jeeps, trucks and tanks now serving overseas.

I think that the personal convenience of the individual or the individual family back home here in the United States will appear somewhat less important when I tell you that the initial assault force on Sicily involved 3000 ships which carried 160,000 men -- Americans, British, Canadians and French -- together with 14,000 vehicles, 600 tanks and 1800 guns. This initial force was followed every day and every night by thousands of reinforcements.

The meticulous care with which the operation in Sicily was planned has paid dividends. For our casualties in men, ships and material have been low -- in fact, far below our estimate.

All of us are proud of the superb skill and courage of the officers and men who have conducted and are conducting this operation. The toughest resistance developed on the ~~west~~^{front} of the British 8th Army, which included the Canadians. But that is no new experience for that magnificent fighting force which has made the Germans pay a heavy price for each hour of delay in the final victory. The American 7th army, after a stormy landing on the exposed beaches of Southern Sicily, swept with record speed across the island into Palermo. For many of our troops this was their first battle experience but they have carried themselves like veterans.

~~And~~ we must give credit ^{for} the coordination of the diverse forces in the field, and ^{for} the planning of the whole campaign, ^{to} ~~under~~ the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower. Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder have been towers of strength in handling the complex details of naval, ground and air activities.

INSERT A PAGE 7

The dauntless fighting spirit of the British people in this war has been expressed in the historic words and deeds of Winston Churchill -- and the world knows how the American people feel about him.

You have heard some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together -- you have heard some people say that the Army and Navy and Air Forces can never get along well together -- that real cooperation between them is impossible. Tunisia and Sicily have given the lie, once and for all, to these narrow-minded prejudices. *Insert A p 7*

Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily -- together. And we shall carry on together.

Suggested cut of 165 words
[We thought in 1917-1918 that we did a good job in getting two million men to France in nineteen months. It is a fact, however, that when our men got to France most of them had to be kept in back areas for several months before they were sufficiently trained to go to the front. Today we have more than two million men overseas. And ^{nearly} all of them ^{have} been completely trained before they left our shores.

In 1917-1918 a very large part of the equipment of our troops abroad came from our Allies -- the British and the French. That was true of ammunition and guns and tanks and planes. Today,

INSERT A PAGE 8

We hope this will continue. But we cannot
be sure. We must not lower our guard for one single
instant.

all of our forces overseas are fully equipped with American-made weapons and ammunition of all kinds. In addition, we are sending vast supplies to the other United Nations.

In 1918 the U-boat menace was less dangerous than now, and our shipbuilding program was only starting to produce ships ~~when the war ended.~~

Today, our production of ships is almost unbelievable. This year we are producing over nineteen million

tons of merchant shipping and next year our production will be

over twenty-one million tons. And we ~~can~~ ⁱⁿ add ^{ition} to our shipping ^{ments}

Across the Atlantic we must realize that in this war, we are
~~problems by realizing that we are conducting war in the~~
~~operating, ~~as~~ in the~~

Aleutians, in the distant parts of the Southwest Pacific, ~~and~~ in India

~~the Bay of Bengal~~ *and off the shores of South America*

For several months we have been losing fewer ships by

sinkings, and we have been destroying more and more U-boats.

~~We hope, but cannot assume, that this will continue. We must~~

keep our fingers crossed. *and then cy 20 20 20*

(A)

INSERT A PAGE 9

Those few Americans who grouse and complain about the inconveniences of life here in the United States should learn some lessons from the civilian populations of our Allies -- Britain, China, Russia -- ^{of} and all the lands occupied by our common enemies.

One tangible result of our great increase in merchant shipping -- which will be good news to civilians at home -- is that tonight we are able to terminate the rationing of coffee. We also expect that within a short time we shall get greatly increased allowances of sugar. *Insert (A)*

~~But we are not interested in the war in the Mediterranean alone.~~ The heaviest and most decisive fighting today is going on in Russia. I am glad that the British and we have been able to contribute somewhat to the striking power of the Russian armies.

✓ In 1941-1942 the Russians were able to retire . without breaking, to move many of their war plants from western Russia far into the interior, to stand together with complete unanimity in the defense of their homeland.

~~These were the qualities of the Russian people themselves which frustrated the plans of the German high command for an easy conquest.~~ The success of the Russian armies has shown that it is dangerous to make prophecies about them --- a fact forcibly brought home to that mystic master of strategic intuition, Herr Hitler.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was a desperate attempt to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack -- plans which coordinate with the whole United Nations offensive strategy.

The world has never seen greater devotion, determination and self-sacrifice than ^{have} ~~has~~ been displayed by the

Russian people and their armies, *under the leadership of Marshal Joseph Stalin.*

With a nation ^{which, in} ~~that~~ saving itself ^{is} ~~and~~ thereby helping to save all the world from the Nazi menace, this country should always be glad to be a good neighbor and a sincere friend in the world of the future.

In the Pacific we are pushing the Japs around from the Aleutians to New Guinea. There, too, we have taken the initiative -- and we are not going to let go of it.

It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japs have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition will drive the Japs back from their over-extended line running from Burma and Siam and the Straits Settlement through the Netherlands Indies to eastern New Guinea and the Solomons. We have good reason to believe that their shipping and their air power cannot support such outposts.

Expected cost M. 1000 [The superiority of our planes and especially of the American, Australian, New Zealand and Dutch fliers, is being forced painfully upon the Japanese. They are finding with methodical regularity that the ratio of air losses is 4 to 1 against them on their best days and sometimes as much as 20 to 1.

On the ground, we are now teaching the Japs some new lessons in the technique of jungle warfare at which they were originally so adept.

Our naval ^{land and air} strength in the Pacific is constantly growing.

If the Japanese are basing their future plans for the Pacific on a long period in which they will be permitted to consolidate and exploit their conquered resources, they had better start revising their plans now. I give that to them ^{merely} as a helpful suggestion.

We are delivering planes and vital war supplies for the heroic armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and we must do more at all costs.

Our air supply line from India to China across enemy territory continues ~~uninterrupted~~ despite attempted Japanese interference. We have seized the initiative from the Japanese in the air over Burma and now enjoy superiority. We are bombing Japanese communications, supply dumps, and bases in China, Indo-China and Burma.

But We are still far from our main objectives in the war against Japan. ~~and~~ ^{let} us remember how far we were, a year ago, from any of our objectives in the European theatre. We are

pushing forward to occupation of positions which in time will enable us to attack the Japanese Islands themselves from the North, from the South, from the East, and from the West.

You have heard it said that while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front, we are failing miserably on the home front. This is another of those ~~theories~~ ^{innuendoes} -- a false slogan ~~it~~ easy to state but untrue in the essential facts.

For, The longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the middle of a page and call on ^{one} side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front". The two of them are inexorably tied ~~to~~ together.

Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its equipment and ammunition ^{and fuel} and food, as indeed it is for its manpower, on the American people in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home.

[It is greatly due to these civilians that after a year and a half of war we have accomplished a miracle here and overseas.]

The same kind of careful planning that gained victory in North Africa and Sicily is required if we are to make victory an enduring reality and do our share in building the kind of peaceful world which will justify the sacrifices made in this war.

The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in an international discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. We must not relax our pressure on the enemy by taking time out to define every boundary and settle every political controversy in every part of the world. The all-important thing now is to get on with the war -- and to win it.

While concentrating on military victory, we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, the freedoms which we know will make for more decency and greater justice throughout the world.

Among many other things we are, today, laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant ^{and women} men in the

armed services. We must, this time, have [these] plans ready — instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at the last moment.

I have assured our men in the armed forces that the American people would not let them down when the war is won, -- ^{They must} ~~that they would~~ not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a bread line or on a corner selling apples.

I hope that the Congress will help in carrying out this assurance, for obviously the Executive Branch of the Government cannot do it alone. ~~I have full confidence in~~ ^{May} the Congress ~~will~~ do its duty in this regard, -- ~~and that~~ ^{The} American people will insist on fulfilling this American obligation to the men and women in the armed forces who are winning this war for us.

Of course the returning soldier and sailor and marine are a part of the problem of demobilizing the rest of the millions of Americans who have been working and living in a war economy since 1941. That larger objective of reconverting war-time America to a peace-time basis is one for which your government is laying plans to be submitted to the Congress for action ~~in time~~.

But the members of the armed forces have been compelled to make greater economic sacrifice ^{and every other kind of sacrifice} than the rest of us, and are entitled to definite action to help take care of their special problems.

The least to which they are entitled, ^{it seems to me, is} ~~is~~ ^{something like this:}

1. Mustering-out pay to every member of the armed forces and merchant marine when he or she is honorably discharged, ^{in each case} large enough to cover a reasonable period of time between his ^{discharge} and the finding of a new job.

2. In case no job is found after diligent search, then unemployment insurance ^{if the individual registers with the} ~~Unemployment Insurance~~ ^{Unemployment Service}.

2. An opportunity for members of the armed services to get further education or trade training at the cost of their government.

4. Allowance of credit to all members of the armed forces, under ~~the~~ unemployment compensation and Federal old-age and survivors' insurance, for their period of service. For these purposes they should be treated as if they had continued their employment in private industry.

5. Improved and liberalized provisions for hospitalization, rehabilitation and medical care of disabled members of the armed forces and merchant marine.

6. Sufficient pensions for disabled members of the armed forces.

~~Executive Branch~~] Your Government is drawing up other serious, constructive plans for certain immediate forward moves, ~~have these~~. They concern food, manpower, and other domestic problems ^{but they tie in with our armed forces.} Within a few weeks I shall speak with you again in regard to definite actions to be taken by the Executive Branch of the Government and specific recommendations for new legislation by the Congress.

All our calculations for the future, however, must be based on clear understanding of the problems involved. And that can be gained only by straight thinking -- not guess work *or*

political manipulation.

I confess that I myself am sometimes bewildered by conflicting statements that I see in the press. One day I read an "authoritative" statement that we shall win the war this year, 1943 -- and the next day comes another statement equally "authoritative", that the war will still be going on in 1949.

Of course both extremes -- of optimism and pessimism -- are wrong.

[Obviously, we have no reason for overconfidence.

We have no reason to assume that the end is in sight. We have no reason to suspect that there will soon be, or ever be some kind of an internal revolution or domestic collapse in Germany or Japan.

The pessimistic view is equally dangerous. Most certainly we cannot do our full job in this war if we are lacking in confidence in ultimate victory, without a date tag on it.]

The next time anyone says to you that this war is "in the bag" and "it's all over but the shouting", you should ask him these questions:

"Are you working full time on your job?"

"Are you growing all the food you can?"

"Are you buying your limit of war bonds?"

"Are you loyally, cheerfully cooperating with your Government in preventing inflation and profiteering and in making rationing work with fairness to all?"

"Because -- if your answer is 'no' -- then the war is going to last a lot longer than you think".

The length of the war will depend ~~largely~~ upon the uninterrupted continuance of all-out effort on the fighting fronts and here at home. The effort is all one.

The American soldier does not like the necessity of waging war. ~~[He may not like the driving demands of army life.]~~ And yet -- if he lays off for one single instant he may lose his own life and sacrifice the lives of his comrades.

By the same token -- a worker here at home may not like the driving, wartime conditions under which he has to work or live. And yet -- if he gets complacent or indifferent and slacks on his job he, too, may sacrifice the lives of American soldiers and contribute to the loss of an important battle.

Insert A

The plans we made for the knocking out of Mussolini and his gang ^{largely} have succeeded. But we still have to knock out Hitler and his gang and Tojo and his gang. No one of us pretends that this will be an easy matter.

We still have to defeat Hitler and Tojo on their own home grounds. But this will require a far greater concentration of our national energy and our ingenuity and our skill.

It is not too much to say that we must pour into this war the entire strength and intelligence and will power of the ~~the~~ United States. We are a great nation -- a rich nation -- but we are not so great or ^{so} rich that we can afford to waste our substance or the lives of our men by relaxing ~~as we reach that turn in the road which leads straight to final total victory.~~ ^{along the way,}

We shall not settle for less than total victory.

That is the determination of every American on the fighting fronts. That must be and will be the determination of every American here at home.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

JULY 28, 1943

Over a year and a half ago I said ^{then} to the Congress:

"The militarists in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo started this war, but the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it".

Today That prophecy is in the process of being fulfilled. The massed, angered forces of common humanity are on the march. They are going forward -- on the Russian front, in the vast Pacific area, and into Europe -- converging upon their ultimate objectives, Berlin and Tokyo.

The first crack in the Axis has come. The criminal, corrupt Fascist regime in Italy is going to pieces.

The pirate philosophy of the Fascists and Nazis cannot stand adversity. The military superiority of the United Nations --

on sea and land, and in the air -- has been applied in the right place and at the right time.

Hitler refused to send sufficient help to save Mussolini.

In fact, Hitler's troops in Sicily stole the Italians' motor equipment, leaving Italian soldiers so stranded that they had no choice but to surrender. Once again the Germans betrayed their Italian allies, as they had done time and time again on the Russian front and in the long retreat from Egypt, through Libya and Tripoli, to the final surrender in Tunisia.

Mussolini came to the reluctant conclusion that the "jig was up"; he could see the shadow of the long arm of justice.

But he and his Fascist gang will be brought to book, and punished for their crimes against humanity. No criminal will be allowed to escape by the expedient of "resignation".

Our terms to Italy are still the same as our terms to Germany and Japan -- "unconditional surrender".

We will have no truck with Fascism in any way, shape or manner. We will permit no vestige of Fascism to remain.

Eventually Italy will reconstitute herself. It will be the people of Italy who will do that, choosing their own Government in accordance with the basic democratic principles of liberty and equality. In the meantime, the United Nations will not follow the pattern set by Mussolini and Hitler and the Japanese for the treatment of occupied countries -- the pattern of pillage and starvation.

We are already helping the Italian people in Sicily. With their cordial cooperation, we are establishing and maintaining security and order -- we are dissolving the organizations which have kept them under Fascist tyranny -- we are providing them with the necessities of life until the time comes when they can fully provide for themselves.

Indeed, the people in Sicily today are rejoicing in the fact that, for the first time in years, they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labors -- they can eat what they themselves grow instead of having it stolen from them by the Fascists and the Nazis.

In every country conquered by the Nazis, the Fascists or the Japanese militarists, the people have been reduced to the status of slaves or chattels.

It is our determination to restore these conquered peoples to the dignity of human beings, masters of their own fate, entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

We have started to make good on that promise.

I am sorry if I step on the toes of those Americans who, playing party politics at home, call that kind of foreign policy "crazy altruism" and "starry-eyed dreaming".

9.35

Meanwhile the war in Sicily and Italy goes on. It must go on, and will go on, until the Italian people realize the futility of continuing to fight in a lost cause -- a cause to which the people of Italy never gave their whole-hearted approval and support.

It is a little over a year since we planned the North African campaign. It is six months since we planned the Sicilian campaign. I confess that I am of an impatient disposition, but I think that I understand, and that most people understand, the amount of time necessary to prepare for any major military or naval operation. We cannot just pick up the telephone and order a new campaign to start the next week.

For example, behind the invasion forces of North Africa were thousands of ships and planes guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men, the equipment and the supplies to the point of attack. And behind all these were

the railroad lines and highways that carried the men and the munitions to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the farms that turned out the materials -- there were the training camps where the men learned how to perform the strange and difficult and dangerous tasks which were to meet them on the beaches and in the deserts and the mountains.

All this had to be repeated in the attack on Sicily. Here the factor of air attack was added -- for we could use North Africa as the base for softening up the landing places and lines of defense in Sicily, and the lines of supply in Italy.

It is interesting for us to realize that every flying fortress that bombed harbor installations at Naples from its base in North Africa required 1,110 gallons of gasoline for each single mission, and that this is the equal of about 375 "A" ration tickets -- enough gas to drive your car five times across this continent. You will better understand your part in the war -- and what gasoline rationing means -- if you multiply

this by the gasoline needs of thousands of planes and hundreds of thousands of jeeps, trucks and tanks now serving overseas.

I think that the personal convenience of the individual or the individual family back home here in the United States will appear somewhat less important when I tell you that the initial assault force on Sicily involved 3,000 ships which carried 160,000 men -- Americans, British, Canadians and French -- together with 14,000 vehicles, 600 tanks and 1,800 guns. This initial force was followed every day and every night by thousands of reinforcements.

The meticulous care with which the operation in Sicily was planned has paid dividends. For our casualties in men, ships and materiel have been low -- in fact, far below our estimate.

All of us are proud of the superb skill and courage of the officers and men who have conducted and are conducting this operation. The toughest resistance developed on the front of the British Eighth Army, which included the Canadians.

940

But that is no new experience for that magnificent fighting force which has made the Germans pay a heavy price for each hour of delay in the final victory. The American Seventh Army, after a stormy landing on the exposed beaches of Southern Sicily, swept with record speed across the island into Palermo. For many of our troops this was their first battle experience but they have carried themselves like veterans.

And we must give credit for the coordination of the diverse forces in the field, and for the planning of the whole campaign, to the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower. Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder have been towers of strength in handling the complex details of naval, ground and air activities.

You have heard some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together -- you have heard some people say that the Army and Navy and Air Forces

can never get along well together -- that real cooperation between them is impossible. Tunisia and Sicily have given the lie, once and for all, to these narrow-minded prejudices.

The dauntless fighting spirit of the British people in this war has been expressed in the historic words and deeds of Winston Churchill -- and the world knows how the American people feel about him.

Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily -- together. And we shall carry on together.

Today our production of ships is almost unbelievable. This year we are producing over nineteen million tons of merchant shipping and next year our production will be over twenty-one million tons. And in addition to our shipments across the Atlantic we must realize that in this war, we are operating in the Aleutians, in the distant parts of the Southwest Pacific, in India and off the shores of South America.

For several months we have been losing fewer ships by sinkings, and we have been destroying more and more U-boats. We hope this will continue. But we cannot be sure. We must not lower our guard for one single instant.

One tangible result of our great increase in merchant shipping -- which will be good news to civilians at home -- is that tonight we are able to terminate the rationing of coffee. We also expect that within a short time we shall get greatly increased allowances of sugar.

Those few Americans who grouse and complain about the inconveniences of life here in the United States should learn some lessons from the civilian populations of our Allies -- Britain, China, Russia -- and of all the lands occupied by our common enemies.

The heaviest and most decisive fighting today is going on in Russia. I am glad that the British and we have been able to contribute somewhat to the striking power of the Russian armies.

In 1941-1942 the Russians were able to retire without breaking, to move many of their war plants from western Russia far into the interior, to stand together with complete unanimity in the defense of their homeland.

The success of the Russian armies has shown that it is dangerous to make prophecies about them -- a fact forcibly brought home to that mystic master of strategic intuition, Herr Hitler.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was a desperate attempt to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack -- plans which coordinate with the whole United Nations' offensive strategy.

9.45

The world has never seen greater devotion, determination and self-sacrifice than have been displayed by the Russian people and their armies, under the leadership of Marshal Joseph Stalin.

With a nation which, in saving itself is thereby helping to save all the world from the Nazi menace, this country should always be glad to be a good neighbor and a sincere friend in the world of the future.

In the Pacific we are pushing the Japs around from the Aleutians to New Guinea. There, too, we have taken the initiative -- and we are not going to let go of it.

It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japs have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition will drive the Japs back from their over-extended line running from Burma and Siam and the Straits Settlement through the Netherlands Indies to eastern New Guinea and the Solomons. We have good reason to believe that their shipping and their air power cannot support such outposts.

Our naval, land and air strength in the Pacific is constantly growing. If the Japanese are basing their future plans for the Pacific on a long period in which they will be permitted to consolidate and exploit their conquered resources, they had better start revising their plans now. I give that to them merely as a helpful suggestion.

We are delivering planes and vital war supplies for the heroic armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and we must do more at all costs.

Our air supply line from India to China across enemy territory continues despite attempted Japanese interference. We have seized the initiative from the Japanese in the air over Burma and now enjoy superiority. We are bombing Japanese communications, supply dumps, and bases in China, Indo-China and Burma.

But, we are still far from our main objectives in the war against Japan. Let us remember how far we were, a year ago, from any of our objectives in the European theatre. We are pushing forward to occupation of positions which in time will enable us to attack the Japanese Islands themselves from the North, from the South, from the East, and from the West.

You have heard it said that while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front, we are failing miserably on the home front. This is another of those immaturities -- a false slogan easy to state but untrue in the essential facts.

For, the longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the middle of a page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front". The two of them are inexorably tied together.

Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its equipment and ammunition and fuel and food, as indeed it is for its

manpower, on the American people in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home.

The same kind of careful planning that gained victory in North Africa and Sicily is required if we are to make victory an enduring reality and do our share in building the kind of peaceful world which will justify the sacrifices made in this war.

4.50

The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in an international discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. We must not relax our pressure on the enemy by taking time out to define every boundary and settle every political controversy in every part of the world. The all-important thing now is to get on with the war -- and to win it.

While concentrating on military victory, we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, the freedoms which we know will make for more decency and greater justice throughout the world.

Among many other things we are, today, laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant men and women in the armed services. They must not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a bread line or on a corner selling apples. We must, this time, have plans ready -- instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at the last moment.

I have assured our men in the armed forces that the American people would not let them down when the war is won.

I hope that the Congress will help in carrying out this assurance, for obviously the Executive Branch of the Government cannot do it alone. May the Congress do its duty in this regard. The American people will insist on fulfilling

this American obligation to the men and women in the armed forces who are winning this war for us.

Of course, the returning soldier and sailor and marine are a part of the problem of demobilizing the rest of the millions of Americans who have been working and living in a war economy since 1941. That larger objective of reconverting war-time America to a peace-time basis is one for which your government is laying plans to be submitted to the Congress for action.

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955

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Of course both extremes -- of optimism and pessimism -- are wrong.

The length of the war will depend upon the uninterrupted continuance of all-out effort on the fighting fronts and here at home. The effort is all one.

The American soldier does not like the necessity of waging war. And yet -- if he lays off for one single instant he may lose his own life and sacrifice the lives of his comrades.

By the same token -- a worker here at home may not like the driving, wartime conditions under which he has to work or live. And yet -- if he gets complacent or indifferent and slacks on his job he, too, may sacrifice the lives of American soldiers and contribute to the loss of an important battle.

The next time anyone says to you that this war is "in the bag" and "it's all over but the shouting", you should ask him these questions:

"Are you working full time on your job"?

"Are you growing all the food you can"?

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We still have to defeat Hitler and Tojo on their own home grounds. But this will require a far greater concentration of our national energy and our ingenuity and our skill.

It is not too much to say that we must pour into this war the entire strength and intelligence and will power of the United States. We are a great nation -- a rich nation -- but we are not so great or so rich that we can afford to waste our substance or the lives of our men by relaxing along the way.

We shall not settle for less than total victory. That is the determination of every American on the fighting fronts. That must be, and will be, the determination of every American here at home.

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Franklin D. Roosevelt
Orig. reading copy

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ADDRESS
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JULY 28, 1943
AT 9.30 P.M., E.W.T.

My fellow Americans:

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Today that prophecy is in the process of being fulfilled. The massed, angered forces of common humanity are on the march. They are going forward -- on the Russian front, in the vast Pacific area, and into Europe -- converging upon their ultimate objectives: Berlin and Tokyo.

I think the first crack in the Axis has come. The criminal, corrupt Fascist regime in Italy is going to pieces.

The pirate philosophy of the Fascists and the Nazis cannot stand adversity. The military superiority of the United Nations -- on sea and land, and in the air -- has been applied in the right place and at the right time.

Hitler refused to send sufficient help to save Mussolini. In fact, Hitler's troops in Sicily stole the Italians' motor equipment, leaving Italian soldiers so stranded that they had no choice but to surrender. Once again the Germans betrayed their Italian allies, as they had done time and

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

time again on the Russian front and in the long retreat from Egypt, through Libya and Tripoli, to the final surrender in Tunisia.

And so Mussolini came to the reluctant conclusion that the "jig was up"; he could see the shadow of the long arm of justice.

But he and his Fascist gang will be brought to book, and punished for their crimes against humanity. No criminal will be allowed to escape by the expedient of "resignation."

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Eventually Italy will reconstitute herself. It will be the people of Italy who will do that, choosing their own government in accordance with the basic democratic principles of liberty and equality. In the meantime, the United Nations will not follow the pattern set by Mussolini and Hitler and the Japanese for the treatment of occupied countries -- the pattern of pillage and starvation.

We are already helping the Italian people in Sicily. With their cordial cooperation, we are establishing and maintaining security and order -- we are dissolving the organizations which have kept them under Fascist tyranny -- we are providing them with the necessities of life until the time comes when they can fully provide for themselves.

Indeed, the people in Sicily today are rejoicing in the fact that for the first time in years they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labor(s) -- they can eat what they themselves grow, instead of having it stolen from them by the Fascists and the Nazis.

In every country conquered by the Nazis and the Fascists, or the Japanese militarists, the people have been reduced to the status of slaves or chattels.

It is our determination to restore these conquered peoples to the dignity of human beings, masters of their own fate, entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

We have started to make good on that promise.

I am sorry if I step on the toes of those Americans who, playing party politics at home, call that kind of foreign policy "crazy altruism" and "starry-eyed dreaming."

Meanwhile, the war in Sicily and Italy goes on. It must go on, and will go on, until the Italian people realize the futility of continuing to fight in a lost cause -- a cause to which the people of Italy never gave their wholehearted approval and support.

It's (it is) a little over a year since we planned the North African campaign. It is six months since we planned the Sicilian campaign. I confess that I am of an impatient disposition, but I think that I understand and that most people understand the amount of time necessary to prepare for any major military or naval operation. We cannot just pick up

the telephone and order a new campaign to start the next week.

For example, behind the invasion forces in (of) North Africa, the invasion forces that went out of North Africa, were thousands of ships and planes guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men, carrying the equipment and the supplies to the point of attack. And behind all these were the railroad lines and the highways here back home that carried the men and the munitions to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the farms here back home that turned out the materials -- there were the training camps here back home where the men learned how to perform the strange and difficult and dangerous tasks which were to meet them on the beaches and in the deserts and in the mountains.

All this had to be repeated, first in North Africa and then in (in the attack on) Sicily. Here the factor -- in Sicily -- the factor of air attack was added -- for we could use North Africa as the base for softening up the landing places and lines of defense in Sicily, and the lines of supply in Italy.

It is interesting for us to realize that every flying fortress that bombed harbor installations at, for example, Naples, bombed it from its base in North Africa, required 1,110 gallons of gasoline for each single mission, and that this is the equal of about 375 "A" ration tickets -- enough gas to drive your car five times across this continent. You will better understand your part in the war -- and what

gasoline rationing means -- if you multiply this by the gasoline needs of thousands of planes and hundreds of thousands of jeeps, and trucks and tanks that are now serving overseas.

I think that the personal convenience of the individual, or the individual family back home here in the United States will appear somewhat less important when I tell you that the initial assault force on Sicily involved 3,000 ships which carried 160,000 men -- Americans, British, Canadians and French -- together with 14,000 vehicles, 600 tanks, and 1,800 guns. And this initial force was followed every day and every night by thousands of reinforcements.

The meticulous care with which the operation in Sicily was planned has paid dividends. (For) Our casualties in men, in ships and materiel have been low -- in fact, far below our estimate.

And all of us are proud of the superb skill and courage of the officers and men who have conducted and are conducting those (this) operations. The toughest resistance developed on the front of the British Eighth Army, which included the Canadians. But that is no new experience for that magnificent fighting force which has made the Germans pay a heavy price for each hour of delay in the final victory. The American Seventh Army, after a stormy landing on the exposed beaches of Southern Sicily, swept with record speed across the island into the capital at Palermo. For many of our troops this was their first battle experience, but they have carried themselves like veterans.

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The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition will drive the Japs back from their over-extended line running from Burma (and Siam) and the Straits Settlement and Siam through the Netherlands Indies to eastern New Guinea and the Solomons. And we have good reason to believe that their shipping and their air power cannot support such outposts.

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It's (it is) a little over a year since we planned the North African campaign. It is six months since we planned the Sicilian campaign. I confess that I am of an impatient disposition, but I think that I understand and that most people understand the amount of time necessary to prepare for any major military or naval operation. We cannot just pick up

the telephone and order a new campaign to start the next week.

For example, behind the invasion forces in (of) North Africa, the invasion forces that went out of North Africa, were thousands of ships and planes guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men, carrying the equipment and the supplies to the point of attack. And behind all these were the railroad lines and the highways here back home that carried the men and the munitions to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the farms here back home that turned out the materials -- there were the training camps here back home where the men learned how to perform the strenuous and difficult and dangerous tasks which were to meet them on the beaches and in the deserts and in the mountains.

All this had to be repeated, first in North Africa and then in (in the attack on) Sicily. Here the factor -- in Sicily -- the factor of air attack was added -- for we could use North Africa as the base for softening up the landing places and lines of defense in Sicily, and the lines of supply in Italy.

It is interesting for us to realize that every flying fortress that bombed harbor installations at, for example, Naples, bombed it from its base in North Africa, required 1,110 gallons of gasoline for each single mission, and that this is the equal of about 375 "A" ration tickets -- enough gas to drive your car five times across this continent. You will better understand your part in the war -- and what

gasoline rationing means -- if you multiply this by the gasoline needs of thousands of planes and hundreds of thousands of jeeps, and trucks and tanks that are now serving overseas.

I think that the personal convenience of the individual, or the individual family back home here in the United States will appear somewhat less important when I tell you that the initial assault force on Sicily involved 3,000 ships which carried 160,000 men -- Americans, British, Canadians and French -- together with 14,000 vehicles, 600 tanks, and 1,800 guns. And this initial force was followed every day and every night by thousands of reinforcements.

The meticulous care with which the operation in Sicily was planned has paid dividends. (For) Our casualties in men, in ships and materiel have been low -- in fact, far below our estimate.

And all of us are proud of the superb skill and courage of the officers and men who have conducted and are conducting those (this) operations. The toughest resistance developed on the front of the British Eighth Army, which included the Canadians. But that is no new experience for that magnificent fighting force which has made the Germans pay a heavy price for each hour of delay in the final victory. The American Seventh Army, after a stormy landing on the exposed beaches of Southern Sicily, swept with record speed across the island into the capital at Palermo. For many of our troops this was their first battle experience, but they have carried themselves like veterans.

And we must give credit for the coordination of the diverse forces in the field, and for the planning of the whole campaign, to the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower. Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder have been towers of strength in handling the complex details of naval and ground and air activities.

You have heard some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together -- you have heard some people say that the Army and the Navy and the Air Forces can never get along well together -- that real cooperation between them is impossible. Tunisia and Sicily have given the lie, once and for all, to these narrow-minded prejudices.

The dauntless fighting (spirit) of the British people in this war has been expressed in the historic words and deeds of Winston Churchill -- and the world knows how the American people feel about him.

Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily -- together. And we shall carry on together.

Today our production of ships is almost unbelievable. This year we are producing over nineteen million tons of merchant shipping and next year our production will be over twenty-one million tons. And in addition to our shipments across the Atlantic, we must realize that in this war we are operating in the Aleutians, in the distant parts of the Southwest Pacific, in India, and off the shores of South America.

For several months we have been losing fewer ships by sinkings, and we have been destroying more and more U-boats. We hope this will continue. But we cannot be sure. We must not lower our guard for one single instant.

An example -- s (One) tangible result of our great increase in merchant shipping -- which I think will be good news to civilians at home -- is that tonight we are able to terminate the rationing of coffee. And we also expect (that) within a short time we shall get greatly increased allowances of sugar.

Those few Americans who grouse and complain about the inconveniences of life here in the United States should learn some lessons from the civilian populations of our Allies -- Britain, and China, and Russia -- and of all the lands occupied by our common enemy (enemies).

The heaviest and most decisive fighting today is going on in Russia. I am glad that the British and we have been able to contribute somewhat to the great striking power of the Russian armies.

In 1941-1942 the Russians were able to retire without breaking, to move many of their war plants from western Russia far into the interior, to stand together with complete unanimity in the defense of their homeland.

The success of the Russian armies has shown that it is dangerous to make prophecies about them -- a fact which has been forcibly brought home to that mystic master of strategic intuition, Herr Hitler.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was a desperate attempt to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack -- plans which co-ordinate with the whole United Nations' offensive strategy.

The world has never seen greater devotion, determination and self-sacrifice than have been displayed by the Russian people and their armies, under the leadership of Marshal Joseph Stalin.

With a nation which in saving itself is thereby helping to save all the world from the Nazi menace, this country of ours should always be glad to be a good neighbor and a sincere friend in the world of the future.

In the Pacific, we are pushing the Japs around from the Aleutians to New Guinea. There too we have taken the initiative -- and we are not going to let go of it.

It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japs have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition will drive the Japs back from their over-extended line running from Burma (and Siam) and the Straits Settlement and Siam through the Netherlands Indies to eastern New Guinea and the Solomons. And we have good reason to believe that their shipping and their air power cannot support such outposts.

Our naval and land and air strength in the Pacific is constantly growing. And if the Japanese are basing their future plans for the Pacific on a long period in which they will be permitted to consolidate and exploit their conquered resources, they had better start revising their plans now. I give that to them merely as a helpful suggestion.

We are delivering planes and vital war supplies for the heroic armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and we must do more at all costs.

Our air supply line from India to China across enemy territory continues despite attempted Japanese interference. We have seized the initiative from the Japanese in the air over Burma and now we enjoy superiority. We are bombing Japanese communications, supply dumps, and bases in China, in Indo-China, in (and) Burma.

But we are still far from our main objectives in the war against Japan. Let us remember, however, how far we were a year ago from any of our objectives in the European theatre. We are pushing forward to occupation of positions which in time will enable us to attack the Japanese Islands themselves from the North, from the South, from the East, and from the West.

You have heard it said that while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front, we are failing miserably on the home front. I think this is another of those immaturities -- a false slogan easy to state but untrue in the essential facts.

For the longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the middle of a page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front." For the two of them are inexorably tied together.

Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its equipment and ammunition and fuel and food, as indeed it is for its manpower, dependent on the American people in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home.

The same kind of careful planning that gained victory in North Africa and Sicily is required, if we are to make victory an enduring reality and do our share in building the kind of peaceful world that (which) will justify the sacrifices made in this war.

The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in an international discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. Let us win the war first. We must not relax our pressure on the enemy by taking time out to define every boundary and settle every political controversy in every part of the world. The important thing -- the all-important thing now is to get on with the war -- and to win it.

While concentrating on military victory, we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, the freedoms which we know will make for more decency and greater justice

throughout the world.

Among many other things we are, today, laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant men and women in the armed services. They must not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a bread line, or on a corner selling apples. We must, this time, have plans ready -- instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at the last moment.

I have assured our men in the armed forces that the American people would not let them down when the war is won.

I hope that the Congress will help in carrying out this assurance, for obviously the Executive Branch of the Government cannot do it alone. May the Congress do its duty in this regard. The American people will insist on fulfilling this American obligation to the men and women in the armed forces who are winning this war for us.

Of course, the returning soldier and sailor and marine are a part of the problem of demobilizing the rest of the millions of Americans who have been (working and) living in a war economy since 1941. That larger objective of reconverting wartime America to a peacetime basis is one for which your government is laying plans to be submitted to the Congress for action.

But the members of the armed forces have been compelled to make greater economic sacrifice and every other kind of sacrifice than the rest of us, and they are entitled to definite action to help take care of their special problems.

The least to which they are entitled, it seems to me, is something like this:

First (1.) Mustering-out pay to every member of the armed forces and merchant marine when he or she is honorably discharged, mustering-out pay large enough in each case to cover a reasonable period of time between his discharge and the finding of a new job.

Secondly (2.) In case no job is found after diligent search, then unemployment insurance if the individual registers with the United States Employment Service.

Third (3.) An opportunity for members of the armed services to get further education or trade training at the cost of their government.

Fourth (4.) Allowance of credit to all members of the armed forces, under unemployment compensation and Federal old-age and survivors' insurance, for their period of service. For these purposes they ought to (should) be treated as if they had continued their employment in private industry.

Fifth (5.) Improved and liberalized provisions for hospitalization, for rehabilitation, for (and) medical care of disabled members of the armed forces and the merchant marine.

And finally (6.), sufficient pensions for disabled members of the armed forces.

Your Government is drawing up other serious, constructive plans for certain immediate forward moves. They concern food, manpower, and other domestic problems that (but they) tie in with our armed forces.

Within a few weeks I shall speak with you again in regard to definite actions to be taken by the Executive Branch of the Government, together with (and) specific recommendations for new legislation by the Congress.

All our calculations for the future, however, must be based on clear understanding of the problems involved. And that can be gained only by straight thinking -- not guess work, not (or) political manipulation.

I confess that I myself am sometimes bewildered by conflicting statements that I see in the press. One day I read an "authoritative" statement that we will (shall) win the war this year, 1943 -- and the next day comes another statement equally "authoritative," that the war will still be going on in 1949.

Of course, both extremes -- of optimism and pessimism -- are wrong.

The length of the war will depend upon the uninterrupted continuance of all-out effort on the fighting fronts and here at home, and that (The) effort is all one.

The American soldier doesn't (not) like the necessity of waging war. And yet -- if he lays off for a (one) single instant he may lose his own life and sacrifice the lives of his comrades.

By the same token -- a worker hereat home may not like the driving, wartime conditions under which he has to work and (or) live. And yet -- if he gets complacent or indifferent and slacks on his job, he too may sacrifice the lives

of American soldiers and contribute to the loss of an important battle.

The next time anyone says to you that this war is "in the bag," or says (and) "it's all over but the shouting," you should ask him these questions:

"Are you working full time on your job?"

"Are you growing all the food you can?"

"Are you buying your limit of war bonds?"

"Are you loyally and cheerfully cooperating with your Government in preventing inflation and profiteering, and in making rationing work with fairness to all?"

"Because -- if your answer is 'No' -- then the war is going to last a lot longer than you think."

The plans we made for the knocking out of Mussolini and his gang have largely succeeded. But we still have to knock out Hitler and his gang, and Tojo and his gang. No one of us pretends that this will be an easy matter.

We still have to defeat Hitler and Tojo on their own home grounds. But this will require a far greater concentration of our national energy and our ingenuity and our skill.

It isn't (not) too much to say that we must pour into this war the entire strength and intelligence and will power of the United States. We are a great nation -- a rich nation -- but we are not so great or so rich that we can afford to waste our substance or the lives of our men by relaxing along the way.

We shall not settle for less than total victory.

That is the determination of every American on the fighting fronts. That must be, and will be, the determination of every American here at home.

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July 28, 1943

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STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

JULY 28, 1943

Over a year and a half ago I said to the Congress:

"The militarists in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo started this war, but the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it".

That prophecy is in the process of being fulfilled. The massed, angered forces of common humanity are on the march. They are going forward -- on the Russian front, in the vast Pacific area, and into Europe -- converging upon their ultimate objectives, Berlin and Tokyo.

The first crack in the Axis has come. The criminal, corrupt Fascist regime in Italy is going to pieces.

The pirate philosophy of the Fascists and Nazis cannot stand adversity. The military superiority of the United Nations --

on sea and land, and in the air -- has been applied in the right place and at the right time.

Hitler refused to send sufficient help to save Mussolini. In fact, Hitler's troops in Sicily stole the Italians' motor equipment, leaving Italian soldiers so stranded that they had no choice but to surrender. Once again the Germans betrayed their Italian allies, as they had done time and time again on the Russian front and in the long retreat from Egypt, through Libya and Tripoli, to the final surrender in Tunisia.

Mussolini came to the reluctant conclusion that the "jig was up"; he could see the shadow of the long arm of justice.

But he and his Fascist gang will be brought to book, and punished for their crimes against humanity. No criminal will be allowed to escape by the expedient of "resignation".

Our terms to Italy are still the same as our terms to Germany and Japan -- "unconditional surrender".

We will have no truck with Fascism in any way, shape or manner. We will permit no vestige of Fascism to remain.

Eventually Italy will reconstitute herself. It will be the people of Italy who will do that, choosing their own Government in accordance with the basic democratic principles of liberty and equality. In the meantime, the United Nations will not follow the pattern set by Mussolini and Hitler and the Japanese for the treatment of occupied countries -- the pattern of pillage and starvation.

We are already helping the Italian people in Sicily. With their cordial cooperation, we are establishing and maintaining security and order -- we are dissolving the organisations which have kept them under Fascist tyranny -- we are providing them with the necessities of life until the time comes when they can fully provide for themselves.

Indeed, the people in Sicily today are rejoicing in the fact that, for the first time in years, they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labors -- they can eat what they themselves grow instead of having it stolen from them by the Fascists and the Nazis.

In every country conquered by the Nazis, the Fascists or the Japanese militarists, the people have been reduced to the status of slaves or chattels.

It is our determination to restore these conquered peoples to the dignity of human beings, masters of their own fate, entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

We have started to make good on that promise.

I am sorry if I step on the toes of those Americans who, playing party politics at home, call that kind of foreign policy "crazy altruism" and "starry-eyed dreaming".

Meanwhile the war in Sicily and Italy goes on. It must go on, and will go on, until the Italian people realize the futility of continuing to fight in a lost cause -- a cause to which the people of Italy never gave their whole-hearted approval and support.

It is a little over a year since we planned the North African campaign. It is six months since we planned the Sicilian campaign. I confess that I am of an impatient disposition, but I think that I understand, and that most people understand, the amount of time necessary to prepare for any major military or naval operation. We cannot just pick up the telephone and order a new campaign to start the next week.

For example, behind the invasion forces of North Africa were thousands of ships and planes guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men, the equipment and the supplies to the point of attack. And behind all these were

the railroad lines and highways that carried the men and the munitions to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the farms that turned out the materials -- there were the training camps where the men learned how to perform the strange and difficult and dangerous tasks which were to meet them on the beaches and in the deserts and the mountains.

All this had to be repeated in the attack on Sicily. Here the factor of air attack was added -- for we could use North Africa as the base for softening up the landing places and lines of defense in Sicily, and the lines of supply in Italy.

It is interesting for us to realize that every flying fortress that bombed harbor installations at Naples from its base in North Africa required 1,110 gallons of gasoline for each single mission, and that this is the equal of about 375 "A" ration tickets -- enough gas to drive your car five times across this continent. You will better understand your part in the war -- and what gasoline rationing means -- if you multiply

this by the gasoline needs of thousands of planes and hundreds of thousands of jeeps, trucks and tanks now serving overseas.

I think that the personal convenience of the individual or the individual family back home here in the United States will appear somewhat less important when I tell you that the initial assault force on Sicily involved 3,000 ships which carried 160,000 men -- Americans, British, Canadians and French -- together with 14,000 vehicles, 600 tanks and 1,800 guns. This initial force was followed every day and every night by thousands of reinforcements.

The meticulous care with which the operation in Sicily was planned has paid dividends. For our casualties in men, ships and materiel have been low -- in fact, far below our estimate.

All of us are proud of the superb skill and courage of the officers and men who have conducted and are conducting this operation. The toughest resistance developed on the front of the British Eighth Army, which included the Canadians.

But that is no new experience for that magnificent fighting force which has made the Germans pay a heavy price for each hour of delay in the final victory. The American Seventh Army, after a stormy landing on the exposed beaches of Southern Sicily, swept with record speed across the island into Palermo. For many of our troops this was their first battle experience but they have carried themselves like veterans.

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One tangible result of our great increase in merchant shipping -- which will be good news to civilians at home -- is that tonight we are able to terminate the rationing of coffee. We also expect that within a short time we shall get greatly increased allowances of sugar.

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The success of the Russian armies has shown that it is dangerous to make prophecies about them -- a fact forcibly brought home to that mystic master of strategic intuition, Herr Hitler.

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It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japs have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition will ^{ri}drive the Japs back from their over-extended line running from Burma and Siam and the Straits Settlement through the Netherlands Indies to eastern New Guinea and the Solomons. We have good reason to believe that their shipping and their air power cannot support such outposts.

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Our air supply line from India to China across enemy territory continues despite attempted Japanese interference. We have seized the initiative from the Japanese in the air over Burma and now enjoy superiority. We are bombing Japanese communications, supply dumps, and bases in China, Indo-China and Burma.

But, we are still far from our main objectives in the war against Japan. Let us remember how far we were, a year ago, from any of our objectives in the European theatre. We are pushing forward to occupation of positions which in time will enable us to attack the Japanese Islands themselves from the North, from the South, from the East, and from the West.

You have heard it said that while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front, we are failing miserably on the home front. This is another of those immaturities -- a false slogan easy to state but untrue in the essential facts.

For, the longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the middle of a page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front". The two of them are inexorably tied together.

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The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in an international discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. We must not relax our pressure on the enemy by taking time out to define every boundary and settle every political controversy in every part of the world. The all-important thing now is to get on with the war -- and to win it.

While concentrating on military victory, we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, the freedoms which we know will make for more decency and greater justice throughout the world.

Among many other things we are, today, laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant men and women in the armed services. They must not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a bread line or on a corner selling apples. We must, this time, have plans ready -- instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at the last moment.

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this American obligation to the men and women in the armed forces who are winning this war for us.

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Of course both extremes -- of optimism and pessimism -- are wrong.

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In 1941-1942 the Russians were able to retire without breaking, to move many of their war plants from western Russia far into the interior, to stand together with complete unanimity in the defense of their homeland.

The success of the Russian armies has shown that it is dangerous to make prophecies about them -- a fact forcibly brought home to that mystic master of strategic intuition, Herr Hitler.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was a desperate attempt to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack -- plans which coordinate with the whole United Nations' offensive strategy.

The world has never seen greater devotion, determination and self-sacrifice than have been displayed by the Russian people and their armies, under the leadership of Marshal Joseph Stalin.

With a nation which, in saving itself is thereby helping to save all the world from the Nazi menace, this country should always be glad to be a good neighbor and a sincere friend in the world of the future.

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It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japs have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition will drive the Japs back from their over-extended line running from Burma and Siam and the Straits Settlement through the Netherlands Indies to eastern New Guinea and the Solomons. We have good reason to believe that their shipping and their air power cannot support such outposts.

Our naval, land and air strength in the Pacific is constantly growing. If the Japanese are basing their future plans for the Pacific on a long period in which they will be permitted to consolidate and exploit their conquered resources, they had better start revising their plans now. I give that to them merely as a helpful suggestion.

We are delivering planes and vital war supplies for the heroic armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and we must do more at all costs.

Our air supply line from India to China across enemy territory continues despite attempted Japanese interference. We have seized the initiative from the Japanese in the air over Burma and now enjoy superiority. We are bombing Japanese communications, supply dumps, and bases in China, Indo-China and Burma.

But, we are still far from our main objectives in the war against Japan. Let us remember how far we were, a year ago, from any of our objectives in the European theatre. We are pushing forward to occupation of positions which in time will enable us to attack the Japanese Islands themselves from the North, from the South, from the East, and from the West.

You have heard it said that while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front, we are failing miserably on the home front. This is another of those immaturities -- a false slogan easy to state but untrue in the essential facts.

For, the longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the middle of a page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front". The two of them are inexorably tied together.

Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its equipment and ammunition and fuel and food, as indeed it is for its manpower, on the American people in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home.

The same kind of careful planning that gained victory in North Africa and Sicily is required if we are to make victory an enduring reality and do our share in building the kind of peaceful world which will justify the sacrifices made in this war.

The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in an international discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. We must not relax our pressure on the enemy by taking time out to define every boundary and settle every political controversy in every part of the world. The all-important thing now is to get on with the war -- and to win it.

While concentrating on military victory, we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, the freedoms which we know will make for more decency and greater justice throughout the world.

Among many other things we are, today, laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant men and women in the armed services. They must not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a bread line or on a corner selling apples. We must, this time, have plans ready -- instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at the last moment.

I have assured our men in the armed forces that the American people would not let them down when the war is won.

I hope that the Congress will help in carrying out this assurance, for obviously the Executive Branch of the Government cannot do it alone. May the Congress do its duty in this regard. The American people will insist on fulfilling this American obligation to the men and women in the armed forces who are winning this war for us.

Of course, the returning soldier and sailor and marine are a part of the problem of demobilizing the rest of the millions of Americans who have been working and living in a war economy since 1941. That larger objective of reconverting war-time America to a peace-time basis is one for which your government is laying plans to be submitted to the Congress for action.

But the members of the armed forces have been compelled to make greater economic sacrifice and every other kind of sacrifice than the rest of us, and are entitled to definite action to help take care of their special problems.

The least to which they are entitled, it seems to me, is something like this:

1. Mastering-out pay to every member of the armed forces and merchant marine when he or she is honorably discharged, large enough in each case to cover a reasonable period of time between his discharge and the finding of a new job.
2. In case no job is found after diligent search, then unemployment insurance if the individual registers with the United States Employment Service.
3. An opportunity for members of the armed services to get further education or trade training at the cost of their government.
4. Allowance of credit to all members of the armed forces, under unemployment compensation and Federal old-age and survivors' insurance, for their period of service. For these purposes they should be treated as if they had continued their employment in private industry.

5. Improved and liberalised provisions for hospitalisation, rehabilitation and medical care of disabled members of the armed forces and merchant marine.

6. Sufficient pensions for disabled members of the armed forces.

Your Government is drawing up other serious, constructive plans for certain immediate forward moves. They concern food, manpower, and other domestic problems but they tie in with our armed forces. Within a few weeks I shall speak with you again in regard to definite actions to be taken by the Executive Branch of the Government and specific recommendations for new legislation by the Congress.

All our calculations for the future, however, must be based on clear understanding of the problems involved. And that can be gained only by straight thinking -- not guess work or political manipulation.

I confess that I myself am sometimes bewildered by conflicting statements that I see in the press. One day I read an "authoritative" statement that we shall win the war this year, 1943 -- and the next day comes another statement equally "authoritative", that the war will still be going on in 1949.

Of course both extremes -- of optimism and pessimism -- are wrong.

The length of the war will depend upon the uninterrupted continuance of all-out effort on the fighting fronts and here at home. The effort is all one.

The American soldier does not like the necessity of waging war. And yet -- if he lays off for one single instant he may lose his own life and sacrifice the lives of his comrades.

By the same token -- a worker here at home may not like the driving, wartime conditions under which he has to work or live. And yet -- if he gets complacent or indifferent and slacks on his job he, too, may sacrifice the lives of American soldiers and contribute to the loss of an important battle.

The next time anyone says to you that this war is "in the bag" and "it's all over but the shouting", you should ask him these questions:

"Are you working full time on your job?"

"Are you growing all the food you can?"

"Are you buying your limit of war bonds?"

"Are you loyally, cheerfully cooperating with your Government in preventing inflation and profiteering and in making rationing work with fairness to all?"

"Because -- if your answer is 'no' -- then the war is going to last a lot longer than you think".

The plans we made for the knocking out of Mussolini and his gang have largely succeeded. But we still have to knock out Hitler and his gang and Tojo and his gang. No one of us pretends that this will be an easy matter.

We still have to defeat Hitler and Tojo on their own home grounds. But this will require a far greater concentration of our national energy and our ingenuity and our skill.

It is not too much to say that we must pour into this war the entire strength and intelligence and will power of the United States. We are a great nation -- a rich nation -- but we are not so great or so rich that we can afford to waste our substance or the lives of our men by relaxing along the way.

We shall not settle for less than total victory. That is the determination of every American on the fighting fronts. That must be, and will be, the determination of every American here at home.

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NOTE:-

The marked passages are those used
by the President in the newsreels.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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July 28, 1943

CAUTION: The following address of the President MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:30 O'CLOCK, P.M., E.W.T., Wednesday, July 28, 1943. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Over a year and a half ago I said to the Congress:
"The militarists in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo started this war, but the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it".

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① The first crack in the Axis has come. The criminal, corrupt Fascist regime in Italy is going to pieces.

The pirate philosophy of the Fascists and Nazis cannot stand adversity. The military superiority of the United Nations -- on sea and land, and in the air -- has been applied in the right place and at the right time.

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~~However~~ The war in Sicily and Italy goes on. It must go on, and will go on, until the Italian people realize the futility of continuing to fight in a lost cause -- a cause to which the people of Italy never gave their whole-hearted approval and support.

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Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its equipment and ammunition and fuel and food, as indeed it is for its manpower, on the American people in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home.

The same kind of careful planning that gained victory in North Africa and Sicily is required if we are to make victory an enduring reality and do our share in building the kind of peaceful world which will justify the sacrifices made in this war.

The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in an international discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. We must not relax our pressure on the enemy by taking time out to define every boundary and settle every political controversy in every part of the world. The all-important thing now is to get on with the war -- and to win it.

While concentrating on military victory, we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, the freedoms which we know will make for more decency and greater justice throughout the world.

Among many other things we are, today, laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant men and women in the armed services. They must not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a bread line or on a corner selling apples. We must, this time, have plans ready -- instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at the last moment.

I have assured our men in the armed forces that the American people would not let them down when the war is won.

~~XX~~ I hope that the Congress will help in carrying out this assurance, for obviously the Executive Branch of the Government cannot do it alone. May the Congress do its duty in this regard. The American people will insist on fulfilling this American obligation to the men and women in the armed forces who are winning this war for us.

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Of course, the returning soldier and sailor and marine are a part of the problem of demobilizing the rest of the millions of Americans who have been working and living in a war economy since 1941. That larger objective of reconverting war-time America to a peace-time basis is one for which your government is laying plans to be submitted to the Congress for action.

But the members of the armed forces have been compelled to make greater economic sacrifice and every other kind of sacrifice than the rest of us, and are entitled to definite action to help take care of their special problems.

The least to which they are entitled, it seems to me, is something like this:

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I confess that I myself am sometimes bewildered by conflicting statements that I see in the press. One day I read an "authoritative" statement that we shall win the war this year, 1943 -- and the next day comes another statement equally "authoritative", that the war will still be going on in 1949.

Of course both extremes -- of optimism and pessimism -- are wrong.

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The American soldier does not like the necessity of waging war. And yet -- if he lays off for one single instant he may lose his own life and sacrifice the lives of his comrades.

By the same token -- a worker here at home may not like the driving, wartime conditions under which he has to work or live. And yet -- if he gets complacent or indifferent and slacks on his job he, too, may sacrifice the lives of American soldiers and contribute to the loss of an important battle.

The next time anyone says to you that this war is "in the bag" and "it's all over but the shouting", you should ask him these questions:

"Are you working full time on your job?"

"Are you growing all the food you can?"

"Are you buying your limit of war bonds?"

"Are you loyally, cheerfully cooperating with your Government in preventing inflation and profiteering and in making rationing work with fairness to all?"

"Because -- if your answer is 'no' -- then the war is going to last a lot longer than you think".

The plans we made for the knocking out of Mussolini and his gang have largely succeeded. But we still have to knock out Hitler and his gang and Tojo and his gang. No one of us pretends that this will be an easy matter.

We still have to defeat Hitler and Tojo on their own home grounds. But this will require a far greater concentration of our national energy and our ingenuity and our skill.

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It is not too much to say that we must pour into this war the entire strength and intelligence and will power of the United States. We are a great nation -- a rich nation -- but we are not so great or so rich that we can afford to waste our substance or the lives of our men by relaxing along the way.

We shall not settle for less than total victory. That is the determination of every American on the fighting fronts. That must be, and will be, the determination of every American here at home.

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STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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July 28, 1943

CAUTION: The following address of the President MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:30 O'CLOCK, P.M., E.W.T., Wednesday, July 28, 1943. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Over a year and a half ago I said to the Congress:
"The militarists in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo started this war, but the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it".

That prophecy is in the process of being fulfilled. The massed, angered forces of common humanity are on the march. They are going forward -- on the Russian front, in the vast Pacific area, and into Europe -- converging upon their ultimate objectives, Berlin and Tokyo.

The first crack in the Axis has come. The criminal, corrupt Fascist regime in Italy is going to pieces.

The pirate philosophy of the Fascists and Nazis cannot stand adversity. The military superiority of the United Nations -- on sea and land, and in the air -- has been applied in the right place and at the right time.

Hitler refused to send sufficient help to save Mussolini. In fact, Hitler's troops in Sicily stole the Italians' motor equipment, leaving Italian soldiers so stranded that they had no choice but to surrender. Once again the Germans betrayed their Italian allies, as they had done time and time again on the Russian front and in the long retreat from Egypt, through Libya and Tripoli, to the final surrender in Tunisia.

Mussolini came to the reluctant conclusion that the "jig was up"; he could see the shadow of the long arm of justice.

But he and his Fascist gang will be brought to book, and punished for their crimes against humanity. No criminal will be allowed to escape by the expedient of "resignation".

Our terms to Italy are still the same as our terms to Germany and Japan -- "unconditional surrender".

We will have no truck with Fascism in any way, shape or manner. We will permit no vestige of Fascism to remain.

Eventually Italy will reconstitute herself. It will be the people of Italy who will do that, choosing their own Government in accordance with the basic democratic principles of liberty and equality. In the meantime, the United Nations will not follow the pattern set by Mussolini and Hitler and the Japanese for the treatment of occupied countries -- the pattern of pillage and starvation.

We are already helping the Italian people in Sicily. With their cordial cooperation, we are establishing and maintaining security and order -- we are dissolving the organizations which have kept them under Fascist tyranny -- we are providing them with the necessities of life until the time comes when they can fully provide for themselves.

Indeed, the people in Sicily today are rejoicing in the fact that, for the first time in years, they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labors -- they can eat what they themselves grow instead of having it stolen from them by the Fascists and the Nazis.

In every country conquered by the Nazis, the Fascists or the Japanese militarists, the people have been reduced to the status of slaves or chattels.

It is our determination to restore these conquered peoples to the dignity of human beings, masters of their own fate, entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

We have started to make good on that promise.

I am sorry if I stop on the toes of those Americans who, playing party politics at home, call that kind of foreign policy "cray altruism" and "starry-eyed dreaming".

Meanwhile the war in Sicily and Italy goes on. It must go on, and will go on, until the Italian people realize the futility of continuing to fight in a lost cause -- a cause to which the people of Italy never gave their whole-hearted approval and support.

It is a little over a year since we planned the North African campaign. It is six months since we planned the Sicilian campaign. I confess that I am of an impatient disposition, but I think that I understand, and that most people understand, the amount of time necessary to prepare for any major military or naval operation. We cannot just pick up the telephone and order a new campaign to start the next week.

For example, behind the invasion forces of North Africa were thousands of ships and planes guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men, the equipment and the supplies to the point of attack. And behind all these were the railroad lines and highways that carried the men and the munitions to the ports of embarkation -- there were the factories and the mines and the farms that turned out the materials -- there were the training camps where the men learned how to perform the strange and difficult and dangerous tasks which were to meet them on the beaches and in the deserts and the mountains.

All this had to be repeated in the attack on Sicily. Here the factor of air attack was added -- for we could use North Africa as the base for softening up the landing places and lines of defense in Sicily, and the lines of supply in Italy.

It is interesting for us to realize that every flying fortress that bombed harbor installations at Naples from its base in North Africa required 1,110 gallons of gasoline for each single mission, and that this is the equal of about 375 "A" ration tickets -- enough gas to drive your car five times across this continent. You will better understand your part in the war -- and what gasoline rationing means -- if you multiply this by the gasoline needs of thousands of planes and hundreds of thousands of jeeps, trucks and tanks now serving overseas.

I think that the personal convenience of the individual or the individual family back home here in the United States will appear somewhat less important when I tell you that the initial assault force on Sicily involved 3,000 ships which carried 160,000 men -- Americans, British, Canadians and French -- together with 14,000 vehicles, 600 tanks and 1,800 guns. This initial force was followed every day and every night by thousands of reinforcements.

The meticulous care with which the operation in Sicily was planned has paid dividends. For our casualties in men, ships and materiel have been low -- in fact, far below our estimate.

All of us are proud of the superb skill and courage of the officers and men who have conducted and are conducting this operation. The toughest resistance developed on the front of the British Eighth Army, which included the Canadians. But that is no new experience for that magnificent fighting force which has made the Germans pay a heavy price for each hour of delay in the final victory. The American Seventh Army, after a stormy landing on the exposed beaches of Southern Sicily, swept with record speed across the island into Palermo. For many of our troops this was their first battle experience but they have carried themselves like veterans.

And we must give credit for the coordination of the diverse forces in the field, and for the planning of the whole campaign, to the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower. Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder have been towers of strength in handling the complex details of naval, ground and air activities.

You have heard some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together -- you have heard some people say that the Army and Navy and Air Forces can never get along well together -- that real cooperation between them is impossible. Tunisia and Sicily have given the lie, once and for all, to these narrow-minded prejudices.

The dauntless fighting spirit of the British people in this war has been expressed in the historic words and deeds of Winston Churchill -- and the world knows how the American people feel about him.

Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily -- together. And we shall carry on together.

Today our production of ships is almost unbelievable. This year we are producing over nineteen million tons of merchant shipping and next year our production will be over twenty-one million tons. And in addition to our shipments across the Atlantic we must realize that in this war, we are operating in the Aleutians, in the distant parts of the Southwest Pacific, in India and off the shores of South America.

For several months we have been losing fewer ships by sinkings, and we have been destroying more and more U-boats. We hope this will continue. But we cannot be sure. We must not lower our guard for one single instant.

One tangible result of our great increase in merchant shipping -- which will be good news to civilians at home -- is that tonight we are able to terminate the rationing of coffee. We also expect that within a short time we shall get greatly increased allowances of sugar.

Those few Americans who grouse and complain about the inconveniences of life here in the United States should learn some lessons from the civilian populations of our Allies -- Britain, China, Russia -- and of all the lands occupied by our common enemies.

The heaviest and most decisive fighting today is going on in Russia. I am glad that the British and we have been able to contribute somewhat to the striking power of the Russian armies.

In 1941-1942 the Russians were able to retire without breaking, to move many of their war plants from western Russia far into the interior, to stand together with complete unanimity in the defense of their homeland.

The success of the Russian armies has shown that it is dangerous to make prophecies about them -- a fact forcibly brought home to that mystic master of strategic intuition, Herr Hitler.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was a desperate attempt to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack -- plans which coordinate with the whole United Nations' offensive strategy.

The world has never seen greater devotion, determination and self-sacrifice than have been displayed by the Russian people and their armies, under the leadership of Marshal Joseph Stalin.

With a nation which, in saving itself is thereby helping to save all the world from the Nazi menace, this country should always be glad to be a good neighbor and a sincere friend in the world of the future.

In the Pacific we are pushing the Japs around from the Aleutians to New Guinea. There, too, we have taken the initiative -- and we are not going to let go of it.

It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japs have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition will drive the Japs back from their over-extended line running from Burma and Siam and the Straits Settlement through the Netherlands Indies to eastern New Guinea and the Solomons. We have good reason to believe that their shipping and their air power cannot support such outposts.

Our naval, land and air strength in the Pacific is constantly growing. If the Japanese are basing their future plans for the Pacific on a long period in which they will be permitted to consolidate and exploit their conquered resources, they had better start revising their plans now. I give that to them merely as a helpful suggestion.

We are delivering planes and vital war supplies for the heroic armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and we must do more at all costs.

Our air supply line from India to China across enemy territory continues despite attempted Japanese interference. We have seized the initiative from the Japanese in the air over Burma and now enjoy superiority. We are bombing Japanese communications, supply dumps, and bases in China, Indo-China and Burma.

But, we are still far from our main objectives in the war against Japan. Let us remember how far we were, a year ago, from any of our objectives in the European theatre. We are pushing forward to occupation of positions which in time will enable us to attack the Japanese Islands themselves from the North, from the South, from the East, and from the West.

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The plans we made for the knocking out of Mussolini and his gang have largely succeeded. But we still have to knock out Hitler and his gang and Tojo and his gang. No one of us pretends that this will be an easy matter.

We still have to defeat Hitler and Tojo on their own home grounds. But this will require a far greater concentration of our national energy and our ingenuity and our skill.

It is not too much to say that we must pour into this war the entire strength and intelligence and will power of the United States. We are a great nation -- a rich nation -- but we are not so great or so rich that we can afford to waste our substance or the lives of our men by relaxing along the way.

We shall not settle for less than total victory. That is the determination of every American on the fighting fronts. That must be, and will be, the determination of every American here at home.

- - - - -

July 28, 1943

EXCERPTS FOR THE NEWSREELS

Take I

The first crack in the Axis has come. The criminal, corrupt Fascist regime in Italy is going to pieces.

Mussolini came to the reluctant conclusion that the "jig was up"; he could see the shadow of the long arm of justice.

But he and his Fascist gang will be brought to book, and punished for their crimes against humanity. No criminal will be allowed to escape by the expedient of "resignation".

Our terms to Italy are still the same as our terms to Germany and Japan — "unconditional surrender".

We will have no truck with Fascism in any way, shape or manner. We will permit no vestige of Fascism to remain.



Take II

In every country conquered by the Nazis, the Fascists or the Japanese militarists, the people have been reduced to the status of slaves or chattels.

It is our determination to restore these conquered peoples to the dignity of human beings, masters of their own fate, entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

We have started to make good on that promise.

I am sorry if I step on the toes of those Americans who, playing party politics at home, call that kind of foreign policy "crazy altruism" and "starry-eyed dreaming".

The war in Sicily and Italy goes on. It must go on, and will go on, until the Italian people realize the futility of continuing to fight in a lost cause, — ~~a cause to which the people of Italy never gave their whole-hearted approval and support.~~

STOP

TALK III

The dauntless fighting spirit of the British people in this war has been expressed in the historic words and deeds of Winston Churchill — and the world knows how the American people feel about him.

Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily — together. And we shall carry on together.

Our production of ships is almost unbelievable. This year we are producing over nineteen million tons of merchant shipping and next year our production will be over twenty-one million tons. And in addition to our shipments across the Atlantic we must realize that in this war, we are operating in the Aleutians, in the distant parts of the Southwest Pacific, in India and off the shores of South America.

~~SECRET~~

TAKE IV

The heaviest and most decisive fighting is going on in Russia. I am glad that the British and we have been able to contribute somewhat to the striking power of the Russian armies.

The success of the Russian armies has shown that it is dangerous to make prophecies about them — a fact forcibly brought home to that mystic master of strategic intuition, Herr Hitler.

The world has never seen greater devotion, determination and self-sacrifice than have been displayed by the Russian people and their armies, under the leadership of Marshal Joseph Stalin.

With a nation which, in saving itself is thereby helping to save all the world from the Nazi menace, this country should always be glad to be a good neighbor and a sincere friend in the world of the future.

STOP

TALK V

In the Pacific we are pushing the Japs around from the Aleutians to New Guinea. There, too, we have taken the initiative -- and we are not going to let go of it.

It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japs have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

Our naval, land and air strength in the Pacific is constantly growing. If the Japanese are basing their future plans for the Pacific on a long period in which they will be permitted to consolidate and exploit their conquered resources, they had better start revising their plans now. I give that to them merely as a helpful suggestion.

We are delivering planes and vital war supplies for the heroic armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and we must do more at all costs.

We are still far from our main objectives in the war against Japan. But let us remember how far we were, a year ago, from any of our objectives in the European theatre. We are pushing forward to occupation of positions which in time will enable us to attack the Japanese Islands themselves from the North, from the South, from the East, and from the West.

STOP

Take VI

The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in an international discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. We must not relax our pressure on the enemy by taking time out to define every boundary and settle every political controversy in every part of the world. The all-important thing now is to get on with the war -- and to win it.

While concentrating on military victory, we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, the freedoms which we know will make for more decency and greater justice throughout the world.

Among many other things we are, today, laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant men and women in the armed services. They must not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a bread line or on a corner selling apples. We must, this time, have plans ready -- instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at the last moment.

I have assured our men in the armed forces that the American people would not let them down when the war is won.

I hope that the Congress will help in carrying out this assurance, for obviously the Executive Branch of the Government cannot do it alone. May the Congress do its duty in this regard. The American people will insist on fulfilling this American obligation to the men and women in the armed forces who are winning this war for us.

STOP

Take VII

We still have to defeat Hitler and Tojo on their own home grounds. But this will require a far greater concentration of our national energy and our ingenuity and our skill. It is not too much to say that we must pour into this war the entire strength and intelligence and will power of the United States. We are a great nation — a rich nation — but we are not so great or so rich that we can afford to waste our substance or the lives of our men by relaxing along the way.

We shall not settle for less than total victory. That is the determination of every American on the fighting fronts. That must be, and will be, the determination of every American here at home.

STOP

P.P.F.
1-7

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7

Oct. 25, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. LATTA

The President would like to have the following paragraph added to this Message:

While the successful conclusion of this great war is by no means within our sight, yet it may well be said that the time to prepare for peace is at the height of war.

G. G. T.

You might tell S. I. R. it is being added.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

This is the message on
education of discharged veterans.

x107
x4675 MHA

You have approved it once
but it has been changed in a few
paragraphs since you saw it.
Therefore, will you please read
it again before signing?

JW

S. I. R.

x5433

*Preliminary report prepared by
Armed Forces Committee on
Post-War Educational Opportunities
for Service Personnel.*

x5182

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES: ²³⁵⁸

On November 13, 1942, on signing the bill calling for the induction by Selective Service of young men eighteen and nineteen years old, I appointed a committee of educators, under the auspices of the War and Navy Departments, to study the problem of education of our service men and women after the war. The objective was to enable those young people, whose education had been interrupted, to resume their schooling, and to provide an opportunity for the education and technical training of other young men and women of ability, after their discharge from the armed services.

This committee has sent me a preliminary report which I am herewith transmitting to the Congress for its consideration, and, I hope, for its early action. 24/9-45

We, at home, owe a special and continuing obligation to those men and women in the armed services.

During the war we have seen to it that they have received the best training and equipment, the best food, shelter, and medical attention, the best protection and care which planning, ingenuity, physical resources, and money could furnish in time of war. But after the war shall have been won, the best way that we can repay a portion of that debt is to see to it, by planning and by action now, that those men and women are demobilized into an economy which is sound and prosperous, with a minimum of unemployment and dislocation; and that, with the assistance of government, they are given the opportunity to find a job for which they are fitted and trained, in a field which offers some reasonable assurance of well-being and continuous employment.

copy for files

For many, what they desire most in the way of employment will require special training and further education. As a part of a general program for the benefit of the members of our armed services, I believe that the Nation is morally obligated to provide this training and education and the necessary financial assistance by which they can be secured. It is an obligation which should be recognized now; and legislation to that end should be enacted as soon as possible.

This is a good time not merely to be thinking about the subject, but actually to do something about it. Nothing will be more conducive to the maintenance of high morale in our troops than the knowledge that steps are being taken now to give them education and technical training when the fighting is over.

Every day that the war continues interrupts the schooling and training of more men and women, and deprives them of the education and skills which they would otherwise acquire for use in later life. Not only the individual welfare of our troops, but the welfare of the Nation itself, requires that we reverse this trend just as quickly as possible after the war.

Vocational and educational opportunities for veterans should be of the widest range. There will be those of limited education who now appreciate, perhaps for the first time, the importance of general education, and who would welcome a year in school or college. There will be those who desire to learn a remunerative trade or to fit themselves more adequately for specialized work in agriculture or commerce. There will be others who want professional courses to prepare them for their life's work.

Lack of money should not prevent any veteran of this war

from equipping himself for the most useful employment for which his aptitudes and willingness qualify him. The money invested in this training and schooling program will reap rich dividends in higher productivity, more intelligent leadership, and greater human happiness.

We must replenish our supply of persons qualified to discharge the heavy responsibilities of the post-war world. We have taught our youth how to wage war; we must also teach them how to live useful and happy lives in freedom, justice and decency.

Specifically, I agree with the recommendations made by the committee in this regard as follows:

1. The Federal Government should make it financially feasible for every man and woman who has served honorably for a minimum period in the armed forces since September 16, 1940, to spend a period up to one calendar year in a school, a college, a technical institution, or in actual training in industry, so that he can further his education, learn a trade, or acquire the necessary knowledge and skill for farming, commerce, manufacturing, or other pursuits.

2. In addition, the Federal Government should make it financially possible for a limited number of ex-service men and women selected for their special aptitudes, to carry on their general, technical, or professional education for a further period of one, two, or three years.

This assistance from Government should include not only cost of instruction but a certain amount of money for maintenance.

One incidental benefit of permitting discharged veterans to put in a year or more of schooling or training would be to

simplify and cushion the return to civilian employment of service personnel. And I might call to your attention the fact that it costs less per year to keep a man at school or college or training on the job, than to maintain him on active military duty for a year.

While the Federal Government should provide the necessary funds and should have the responsibility of seeing that they are spent providently and under generally accepted standards, the control of the educational processes and the certification of trainees and students should reside in the States and localities.

I am sure that the Congress will agree with me that the report of this committee constitutes a helpful and constructive point of departure in the working out of a practical program for the meeting of this situation. Various recommendations are contained in the report concerning the administration of the plan. While there may be differences as to some of the details, I am confident that the Congress will find merit in the general objectives.

So far as disabled soldiers are concerned, the Congress is aware that, pursuant to existing statutes, the Veterans' Administration is prepared to conduct a program of rehabilitation for veterans with service-connected disability. The program is designed to provide for the special needs of war-disabled veterans, and to furnish educational and training opportunities to help them take their places in civilian life. The program has already been initiated, and will be expanded as the war proceeds. The new program of the Federal Security Agency will make provisions for veterans whose disabilities are not service-connected.

The Army and the Navy require a large number of workers skilled and experienced in various occupations and professions. Men who are filling these posts are acquiring valuable training and experience. A man who has become a mechanical draftsman, a cartographer, a meteorologist, a cook, or a baker may succeed in finding a similar post in civilian life. In a great many other occupations, such as those dealing with tank or tractor maintenance and repair, or with radio operation and maintenance, men are acquiring basic skill and experience which will provide a solid foundation for learning a related civilian occupation.

In addition, the United States Armed Forces Institute, which is a joint operation of the Army and Navy, offers men and women in the armed services a chance to enroll in courses usually offered by colleges, high schools, technical and occupational schools, in which they can study in their off-duty time. The Institute prepares self-teaching text books which enable them to learn a subject entirely on their own initiative; or, if they prefer, they may join any one of hundreds of classes which have or are being established in Army camps and posts and in Navy installations, and in Army and Navy hospitals, here in the United States and in places all over the world. Or if they wish, they can study by the correspondence method with the Institute or with one of its overseas branches the same as any student in a correspondence school.

Opportunities for vocational training and for systematic schooling within the armed services will be expanded and reoriented during periods of demobilization and up to the moment of discharge.

Therefore, if the Congress adopts the general objective outlined herein, our men and women in the armed forces will be afforded opportunities for continuance of their education and vocational training - first, during the war, second, during the demobilization period, and, third, for a year or more after their separation from the service.

While the successful conclusion of this great war is by no means within our sight, yet it may well be said that the time to prepare for peace is at the height of war.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE

October 27, 1943.

STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

July 28, 1943

CAUTION: The following address of the President MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:30 O'CLOCK, P.M., E.W.T., Wednesday, July 28, 1943. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY

Secretary to the President

*From Shida
note*

My fellow Americans:

Over a year and a half ago I said to the Congress: "The militarists in Berlin, ^{and} Rome and Tokyo started this war, but the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it!"

Today that prophecy is in the process of being fulfilled. The massed, angered forces of common humanity are on the march. They are going forward -- on the Russian front, in the vast Pacific area, and into Europe -- converging upon their ultimate objectives: Berlin and Tokyo.

I think the first crack in the Axis has come. The criminal, corrupt Fascist regime in Italy is going to pieces.

The pirate philosophy of the Fascists ^{the} and Nazis cannot stand adversity. The military superiority of the United Nations -- on sea and land, and in the air -- has been applied in the right place and at the right time.

Hitler refused to send sufficient help to save Mussolini. In fact, Hitler's troops in Sicily stole the Italians' motor equipment, leaving Italian soldiers so stranded that they had no choice but to surrender. Once again the Germans betrayed their Italian allies, as they had done time and time again on the Russian front and in the long retreat from Egypt, through Libya and Tripoli, to the final surrender in Tunisia.

And so Mussolini came to the reluctant conclusion that the "jig was up"; he could see the shadow of the long arm of justice.

But he and his Fascist gang will be brought to book, and punished for their crimes against humanity. No criminal will be allowed to escape by the expedient of "resignation".

So our terms to Italy are still the same as our terms to Germany and Japan -- "unconditional surrender".

We will have no truck with Fascism in any way, ^{in any} shape or manner. We will permit no vestige of Fascism to remain.

Eventually Italy will reconstitute herself. It will be the people of Italy who will do that, choosing their own Government in accordance with the basic democratic principles of liberty and equality. In the meantime, the United Nations will not follow the pattern set by Mussolini and Hitler and the Japanese for the treatment of occupied countries -- the pattern of pillage and starvation.

We are already helping the Italian people in Sicily. With their cordial cooperation, we are establishing and maintaining security and order -- we are dissolving the organizations which have kept them under Fascist tyranny -- we are providing them with the necessities of life until the time comes when they can fully provide for themselves.

Indeed, the people in Sicily today are rejoicing in the fact that, for the first time in years, they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labor — they can eat what they themselves grow, instead of having it stolen from them by the Fascists and the Nazis.

In every country conquered by the Nazis ^{and} the Fascists, or the Japanese militarists, the people have been reduced to the status of slaves or chattels.

It is our determination to restore these conquered peoples to the dignity of human beings, masters of their own fate, entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, ^{and} freedom from fear.

We have started to make good on that promise.

I am sorry if I step on the toes of those Americans who, playing party politics at home, call that kind of foreign policy "crazy altruism" and "starry-eyed dreaming".

Meanwhile the war in Sicily and Italy goes on. It must go on, and will go on, until the Italian people realize the futility of continuing to fight in a lost cause — a cause to which the people of Italy never gave their wholehearted approval and support.

It's a little over a year since we planned the North African campaign. It is six months since we planned the Sicilian campaign. I confess that I am of an impatient disposition, but I think that I understand, and that most people understand, the amount of time necessary to prepare for any major military or naval operation. We cannot just pick up the telephone and order a new campaign to start the next week.

the invasion force that went out of North Africa
For example, behind the invasion forces of North Africa, were thousands of ships and planes guarding the long, perilous sea lanes, carrying the men, the equipment and the supplies to the point of attack. And behind all these were the railroad lines and highways that carried the men and the munitions to the ports of embarkation — there were the factories and the mines and the farms that turned out the materials — there were the training camps where the men learned how to perform the strange and difficult and dangerous tasks which were to meet them on the beaches and in the deserts and the mountains.

first in North Africa and then in Sicily
All this had to be repeated in the invasion of Sicily. Here the factor of air attack was added — for we could use North Africa as the base for softening up the landing places and lines of defense in Sicily, and the lines of supply in Italy.

-- in Sicily -- the factor
It is interesting for us to realize that every flying fortress that bombed harbor installations at Naples from its base in North Africa, required 1,110 gallons of gasoline for each single mission, and that this is the equal of about 375 "A" ration tickets — enough gas to drive your car five times across this continent. You will better understand your part in the war -- and what gasoline rationing means -- if you multiply this by the gasoline needs of thousands of planes and hundreds of thousands of jeeps, trucks and tanks now serving overseas.

for example
I think that the personal convenience of the individual, or the individual family back home here in the United States will appear somewhat less important when I tell you that the initial assault force on Sicily involved 3,000 ships which carried 160,000 men — Americans, British, Canadians and French — together with 14,000 vehicles, 600 tanks, and 1,800 guns. This initial force was followed every day and every night by thousands of reinforcements.

carrying

*here back home
here back home
here back home*

bombard it

The meticulous care with which the operation in Sicily was planned has paid dividends. For our casualties in men, ships and material have been low -- in fact, far below our estimate.

And all of us are proud of the superb skill and courage of the officers and men who have conducted and are conducting ~~this~~ *these* operations. The toughest resistance developed on the front of the British Eighth Army, which included the Canadians. But that is no new experience for that magnificent fighting force which has made the Germans pay a heavy price for each hour of delay in the final victory. The American Seventh Army, after a stormy landing on the exposed beaches of Southern Sicily, swept with record speed across the island into Palermo. For many of our troops this was their first battle experience, but they have carried themselves like veterans.

the capital of
Palermo
And we must give credit for the coordination of the diverse forces in the field, and for the planning of the whole campaign, to the wise and skillful leadership of General Eisenhower. Admiral Cunningham, General Alexander and Air Marshal Tedder have been towers of strength in handling the complex details of naval, *and* ground and air activities.

You have heard some people say that the British and the Americans can never get along well together -- you have heard some people say that the Army and Navy and Air Forces can never get along well together -- that real cooperation between them is impossible. Tunisia and Sicily have given the lie, once and for all, to these narrow-minded prejudices.

The dauntless fighting ~~spirit~~ *spirit* of the British people in this war has been expressed in the historic words and deeds of Winston Churchill -- and the world knows how the American people feel about him.

Ahead of us are much bigger fights. We and our Allies will go into them as we went into Sicily -- together. And we shall carry on together.

Today our production of ships is almost unbelievable. This year we are producing over nineteen million tons of merchant shipping and next year our production will be over twenty-one million tons. And in addition to our shipments across the Atlantic, we must realize that in this war we are operating in the Aleutians, in the distant parts of the Southwest Pacific, in India, and off the shores of South America.

For several months we have been losing fewer ships by sinkings, and we have been destroying more and more U-boats. We hope this will continue. But we cannot be sure. We must not lower our guard for one single instant.

Plan example -- *a* tangible result of our great increase in merchant shipping -- which will be good news to civilians at home -- is that tonight we are able to terminate the rationing of coffee. *I think* *and* we also expect ~~that~~ within a short time we shall get greatly increased allowances of sugar.

Those few Americans who grouse and complain about the inconveniences of life here in the United States should learn some lessons from the civilian populations of our Allies -- Britain, *and* China, Russia -- and of all the lands occupied by our common enemies. *every.*

And The heaviest and most decisive fighting today is going on in Russia. I am glad that the British and we have been able to contribute somewhat to the striking power of the Russian armies.

great
In 1941-1942 the Russians were able to retire without breaking, to move many of their war plants from western Russia far into the interior, to stand together with complete unanimity in the defense of their homeland.

The success of the Russian armies has shown that it is dangerous to make prophecies about them -- a fact ^{which has been} brought home to that mystic master of strategic intuition, Herr Hitler.

The short-lived German offensive, launched early this month, was a desperate attempt to bolster the morale of the German people. The Russians were not fooled by this. They went ahead with their own plans for attack -- plans which coordinate with the whole United Nations' offensive strategy.

The world has never seen greater devotion, determination and self-sacrifice than have been displayed by the Russian people and their armies, under the leadership of Marshal Joseph Stalin.

With a nation which, in saving itself is thereby helping ^{to save} to save all the world from the Nazi menace, this country should always be glad to be a good neighbor and a sincere friend in the world of the future.

In the Pacific, we are pushing the Japs around from the Aleutians to New Guinea. There, too, we have taken the initiative -- and we are not going to let go of it.

It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. The Japs have lost more planes and more ships than they have been able to replace.

The continuous and energetic prosecution of the war of attrition will drive the Japs back from their over-extended line running from Burma ~~and~~ ^{and} Siam and the Straits Settlement through the Netherlands Indies to eastern New Guinea and the Solomons. ^{and} We have good reason to believe that their shipping and their air power cannot support such outposts.

Our naval, ^{and} land and air strength in the Pacific is constantly growing. ~~But~~ the Japanese are basing their future plans for the Pacific on a long period in which they will be permitted to consolidate and exploit their conquered resources, they had better start revising their plans now. I give that to them merely as a helpful suggestion.

We are delivering planes and vital war supplies for the heroic armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and we must do more at all costs.

Our air supply line from India to China across enemy territory continues despite attempted Japanese interference. We have seized the initiative from the Japanese in the air over Burma and now ^{we} enjoy superiority. We are bombing Japanese communications, supply dumps, and bases in China, in Indo-China, ^{and} ~~and~~ Burma.

But, ^{however,} we are still far from our main objectives in the war against Japan. Let us remember how far we were, a year ago, from any of our objectives in the European theatre. We are pushing forward to occupation of positions which in time will enable us to attack the Japanese Islands themselves from the North, from the South, from the East, and from the West.

^{I think} You have heard it said that while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front, we are failing miserably on the home front. This is another of those immaturities -- a false slogan easy to state but untrue in the essential facts.

For, the longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the middle of a page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front." ^{and} The two of them are inexorably tied together.

Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its equipment and ammunition and fuel and food, as indeed it is for its manpower, on the American people in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home. *dependent*

The same kind of careful planning that gained victory in North Africa and Sicily is required, if we are to make victory an enduring reality and do our share in building the kind of peaceful world ~~which~~ ^{that} will justify the sacrifices made in this war.

The United Nations are substantially agreed on the general objectives for the post-war world. They are also agreed that this is not the time to engage in an international discussion of all the terms of peace and all the details of the future. We must not relax our pressure on the enemy by taking time out to define every boundary and settle every political controversy in every part of the world. *the* all-important thing now is to get on with the war -- and to *win it.*

Let us win the war first.

While concentrating on military victory, we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come, the freedoms which we know will make for more decency and greater justice throughout the world.

Among many other things we are, today, laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant men and women in the armed services. They must not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a bread line, or on a corner selling apples. We must, this time, have plans ready -- instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at the last moment.

I have assured our men in the armed forces that the American people would not let them down when the war is won.

I hope that the Congress will help in carrying out this assurance, for obviously the Executive Branch of the Government cannot do it alone. May the Congress do its duty in this regard. The American people will insist on fulfilling this American obligation to the men and women in the armed forces who are winning this war for us.

Of course, the returning soldier and sailor and marine are a part of the problem of demobilizing the rest of the millions of Americans who have been ~~working~~ ^{living} in a war economy since 1941. That larger objective of reconverting wartime America to a peacetime basis is one for which your government is laying plans to be submitted to the Congress for action.

But the members of the armed forces have been compelled to make greater economic sacrifice and every other kind of sacrifice than the rest of us, and are entitled to definite action to help take care of their special problems.

The least to which they are entitled, it seems to me, is something like this:

First 1. Mastering-out pay to every member of the armed forces and merchant marine when he or she is honorably discharged, large enough in each case to cover a reasonable period of time between his discharge and the finding of a new job. *mastering-out pay*

Secondly 2. In case no job is found after diligent search, then unemployment insurance if the individual registers with the United States Employment Service.

Third 3. An opportunity for members of the armed services to get further education or trade training at the cost of their government.

Fourth 4. Allowance of credit to all members of the armed forces, under unemployment compensation and Federal old-age and survivors' insurance, for their period of service. For these purposes they *ought to* be treated as if they had continued their employment in private industry.

Fitch,
5. Improved and liberalized provisions for hospitalization, *for* rehabilitation, *and* medical care of disabled members of the armed forces and merchant marine.

And finally,
6. Sufficient pensions for disabled members of the armed forces.

Your Government is drawing up other serious, ^{*that*} constructive plans for certain immediate forward moves. They concern food, manpower, and other domestic problems but ~~they~~ tie in with our armed forces. *Within* a few weeks I shall speak with you again in regard to definite actions to be taken by the Executive Branch of the Government, *and* specific recommendations for new legislation by the Congress. *together with*

All our calculations for the future, however, must be based on clear understanding of the problems involved. And that can be gained only by straight thinking -- not guess work, *not* or political manipulation.

I confess that I myself am sometimes bewildered by conflicting statements that I see in the press. ^{*these*} One day I read an "authoritative" statement that we ~~shall~~ win the war this year, 1943 -- and the next day comes another statement equally "authoritative," that the war will still be going on in 1949.

Of course both extremes -- of optimism and pessimism -- are wrong.

The length of the war will depend upon the uninterrupted continuance of all-out effort on the fighting fronts and here at home, ^{*and that*} the effort is all one.

The American soldier does ^{*not*} like the necessity of waging war. And yet -- if he lays off for ^{*a*} single instant he may lose his own life and sacrifice the lives of his comrades.

By the same token -- a worker here at home may not like the driving, wartime conditions under which he has to work ^{*and*} live. And yet -- if he gets complacent or indifferent and slacks on his job, ^{*he*} too, may sacrifice the lives of American soldiers and contribute to the loss of an important battle.

^{*or says*} The next time anyone says to you that this war is "in the bag," ~~and~~ "it's all over but the shouting," you should ask him these questions:

"Are you working full time on your job?"

"Are you growing all the food you can?"

"Are you buying your limit of war bonds?"

"Are you loyally, ^{*and*} cheerfully cooperating with your Government in preventing inflation and profiteering, and in making rationing work with fairness to all?"

"Because -- if your answer is 'No' -- then the war is going to last a lot longer than you think!"

The plans we made for the knocking out of Mussolini and his gang have largely succeeded. But we still have to knock out Hitler and his gang, and Tojo and his gang. No one of us pretends that this will be an easy matter.

We still have to defeat Hitler and Tojo on their own home grounds. But this will require a far greater concentration of our national energy and our ingenuity and our skill.

It is not too much to say that we must pour into this war the entire strength and intelligence and will power of the United States. We are a great nation -- a rich nation -- but we are not so great or so rich that we can afford to waste our substance or the lives of our men by relaxing along the way.

We shall not settle for less than total victory. That is the determination of every American on the fighting fronts. That must be, and will be, the determination of every American here at home.

- - - - -

*President's
Speeches*

June 25, 1943

TO: Dr. Isador Lubin
FROM: Harry L. Hopkins
SUBJECT: Radio Talk by the
President re inflation

The President is probably going
on the radio Monday night on
inflation.

Have you any ideas?

Suggest you see Ben because
they will do the original speech
work.

H.L.H.

encl. letter from
John Scholte Nollan
dated June 22 re
inflation.

*This letter was not
revised for file.*



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 31, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR

S.I.R.

Will you talk with me about
these matters on Friday?

F.D.R.



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WEST PARK, N. Y.

From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dear Mr. President

Here is the little memo. on
the Genl Service Act which I pro-
mised you right before last.

Respectfully yrs

Henry L. Stevenson



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

1 July 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The following are the points which prompt me so strongly to urge your immediate and forceful advocacy of the Austin-Madsworth National War Service Bill which would impose on every adult man and woman, with appropriate exceptions and safeguards, the equal obligation to aid the war effort by non-combatant work:

(1) Basic Premise. We must plan on a long, hard war which will take our maximum effort to win. The sooner we marshal and exert our full strength, the shorter will be the war and the less will be the cost of victory. Without a comprehensive measure, backed by compulsory powers, to mobilize civilian workers, we cannot achieve an orderly and fully effective distribution and use of our manpower and thus cannot make the war effort of which we are capable.

(2) Recognition of Universal Obligation to Serve.
The compulsory powers granted to the Executive in the proposed Act would be used only when and where and to the extent needed. It has been the British experience that the existence



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Samuel I. Robinson

of compulsory powers make unnecessary their widespread use. Voluntary methods would still largely prevail with the probability of their success greatly enhanced by the knowledge of all the people of the universal obligation to serve. The Government would have power to act should voluntary methods fail. The recognition by law of the duty of all to serve and to share at home in some small measure the sacrifices of our soldiers, would encourage our troops, discourage our enemies and serve to rededicate our people to the common and united cause of winning the war.

(3) Effective Control and Distribution of Manpower.

No authority exists today to assign workers to jobs where they can best aid the war effort. As a result certain acute labor shortages exist in spite of constant and varied attempts to cure them. Copper production, absolutely vital to the war, has for the past eighteen months been substantially below requirements and below our productive capacity solely because of manpower shortage. Lumber production furnished another illustration. It is generally recognized that the recent back to the farm movement which followed acute shortages of farm labor was a completely uncontrolled movement. This movement was effected by liberal farm draft deferments. It did not result in the most effective utilization



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or distribution of farm labor. Turnover, pilfering, hoarding and other wasteful practices cannot be adequately controlled by present indirect sanctions.

(4) Inflation. Shifts of labor in the conversion to a war economy have been largely effected by a competition of men for jobs and jobs for men. This is a wage competition with its attendant pressures and marked inequalities creating unrest. I am told that almost all the numerous applications to the War Labor Board for wage increases are initiated or joined in by the employer. The proposed Act would assist greatly in relieving this continuous pressure to break price and wage ceilings. It would substitute for wage competition direct authority to retain workers on the job or to transfer them elsewhere when necessary.

(5) Strikes. Although the proposed Act is primarily a great mobilization measure, it could be used effectively in strike situations. The provision to retain men on jobs, backed by legal penalties, could be used to avert strikes. The authority to assign men to jobs, backed by legal penalties, could be used to return men to work.



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(6) Civilian Direction. The administration of the proposed Act would be under civilian direction and persons subject to it would serve in a civilian status and be under civil jurisdiction rather than the Articles of War. Thus it would not be as drastic or arbitrary as use of the Selective Service Act to accomplish the same purposes.

(7) Objections to Bill Are Not Valid. The objections which have been raised against this Bill are without substance.

(a) Forced Labor for Private Profit. Today wages, prices and profits are subject to government control. The product manufactured is what the government directs. Persons assigned to work would be assured the same pay and working conditions as other workers not so assigned. This objection is not real.

(b) Undemocratic. Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, have universal service laws and have found them consonant with the working of a democracy at war. If it is democratic to select a man for the Army where he faces the perils of combat, can it be undemocratic to select a man to work in a shipyard or to stay on a farm? Equality of obligation along with equality of right is the essence of democracy.

(8) Public Opinion. If in presenting your views on this measure to the Congress and the people you explain it as



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the natural and necessary corollary of the Selective Service Act and as the final step in the democratic system of sharing common duties and sacrifices in war, I feel strongly that it cannot fail to be accepted by all fair-minded men. There would be an upsurge of public opinion, press and otherwise, in support of this step. I believe you would find virtually unanimous support among near relatives of men in service.

I urge that before the recess you present the matter to such Congressional leaders of both parties as Senators Berkeley, Hill, Reynolds, McNary and Austin, and Congressmen Bayburn, McCormack, May, Martin and Wadsworth. I can, if you desire it, prepare for your consideration a suggested outline of a message to the Congress on this measure.

Henry L. Stimson
Secretary of War



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Samuel I. Rosenman

FIRST DRAFT

-4-

The longer this war goes on the more certain I become that you and I cannot draw a blue pencil down the page and call one side "the fighting front" and the other side "the home front". The two of them are inexorably tied up together. Every new division that is raised in this country is dependent for its equipment, and therefore for its training, on the people in civilian clothes in the factories and on the farms. That division is dependent on the workers of America and the manufacturing experts of America.

Every regiment that leaves our shores for the fighting fronts is dependent on the ship builders of America; the steel makers who make the ships, and the miners of coal and iron and many other things that go in as raw materials to the making of the steel; the truck builders, the railroad car builders, and the great army of railroad employees who keep our transportation system going; and, finally, to the spirit of the people of America as a whole who buy Victory Bonds, who willingly accept certain sacrifices, and who know that we are in this war not for the sake of controversy or personal bickerings but for the sake of winning the war and ridding the world of future threats of aggression and a series of new wars.



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That is why there is no such thing as two fronts. We pay special honor and give special thanks to our boys who face death on the war fronts, but it is high time that we give some honor and some thanks to the people back home who are going about their work conscientiously and gladly for exactly the same purpose and in exactly the same cause.

It is greatly due to them that after a year and a half of war -- the same length of time that we were engaged from the beginning to the end of the first World War --

At that time we managed to get two million men overseas. Anyone who knows the history of that war realizes that the very large majority of all the troops we sent to France were only partially trained troops and that when they got there they had to go into some training area far back from the front before they were considered fit to go to the front. We realize that nearly all of them left these shores insufficiently equipped. Not all of them had American-made rifles or machine guns or ^{the} ammunition to go in them. Very few of them had American-made artillery. A very large part of their important equipment came from the British Army or the French Army. And you will remember, too,



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FINAL DRAFT

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that after a year and a half of war, nearly all of the planes which American fliers flew were planes of British or French manufacture.

Today, after a year and a half, we have again more than two million men overseas -- taken there under sea conditions far more difficult than in the days of 1917 and 1918. The submarine menace has been far greater and we have had to build not merely more transports but an infinite number of escort vessels to keep them safe.

But the comparison I want to make chiefly is that everyone of our soldiers sent overseas has been fully equipped. Not merely more elaborately equipped, but fitted out with every necessary weapon of war. Their rifles and machine guns were made here. The artillery, the anti-aircraft guns have been made here -- and in addition to the complete equipment of our own armed forces, we have greatly helped our Allies by turning out guns and tanks and ammunition and planes to help in the common cause.

In 1917 and 1918 the theatre of war was principally limited to the Western Front in Europe. Today, there is a front in every part of the world. It covers the whole of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea; and the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. It covers the Persian Gulf -- not for the protection of the lifeline to the Far East alone, but also in order to enable us to ship munitions and supplies of all kinds to the splendid fighting Russian army; it covers the Indian



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From the Papers of
Herbert L. Hopkins

FIRST DRAFT

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Ocean; it covers the Bay of Bengal and the lifeline through which we are helping China and the approach to the Eastern Pacific where the Japs have initially won vast territories and from which they must and will be driven.

Nearer home, the South Atlantic has been and is an active field of operations -- keeping down the German and Italian submarines in their attacks against the troop and supply ships that come and go to the East Coast of South America and the West Coast of Brazil; the troop and supply ships that go around the Cape of Good Hope to Persia and the Far East; and I might add that this warfare in the Gulf of Mexico protects the oil ships which supply our own East Coast and carry oil to our Allies; it protects the moving of vast quantities of sugar from the West Indies and South America and it enables us, with added shipping facilities, to bring the much needed coffee from Brazil and other Republics to keep us and our friends going.

And it may be good news to you to know that with the constant gain which every week is adding more tonnage -- more tonnage over and above the tonnage sunk -- to the allied



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1947

From the Papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

tonnage of the world, I hope that the time is not far distant when we will be able to take off entirely the rationing of coffee and the rationing of sugar in our own midst. That is something which we can put down to foresight and good management. It is an example of how the war front and the home front are, in the last analysis, the same thing.

Go to another ocean. There were those in our midst who rather idiotically shrieked from the housetops, only a year ago, more or less, that we should abandon the Atlantic Front and the Mediterranean Front and the South Atlantic Front and the Near Eastern Front and the Indian Ocean Front and throw all our effort into defensive warfare in the Pacific. There were those who shrieked that the Japanese occupation of one or two islands in the Aleutians spelled the immediate invasion of our own Pacific Coast. Those were the people who talked glibly of reinforcing the Southwest Pacific with hundreds of thousands of our troops and most of our Navy -- forgetting of course to look at the map or make any calculations of just what effort was needed, how much time was needed to send even a battalion of troops from San Francisco to Australia.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

FIRST DRAFT

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It seems to me that our operations in the Pacific theatre have gone well. Some people did not believe me a year ago when I said simply that the occupation of the outer Aleutians did not constitute any great threat of invasion on the Pacific Coast. Today, in orderly process, the Japanese have been thrown out of the most westerly islands in that group. They retain only one of the thousands of islands that extend nearly a thousand miles west from the coast of Alaska. It is wonderful to relate to those who, last year could see only the hole in the doughnut and not the doughnut itself, that the Hawaiian Islands are ours and Midway and a chain of islands running from there to Australia are now in our hands and have made safe the lifelines of the Southwest Pacific.

New Zealand is still there, making a magnificent contribution to the cause of the United Nations.

Australia is still there, putting more and more men in the field, fighting side by side with us in the jungles of New Guinea.

The planes of the Allies have gained a definite superiority in the air and we have destroyed an infinitely larger number of Japanese ships and planes than we have lost of our own.



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FIRST DRAFT

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Time runs on our side. It becomes clearer and clearer that the attrition, the whittling down process against the Japanese is working. I think it is safe, today, to say that the Japanese have lost more planes than they have been able to replace by new planes. I think it is possible now to say that the Japanese have lost many thousand tons more shipping than they have been able to turn out in their home yards.

If this process of whittling down can be effectually continued it will clearly be impossible for Japan to retain her foothold on that vast southern line that runs all the way from Burma and the Strait Settlement and Bism through the ark of the Dutch East Indies and New Guinea and the Solomons.

We have, too, the utmost admiration for the splendid continuing fight that the Chinese have put up in what is now their seventh year of constant war against the Japanese. It is only a year and a half ago that the Burma road was cut but we are working day and night to replace that road by air transport -- over high mountains -- in order that better equipment may be provided for the Chinese armies and so we can maintain and build up the heroic American air force operating in China and, we hope soon, operating out of China against Japan itself.



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From the Papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

July 11, 1943.

REMARKS DICTATED BY THE PRESIDENT TO BE USED IN RADIO ADDRESS

A friend, whom I had not seen in several months, came in the other day and said to me - "Mister President, I have been analyzing public opinion in different parts of the country and I have a theory which I believe to be sound. It is this:

"Prior to December 7, 1941, the average American was doing a lot of wishful thinking. He was confused by a small and noisy minority which insisted that what was going on -- a great war outside our borders -- had little to do with the health and happiness of the United States; he insisted that the United States was in no danger -- that the world convulsion did not greatly concern us -- that we were in no danger of attack -- that all other nations were trying to embroil us for the sake of their individual advantage -- and, finally, that the Government of the United States was made up of a bunch of crackpots, wild-eyed dreamers, communists and incompetents. Most of the people of our country took the word of its President that the United



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Harry L. Hopkins

States, whether it liked it or not, could be involved in the war; that the great expenditures for Army, Navy and Air were justified; that the American policy was consistent in its opposition to Nazi or Fascist domination of the world — and, finally, that the ending of the terrible prostration from which the country had suffered from 1929 to 1933 had brought with it certain social gains which were wholly worthwhile even though, being new, their operation had creaked a bit in putting them into effect. *

He went on to say that the attack at Pearl Harbor had brought the country up with a round turn. The small and noisy minority had been forced into relative silence because they did not want to seem to oppose the war. As in any new situation we Americans, mostly in good faith, promptly devised happy thoughts as to just how to proceed. There was no law against amateur strategists. There was no law against making speeches as to how to organize a war government. It was all so new, and we had given so little thought to the whole picture, that the peaceful, old cracker barrel party became a madhouse.



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HARRY L. HOPKINS

My friend said "Here is the point I want to make. It became the easy and rather unthinking habit for a lot of people to say 'I am all for the conduct of the war but I don't like the way things are being handled domestically'. Therein lies the nub of our troubles. You cannot separate the conduct of the war from the conduct of domestic problems -- for the very simple reason that they are all tied in together and that when you hit the one you harm the other."

I had never thought of it in just that light before but it is, of course, essentially true.

For these days cannot be divided in such an easy fashion. War has to be conducted by an entire population. You cannot draw a line of demarcation between the soldier at the front and the soldier training back home. You cannot draw a line between the man or woman in uniform or the man or woman in civilian clothes. You cannot draw a line between the worker in a munition factory and the worker in a plow factory. You cannot draw a line between a worker turning out airplanes and a worker turning out copper or coal, or a worker turning out wheat or cotton or hogs. In the light of a war effort you cannot draw



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a line between a trade union worker and an unorganized worker — provided always that both of them are performing useful work.

But you can draw lots of line between the man on the team who keeps his eye on the ball and works for the victory of his team and the player who takes his eye off the ball and looks instead at the bevy of pretty girls sitting in the first row of the grandstand.

As you know, every community in the country has a certain percentage of people who are always complaining about things -- people who start their thoughts with the three words "I don't like" -- people who never see the doughnut because they are always looking at the hole in it.

It is because I have travelled a bit through the country and because I hear constantly from what the prayer books calls "all sorts and conditions of men" that I am more and more sure that the overwhelming majority of people throughout the nation are keeping their eyes on the ball, and that more and more they realize that the conduct of the war is far and away the biggest thing we have to face and that the conduct of the war necessarily covers the domestic field as well as the foreign field.



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We are getting events into better focus and I think we have some reason to be proud of what this nation has really done. This is all to the good if, at the same time, people insist to themselves that we are going to keep up the good work and make the gains grow with every passing month.

In January, 1942 -- a month after Pearl Harbor -- a lot of "know-it-alls" shook their heads and said knowingly that when the President asked for _____ airplanes to be built that year and _____ tons of shipping, and full equipment to train and outfit four or five million fighting men, he was an unrealistic person. People said there were not enough shipyards or coals or factories or manpower or materials to go around. Every move -- even then -- was fought and criticized and laughed at by wiseacres or politicians.

But the nation as a whole responded -- magnificently -- and the proof of the pudding was in the eating. I do not suppose that ever before in history has such a stupendous task been accomplished in a democracy under democratic methods. Ships and tanks and planes and munitions and the training of our armed forces actually was put through with



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with such good effect that by January of this year the program was enormously stepped up. The goal of the output of planes was jumped from 45,000 to 115,000. The output of merchant ships was increased from 9,000,000 tons to 12,000,000 tons, and recently to 20,000,000 tons. The goal of our Army, Navy and Air was jumped from 6,000,000 men to 10,000,000 men and women. And when it came to that terrible bugaboo of manpower the "know-it-alls" found they had forgotten to include the word "womanpower" as well, and that today in many plants we find as many women working as men. The carpenters and critics wanted to know how we were doing all of this in view of their belief that we could not send men and munitions overseas because of lack of ships. Yet today more than 2,000,000 Americans are in the armed forces on every continent and every ocean outside our home boundaries. And, incidentally, we have as many men overseas as we had in the first World War, with this difference. In 1917 and 1918 xx a very large proportion of our troops that went overseas had not completed their training and on their arrival had to go to training areas to complete their fighting availability.



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In the first World War a very large part of the equipment -- guns, ammunition, planes and even clothing -- was borrowed by us from our Allies. Today every man overseas has been thoroughly trained before leaving his native soil, and every man is equipped -- fully equipped -- with materials made back home in the United States.

War concerns every citizen. The conduct of a World War means that every citizen's life will be dislocated back home, just as the normal life of the American fighting in Sicily is dislocated. If that boy over there or in the Aleutians or in the Southwest Pacific does his duty with a smile, he has a right to ask that every man and woman back home, whose lives are far less dislocated, will take that dislocation with a smile.



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(INSERT RE SUGAR AND COFFEE)

And just as an aside to people with short memories, in the first World War you or your fathers and mothers paid as high as 22¢ a pound for sugar -- and in this war, although sugar has had to be lightly rationed because of submarine sinkings, the price of sugar to you has not been more than 7¢ a pound. If the American people in the first World War could stand for 22¢ a pound sugar without grouching, I think they can stand for 7¢ a pound sugar with a little gratification. Incidentally, the people who suffered from 22¢ sugar in the last war were the poor people and the rich people could afford to pay that price. In this war, rich and poor share alike.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

July 23, 1943.

DICTATED BY THE PRESIDENT FOR RADIO ADDRESS

Events speak louder than words everyone knows when armed forces advance into enemy-held territories.

We have been thrilled by the occupation of Sicily by American and British and Canadian troops, with a small contingent of French Moroccan troops added. You do not have to be more than an amateur strategist to see from the map that the Island of Sicily opens up the possibility of attack against the mainland of Europe in half a dozen different directions. The situation which Germany held on interior lines has in this case been reversed, for today Germany and Italy are on outside lines, compelling them to hold the whole coast of France, of Italy, of Yugoslavia, and of Greece strongly enough to protect this long line against invasion.

Thus the taking of Sicily has gained an important strategic point -- a preliminary to further and larger attacks.

I must confess that I am of an impatient disposition -- that I would like, with our Allies, to decide on an operation



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and get it going in a week or two. I was impatient when months went by -- after we had landed in Africa last November -- because we were able to concentrate a large enough force to accomplish the overwhelming success in Tunis. I was impatient when the prolonged rains bogged down the planes and the advancing ground forces. I was impatient when it took so long to get all the landing craft necessary to carry the armies across the Mediterranean into Sicily.

But all of us have come to realize that no Prime Minister, no President, no General can pick up the telephone and order a major operation to be started at once.

As you know, the great expedition against North Africa, which took place in November, 1942, was decided on in Washington in June, 1942. And the operation against Sicily was decided on when I was at Casablanca in January, and the earliest possible date we could put it into effect was the tenth of July this year.

I want to say a word about the officers and men who have conducted, and are conducting, this operation. They have shown magnificent courage and we are proud of them all -- Americans and their Allies alike. And it is also clear that the occupation of Sicily would not have been possible had it not been for magnificent staff work -- getting equipment from here to North



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Africa or to England, and then arranging to have this equipment go forward with the troops and to the troops so that after the first landings were made they were able to maintain themselves and start advancing without any loss of time. That has been an essential factor in the victory we are gaining.

But I want to point out also that people back home in the United States had a great part in our success.

The speed with which the landing boats were constructed; the speed with which our merchant ships are growing in numbers week by week and month by month; the speed with which the Navy escort ships are coming along; the speed with which the guns and the ammunition are being made in our factories and transported to the seacoast for shipment overseas; the speed with which airplane production has gone ahead has given us and our Allies control of the air; the orderly shipping of machinery of all kinds -- tanks, trucks, and -- very important -- food has gone forward. All these things were a component part of the Sicily campaign.



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