Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945
Series 3: “The Four Freedoms” and FDR in World War II

File No. 1481

1943 September 8

Third War Loan Drive Address
Once upon a time, a few years ago, there was a city in our Middle West which was threatened by a destructive flood in the river. The waters had risen to the top of the banks. Every man, woman and child in that city was called upon to fill sand bags in order to defend their homes against the rising waters. For many days and nights, destruction and death stared them in the face.

As a result of the grim, determined community effort, that city still stands. Those people kept the levees above the peak of the flood. All of them joined together in the desperate job which had to be done -- business men, workers, farmers, doctors, preachers -- people of all races.

To me, that town is a living symbol of what community cooperation can accomplish.

Today, in the same kind of community effort, the United Nations and their people have kept the levees of civilization high enough to prevent the floods of aggression and barbarism and wholesale murder from engulfing us all. The flood has been raging for four years. At least, we are beginning to gain on it; but the waters have not yet receded enough for us to relax our sweating work with the sand bags. In this war bond campaign we are filling bags and placing them against the flood, -- money bags, if you like -- those bags which are essential if we are to stand off the ugly torrent which is trying to sweep us all away.

Today, an armistice with Italy was concluded.

This was a victory for the United Nations -- but it was an even greater victory for the Italian people. After years of war and suffering and degradation, the Italian people are at last coming to the day of liberation from their real enemies, the Nazis.

But let us not delude ourselves that this armistice means the end of the war in the Mediterranean. We must drive the Germans out of Italy as we have driven them out of Tunisia and Sicily; and we must strike them on their own soil from all directions.

Our ultimate objectives in this war continue to be Berlin and Tokyo.
I ask you to bear these objectives constantly in mind — and
do not forget that we will have a long way to go before attaining them.

The great news you have heard today from General Eisenhower
does not give you license to settle back in your easy chairs and say,
"Well, that does it. We've got 'em on the run. Now we can start the
celebration."

The time for celebration is not yet. And I have a suspicion
that when this war does end, we shall not be in a very celebrating frame
of mind. I think that our main emotion will be one of grim determina-
tion that this shall not happen again.

During the past weeks, Mr. Churchill and I have been in
constant conference with the leaders of our combined fighting forces.
We have been in constant communication with our fighting Allies who
are prosecuting the war with relentless determination and with conscious
success on far distant fronts. And he and we that at

We have seen the satisfactory fulfillment of plans that were made
in Casablanca last January and here in Washington last May. And we have
made new, extensive plans for the future. But throughout these conferences
we have never lost sight of the fact that this war will become bigger and
tougher rather than easier during the long months that are to come.

This war does not and must not stop for one single instant. Our
fighting men know that. Those of them who are moving forward through
jungles against lurking Japs — those who are in landing barges moving
through the dawn up to strange enemy coasts — those who are diving their
bombers down on the target stove top level — every one of these men
knows that this war is a full-time job and it will continue as until total
victory is won.

And, by the same token, every responsible leader in all the
United Nations knows that the fighting goes on twenty-four hours a day,
seven days a week, and that any day lost may have to be paid for in
terms of months added to the duration of the war.
Every campaign, every single operation that we plan and carry through must be figured in terms of staggering costs. We cannot afford to be niggardly with any of our resources, for we shall need all of them to do the job that we have undertaken.

Your fellow Americans have given a magnificent account of themselves -- on the battlefields and on the oceans and in the skies all over the world.

Now it is up to you to prove to them that you are contributing your share and more than your share. It is not sufficient simply to put money into War Bonds which we would normally save. We must put money into War Bonds which we would not normally save. Only then have we done everything that good conscience demands. It is up to you -- the Americans in the American homes -- the very homes which our sons and daughters are working and fighting and dying to preserve.

I know I speak for every man and women in America when I say that we Americans will not be satisfied to send our troops into the fire of the enemy with equipment inferior in any way. Nor will we be satisfied to send our troops with equipment only equal to that of the enemy. We are determined to provide our troops with overpowering superiority of quality and quantity in any and every category of arms and armaments that they may conceivably need.

And where does this dominating power come from? It can come only from you. The money you lend and the money you give in taxes buys that death-dealing, life-saving power we need for victory. This is an expensive war -- expensive in money; you can help keep it at a minimum cost in lives.

The American people will never stop to reckon the cost of redeeming civilization. They know there can never be any economic justification for failing to save freedom.

We can be sure that our enemies will watch this drive with the keenest interest. They know that success in this undertaking will shorten
the war. They know that the more money the American people lend to their Government, the more powerful and relentless will be the American forces in the field. They know that only a united and determined America could possibly produce on a voluntary basis so large a sum of money as fifteen billion dollars.

The overwhelming success of the Second War Loan Drive last April showed that the people of this Democracy stood firm behind their troops.

The Third War Loan, which we are starting tonight, will also succeed -- because the American people will not permit it to fail.

I cannot tell you how much to invest in War Bonds during this Third War Loan Drive. No one can tell you. It is for you to decide under the guidance of your own conscience.

I will say this, however. Because the Nation's needs are greater than ever before, our sacrifices too must be greater than they have ever been before.

Nobody knows when total victory will come...but we do know that the harder we fight now, the more might and power we direct at the enemy now, the shorter the war will be and the smaller the sum total of sacrifices.

Success of the Third War Loan will be the symbol that America does not propose to rest on its arms -- that we know the tough, bitter job ahead and will not stop until we have finished it.

Now it is your turn!

Every dollar that you invest in the Third War Loan is your personal message of defiance to our common enemies -- to the ruthless militarists of Germany and Japan. your personal message of faith and good cheer to our fighting men and Allies and all the men at the front.
My Fellow Americans:

Once upon a time, a few years ago, there was a city in our Middle West which was threatened by a destructive flood in the river. The waters had risen to the top of the banks. Every man, woman and child in that city was called upon to fill sand bags in order to defend their homes against the rising waters. For many days and nights, destruction and death stared them in the face.

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Our ultimate objectives in this war continue to be Berlin and Tokyo.

I ask you to bear these objectives constantly in mind -- and do not forget that we still have a long way to go before attaining them.

The great news you have heard today from General Eisenhower does not give you license to settle back in your rocking chairs and say, "Well, that does it. We've got 'em on the run. Now we can start the celebration".
The time for celebration is not yet. And I have a suspicion that when this war does end, we shall not be in a very celebrating frame of mind. I think that our main emotion will be one of grim determination that this shall not happen again.

During the past weeks, Mr. Churchill and I have been in constant conference with the leaders of our combined fighting forces. We have been in constant communication with our fighting Allies, Russian and Chinese, who are prosecuting the war with relentless determination and with conspicuous success on far distant fronts. And he and I are together here at this crucial moment.

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This war does not and must not stop for one single instant. Our fighting men know that. Those of them who are moving forward through jungles against lurking Japs -- those who are in landing barges moving through the dawn up to strange enemy coasts -- those who are diving their bombers down on the target at roof top level -- every one of these men knows that this war is a full-time job and that it will continue to be until total victory is won.

And, by the same token, every responsible leader in all the United Nations knows that the fighting goes on twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, and that any day lost may have to be paid for in terms of months added to the duration of the war.

Every campaign, every single operation that we plan and carry through must be figured in terms of staggering material costs. We cannot afford to be niggardly with any of our resources, for we shall need all of them to do the job that we have undertaken.
Your fellow Americans have given a magnificent account of themselves -- on the battlefields and on the oceans and in the skies all over the world.

Now it is up to you to prove to them that you are contributing your share and more than your share. It is not sufficient simply to put money into War Bonds which we would normally save. We must put money into War Bonds which we would not normally save. Only then have we done everything that good conscience demands. It is up to you -- the Americans in the American homes -- the very homes which our sons and daughters are working and fighting and dying to preserve.

I know I speak for every man and woman in America when I say that we Americans will not be satisfied to send our troops into the fire of the enemy with equipment inferior in any way. Nor will we be satisfied to send our troops with equipment only equal to that of the enemy. We are
determined to provide our troops with overpowering superiority of quality and quantity in any and every category of arms and armaments that they may conceivably need.

And where does our dominating power come from? It can come only from you. The money you lend and the money you give in taxes buys that death-dealing, life-saving power we need for victory. This is an expensive war -- expensive in money; you can help keep it at a minimum cost in lives.

The American people will never stop to reckon the cost of redeeming civilization. They know there can never be any economic justification for failing to save freedom.

We can be sure that our enemies will watch this drive with the keenest interest. They know that success in this undertaking will shorten the war. They know that the more money the American people lend to their Government, the more powerful and relentless will be the American forces in the field. They know that only a united and determined America could possibly produce on a voluntary basis so large a sum of money as fifteen billion dollars.
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Nobody knows when total victory will come -- but we do know that the harder we fight now, the more might and power we direct at the enemy now, the shorter the war will be and the smaller the sum total of sacrifice.
Success of the Third War Loan will be the symbol that America does not propose to rest on its arms -- that we know the tough, bitter job ahead and will not stop until we have finished it.

Now it is your turn!

Every dollar that you invest in the Third War Loan is your personal message of defiance to our common enemies -- to the ruthless savages of Germany and Japan -- your personal message of faith and good cheer to our Allies and all the men at the front. God bless them.

[Signature]

Original reading copy
ADDRESS
of the
PRESIDENT
Opening The
THIRD WAR LOAN DRIVE
Broadcast Nationally
At 9:45 PM EDT
September 8, 1943

My fellow Americans:

Once upon a time, a few years ago, there was a city
in our Middle West which was threatened by a destructive flood
in the great river. The waters had risen to the top of the
banks. Every man, woman and child in that city was called
upon to fill sand bags in order to defend their homes against
the rising waters. For many days and nights, destruction and
death stared them in the face.

As a result of the grim, determined community effort,
that city still stands. Those people kept the levees above
the peak of the flood. All of them joined together in the des-
perate job that (which) had to be done -- business men, workers,
farmers, and doctors, and preachers -- people of all races.

To me, that town is a living symbol of what community
cooperation can accomplish.

Today, in the same kind of community effort, only
very much larger, the United Nations and their peoples have
kept the levees of civilization high enough to prevent the
floods of aggression and barbarism and wholesale murder from
engulfing us all. The flood has been raging for four years.
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.
At last we are beginning to gain on it; but the waters have not yet receded enough for us to relax our sweating work with the sand bags. In this war bond campaign we are filling bags and placing them against the flood --- bags which are essential if we are to stand off the ugly torrent which is trying to sweep us all away.

Today, it is announced that an armistice with Italy has been (was) concluded.

This was a great victory for the United Nations -- but it was also a great victory for the Italian people. After years of war and suffering and degradation, the Italian people are at last coming to the day of liberation from their real enemies, the Nazis.

But let us not delude ourselves that this armistice means the end of the war in the Mediterranean. We still have to (must) drive the Germans out of Italy as we have driven them out of Tunisia and Sicily; we must drive them out of France and all other captive countries; and we must strike them on their own soil from all directions.

Our ultimate objectives in this war continue to be Berlin and Tokyo.

I ask you to bear these objectives constantly in mind -- and do not forget that we still have a long way to go before we attain (attaining) them.

The great news that you have heard today from General Eisenhower does not give you license to settle back in your rocking chairs and say, "Well, that does it. We've
got them ("em) on the run. Now we can start the celebration."

The time for celebration is not yet. And I have a suspicion that when this war does end, we shall not be in a very celebrating mood, a very celebrating frame of mind. I think that our main emotion will be one of grim determination that this shall not happen again.

During the past weeks, Mr. Churchill and I have been in constant conference with the leaders of our combined fighting forces. We have been in constant communication with our fighting Allies, Russian and Chinese, who are prosecuting the war with relentless determination and with conspicuous success on far distant fronts. And Mr. Churchill (he) and I are here together in Washington (here) at this crucial moment.

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This war does not and must not stop for one single instant. Your (our) fighting men know that. Those of them who are moving forward through jungles against lurking Japs -- those who are (in) landing at this moment, in barges moving through the dawn up to strange enemy coasts -- those who are diving their bombers down on the targets at roof-top level at this moment -- every one of these men knows that this
war is a full-time job and that it will continue to be that until total victory is won.

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Every campaign, every single operation in all the campaigns that we plan and carry through must be figured in terms of staggering material costs. We cannot afford to be niggardly with any of our resources, for we shall need all of them to do the job that we have put our (undertaken) shoulder to.

Your fellow Americans have given a magnificent account of themselves -- on the battlefields and on the oceans and in the skies all over the world.

Now it is up to you to prove to them that you are contributing your share and more than your share. It is not sufficient to simply (to) put (money) into War Bonds money which we would normally save. We must put (money) into War Bonds money which we would not normally save. Only then have we done everything that good conscience demands. So it is up to you -- up to you, the Americans in the American homes -- the very homes which our sons and daughters are working and fighting and dying to preserve.

I know I speak for every man and woman throughout the (in) Americas when I say that we Americans will not be satisfied to send our troops into the fire of the enemy
with equipment inferior in any way. Nor will we be satisfied to send our troops with equipment only equal to that of the enemy. We are determined to provide our troops with overpowering superiority -- superiority of quantity (quality) and quality (quantity) in any and every category of arms and armaments that they may conceivably need.

And where does this our dominating power come from? Why, it can come only from you. The money you lend and the money you give in taxes buys that death-dealing, and at the same time life-saving power that we need for victory. This is an expensive war -- expensive in money; you can help it -- you can help to keep it at a minimum cost in lives.

The American people will never stop to reckon the cost of redeeming civilization. They know there (can) never can be any economic justification for failing to save freedom.

And we can be sure that our enemies will watch this drive with the keenest interest. They know that success in this undertaking will shorten the war. They know that the more money the American people lend to their Government, the more powerful and relentless will be the American forces in the field. They know that only a united and determined America could possibly produce on a voluntary basis so huge (large) a sum of money as fifteen billion dollars.

The overwhelming success of the Second War Loan Drive last April showed that the people of this Democracy stood firm behind their troops.
This (The) Third War Loan, which we are starting tonight, will also succeed -- because the American people will not permit it to fail.

I cannot tell you how much to invest in War Bonds during this Third War Loan Drive. No one can tell you. It is for you to decide under the guidance of your own conscience.

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Now it is your turn!

Every dollar that you invest in the Third War Loan is your personal message of defiance to our common enemies -- to the ruthless savages (militarists) of Germany and Japan -- and it is your personal message of faith and good cheer to our Allies and to all the men at the front. God bless them!
ADDRESS
of the
PRESIDENT
Opening The
THIRD WAR LOAN DRIVE
Broadcast Nationally
At 7:45 PM EST
September 3, 1943

My fellow Americans:

Once upon a time, a few years ago, there was a city in our Middle West which was threatened by a destructive flood in the great river. The waters had risen to the top of the banks. Every man, woman and child in that city was called upon to fill sand bags in order to defend their homes against the rising waters. For many days and nights, destruction and death stared them in the face.

As a result of the grim, determined community effort, that city still stands. Those people kept the levees above the peak of the flood. All of them joined together in the desperate job that (which) had to be done -- business men, workers, farmers, and doctors, and preachers -- people of all races.

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Every campaign, every single operation that we plan and carry through must be figured in terms of staggering material costs. We cannot afford to be niggardly with any of our resources, for we shall need all of them to do the job that we have undertaken.

Your fellow Americans have given a magnificent account of themselves -- on the battlefields and on the oceans and in the skies all over the world.

Now it is up to you to prove to them that you are contributing your share and more than your share. It is not sufficient simply to put money into War Bonds which we would normally save. We must put money into War Bonds which we would not normally save. Only then have we done everything that good conscience demands. It is up to you -- the Americans in the American homes -- the very homes which our sons and daughters are working and fighting and dying to preserve.

I know I speak for every man and woman in America when I say that we Americans will not be satisfied to send our troops into the fire of the enemy with equipment inferior in any way. Nor will we be satisfied to send our troops with equipment only equal to that of the enemy. We are determined to provide our troops with overpowering superiority of quality and quantity in any and every category of arms and armaments that they may conceivably need.

And where does our dominating power come from? It can come only from you. The money you lend and the money you give in taxes buys that death-dealing, life-saving power we need for victory. This is an expensive war -- expensive in money; you can help keep it at a minimum cost in lives.

The American people will never stop to reckon the cost of redeeming civilization. They know there can never be any economic justification for failing to save freedom.
We can be sure that our enemies will watch this drive with the keenest interest. They know that success in this undertaking will shorten the war. They know that the more money the American people lend to their Government, the more powerful and relentless will be the American forces in the field. They know that only a united and determined America could possibly produce on a voluntary basis so large a sum of money as fifteen billion dollars.

The overwhelming success of the Second War Loan Drive last April showed that the people of this Democracy stood firm behind their troops.

The Third War Loan, which we are starting tonight, will also succeed — because the American people will not permit it to fail.

I cannot tell you how much to invest in War Bonds during this Third War Loan Drive. No one can tell you. It is for you to decide under the guidance of your own conscience.

I will say this, however. Because the Nation's needs are greater than ever before, our sacrifices too must be greater than they have ever been before.

Nobody knows when total victory will come — but we do know that the harder we fight now, the more might and power we direct at the enemy now, the shorter the war will be and the smaller the sum total of sacrifice.

Success of the Third War Loan will be the symbol that America does not propose to rest on its arms — that we know the tough, bitter job ahead and will not stop until we have finished it.

Now it is your turn!

Every dollar that you invest in the Third War Loan is your personal message of defiance to our common enemies — to the ruthless militarists of Germany and Japan — your personal message of faith and good cheer to our Allies and all the men at the front.
CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast in connection with the opening of the Third War Loan Drive, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT LATER THAN 9:15 P.M., E.W.T., Wednesday, September 8, 1943. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREGARUN PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

My fellow Americans:

Once upon a time, a few years ago, there was a city in the Middle West which was threatened by a destructive flood in the river. The water had risen to the top of the banks. Every man, woman and child in that city was called upon to fill sand bags in order to defend their homes against the rising waters. For many days and nights, destruction and death stared them in the face.

As a result of the grim, determined community effort, that city still stands. Those people kept the leves above the peak of the flood. All of them joined together in the desperate job which had to be done -- business men, workers, farmers, doctors, preachers -- people of all races.

To me, that town is a living symbol of what community cooperation can accomplish.

Today, in the same kind of community effort, the United Nations and their people have kept the levees of civilization high enough to prevent the floods of aggression and barbarism and wholesale murder from engulfing us all. The flood has been raging for four years. At last we are beginning to gain on it; but the waters have not yet receded enough for us to relax our sweating work with the sand bags. In this war bond campaign we are filling bags and placing them against the flood -- bags which are essential if we are to stand off the ugly torrent which is trying to sweep us all away.

It is announced that an armistice with Italy was concluded.

Today, an armistice with Italy was concluded.

This was a great victory for the United Nations -- but it was also a great victory for the Italian people. After years of war and suffering and degradation, the Italian people are at last coming to the day of liberation from their real enemies, the Nazis.

But let us not delude ourselves that this armistice means the end of the war in the Mediterranean. We must drive the Germans out of Italy as we have driven them out of Tunisia and Sicily; we must drive them out of France and all other captive countries; and we must strike them on their own soil from all directions.

Our ultimate objective in this war continues to be Berlin and Tokyo.

I ask you to bear these objectives constantly in mind -- and do not forget that we still have a long way to go before attaining them.

The great news you have heard today from General Eisenhower does not give you license to settle back in your rocking chairs and say, "Well, that does it. We've got it on the run. Now we can start the celebration."

[Handwritten note:]

- Holding for Release
- Hold for Release
The time for celebration is not yet. And I have a suspicion that when this war does end, we shall not be in a very celebratory frame of mind. I think that our main emotion will be one of grim determination that this shall not happen again.

During the past weeks, Mr. Churchill and I have been in constant conference with the leaders of our combined fighting forces. We have been in constant communication with our fighting Allies, Russian and Chinese, who are prosecuting the war with relentless determination and with conspicuous success on far distant fronts. And we are alive together, here at this crucial moment.

Mr. Churchill

We have seen the satisfactory fulfillment of plans that were made in Casablanca last January and here in Washington last May. And we have made new, executive plans for the future. But throughout these conferences we have never lost sight of the fact that this war will become bigger and tougher, rather than easier, during the long months that are to come.

This war does not and must not stop for one single instant. Our fighting men know that. Those of them who are moving forward through jungles against lurking Japs -- those who are landing barges moving through the dam to strange enemy coasts -- those who are driving tanks forward down on the target's roof-top level. Every one of these men knows that this war is a full-time job and that it will continue to be until total victory is won.

And, by the same token, every responsible leader in all the United Nations knows that the fighting goes on twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, and that any day lost may have to be paid for in terms of months added to the duration of the war.

Every campaign, every single operation that we plan and carry through must be figured in terms of staggering material costs. We cannot afford to be niggardly with any of our resources, for we shall need all of them to do the job that we have undertaken, to our admirers.

Your fellow Americans have given a magnificent account of themselves -- on the battlefields and on the oceans and in the skies all over the world.

Now it is up to you to prove to them that you are contributing your share and more than your share. It is not sufficient simply to put money into War Bonds, which we would normally save. We must put money into War Bonds, which we would not normally save. Only then have we done everything that good conscience demands. It is up to you -- up to you, the Americans in the American homes -- the very homes which our sons and daughters are working and fighting and dying to preserve.

I know I speak for every man and woman in America when I say that we Americans will not be satisfied to send our troops into the fire of the enemy with equipment inferior in any way. Nor will we be satisfied to send our troops with equipment only equal to that of the enemy. We are determined to provide our troops with overpowering superiority -- superiority of quality and quantity in any and every category of arms and armaments that they may reasonably need.

And where does our dominating power come from? It can come only from you. The money you lend and the money you save in taxes buys that death-dealing, life-saving power we need for victory. This is an expensive war -- expensive in money; you can help keep it at a minimum cost in lives.

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Now it is your turn!

Every dollar that you invest in the Third War Loan is your personal message of defiance to our common enemies -- to the ruthless militarists of Germany and Japan -- your personal message of faith and good cheer to our Allies and all the men at the front. God bless them!
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STOP
EXCERPTS FOR NEWSREELS – SEPTEMBER 8, 1943

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I know I speak for every man and woman in America when I say that we Americans will not be satisfied to send our troops into the fire of the enemy with equipment inferior in any way. Nor will we be satisfied to send our troops with equipment only equal to that of the enemy. We are determined to provide our troops with overpowering superiority of quality and quantity in any and every category of arms and armaments that they may conceivably need.

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THE END
Mr. William D. Hassett,  
Assistant to Mr. Early,  
The White House.

Dear Mr. Hassett:  

I am enclosing three different suggested speeches for the President.

Speech number one was done by Mr. Smith and Mr. Albee, who conferred with Judge Rosenman. The first two paragraphs, as you will see, are dummies and are just to suggest that some appropriate reference to our forces may be made at the opening.

Speech number two was done by us here over the weekend and contains, I think, some very good passages.

Speech number three was done by our War Finance Publicity Department and suggests an entirely different approach than one and two.

All three are factually correct now and have been purposely shortened to enable whoever does the rewrite for the President to expand or make any additions to cover the time. If the President wishes to speak for any longer time than the ten minutes suggested by Mr. Early, we can easily handle ten, eleven, twelve, or thirteen minutes time.

Thanking you for your always courteous help,

Cordially yours,

Ted R. Gamble,  
National Director,  
War Finance Division
MY FRIENDS:

Tonight thousands of British and Canadian troops are driving hard into the heart of Italy. The Italian defenders, confused and bewildered by the force of the men and the equipment of the United Nations, have not yet been able to put up a strong defense.

The American Seventh Army, after having driven the Nazi and Fascist leaders to near distraction by simply disappearing from sight, is now about to materialize. Soon, very soon, this well-equipped Seventh Army will strike. At this moment, there is such power poised as our adversaries have never seen and could never imagine. And it is power that counts. Power is the only thing that the Axis leaders can understand.

The reason I am telling you this tonight is because the job of developing and maintaining overwhelming power for the United Nations is largely your job. To create this power requires tireless effort on the Home Front. It means long hours in the factories and shops and offices everywhere in the country.

But it requires not only effort, but also money. To do the job with which we are faced, to supply our attacking forces with the machines of war, with ammunition, and transportation, and to maintain an army of six million men, takes staggering amounts of money.
The American people have shown a commendable willingness to supply this money. They have not stopped to reckon the cost of preserving civilization. They know there can be no economic justification for failing to save freedom.

Now the Government could get the money required in several ways. Our credit is the best in the world, and we could simply go to the banks and ask them for enough money to finance the war. Or we could print the money, as they do in some of the Axis countries. But if we took either of these two easy courses, we would be certain to lose the peace, whether or not we won the war. We would have an inflated economy, which would spread out for decades the period of reconstruction.

We can get the money for the war without risking our future only if we get it from the American people. For this reason, we are asking you to help us keep our books balanced to the greatest possible degree through your payment of taxes and through lending your Government money by buying War Bonds.

Tonight, we are launching a campaign to raise $15 billion through this voluntary War Bond program.

Whole communities -- whole states -- are on a war-time alert, with people waiting in their homes for flying squadrons of special bond salesmen.
In these weeks to come, every home, every office, every factory -- even remote farms -- will be visited by War Bond salesmen. Every state in the forty-eight has its plans for parades, carnivals, and mass meetings. So eager are the armed forces to do everything in their power to help this drive that General Eisenhower has sent home thirteen hundred tons of captured enemy equipment, so that you, who are being asked to buy bonds, can see the kind of weapons that our weapons must destroy.

We can be sure that our enemies will watch this drive with the keenest interest. They know that success in this undertaking can and will materially shorten the war. They know that the more money the American people lend to their Government, the more powerful and relentless will be the American forces in the field. And finally, they know that only a united and determined America could possibly produce so large a sum of money on a voluntary basis as $15 billion.

Last April, when we launched the Second War Loan Drive for $13 billion, the radio stations of Germany, Japan, and Italy filled the air with jeers, pointing out that the drive was certain to fail, that Americans would never lend so much money to their Government. Then, when the Government not only
received what it asked for, but found that the people had
subscribed an extra billion or so for good measure, the air
became suddenly quiet. The overwhelming success of the Second
War Loan Drive demonstrated to the huge disappointment and chagrin
of Axis propagandists that the people of this Democracy stood
firm behind their troops. The Axis leaders were forced to
recognize that the American people meant to buy and build whatever
equipment was necessary to get this war over and finished. The
American people were determined to have victory no matter what the
cost in dollars, or sacrifice.

The Third War Loan, which we are starting tonight, will
also succeed.

It will succeed because, by this time, every man and woman
in the United States recognizes the importance of generously
financing the cost of the war. They know that good equipment and
plenty of it, means less loss of life on the battlefront. They
have seen what happened in Kiska when the Japs, cringing at
the thought of meeting the power and force of American and Canadian
troops, simply withdrew in the black of night, to parts unknown.

[It is not likely that we can move into Berlin the way
our troops marched into Kiska, without a living enemy in sight,
because the last of the Luftwaffe will be there to ward off the
final defeat; there will be guns blazing away in defiance.]
But one thing is certain; the more bombs and shells that we can pour into Germany's war production and transportation centers, the weaker Germany's resistance will be, and the more American lives we shall be able to save.

It is the sum total of your War Bonds, translated into planes and gasoline and bombs and well-trained pilots, that the Axis nations fear above all things.

Therefore your bonds -- that extra hundred dollar bond that you are being asked to buy in the Third War Loan -- will help to crush the enemy into the unconditional surrender which will alone satisfy us in our just wrath.
It is with pride that I open the Third War Loan Drive tonight -- pride in you the American people, pride in a country that can undertake the raising of 15 billion dollars through a campaign in which every American will express his democratic faith. This is quite an undertaking for a people who but a short time back were described by the enemy as weak and spineless, with no true claim on the past and no stake in the future.

I am not divulging any military secret when I tell you that our hardest job lies ahead of us, not behind us. Any amateur strategist knows that. Sometimes I have the feeling, however, that we tend to forget this elementary fact. We tend to confuse the conditions for victory with victory itself.
We have laid the groundwork for bringing the enemy to his
knees. We have stopped his mad advance. We have even taken
some of his important outposts. But we still have to storm,
and occupy, his citadels of power. Until such time we cannot
indulge for even a moment in the pleasant daydream that this
terrible war is almost over.

Again, I don't think I am divulging any military secret
when I tell you that our losses will vary directly with the
quantity and quality of munitions and matériel we use. This,
too, is something of which even amateur strategists are aware.
The heroic Chinese, the indomitable Russians have in the past
suffered grievously for their inferiority in equipment. The
Allied Nations have been able to turn the tide and stem their
losses only as their arms grew superior.

I know I speak for every man and woman in America when
I say that we Americans will not be satisfied to send our
troops into the murderous fire of the enemy with equipment inferior in any way. Nor will we be satisfied to send our troops with equipment only equal to that of the enemy. We [Americans] are determined to provide our troops with overpowering superiority in any and every category of arms and armaments that they may conceivably need.

Our troops are not only soldiers, sailors, and marines; they are our sons, fathers, husbands, and brothers. They are our real treasure.

That is why this Third War Loan Drive is so [terribly] important to every American. Every dollar invested in War Bonds is an addition to our offensive power, a protection against the unnecessary loss of lives and suffering, a contribution to our future happiness and security.

I can't tell you how much to invest in War Bonds during this Third War Loan Drive. No one can tell you. It is for
you to decide under the guidance of your own conscience.

I will say this, however. Because the nation's needs are greater than ever before, our sacrifices too must be greater than they have ever been before. It is not sufficient simply to put money we would normally save into War Bonds. We must put money we would not normally save into War Bonds. Only then can we be satisfied that we have done everything that good conscience demands.

This War Loan Drive is a living demonstration of democracy-in-action. No one has compelled the entertainment and advertising industries, bankers' associations and labor unions, retail federations and newspaper councils, to lend their talent and genius to this great undertaking. No one has compelled our millions-strong army of War Bond volunteers, from State commanders down, to undertake the vitally important task of selling and distributing these securities in home, office, and factory.
No one compels Tony Grabak of the Carnegie-Illinois Gary Works, who has two sons in the service -- Mitchell in North Africa and Bronislaw in England -- to buy a 50 dollar bond per month for each son as a nest egg and to buy a 25 dollar bond per month on the Payroll Savings Plan. No one compelled Howard Wattley of the Cleveland Automatic Machine Company, who is in his 70's and a veteran of San Juan Hill, to go back to work, live on his pension, and put all the money he earns into bonds. No one compelled George Thomas Wendelkon, an enlisted Seebee, who was wounded at Guadalcanal and on recovery is at Naval Construction Camp Endicott in Rhode Island, to become the star bond salesman of the Navy and sell three-quarters of a million dollars worth of bonds.

And no one will compel you to buy bonds.

It is by voluntary war activities such as these that the character of a nation is judged. And it is the spirit of these,
and millions of other American men and women, that makes
democracy a vital and vibrant faith.

In asking you to "back the attack" by rallying to the
Support of the Third War Loan Drive, I appeal to the conscience
of America.
Thank you, Mr. Secretary of the Treasury........

Ladies and gentlemen of America, I'll let you in on a secret.

I seldom address Henry Morgenthau as "Mr. Secretary". For years, he has been my neighbor on the adjoining farm up in New York State and when we talk crops, I call him "Henry".

But tonight I feel like calling him "General Morgenthau" because tonight he is really the general of a vast army of Americans—a volunteer army that is poised to go on the march to sell war bonds in the Third War Loan drive. In helping General Morgenthau to launch this great drive, I have become one of you 5,000,000 volunteer bond salesmen who are mobilized so thoroughly for the greatest war financing effort in all history.

Without becoming too fanciful and without stretching the imagination too far, I believe we can look upon this Third War Loan campaign as more than just a bond-selling, money-raising drive. To me, the Third War Loan is really the launching of the great Fall offensive on the home-front.

You hundreds of thousands of Third War Loan volunteers and you millions of bond-buyers form the behind-the-battlefront army—you are a vital extension of the fighting lines now drawing tighter and tighter around our distant enemies. The selling and the buying of war bonds is a symbol of the entire war effort. Each bond typifies another American in the war—an American voluntarily eager to work, produce, sacrifice and lend to guarantee victory for our side. During the Third War Loan, we hope to have 50,000,000 bonds pass into the hands of Americans—50 million pledges to hurl at our foes that America is in this fight to the finish.

We'll wave war bonds as our battle flag until the enemy waves the white flag of defeat!
I have been told that in some quarters there is undue optimism; that some Americans are misinterpreting the preliminary victories of recent months and believe that the war is almost won—that the enemy is defeated and that victory is "in the bag". Such a general belief would be fatal at this stage of the war. It would slow-down production, it would lower morale, it would defeat the Third War Loan.

But I do not believe that any such feeling really exists to any alarming extent. I know Americans; I know they can take success as well as defeat. I know that our spirit is high; our purpose unshakable. I know that the nearer final victory comes, the harder we'll strike both at the front and at home.

I know that the vast majority of Americans fully understand that our victories, while important, are far from final; they know the road to Rome may be long and bloody; the path to Berlin even longer and the journey to Tokyo still longer and harder. We shall win...we shall win conclusively...we shall hear the enemy say: "Unconditional surrender" but that glorious day is not yet at hand. Nobody knows when it will come...but we do know that the harder we fight now, the more might and power we direct at the enemy now, the shorter will be the period of suffering and waiting for victorious peace. Success of the Third War Loan will be the symbol that America isn't resting on its arms — that we know the job ahead and will not stop until it is done.

This Third War Loan is one of those genuinely American operations—it is Democracy at its best. It is the democratic way of running a war. It gives every American a chance to feel the responsibility of citizenship—the satisfaction of earning the benefits of living in a democracy.
I have read somewhere that it costs around $3,500 per second to carry on the war. If you buy that extra $100 war bond that is expected of you in September, you may close your eyes, clutch the bond in your hand, and feel that you—and you alone—are carrying on your shoulders the entire burden of the war for that infinitesimal split second of time. In that tiny split second an objective may be won on some distant battlefield—and YOU—you alone—will have made the victory possible!

That's why every $25 bond is important—even though you hear about those staggering billions that are needed...just as every soldier and sailor in all those uniformed millions is an important, vital man.

So do not feel that your small bond is not needed—we need 50 million of them!

You will notice that, as General Morgenthau's volunteer bond-salesman, I have said nothing about the interest rate, the safest investment in the world or any of the self-interest arguments that might be used. I would much rather talk about other reasons for buying war bonds.

For instance, I see in those small bits of lithographed paper a means of saving lives—lives of our own young Americans. One of the best of our war correspondents, (Ernie Pyle), writing from the European front, related an interesting story. He told of watching American forces take an enemy position on a hill. For hours, American planes dropped American bombs on the enemy; from miles away, American heavy artillery poured tons and tons of American shells into that hill. Through his field-glasses, the correspondent saw that hill—and the enemy—torn apart. The infantry held back, waiting the command to advance and capture the
hill with the bayonet. More and more bombs and shells blasted the hill.

A colonel passed the correspondent. "When do we advance, Colonel?" asked the correspondent.

"Not yet," smiled the officer, "We're letting the war bond-buyers and the tax-payers take that hill. We're spending money and saving lives."

And there, fellow-Americans, you have one of the greatest things that your war-bonds can accomplish. It was the bonds you bought that sent those shells into the hill and showered those bombs on the enemy—and then made it possible for the infantry to take the position with the minimum casualties. YOU and your bonds are providing the vast, unbelievable quantity (and quality) of fighting tools and weapons of victory. Because that hill cost a lot of money—it cost less in lives of your sons and husbands and fathers. When you read about dropping bombs, those protecting umbrellas of planes, those deadly barrages of shells—you can picture them all as your war bonds killing the enemy and saving our own boys.

Each war bond is a Death Certificate for the foe; and a Certificate of Life to our fighters.

That's better than 2.9% interest!

Military men, returning from the front, tell me that the casualties in this war are almost in direct ratio with the amount of power that we have in comparison with the enemy. Where we are able to pour our steel upon the enemy in bewildering, devastating force, we gain our objectives with the minimum loss of life—just as was done on that hill in Sicily.

And where does that dominating power come from? It comes from YOU—the
bondholders in America, Inc. The money you lend and the money you give in taxes buys that death-dealing, life-saving power we need for victory. This is an expensive war—expensive in money; I pray that we can keep it at a minimum cost in lives.

We now have a toe-hold on Axis-held Europe; some day we will have a strangle-hold on Hitler and a double head-lock on Tojo. The British Eighth Army is on the road—a long, hard road, perhaps. And other armies—the 5th and 7th American Armies—are poised. Their plans are military secrets. But there need be no military secrecy on the movements of the Army of the Third War Loan. You are ready for the great Fall offensive of the home front—tomorrow, September 9—is your Zero Hour.

As you carry the difficult objective of the Third War Loan you will also carry forward America on the production front, on the entire morale front.

Let us all move together—shoulder to shoulder—with the brave fighting men and women of the United States forces in the field. We can do no less than lend a hand and lend our dollars.

**** ****
Once upon a time, a few years ago, there was a city in our Middle West that was threatened by a destructive flood in the river. The waters had risen to the top of the banks. Every man, woman and child in that city was called upon to fill sandbags in order to keep the level of the levees above the rising waters. For days and nights in succession, destruction stared them in the face. A break in those bags — or a let-up in filling and piling those bags — would have meant the destruction of their homes and all the property of the community; and the flood would have swept away to their death thousands of people.

Today that town still stands as a result of the grim, determined community effort. Those people kept those levees above the peak of the flood. All of them joined together in the desperate job which had to be done — good citizens, bad citizens, rich people, poor people — people of all races. To me, that town is a living symbol of what community cooperation can accomplish.

Today, in the same kind of community effort, the United Nations and their people have kept the levees of civilization high enough to prevent the floods of aggression and wholesale murder from engulfing us all.

The flood has been raging for four years. At last we are beginning to gain on it; but the waters have not yet receded enough for us to relax our sweating work with the sand bags. In this war bond campaign we are filling bags and placing them against the flood — money bags, if you like — but bags which are essential if we are to stand off the flood which is trying to sweep us all away.

It is with great pride that we Americans open the Third War Loan Drive tonight — pride in a country that can undertake the raising of 15 billion dollars in a campaign in which every one of us can express his democratic faith. This is quite an undertaking for a people who but a short time back were described by the enemy as weak and spineless, with no true claim on the past and no stake in the future.
Even as I speak to you at this moment, great forces are on
the move, advancing toward great accomplishments.

The ultimate objectives of these United Nations' forces are
Berlin and Tokyo.

I ask you to bear these objectives constantly in mind — and
do not forget that we will have far to go before attaining them.

You may

When you read in the newspapers or hear on the radio that we
have landed on some beaches or captured some strategic air fields or

but this does not give you license
taken so many thousands of prisoners, you

to settle back in

your easy chairs and say, "Well, that does it. We've got 'em on the run.

Now we can start the celebration."

The time for celebration is not yet. And I have a suspicion
that when this war does end we shall not be in a very celebrating frame
of mind. I think that our main emotion will be one of grim determination
that this shall not happen again.

All of us must maintain the sense of proportion which is
absolutely essential to the winning of this war.

Without that sense of proportion the British would have
yielded to defeat after Dunkirk — the Russians would have given up when
the enemy was hammering at the gates of Moscow — the Chinese would
have concluded that their cause was hopeless when the Japs sacked Nanking —
and we should have asked for a humiliating peace after the body blow that
we suffered at Pearl Harbor.
The sense of proportion is the saving grace of democracy — and we must thank God for it. It was our defending sword in the hours of defeat. We cannot cast it lightly aside in the first moments of victory.

If, during the next days, or the next weeks, our armed forces make notable advances against the enemy, let us not forget that these are merely steps toward our ultimate objectives. They may be important steps but, in this phase of the war, they are relatively short ones — and we still have a long way to go.

During the past weeks, Mr. Churchill and I have been in constant conference with the leaders of our combined fighting forces. We have been in constant communication with our fighting allies who are prosecuting the war with relentless determination and with conspicuous success on far distant fronts.

We have seen the satisfactory fulfillment of plans that were made in Casablanca last January and here in Washington last May. And we have made new, extensive plans for the future. This war does not and must not stop for one single instant.

Our fighting men know that. Those of them who are moving forward through jungles against Japs — those who are in landing barges moving through
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down on the target at roof top level — every one of these men knows that
this war is a full-time job and it will continue so until total victory
is won.

Every campaign, every single operation that we plan and carry
through must be figured in terms of staggering costs. We cannot afford
to be niggardly with any of our resources, for we shall need all of them
to do the job that we have undertaken. And the greatest of our resources
is the spirit of our people.

That spirit will not fail.

Your fellow Americans have given a magnificent account of
themselves — on the battlefields and on the oceans and in the skies all over
the world.

Now it is up to you to prove to them that you are contributing
your share and more than your share. It is up to you — the Americans
in the American homes — the very homes which our sons and brothers are
fighting and working and praying to preserve.

And by the same token, every responsible
leader in all the United Nations knows
that the fighting goes on twenty-four hours a
day seven days a week and that any
delay lest men have to be paid for in terms
of months added to the duration of this war.
I am not divulging any military secret when I tell you that our hardest job lies ahead of us, not behind us. Sometimes I have the feeling, however, that we tend to forget this elementary fact. We tend to confuse the conditions for victory with victory itself.

We have laid the groundwork for bringing the enemy to surrender. We have stopped his mad advance — for which he had so well prepared for so many years. We have even taken some of his important outposts. But we still have to storm, and occupy, his citadels of power. Until such time we cannot indulge for even a moment in the pleasant daydream that this terrible war is almost over.

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that our losses will vary directly with the quantity and quality of munitions and materiel we use. The heroic Chinese, the indomitable Russians, in the past have learned in terms of defeat and death their superiority in equipment. Only as our arms grew superior and outnumbered those of the enemy have all nations been able to stem their losses and turn the tide.

I know I speak for every man and woman in America when I say that we Americans will not be satisfied to send our troops into the fire of the enemy with equipment inferior in any way. Nor will we be satisfied to send our troops with equipment only equal to that of the enemy. We are determined to provide our troops with overpowering superiority of quality and quantity in any and every category of arms and armaments that they may conceivably need.

Military men, returning from the front, tell me that the casualties in this war are almost in direct ratio with the amount of power that we have in comparison with the enemy. Where we are able to pour our steel upon the enemy in bewildering, devastating force, we gain our objectives with the minimum loss of life — in Sicily.

And where does that dominating power come from? It can only come from YOU. The money you lend and the money you give in taxes buys that death-dealing, life-saving power we need for victory. This is an expensive war — expensive in money; you can help keep it at a minimum cost in lives.
That is why this Third War Loan Drive is so important to every American. Every dollar invested is an addition to our offensive power, a protection against unnecessary suffering and loss of lives—a contribution to our future happiness and security.

The job of developing and maintaining overwhelming power for the United Nations is largely your job. To create this power requires tireless effort and long hours in the factories and shops and offices everywhere in the country.

But it requires not only effort, but also money. To do the job with which we are faced, to supply our attacking forces with the machines of war, with ammunition, and transportation, and to maintain an army of six million men, takes staggering amounts of money.

For the American people will never stop to reckon the cost of preserving civilization. They know there can never be any economic justification for failing to save freedom.

We can be sure that our enemies will watch this drive with the keenest interest. They know that success in this undertaking will materially shorten the war. They know that the more money the American people lend to their Government, the more powerful and relentless will be the American forces in the field. They know that only a united and determined America could possibly produce so large a sum of money on a voluntary basis as $15 billion. It is the total of your war bonds, translated into planes and gasoline and bombs and well-trained pilots, that the Axis fears above all things.

Last April, when we launched the Second War Loan Drive for $15 billion, the radio stations of Germany, Japan, and Italy filled the air with jeers, pointing out that the drive was certain to fail, that Americans never would risk so much money in a war. Then, when they found that the people had over-subscribed an extra billion or so for good measure, the
air became suddenly quiet. The overwhelming success of the Second War Loan Drive showed that the people of this Democracy stood firm behind their troops. The Axis leaders realized that the American people meant to buy and build whatever equipment was necessary to get this war over and finished — that they were determined to have victory no matter what the cost in dollars or in sacrifice.

The Third War Loan, which we are starting tonight, will also succeed.

It will succeed because, by this time, every man and woman in the United States knows that good equipment — and plenty of it — means less loss of life on the battlefront. They have seen what happened in Kiska when the Japs, afraid to meet the military power and the force of American and Canadian troops, withdrew in the black of night to parts unknown.

I cannot tell you how much to invest in War Bonds during this Third War Loan Drive. No one can tell you. It is for you to decide under the guidance of your own conscience.

I will say this, however: Because the Nation's needs are greater than ever before, our sacrifices too must be greater than they have ever been before. It is not sufficient simply to put money we would normally save into War Bonds. We must put money we would not normally save into War Bonds. Only then have we done everything that good conscience demands.

I know that the vast majority of Americans fully understand that our victories, while important, are far from final; they know the road to Rome may be long and bloody; the path to Berlin even longer and
the journey to Tokyo still longer and harder. We shall win...we shall
win conclusively...we shall hear the enemy say: "Unconditional sur-
render" but that inevitable day is not yet at hand. Nobody knows when victory
will come...but we do know that the harder we fight now, the more
might and power we direct at the enemy now, the shorter will be the
period of suffering and waiting for victory and peace. Success of the
Third War Loan will be the symbol that America does not propose to rest
on its arms — that we know the tough, bitter job ahead and will not stop
until it is done.

Now it is your turn!

—000—
BEFORE

Once upon a time, a few years ago, there was a city in our Middle West which was threatened by a destructive flood in the river. The waters had risen to the top of the banks. Every man, woman and child in that city was called upon to fill sand bags in order to defend their homes against the rising waters. For many days and nights, destruction and death stared them in the face.

As a result of the grim, determined community effort, that city still stands. Those people kept the levees above the peak of the flood. All of them joined together in the desperate job which had to be done -- business men, workers, farmers, doctors, preachers -- people of all races.

To me, that town is a living symbol of what community cooperation can accomplish.

Today, in the same kind of community effort, the United Nations and their people have kept the levees of civilization high enough to prevent the floods of aggression and barbarism and wholesale murder from engulfing us all. The flood has been raging for four years. At least, we are beginning to gain on it; but the waters have not yet receded enough for us to relax our sweating work with the sand bags. In this war bond campaign we are filling bags and placing them against the flood -- money bags, if you like -- but bags which are essential if we are to stand off the ugly torrent which is trying to sweep us all away.

Today, an armistice with Italy was concluded.

This was a victory for the United Nations -- but it was an even greater victory for the Italian people. After years of war and suffering and degradation, the Italian people are at last coming to the day of liberation from their real enemies, the Nazis.

But let us not delude ourselves that this armistice means the end of the war in the Mediterranean. We must drive the Germans out of Italy as we have driven them out of Tunisia and Sicily, and we must strike them on their own soil from all directions.

Our ultimate objectives in this war continue to be Berlin and Tokyo.
I ask you to bear those objectives constantly in mind — and do not forget that we will have a long way to go before attaining them. The great news you have heard today from General Eisenhower does not give you license to settle back in your easy chairs and say, "Well, that does it. We've got 'em on the run. Now we can start the celebration."

The time for celebration is not yet. And I have a suspicion that when this war does end, we shall not be in a very celebrating frame of mind. I think that our main emotion will be one of grim determination that this shall not happen again.

During the past weeks, Mr. Churchill and I have been in constant conference with the leaders of our combined fighting forces. We have been in constant communication with our fighting Allies who are prosecuting the war with relentless determination and with conspicuous success on far distant fronts.

We have seen the satisfactory fulfillment of plans that were made in Casablanca last January and here in Washington last May. And we have made new, extensive plans for the future. But throughout these conferences we have never lost sight of the fact that this war will become bigger and tougher rather than easier during the long months that are to come.

This war does not and must not stop for one single instant. Our fighting men know that. Those of us who are moving forward through jungles against lurking Japs — those who on landing barges moving through the dawn up to strange enemy coasts — those who are diving their bombers down on the target at roof top level — every one of these men knows that this war is a full-time job and it will continue so until total victory is won.

And, by the same token, every responsible leader in all the United Nations knows that the fighting goes on twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, and that any day lost may have to be paid for in terms of months added to the duration of the war.
Every campaign, every single operation that we plan and carry through must be figured in terms of staggering costs. We cannot afford to be niggardly with any of our resources, for we shall need all of them to do the job that we have undertaken.

Your fellow Americans have given a magnificent account of themselves -- on the battlefields and on the oceans and in the skies all over the world.

Now it is up to you to prove to them that you are contributing your share and more than your share. It is not sufficient simply to put money into War Bonds which we would normally save. We must put money into War Bonds which we would not normally save. Only then have we done everything that good conscience demands. It is up to you -- the Americans in the American homes -- the very homes which our sons and daughters are working and fighting and dying to preserve.

I know I speak for every man and woman in America when I say that we Americans will not be satisfied to send our troops into the fire of the enemy with equipment inferior in any way. Nor will we be satisfied to send our troops with equipment only equal to that of the enemy. We are determined to provide our troops with overpowering superiority of quality and quantity in any and every category of arms and ammunitions that they may conceivably need.

And where does that dominating power come from? It can come only from you. The money you lend and the money you give in taxes buy that death-dealing, life-saving power we need for victory. This is an expensive war -- expensive in money; you can help keep it at a minimum cost in lives.

The American people will never stop to reckon the cost of redeeming civilization. They know there can never be any economic justification for failing to save freedom.

We can be sure that our enemies will watch this drive with the keenest interest. They know that success in this undertaking will shorten
the war. They know that the more money the American people lend to their Government, the more powerful and relentless will be the American forces in the field. They know that only a united and determined America could possibly produce on a voluntary basis so large a sum of money as fifteen billion dollars.

The overwhelming success of the Second War Loan Drive last April showed that the people of this Democracy stood firm behind their troops.

The Third War Loan, which we are starting tonight, will also succeed -- because the American people will not permit it to fail.

I cannot tell you how much to invest in War Bonds during this Third War Loan Drive. No one can tell you. It is for you to decide under the guidance of your own conscience.

I will say this, however. Because the Nation's needs are greater than ever before, our sacrifices too must be greater than they have ever been before.

Nobody knows when total victory will come... but we do know that the harder we fight now, the more might and power we direct at the enemy now, the shorter the war will be and the smaller the sum total of sacrifice.

Success of the Third War Loan will be the symbol that America does not propose to rest on its arms -- that we know the tough, bitter job ahead and will not stop until we have finished it.

How it is your turn!

Every dollar that you invest in the Third War Loan is your personal message of defiance to our common enemies -- to the ruthless militarists of Germany and Japan.
Once upon a time, a few years ago, there was a city in our Middle West which was threatened by a destructive flood in the river. The waters had risen to the top of the banks. Every man, woman and child in that city was called upon to fill sand bags in order to defend their homes against the level of the leves above the rising waters. For many days and nights, destruction stared them in the face. A break in those bags — or a let-up in filling and piling those bags — would have meant the destruction of their homes and property; and the flood would have swept thousands of people away to their death.

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And where does that dominating power come from? It can come only from you. The money you lend and the money you give in taxes buys that death-dealing, life-saving power we need for victory. This is an expensive war — expensive in money; you can help keep it at a minimum cost in lives.

The American people will never stop to reckon the cost of preserving civilization. They know there can never be any economic justification for failing to save freedom.

We can be sure that our enemies will watch this drive with the keenest interest. They know that success in this undertaking will shorten the war. They know that the more money the American people lend to their Government, the more powerful and relentless will be the American forces in the field. They know that only a united and determined America could possibly produce a large sum of money on a voluntary basis as fifteen billion. [It is the total of your war bonds — translated into planes and gasoline and bombs and well-trained fighting men — that the Axis fears above all things.]

The overwhelming success of the Second War Loan Drive last April showed that the people of this Democracy stood firm behind their troops.

The Third War Loan, which we are starting tonight, will also succeed because the American people will not permit it to fail.

It will succeed because, by this time, every man and woman in the United States knows that good equipment — and plenty of it — means less loss of life on the battlefront. They have seen what happened in Kiska when the Japs, afraid to meet the military power and the force of
American and Canadian troops, withdrew in the black of night to parts unknown.

I cannot tell you how much to invest in War Bonds during this Third War Loan Drive. No one can tell you. It is for you to decide under the guidance of your own conscience.

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I know that the vast majority of Americans fully understand that our victories, while important, are far from final; they know the road to Rome may be long and bloody; the path to Berlin even longer and the journey to Tokyo still longer and harder. We shall win...we shall win conclusively.

Nobody knows when victory will come...but we do know that the harder we fight now, the more might and power we direct at the enemy now, the shorter will be the period of suffering and waiting for a world at peace.

Success of the Third War Loan will be the symbol that America does not propose to rest on its arms -- that we know the tough, bitter job ahead and will not stop until it is done. We have finished it.

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The war is not yet...but the war is won.
When I think of this War Bond Drive and the part we all must play in it, I am reminded of a city in our Middle West which was threatened several years ago by a destructive flood in the river. The waters had risen to the top of the banks. Every man, woman and child in that city was called upon to fill sand bags in order to keep the level of the levees above the rising waters. For days and nights in succession, destruction stared them in the face. A break in those bags — or a let-up in filling and piling those bags — would have meant the destruction of their homes and all the property of the community; and the flood would have swept away to their death thousands of people.

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I will say this, however. Because the Nation's needs are greater than ever before, our sacrifices too must be greater than they have ever been before. It is not sufficient simply to put money we would normally save into War Bonds. We must put money we would not normally save into War Bonds. Only then have we done everything that good conscience demands.

I know that the vast majority of Americans fully understand that our victories, while important, are far from final; they know the road to Rome may be long; and bloody; the path to Berlin even longer and
the journey to Tokyo still longer and harder. We shall win...we shall win conclusively...we shall hear the enemy say: "Unconditional surrender" but that inevitable day is not yet at hand. Nobody knows when it will come...but we do know that the harder we fight now, the more might and power we direct at the enemy now, the shorter will be the period of suffering and waiting for victorious peace. Success of the Third War Loan will be the symbol that America does not propose to rest on its arms — that we know the tough, bitter job ahead and will not stop until it is done.

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When I think of this War Bond Drive and the part we all must play in it, I am reminded of a city in our Middle West which was threatened several years ago by a destructive flood in the river. The waters had risen to the top of the banks. Every man, woman and child in that city was called upon to fill sand bags in order to keep the level of the levees above the rising waters. For days and nights in succession, destruction stared them in the face. A break in those bags or a let-up in filling and piling those bags would have meant the destruction of their homes and all the property of the community; and the flood would have swept away to their death thousands of people.

Today that town still stands as a result of the grim determined community effort. Those people kept those levees above the peak of the flood. All of them joined together in the desperate job which had to be done — good citizens, bad citizens, rich people, poor people — people of all races. To me, that town is a living symbol of what community cooperation can accomplish.

Today, in the same kind of community effort, the United Nations and their people have kept the levees of civilization high enough to prevent the floods of aggression and wholesale murder from engulfing us all. The flood has been raging for four years. At last we are beginning to gain on it, but the waters have not yet receded enough for us to relax our sweating work with the sand bags. In this war bond campaign we are filling bags and placing them against the flood — money bags, if you like — but bags which are essential if we are to stand off the flood which is trying to sweep us all away.

It is with great pride that we Americans open the Third War Loan Drive tonight — pride in a country that can undertake the raising of 16 billion dollars in a campaign in which every one of us can express his democratic faith. This is quite an undertaking for a people who but a short time back were described by the enemy as weak and spineless, with no true claim on the past and no stake in the future.
I am not divulging any military secret when I tell you that our hardest job lies ahead of us, not behind us. Sometimes I have the feeling, however, that we tend to forget this elementary fact. We tend to confuse the conditions for victory with victory itself.

We have laid the groundwork for bringing the enemy to surrender. We have stopped his headlong advance - for which he had so well prepared for so many years. We have even taken some of his important outposts. But we still have to storm, and occupy, his citadels of power. Until such time we cannot indulge for even a moment in the pleasant daydream that this terrible war is almost over.

Again, I am divulging any military secret when I tell you that our losses will vary directly with the quantity and quality of munitions and material we use. The heroic Chinese, the indomitable Russians, in the past have learned in terms of defeat and death their inferiority in equipment. Only as our arms grew superior and outnumbered those of the enemy have Allied Nations been able to stem their losses and turn the tide.

I know I speak for every man and woman in America when I say that we Americans will not be satisfied to send our troops into the fire of the enemy with equipment inferior in any way. Nor will we be satisfied to send our troops with equipment only equal to that of the enemy. We are determined to provide our troops with overpowering superiority of quality and quantity in any and every category of arms and armaments that they may conceivably need.

Military men, returning from the front, tell me that the casualties in this war are almost in direct ratio with the amount of power that we have in comparison with the enemy. Where we are able to pour our steel upon the enemy in bewildering, devastating force, we gain our objectives with the minimum loss of life - in Sicily.

And where does that dominating power come from? It can only come from YOU. The money you lend and the money you give in taxes buys that death-dealing, life-saving power we need for victory. This is an expensive war - expensive in money; you can help keep it at a minimum cost in lives.
That is why this Third War Loan Drive is so important to every American. Every dollar invested is an addition to our offensive power, a protection against unnecessary suffering and loss of lives — a contribution to our future happiness and security.

The job of developing and maintaining overwhelming power for the United Nations is largely your job. To create this power requires tireless effort and long hours in the factories and shops and offices everywhere in the country.

But it requires not only effort, but also money. To do the job with which we are faced, to supply our attacking forces with the machines of war, with ammunition, and transportation, and to maintain an army of six million men, takes staggering amounts of money.

But the American people will never stop to reckon the cost of preserving civilization. They know there can never be any economic justification for failing to save freedom.

We can be sure that our enemies will watch this drive with the keenest interest. They know that success in this undertaking will materially shorten the war. They know that the more money the American people lend to their Government, the more powerful and relentless will be the American forces in the field. They know that only a united and determined America could possibly produce so large a sum of money on a voluntary basis as $15 billion. It is the total of your war bonds, translated into planes and gasoline and bombs and well-trained pilots, that the Axis fears above all things.

Last April, when we launched the Second War Loan Drive for $13 billion, the radio stations of Germany, Japan, and Italy filled the air with jeers, pointing out that the drive was certain to fail, that Americans never would risk so much money in a war. Then, when they found that the people had over-subscribed an extra billion or so for good measure, the
air became suddenly quiet. The overwhelming success of the Second War Loan Drive showed that the people of this Democracy stood firm behind their troops. The Axis leaders realized that the American people meant to buy and build whatever equipment was necessary to get this war over and finished — that they were determined to have victory no matter what the cost in dollars or in sacrifice.

The Third War Loan, which we are starting tonight, will also succeed.

It will succeed because, by this time, every man and woman in the United States knows that good equipment — and plenty of it — means less loss of life on the battlefront. They have seen what happened in Kiska when the Japs, afraid to meet the military power and the force of American and Canadian troops, withdrew in the black of night to parts unknown.

I cannot tell you how much to invest in War Bonds during this Third War Loan Drive. No one can tell you. It is for you to decide under the guidance of your own conscience.

I will say this, however. Because the Nation's needs are greater than ever before, our sacrifices too must be greater than they have ever been before. It is not sufficient simply to put money we would normally save into War Bonds. We must put money we would not normally save into War Bonds. Only then have we done everything that good conscience demands.

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on its arms — that we know the tough, bitter job ahead and will not stop
until it is done.

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Once upon a time a few years ago, there was a city in our Middle West which was threatened by a destructive flood in the river. The waters had risen to the top of the banks. Every man, woman and child in that city was called upon to fill sand bags in order to defend their homes against the level of the levees above the rising waters. For many days and nights, destruction stared them in the face. A break in those bags — or a let-up in filling and piling those bags — would have meant the destruction of their homes and property; and the flood would have swept thousands of people away to their death.

As a result of the grim, determined community effort, that city still stands. Those people kept the levees above the peak of the flood. All of them joined together in the desperate job which had to be done — good citizens, bad citizens, rich people, poor people, business men, workers, professional men — people of all races.

To me, that town is a living symbol of what community cooperation can accomplish.

Today, in the same kind of community effort, the United Nations and their people have kept the levees of civilization high enough to prevent the floods of aggression and barbarism and wholesale murder from engulfing us all. The flood has been raging for four years. At last, we are beginning to gain on it; but the waters have not yet receded enough for us to relax our sweating work with the sand bags. In this war bond campaign we are filling bags and placing them against the flood — money bags, if you like — but bags which are essential if we are to stand off the ugly torrent which is trying to sweep us all away.

Even as I speak to you at this moment, great forces are on the move, advancing toward great accomplishments.

The ultimate objectives of these United Nations' forces are Berlin and Tokyo.
I ask you to bear these objectives constantly in mind — and do not forget that we will have far to go before attaining them.

You may read in the newspapers or hear on the radio that we have landed on some beaches or captured some strategic air fields or taken so many thousands of prisoners, but that does not give you license to settle back in your easy chairs and say, "Well, that does it. We've got 'em on the run. Now we can start the celebration."

The time for celebration is not yet. And I have a suspicion that when this war does end, we shall not be in a very celebrating frame of mind. I think that our main emotion will be one of grim determination that this shall not happen again.

If, during the next days, or the next weeks, our armed forces make notable advances against the enemy, let us not forget that these are merely steps toward our ultimate objectives. They may be important steps but, in this phase of the war, they are relatively short ones — and we still have a long way to go.

During the past weeks, Mr. Churchill and I have been in constant conference with the leaders of our combined fighting forces. We have been in constant communication with our fighting Allies who are prosecuting the war with relentless determination and with conspicuous success on far distant fronts.

We have seen the satisfactory fulfillment of plans that were made in Casablanca last January and here in Washington last May. And we have made new, extensive plans for the future. But throughout these conferences we have had to face the fact that this war will become bigger and tougher rather than easier during the long months that are to come.

This war does not and must not stop for one single instant. Our fighting men know that. Those of them who are moving forward through jungles against Japs — those who are in landing barges moving through the
down up to strange enemy coasts — those who are diving their bombers
down on the target at roof top level — every one of these men knows
that this war is a full-time job and it will continue so until total
victory is won.

And, by the same token, every responsible leader in all the
United Nations knows that the fighting goes on twenty-four hours a day,
seven days a week, and that any day lost may have to be paid for in
terms of months added to the duration of the war.

Every campaign, every single operation that we plan and carry
through must be figured in terms of staggering costs. We cannot afford
to be niggardly with any of our resources, for we shall need all of them
to do the job that we have undertaken.

Your fellow Americans have given a magnificent account of
themselves — on the battlefields and on the oceans and in the skies
all over the world.

Now it is up to you to prove to them that you are contributing
your share and more than your share. It is up to you — the Americans
in the American homes — the very homes which our sons and brothers are
fighting and working and praying to preserve.
I know I speak for every man and woman in America when I say that we Americans will not be satisfied to send our troops into the fire of the enemy with equipment inferior in any way. Nor will we be satisfied to send our troops with equipment only equal to that of the enemy. We are determined to provide our troops with overpowering superiority of quality and quantity in any and every category of arms and armaments that they may conceivably need.

And where does that dominating power come from? It can come only from YOU. The money you lend and the money you give in taxes buys that death-dealing, life-saving power we need for victory. This is an expensive war — expensive in money; you can help keep it at a minimum cost in lives.

The American people will never stop to reckon the cost of preserving civilization. They know there can never be any economic justification for failure to save freedom.

We can be sure that our enemies will watch this drive with the keenest interest. They know that success in this undertaking will shorten the war. They know that the more money the American people lend to their Government, the more powerful and relentless will be the American forces in the field. They know that only a united and determined America could possibly produce so large a sum of money on a voluntary basis as $15 billion. It is the total of your war bonds — translated into planes and gasoline and bombs and well-trained fighting men — that the Axis fears above all things.

The overwhelming success of the Second War Loan Drive last April showed that the people of this Democracy stood firm behind their troops.

The Third War Loan, which we are starting tonight, will also succeed.

It will succeed because, by this time, every man and woman in the United States knows that good equipment — and plenty of it — means less loss of life on the battlefield. They have seen what happened in Kiska when the Japs, afraid to meet the military power and the force of
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I know that the vast majority of Americans fully understand that our victories, while important, are far from final; they know the road to Rome may be long and bloody; the path to Berlin even longer and the journey to Tokyo still longer and harder. We shall win...we shall win conclusively.

Nobody knows when victory will come...but we do know that the harder we fight now, the more might and power we direct at the enemy now, the war, and the shorter will be the period of suffering and waiting for a world at peace.

Success of the Third War Loan will be the symbol that America does not propose to rest on its arms — that we know the tough, bitter job ahead and will not stop until we have finished it.

Now it is your turn!
3rd War Loan - Sept. 8, 1941

3 suggested drafts sent over by the Treasury with covering letter - corrections by S.I.R.

Draft uncorrected - 4 carbon pages

Draft - 5 pages (based on above - preparatory original corrected by S.I.R. and inserts by S.I.R. and R.E.S.

Draft - 6 pages - preparatory original - corrected by S.I.R. and R.E.S. and on p. 6 "fighting men" - Roosevelt and p. 8 "Now it is your turn" - Roosevelt

Draft - 3-page carbon - uncorrected

Draft - 5-page carbon - corrected on p. 5 - R.E.S.

Draft (2) uncorrected
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I ask you to bear these objectives constantly in mind — and do not forget that we will have far to go before attaining them.

When you read in the newspapers or hear on the radio that we have landed on some beaches or captured some strategic air fields or taken so many thousands of prisoners, I beg you not to settle back in your easy chairs and say, "Well, that does it. We've got 'em on the run."

Now we can start the celebration."

The time for celebration is not yet. And I have a suspicion that when this war does end we shall not be in a very celebrating frame of mind. I think that our main emotion will be one of grim determination that this shall not happen again.

All of us must maintain the sense of proportion which is absolutely essential to the winning of this war.

Without that sense of proportion the British would have yielded to defeat after Dunkirk — the Russians would have given up when the enemy was hammering at the gates of Moscow — the Chinese would have concluded that their cause was hopeless when the Japs sacked Hankou — and we should have asked for a humiliating peace after the body blow that we suffered at Pearl Harbor.
The sense of property is the saving grace of democracy — and we must thank God for it. It was our defending sword in the hour of defeat. We cannot cast it lightly aside in the first moments of victory.

If, during the next days, or the next weeks, our armed forces make notable advances against the enemy, let us not forget that these are merely steps toward our ultimate objectives. They may be important steps but, in this phase of the war, they are relatively short ones — and we still have a long way to go.

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is won.

Every campaign, every single operation that we plan and carry
through must be figured in terms of staggering costs. We cannot afford
to be niggardly with any of our resources, for we shall need all of them
to do the job that we have undertaken. And the greatest of our resources
is the spirit of our people.

That spirit will not fail.

Your fellow Americans have given a magnificent account of
themselves — on the battlefields and on the oceans and in the skies all over
the world.

Now it is up to you to prove to them that you are contributing
your share and more than your share. It is up to you — the Americans
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