
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
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1943 September 17

Message to Congress re Progress of the War

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

During the two month's recess of the Congress, many important events have occurred ^{fronts and at home. I know that all Americans are glad to see you back again, meeting at a time when the tides of conflict are definitely and} at the war.

Most fresh in our minds are the happenings in Italy. On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily. ^{Consistently running our way} in the face of heavy German opposition ^{but} cleared this large island in four weeks.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and missing were approximately _____ of which the American forces lost _____. The losses among the Italians and Germans ^{have been estimated} were greatly ^{at} _____ ^{higher} dead, wounded and prisoners.

[To all of us it was interesting to note] The joyous welcome given to the Allied troops by the population. [It] proved conclusively that even in an enemy country which had lived ^{for a generation} under a complete dictatorship, the people themselves welcomed the day of release from an intolerable yoke. [A] With the Allied armies went a carefully planned set-up for giving immediate care to the local population -- food, clothing, and certain freedoms which, for many years, had been denied to them. Sicily, like other parts of Italy, had been bled white by the Nazi and Fascist governments. Growers of crops were permitted]

INSERT A

It ~~is~~ ^{continually} proved that this war was not waged by the
people of Italy by ^{their own} choice ~~but solely at the dictation of~~
~~German~~

INSERT B

How different was this invading army of the Allies
to the invading hordes of ~~the~~ German armies that ^{had occupied} ~~descended~~
^{a year before under the guise of protecting it.}
on Sicily. Food, clothing, medicines and household goods
^{had been stolen} ~~were taken~~ from the people of Italy. Sicily, like other ^{and sent back to the "master race" in Germany.}
^{and the other satellite and conquered nations}
parts of Italy, had been bled white by the Nazi and Fascist
Governments. Growers of crops were permitted to retain only
a small fraction of their needs. With the Allied armies ^{known} went
a carefully planned set up ^{for} giving immediate ^{physical} care to the
local population -- food, clothing, ^{medicine --} and also ^{for restoring} the restoration of
certain freedoms which for many years had been denied to them.
~~We have changed all that and within a year Sicily will be to~~
~~all intents and purposes self-supporting and in addition to~~
~~that, self-respecting~~

[to retain only a small fraction for their own needs.] [We have changed all that and] Within a year Sicily will be to all intents and purposes self-supporting — and in addition, to that, self-respecting.

[It was obvious that our successes in ^{now} Sicily] [should be exploited to the full and] the onward sweep has continued into the mainland. ^(C) ~~The foot of the Italian peninsula has been liberated and an important expedition has landed near Naples.~~

[So much for the purely military aspects. But] A little over a month ago, ^{political in Italy} ~~war~~ events startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, was ^{incubent} ~~compelled~~ by his own failure, and by [what is clearly] the overwhelming desire of the Italians; ^{and seems to have his-} ~~forced~~ ^{appeared. This was} the first break in Axis leadership — to be followed, we hope, by other and similar encouraging disappearances.

~~was~~ Not long after his ^{abdication} ~~disappearance~~ that ^{the relentless bombing of Italian cities by the Allied Air Force} ~~conversations~~ ^{Heckly that it could not} ~~were begun for the obvious reason that Italy was unable to continue~~

an active part in the war. ^{These negotiations turned out to be a} ~~These talks with Italian leaders were~~ carried on with the utmost secrecy, ^{to reveal any one} ~~and~~ ^{surprise} not only among the Allied Nations, but among the Italian people themselves. As a result, ^{of these conversations} announcement was made on September eighth that an armistice had been arranged and simultaneously

Conversations were begun They insert (E)

INSERT C

And then ^{and the 11th of September, near} On the ____ day of September the allied armies landed on the boot of the Italian peninsula and ~~in Naples, the~~ ^{These were the} first allied troops to land on the continent of Europe to liberate the conquered and oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the ~~million~~ answer to the prayer of the millions of liberty-loving human beings in these conquered lands.

INSERT D

And the continued relentless bombing of our air forces that negotiations were begun ~~because~~ ^{as} Italy saw that it was unable to continue an active part in the war.

INSERT E Much as I would have liked to inform the members of the press and those who repeatedly expressed dismay ^{or indignation} at our not ~~at~~ ^{our course in Italy, I could not} continuing to urge Italy to surrender, these negotiations were carried on to the complete surprise of most people....(continue sentence)

Italian leaders appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us.

Events are moving very fast. The Allies ^{are confident} ~~still hope~~ that the people will once again regain the respect of democratic nations by ~~Italian will render great military and naval assistance in driving~~ ^{ing} the Germans from their own soil and from the soil of many parts of the Balkan peninsula now occupied by their troops.

[Thus if all goes well and remembering always that the Germans are in great strength] The cordus around Germany ^{is being} ~~will be~~ tightened. It is our ~~aim soon~~ ^{aim soon} to come within ~~the~~ bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany and

^{bring} ~~is~~ the war ^{may be brought} ~~home~~ to these places as it has ^{already} ~~been~~ brought to Eastern Germany. ^{Insert G (put it in parenthesis)}

^{We have reliable information that there is also} ~~In addition there is~~ definite unrest and a desire for peace in most parts of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Greece ^{growing} ~~together with growing unrest~~

in Bulgaria and Rumania. We hope that in these nations the ^{which revolt} ~~contagion~~

which commenced in Italy will spread with great rapidity. ^{Every} ~~Finally~~ Every

American is aware of the smashing blows delivered against them by the

Russian forces. This Summer there has been no German push far back

into the Russian lines. The shoe today is on the other foot. ^{Insert H} ~~(In parenthesis)~~

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two ~~the United Nations has followed a continuous~~ years ago, a military and naval policy of attrition, ~~has been to the~~

^{That} ~~is~~ means cold-bloodedly ^{placing the} ~~into deadly competition~~ resources of the Allies ~~with the~~ ^{into deadly competition} resources of the

INSERT F The allies still hope that the Italian people will once again regain the respect of democratic nations by rendering great military and naval assistance.....

Insert G → (Bombing of Hamburg and Berlin and the need of building of additional planes to be able to keep this up. These bombings cannot take place without losses in our own planes in order to be effective that they must be continuous.)

→ INSERT H (Elaborating on the significance of the recapture by the Russians of Rostov, Stalino, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donat Basin.)

Axis. It means the training and use of the ~~greater~~ Allied manpower *which is greater than the Axis.*
in the field and it means the ~~greater~~ use of our superiority *in ability*

making more munitions more quickly than our enemies can do. For example, the Allies today have a definite superiority on the European Front in almost all weapons of war, more planes on any and every point of the ~~circumferential~~ ^{encompassing} line—More guns, more tanks, more trucks; ~~and in the sea~~ ^{and in the sea} more transports, more supply ships and more warships. *Insert D + J.*

~~Our great program, started two years ago, may well be said to be approaching full production. Britain has already attained full production and today the combination of Britain and ourselves is turning out so much more of everything that the superiority over Germany grows a little with every succeeding month.~~

Power
 The policy of attrition is succeeding equally well in the Pacific Ocean. Japan made the primary mistake in the first flush of ~~successes~~ ^{her} victories in the months that followed Pearl Harbor of extending ~~the~~ ^{her} military and naval lines too far. When our task forces and submarines ~~went~~ ^{began to} to work on the Japanese lines of communication, we ~~destroyed~~ ^{destroyed} their shipping faster than they could rebuild, ~~and that~~ ^{and that} has been going on ever since. The result is Japan

whittling down forces

INSERT I

However, unless we ~~not only~~ keep up ^{or increase} ~~by increasing~~
the tempo of our present rate of production this superiority
of planes and weapons, guns, tanks and ships could fast be
changed once again into a tragic picture of an air ^{dominated} ~~conquered~~
by the Axis and ^a ~~of the~~ sea ruled by ~~our enemies~~ ^{enemy submarines}.
a field dominated by enemy tanks

INSERT J Our great production program started two years ago. ~~and~~ With the ^{significant} contribution ^{made by} of American industry and ~~the magnificent~~ ^{our efforts} contribution of American labor, it may well be said to be approaching full production. Britain has already attained full production and today the combination of Britain and ourselves is turning out so much more of everything that if we keep this up and not for one moment slacken ^{our efforts} ~~on the home front~~, the superiority ^{over} of Germany grows a little ~~and will continue to grow less with~~ every succeeding month.

^{Hand} has been ~~our~~ put to it to maintain far-flung lines. ^{for example,} It was because Japan could not maintain adequate supplies and reinforcements to Kiska that the Japanese garrison was withdrawn in the face of an oncoming force from our Western Coast. ^{Mark}

These things do not just happen. ^{They are the result of long, patient}
~~fe~~ ~~complete plans.~~ I could never subscribe to the theory that Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles were threatened with invasion. I could not go along with those who were so perturbed that they had reached the verge of tears. I know that it was hard for them to realize that successful actions off Midway or in the Coral Sea or in the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians relatively unimportant.

^{Longer our} However, there are no Japanese left in the Aleutians Islands ^{the airfields ~~were~~ they built there now} and ~~they~~ ^{they} ~~second~~ ^{now} available for further operations in a westerly direction. ^{by us in}

~~Wars are not won by hysteria nor are they won by doing what looks like the obvious.~~

The whittling away process hit the Japs hard in the Aleutian Islands. Their material losses were far greater than ours. And the same policy has extended throughout the Pacific. In the past
ye

INSERT K. It was because of the sacrifices of our armed forces and the ability of our people to produce on the home front that once again the flag of the Rising Sun has been trampled to the ground and the Stars and Stripes are flying on the barren rocks of the Island of Kiska.

~~_____~~ These things do not just happen. They are the results of careful and complete planning which ^{was} going on ~~again by~~ ^{and continuously} necessity quietly while some of our orators were so perturbed that they had reached the verge of tears at what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them to realize that the carefully planned and successful actions of Midway or ~~those~~ in the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians relatively unimportant.

in the Coral Sea W

year and a half we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships — merchant ships and naval vessels.

The odds are all in our favor ^{for} ~~that is one of the gains and the other~~

~~is that~~ we are manufacturing far more than they can manufacture.

It might even be called a ^{simple} mathematical progression.

In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so much island territory that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been ~~turned into~~ ^{practically dissipated} ~~relatively safe~~ ^{in fact it is safe to say that our position in that area has become} a threat on our part against the Japanese in the Seas that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.

American and Australian troops in a magnificent campaign have whittled away far more Japanese strength than all of our losses combined. Finally, after a long period of defensive strategy in Burma, we are taking the defensive and I am glad to say we are getting more supplies and military help to China. Almost every day word comes that a new air battle has destroyed two and three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. *That process will*

That presents to my mind problems that every American should realize — problems of getting the ^{of war which} ~~war things~~ we make, from our shores to the actual fighting theatre itself. Burma and China cannot be reached

continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself

except with extraordinary difficulty. Two years ago most ^{of the planes on hand} planes had to be knocked down, crated, put on board ship, uncrated and put together in India and sent up to the fighting front ^{and in the case of China they had to} sent over enormous mountains. ^{he} ~~But~~ ^{delivered} once there the planes had to be supplied with ground crews, tools, ~~large and small~~, oil, gasoline and even spare parts. Since the Japs cut the Burma Road, all these things had to be flown over hundreds of miles to bases in China which, ~~with~~

~~our growing air strength~~ had to be built. ~~Burma and China presented~~

The same slow process was to also the rule in ~~one problem~~ the Southwest Pacific ~~another~~. ^{now} With the increased

range of airplanes, we are sending more of them under our own power than before, but everything that goes to supply them had to be taken by ^{the gasoline, the bolts, the spare parts -}

ship to the fighting front all over the Pacific. Practically every soldier had to go by ship. All his equipment had to go by ship. Huge weapons had to go by ship. And every time a new forward move developed the whole outfit had to go by ship.

I wonder how many people realize what carrying on one war ~~across~~ across the Pacific and through the Indian Ocean and another war across the Atlantic and the Mediterranean means, especially when ^{our lines of supply} it faced lurking submarines at many points and dive bombers.

The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest

military movement over the longest number of miles and ending with landings under fire that history records anywhere.

The operation against Sicily, a part of which originated in Britain and in the United States, was of even greater size ⁽¹⁾ than ~~a note does not mean that~~ The ships ^{in this kind of movement are not} ~~are~~ loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable ^{safe} ~~wharf, not under fire~~. Most of the ships have to be what is called "combat loaded" — ~~in other words~~ loaded in such a way that the troops going ashore first are immediately followed by guns and ammunition, tanks and food, medical equipment and ~~all~~ the supply ^{is} of a modern army — all ~~to be unloaded~~ ^{unloaded} under ^{enemy} fire, and generally, on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen ~~thoroughly~~ ^{or planned} ~~understood~~ this kind of operation over long distances or ~~even~~ short distances do not speak glibly about landing great expeditions on a few day's notice, ^{or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time}.

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

SECOND DRAFT

During the two month's recess of the Congress, many important events have occurred at the war fronts and at home. I know that all Americans are glad to see you back again, meeting at a time when the tides of conflict are definitely and consistently running our way.

Most fresh in our minds are the happenings in Sicily and Italy. On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily. In spite of heavy German opposition it cleared this large island in four weeks.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and missing were approximately _____ of which the American forces lost _____. The losses among the Italians and Germans have been estimated at _____ dead, wounded and prisoners.

The joyous welcome given to the Allied troops by the population proved conclusively that even in a country which had lived for a generation under a complete dictatorship, the people themselves welcomed the day of release from an intolerable yoke.

SIR
Please return for
our "speech box"
248

It ^{also} proved conclusively that this war was not waged by the people of Italy ^{or} by their own choice.

How different was this invading army of the Allies to the invading hordes of German armies that had occupied Sicily a year before under the guise of protecting it. Food, clothing, ^{cars}, medicines and household goods had been stolen from the people of Italy, and sent back to the "master race" in Germany. Sicily, like other parts of Italy and the other satellite and conquered nations, had been bled white by the Nazi and Fascist governments. Growers of crops were permitted to retain only a small fraction of their needs. With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned ^{organization, trained and equipped to give} set-up for giving immediate physical care to the local population -- food, clothing, medicine -- and also ^{to restore} for restoring certain freedoms which, for many years, had been denied to them. Within a year, Sicily, ^{will be} ~~will be~~ to all intents and purposes self-supporting -- and in addition to that self-respecting.

From Sicily the onward sweep ^{of the allied armies} has continued into the mainland. On the ^{3rd} day of September the ~~allied armies~~ ^{they} landed on the boot of the Italian peninsula, ~~and the 11th of September,~~ ^{they landed at several points} near Naples. These were the first allied troops to land on the continent of Europe to liberate the conquered and oppressed

SECOND DRAFT

- 3 -

*the man who is more responsible
for all of the sorrows of Italy
than anyone except
Hitler himself,*

countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the answer to the prayer of the millions of

liberty-loving human beings ^{not only} in these conquered lands ^{but all over} the world. ^{- even before we had completely occupied Italy -}

A little over a month ago, political events in Italy started the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, ^{demoral} was forced out by his own failure and by the ^{demand} overwhelming ~~desire~~ of the Italians, ^{people} and seems to have disappeared. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to ^{be determined} be followed, we hope, by other and similar encouraging disappearances.

Not long after his abdication, the relentless bombing of Italian cities by the Allied Air Forces convinced ^{the leaders of} Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun ^{by us the} with Italian leaders. They were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Much as I would have liked to ^{Congress and the} inform the members of the press, and those who repeatedly expressed dismay or indignation at our course in Italy, I could not. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only ^{to the Axis but to} ~~among the Allied Nations, but among~~ the Italian people themselves. As a result of these conversations, announcement was made on September eighth that an

SECOND DRAFT

- 4 -

on Sept 3. The reason for
the delay in the possible
announcement

armistice had been arranged, and Simultaneously Italian leaders
appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against
us.

Events are moving very fast. The Allies
are confident that the Italian people will once again regain
the respect ^{to} of democratic nations ~~by rendering assistance in~~
~~driving~~ the Germans from their soil and from many parts of
the Balkan peninsula now occupied by ^{Nazi} ~~enemy~~ troops.

^{whose} The ^{the throat of} ~~throat~~ around Germany is being tightened—
and in time it will choke.
It is our aim soon to come within bombing range of Southern
and Eastern Germany, and bring ^{devastating} ~~the~~ war home to these places
as it has already been brought to Western Germany.

(Bombing of Hamburg and Berlin and the
need of building of additional planes to be able to keep this
up. These bombings cannot take place without losses in our
own planes in order to be effective that they must be
continuous.)

We have reliable information that there is
also definite unrest and a growing desire for peace in most
parts of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Greece - in Bulgaria and
Rumania. We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt

SECOND DRAFT

INSERT A - PAGE 4 (In place of paragraph in).

We know the effectiveness of the bombing of the Ruhr, ^{and} Hamburg, ^{and} Berlin, ^{and} Neurenberg and other places and that German munition production has been seriously curtailed. We ^{will get} seek further curtailment by bringing every city in Germany ^{and} the war plants in nearby occupied countries within easy range of our night bombers and day bombers.

And we must remember that ^{on} any great ^{air} attack ~~of~~ the British and ourselves lose ~~or have damaged~~ a fairly high proportion ^{of planes} and that these losses must be made up so that the weight of the bombing shall not decrease in the future. Actually it ought to increase -- and I believe it will if we can keep up and speed up our daily completion of fighting aircraft of all kinds.

which commenced in Italy will spread with great rapidity ~~in the~~

Every American is aware of the smashing blows delivered against them by the Russian Armies. This Summer there has been no German push far back into the Russian lines. The shoe today is on the other foot.

B (Elaborating on the significance of the recapture by the Russians of Rostov, Stalino, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donat Basin.)

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous military and naval policy of attrition. That means, cold-bloodedly, placing the *greater* resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the lesser resources of the Axis. It means the training and use ~~in the field~~ of the Allied manpower, ^{which is greater} *for this and* than the Axis. It means the use of our superior ^{ability} in making more munitions more quickly than our enemies can. ^P For example, the Allies today on the European Front have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war, more planes on any and every point of the encircling line—
~~More~~ guns, more tanks, more trucks; more transports, more

INSERT B

The recapture by the Russians of Rostov and Staling,
the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing
of millions of acres and "~~un~~^{hearten}inhabited places" ~~hardens~~ the whole
world as ~~it~~^{the campaign} moves toward the elimination of every German from
Russian soil -- as it moves toward the invasion of Germany it-
self. We like to think that the campaign in North Africa, the
occupation of Sicily, the fighting in Italy and the ~~contending~~^{freeing 50}
~~necessity for keeping~~ large numbers of German planes on the
coasts of Holland, Belgium and France ~~has~~^{have} given some help to
the Russian armies in their great push from Leningrad to the
Black Sea. We hope too that we are contributing to that push
by the German ~~necessity of keeping~~^{making} many divisions in the Balkans,
^{help} in Southern France and along the English Channel. I like to
think that these words ~~themselves~~ ~~under~~ constitute an under
statement.

supply ships and more warships.

However, unless we keep up ^{and} increase the tempo of our present rate of production, this superiority of planes and weapons, guns, tanks and ships ^{can quickly} ~~could~~ fast be changed once again into ^{its} a tragic picture of ^{the} air dominated by the Axis and ^{the land forces} ~~a~~ ^{the} ~~fields~~ ^{controlled} ~~dominated~~ by enemy tanks and ^{the} ~~a~~ ^{made partially impervious} ~~sea routes~~ by enemy submarines.

Our great production program, ^{only} started two years ago. With the magnificent contribution made by American industry and American Labor, it may well be said to be approaching full production. Britain has already attained full production, ^{Today,} ~~and~~ ^{Great Britain and the United States are} ~~the combination of Britain and ourselves in~~ turning out so much more of everything that if we keep ^{needed in war} ~~this~~ up and ^{it} ~~do~~ not ^{will} ~~for one moment~~ slacken our efforts, ^{our} ~~the~~ superiority over Germany, ^{will} ~~grow~~ ^{a little} ~~with~~ every succeeding month.

The same policy of attrition is succeeding equally well in the Pacific Ocean. Japan made the primary mistake in the first flush of victory in the months that followed Pearl Harbor ^{by} ~~a~~ extending her military and naval lines too far. When our task forces and submarines went to work on the Japanese lines of communication, ^{they} ~~we~~ began to destroy ~~their~~ shipping faster ^{the Japs} ~~than they~~ could rebuild. That whittling down process has been

②
SECOND DRAFT

- 7 -

going on ever since. The result is ^{that} Japan has been hard put to it to maintain ^{her} far-flung lines. For example, it was because Japan could not maintain ^{a steady stream of} adequate supplies and reinforcements to Kiska, that the Japanese garrison ~~was~~ ^{had to be} withdrawn in the face of ^{the} ~~an~~ oncoming force from our Western Coast.

It was because of the sacrifices of our armed forces and the ability of our people to produce on the home front that once again the flag of the Rising Sun has been trampled to the ground and the Stars and Stripes are flying on the barren rocks of the Island of Kiska.

These things do not just happen. They are the results of the careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while some of our orators were so perturbed that they had reached the verge of tears at what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them to realize that the carefully planned and successful actions of Midway or in the Coral Sea or in the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians relatively unimportant.

However, there are no longer any Japanese left in the Aleutians Islands and the airfields they built

there now become available for further operations by us in a Westerly direction.

The whittling away process hit the Japs hard in the Aleutian Islands. Their material losses were far greater than ours. And the same policy has extended throughout the Pacific. In the past year and a half we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships -- merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are all in our favor -- for we are manufacturing far more than they can manufacture. It might even be called a simple mathematical progression.

In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so much island territory that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact, it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat on our part against the Japanese in the Seas that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.

N.J.
American and Australian troops in a magnificent campaign have whittled away far more Japanese strength than all of our losses combined. Finally, after a long period

of defensive strategy in Burma, we are taking the ~~defensive~~^{off} and I am glad to say we are getting more supplies and military help to China. Almost every day word comes that a new air battle has destroyed two and three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. That process will continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself.

That presents to my mind problems that every American should realize -- problems of getting the things of war which we make, from our shores to the actual fighting theatre itself. Burma and China cannot be reached except with extraordinary difficulty. Two years ago, most of the planes we sent had to be knocked down, crated, put on board ship, uncrated and put together in India and sent up to the fighting front. In the case of China they had to be sent over enormous mountains. Once delivered there the planes had to be supplied with ground crews, tools, oil, gasoline and even spare parts. Since the Japs cut the Burma Road, all these things have to be flown over hundreds of miles to bases in China which had to be built.

The same slow process was ~~in~~ also the rule in the Southwest Pacific.

With the increased range of airplanes, we are now sending more of them under our own power than before, but everything that goes to supply them -- the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts -- had to be taken by ship to the fighting front all over the Pacific. Practically every soldier had to go by ship. All his equipment had to go by ship. Huge weapons had to go by ship. And every time a new forward move developed the whole outfit had to go by ship.

I wonder how many people realize what carrying on one war across the Pacific and through the Indian Ocean and another war across the Atlantic and the Mediterranean means, especially when our lines of supply face lurking submarines at many points and dive bombers.

✓ The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest military movement over the longest number of miles and ending with landings under fire that history records anywhere.

The operation against Sicily, a part of which

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loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable

safe wharf. Most of the ships have to be what is called "combat loaded" -- loaded in such a way that the troops going ashore first are immediately followed by guns and ammunition, tanks and ^{Tanks} food, medical equipment and all the supplies of a modern army -- all under enemy fire, and, generally, on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen or planned this kind of operation over long distances or short distances do not speak glibly about landing great expeditions on a few day's notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

The havoc which Germany started in bombing defenseless nations has at last come back to roost upon the roof tops of the German people themselves. Almost day by day, ~~and~~ ^{and} almost night by night, the American and British Air Forces have been over the cities of Germany and her satellite nations and her ^{war} factories in the occupied countries dropping destruction from the sky. ^{and} The difference between the German air attack and our ^{own} air attack, however, is that the Germans wasted their air power when they had it by ruthless bombing of objectives which had no material significance. Our own bombing of Germany is directed at her war industry, her transportation, her submarine and shipping bases and her shipyards. We know that this continued bombing is having a direct effect upon the German armies actually in the field, because it is destroying or damaging the buildings and tools which make fighting equipment and submarines and ships, ^{and} because it is destroying the means of transporting materials of war to the armies in the field. ^P We have definite information that the Germans are already feeling the pinch of decreased production which has been caused by the fleets of ^F fortresses, ^S submarines etc. which leave their bases ~~in~~ ^{at} the British Isles in North Africa and which will soon be carrying on from the mainland of Europe itself. ^P The Members of the Congress have undoubtedly had an opportunity to see at first-hand some of our war factories and plants and shipyards throughout the United

States which are now working at full-blast turning out the greatest amount of war production in the history of the world. Since the Congress took its recess from which it has now reconvened, I can give you some statistics without revealing information to the enemy.

For instance - (here give some figures).

There are a great many other items of manufacture of many kinds of instruments which it would be unwise at present to divulge.

Even as the actual fighting engagements in which our troops take part increase in number, it is becoming more and more evident that this is ^{essentially} a great war of production. The outstanding reason for our comparatively light casualty list has been the fact that our troops have had the best equipment possible and plenty of it.

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. When we consider how far the Axis had gone in their march of conquest of the world by that time, I think we can all agree ^{that} almost a miracle has been performed in stopping them in their path of conquest and turning them back into their walls of defense.

I have given you the brighter side of the war picture as I see it to day. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are ^{still} a long long way from ultimate victory in any major theatre of the war.

While one of the Axis partners has formally signed an armistice and dropped out of the war, we must still fight ^{Germany} ~~the strongest~~ ~~of her former partners~~ ^{the} ^{Italy.} on her very soil. Over a period of a year the Nazis have gradually taken physical control of Italy, looted her resources for her own selfish benefit, and entrenched herself on the soil of Italy ^{and} ^{and} determined to make Italy a battle ground ^{and} ^{and} to forestall the inevitable day when ~~the soil~~ Germany itself would be the scene of battle. The Germans will have to be beaten ~~back~~ out ^{by our armies} of Italy ^A before we can really say that Italy itself has been conquered.

stet / The Russian Armies which have done the most brilliant, destructive, and ~~the most~~ determined and desperate fighting are still fighting on Russian soil. ~~For more than two years now they have~~ withstood the greatest military forces ever concentrated in one operation. Their bravery and fighting ability will be hailed for all time to come and I know that they will eventually drive the invader out of their country. But the major part of that task still ^{too} ^A remains ahead.

Japan still holds most of her conquered lands and all ^{these} ^A bases which ~~she~~ she has strongly fortified over a period of a score of years illegally and in violation of the mandate which was given to her. If we ever attempt to take back this land, island by island, it would

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It goes almost without saying that when Japan surrenders the United Nations will never again let her have authority over the islands which were mandated to her by the League of Nations. Japan obviously is not to be trusted. And the same thing holds good, I think, in the case of the vast territories which Japan has stolen from China starting long before this war began.

be a task which would take too long and which would cost too much in American lives and material. The objective is still to strike directly at the islands of Japan itself. That is going to be a tough job but it will be done. ^P Japan still holds a large part of China. She must be driven from the mainland and with all of the difficulties which I have described in getting fighting equipment into China, that is going to be a long and difficult undertaking.

^P We can never lose sight of the fact that ~~everything that~~ all the implements of war which we use have to be shipped either across the Atlantic Ocean or the Pacific Ocean. That reinforcements of men and supplies and tools and equipments of all kinds have to be sent over distances that require careful months of planning and almost limitless supplies of vessels. Fortunately the great rate of shipping destruction by submarines which prevailed when this Congress ^{met} ~~adjourned~~ last ^{January} has been materially reduced. In fact during the last two months it has fallen to a minimum. But we can never be sure as to just when that menace will return either in its old form or ^{under} some improved ^{operation} ~~to~~ to make our job more difficult and longer than it looks even now. ^P The Congress has reconvened at a time when we are in the midst of the Third War Loan Drive seeking to raise a sum unparalleled in history -- fifteen billion dollars. That is a dramatic

example of the scale on which this war still has to be fought and presents some idea of how difficult and costly the responsible leaders and Chiefs of Staff of this government believe the war will be.

Nothing we can do will be more costly in lives than to adopt the attitude that the war has been won. Because that would mean a let-down in the great tempo of production which we have reached and would mean that our men who are now fighting all over the world will not have that overwhelming superiority of fighting power which has dealt so much death and destruction to the enemy and at the same time has saved so many American lives.

That is why ~~because~~ I have always maintained that there is no separate entity known as the home front. Every day lost in turning out an airplane or a ship will have its direct effect upon the men ^{at home} ~~now~~ ^{cranking} ^{the key} ^{stalking} ~~now~~ ^{up} ~~the~~ ^{of} Italy or ~~stopping~~ the Japs in the jungles of the Southwest Pacific. There have been many complaints about the way this whole subject of production and the other activities here at home have been carried on. Many of these complaints are justified. On the other hand many of them come from selfish people who do not like to give up their pleasure driving or a part of their

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butter or meat or milk.

Fair-minded citizens however I think will realize that although mistakes have been made, a great job has been done in converting peace-time America to a war-time basis.

etc

NOTE:-

The notations in red ink are
those of Hon. Winston S. Churchill.

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

THIRD DRAFT

During the two month's recess of the Congress,
many important events have occurred at the war fronts and at
home. ~~I know that all Americans are glad to see you back~~
you return
~~again, meeting~~ at a time when the tides of conflict are
definitely and consistently running our way.

~~was~~ *fresh* in our minds are the happenings in
Sicily and Italy. On the tenth of July a carefully prepared
expedition landed in Sicily. In spite of heavy German opposi-
tion it cleared this large, ^{and heavily fortified} island in ~~some weeks~~ *30 days, or*
thirty - eight days.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed,
wounded and missing were approximately _____ of which the Ameri-
can forces lost _____. The losses among the Italians and
Germans have been estimated at _____ dead, wounded and
prisoners.

The joyous welcome given to the Allied troops
by the population proved conclusively that even in a country
which had lived for a generation under a complete dictatorship, - *with*
all its propaganda, censorship, and limitation of free speech and discussion -
the people themselves welcomed the day of release from an
intolerable yoke.

(A)

I believe that equal ^{participation &} ~~participation~~
enthusiasm ~~is shown~~ ^{by the}
people of the other nations ^{now} under
the German heel when native
Germans and Nazi ~~leaders~~ ^{leaders} are
removed through force or flight

~~Nazi~~ will be

will

will

will

It also proved conclusively that this war was not waged by the people of Italy on their own choice.

A How different was this invading army of the Allied ^{from} the invading hordes of German armies that had occupied Sicily a year before under the guise of protecting it! Food, clothing, cattle, medicines and household goods ^{systematically} had been ^{from} stolen from the people of ^{Sicily} Italy, and sent ^{North} back to the "master race" in Germany. Sicily, like other parts of Italy and like the other satellite and conquered nations, had been bled white by the Nazi and Fascist governments.

Growers of crops were permitted to retain only a small fraction ^{own produce for themselves and their families.} of their ^{seeds} seeds. With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned organization, trained and equipped to give

physical care to the local population -- e food, clothing, ^{This new organization is also now in the process of restoring to the people of Sicily} medicine, ^{and} and also to restore certain freedoms which, for many years, had been denied to them. Within a year, Sicily, to all intents and purposes, will be self-supporting -- and, in addition to that, ^{once more} self-respecting.

From Sicily the onward sweep of the allied armies has continued into the mainland. On the third day of September they landed on the ^{beach} coast of the Italian peninsula. These were the first allied troops to land on the continent of

Europe to liberate the conquered and oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the answer to the prayer of the millions of liberty-loving human beings not only in these conquered lands but all over the world.

A little over a month ago - even before we had completely occupied Sicily -- political events in Italy startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, the man who is more responsible for all of the sorrows of Italy than anyone except Hitler himself, was forced out ^{of office and stripped of his power as a result of} by his own dismal failure and by the overwhelming demand of the Italian people, ~~and even the king dismissed~~. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to be followed, we are determined, by other and similar encouraging ^{downfalls} ~~disappearances~~.

Not long after his abdication, the relentless bombing of Italian cities by the Allied Air Forces convinced the leaders of Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun by ~~us with the~~ ^{them with} ~~Italian leaders~~ ^{U.S.}. They were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Much as I would have liked to inform the Congress, and the members of the press, and ^{also} those who repeatedly expressed dismay

or indignation at our course in Italy, I could not. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only to the Axis but to the Italian people themselves. ^(B) ~~As a result of these conversations,~~ ^{A. Finally} announcement was made on September eighth that an armistice had been arranged on September third. ~~The reason for the delay in the public announcement.~~ [?] Simultaneously Italian leaders appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us. ~~[scribble]~~

As you know, the Italian Army has already come over our side.

Events are moving very fast. The Allies are

confident that the Italian people will once again regain the ^{good will} ~~and with~~ support of the democratic nations of the world by helping to drive the Germans from their soil and from many parts of the Balkan peninsula now occupied by Nazi troops.

The noose around the throat of Germany is being tightened -- and in time ~~it~~ ^{has} will choke. It is our aim soon to come within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany, and bring devastating war home to these places as it has already been brought to Western Germany.

~~XX~~

^{military}
We know the effectiveness of the bombing of ^{and Cologne} the Ruhr, and Hamburg, and Berlin, ~~and Munster~~ and other places and that German munition production has

INSERT B

I hope that the Congress realizes that there have been other similar situations, and that there will be more to come, where I cannot immediately announce either to them or to the American people events which are taking place or military plans which are being made. I ask the Congress to bear with me and with our joint Chiefs of Staff. I assure you that it is difficult to remain silent when unjustified attack and criticism come from those who are not in a position to have all the facts. The course of events in Italy shows the efficacy of surprise moves, secretly planned, and carefully executed -- without advance public discussion and debate.

as a result of it. We will get further curtailment
by bringing every city in Germany and all the ^{German} war plants in
nearby occupied countries within easy range of our night

bombers and day bombers — and to try to destroy every important war
factory, shipyard, and transportation facility, which helps the Nazis wage war.

And we must remember that in any great air
attack the British and ^{Americans} ourselves lose a fairly high

proportion of planes and that these losses must be made up ^{for a day} quickly
so that the weight of the bombing shall not decrease in the
future. ^{In fact a high rate of increase must be maintained according to plan}
~~Actually it ought to increase~~ — and I believe it

^{can be} ~~will~~ if we can keep up and speed up our daily completion of
fighting aircraft of all kinds.

We have reliable information that there is also
definite unrest and a growing desire for peace ^{among the people} in most parts
of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Greece, ^{as} in Bulgaria and Rumania.

We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt which
commenced in Italy will spread ^{swiftly} — and with the same result as in Italy,
with great rapidity.

Every American is aware of the smashing blows
^{the Nazis} delivered against them by the Russian Armies. This Summer
^{counter-attack} there has been no German push far back into the Russian lines, as in
1941 and 1942.
The shoe today is on the other foot — and is pinching very
hard.

The recapture ^{by the Russians} of Rostov and Stalingrad, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing of millions of acres and "inhabited places" hearten the whole world as the ^{Russian} campaign moves toward the elimination of every German from Russian soil -- as it moves toward the invasion of Germany itself. ^{It is certain that} ~~We like to think that~~ the campaign in North Africa, the occupation of Sicily, the fighting in Italy and the freezing of large numbers of German planes on the coasts of Holland, Belgium and France ^{by reason of our air attacks} ~~have given some help to the Russian~~ ^{armies} ~~in their great push~~ ^{advancing fast} ~~from Leningrad to the Black Sea.~~

We ^{know} hope, too, that we are contributing to that ^{advance} ~~push~~ by the making Germany keep many divisions in the Balkans, in Southern France and along the English Channel. I like to think that these words constitute an under statement.

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous military and naval policy of attrition. That means, cold-bloodedly, placing the greater resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the lesser resources of the Axis. It means the training and use of the Allied manpower -- which is greater than the Axis. It means the use of our superior

facilities and ability ^{to make} ~~in making~~ more munitions ^{2 above all aircraft} more quickly than our enemies can do.

For example, the Allies today on the European Front have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war ^{more planes} [planes] on any and every point of the encircling line -- more guns, more tanks, ^{more planes} more trucks, more transports, more supply ships and more warships.

However, unless we keep up and increase the tempo of our present rate of production, this superiority of planes and ~~weapons~~ guns, tanks and ships ^{might all be lost.} ~~can quickly be changed once~~ again into the tragic picture of the air dominated by the Axis and the battlefields controlled by enemy tanks and the seas made partially impassable by enemy submarines.]

Our great production program ^{after the} ~~only~~ started ~~two years~~ ^{ago} ~~ago~~ ^{fall of France in 1940.}

With the magnificent contribution made by American industry and American ~~labor~~ ^{together,} it ~~may~~ well be said to be ^{now} approaching full production. Britain has already attained full production. Today, Great Britain and the United States ⁱⁿ are turning out so much more of everything needed in war that if we keep it up and do not slacken our efforts, our superiority over Germany will grow with every succeeding month.

The same policy of attrition is succeeding equally well in the Pacific Ocean. Japan made the primary mistake in the first flush of victory in the months that followed Pearl Harbor by extending her military and naval lines too far. When our task forces and submarines went to work on the Japanese lines of communication, they began to destroy shipping faster than the Japs could rebuild. That whittling down process has been going on ever since. The result is that Japan has been hard put to it to maintain her ~~sea-lanes~~ ^{at} ~~disturbed~~ lines. For example, it was because Japan could not maintain a steady stream of adequate supplies and reinforcements to Kiska, that the Japanese garrison had to be withdrawn in the face of the oncoming ^{American-Canadian} force from our Western Coast.

It was because of the sacrifices of our armed forces and the ability of our people to produce on the home front that the flag of the Rising Sun has been trampled once again to the ground and the Stars and Stripes are flying on the barren rocks of the Island of Kiska.

These things do not just happen. They are the results of the careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while some of our orators were so perturbed that they

had reached the verge of tears at what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them to realize that the carefully planned and successful actions of Midway or in the Coral Sea or in the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians relatively unimportant.

However, there are no longer any Japanese left in the Aleutian Islands and the airfields they built there now become available for further operations by us in a westerly direction.

The whittling away process hit the Japs hard in the Aleutian Islands. Their material losses were far greater than ours. And the same policy has extended throughout the Pacific. In the past year and a half we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships -- merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are ^{all} ~~still~~ in our favor -- for we ~~are manufacturing~~ ^{grow in strength and they cannot} ~~more than they can~~ ^{replace all their losses.} ~~manufacture~~ It might ~~even~~ be called a simple mathematical progression.

In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so much island territory that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact, it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat on our part against the Japanese in the Seas that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.

(and New Zealand &)
American and Australian troops in a magnificent campaign have whittled away far more Japanese strength than all of our losses combined. ~~Finally~~, After a long period of defensive strategy in Burma, we are ^{finally} taking the offensive ^{there} and I am glad to ^{report to you that} we are getting more supplies and military help to China. Almost every day word comes that a new air battle has destroyed two and three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. That process will continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself.

These distant theatres of war
[That] presents to [my] mind problems that every American should realize -- problems of ^{transporting} ~~getting~~ the things of war which we make, from our shores to the actual fighting [theatre] *areas* itself. Burma and China cannot be reached ^{only} [except] with extraordinary difficulty. Two years ago, most of the planes we sent

THIRD DRAFT

- 11 -

had to be knocked down, crated, put on board ship, ^{transported, then} uncrated and put together ^{again} in India, and ^{from there} sent up to the fighting front. In the case of China they had to be ^{flown} ~~sent~~ over enormous mountains. ^{Even after} ~~Once~~ ^{they were safely} delivered there, the planes had to be ^{kept} supplied with ground crews, tools, oil, gasoline and even spare parts. Since the Japs cut the Burma Road, all these things ^{had} to be flown over hundreds of miles to bases in China which had to be built.

The same slow process was also the rule in the Southwest Pacific.

With the ^{present} increased range of airplanes, we are now ^{flying} ~~getting~~ more of them under ^{their} ~~our~~ own power than before, but everything that goes to supply them -- the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts -- ^{still have} ~~had~~ to be taken by ship to the fighting front ^{all} over the Pacific. Practically every soldier ^{has} ~~had~~ to go by ship. All his equipment ^{has} ~~had~~ to go by ship. Huge weapons ^{and have} ~~had~~ to go by ship. And every time a new forward move ^{has} ~~developed~~ the whole outfit ^{has} ~~had~~ to go by ship.

I wonder how many people realize what ^{it means to} ~~carry~~ ^{ing} on one war across the Pacific and through the Indian Ocean, and another war across the Atlantic and the Mediterranean ^{means,} especially when our lines of supply face lurking submarines ~~at~~ ^{at many points.} ~~many points~~ and dive bombers ~~at many points.~~

The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest military movement over the longest number of miles (and ending with ^{to} landings under fire that history ^{had} records ^{at} anywhere.

The operation against Sicily, a part of which started directly ^{from} Britain and ^{from} the United States, was at least equal. The ships in this kind of movement are not loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable safe wharf. Most of the ships ^{must} be, what is called, "combat loaded" -- loaded in such a way that the troops going ashore first are immediately followed by guns and ammunition, tanks, trucks and food, medical equipment and all the supplies of a modern army, -- ^{in the proper order,} ~~and~~ under enemy fire, and, generally, on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen or planned this kind of operation over long distances or short distances do not speak glibly about landing great expeditions on a few day's notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

The havoc which Germany started in bombing defenseless nations has at last come back to roost upon the

roof tops of the German people themselves. Almost day by day, almost night by night, the American and British Air Forces have been over the cities of Germany and her satellite nations and over her war factories in the occupied countries dropping destruction from the sky.

The difference between the German air attack and our own air attack, however, is that the Germans wasted their air power when they had it by ruthless bombing of objectives which had no material significance. Our own bombing of Germany is directed at her war industry, her transportation, her submarine and shipping bases and her shipyards. We know that this continued bombing is having a direct effect upon the German Armies actually in the field; because it is destroying or damaging the buildings and tools which make fighting equipment and submarines and ships; and because it is destroying the means of transporting materials of war to the armies in the field.

The Members of the Congress have undoubtedly had an opportunity to see at first-hand some of our war factories and plants and shipyards throughout the United States which

are now working at full-blast turning out the greatest amount of war production in the history of the world. Since the Congress took ~~the~~ ^{the} recess from which it has now reconvened, I can give you some statistics without revealing information to the enemy.

For instance - (here give some figures).

There are a great many other items of manufacture of many kinds of instruments which it would be unwise at present to divulge.

Even as the actual fighting engagements in which our troops take part increase in number, it is becoming more and more evident that this is essentially a great ^{war} ~~war~~ of production. The outstanding reason for our comparatively light casualty list has been the fact that our troops have had the best equipment possible and plenty of it.

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. When we consider how far the Axis had gone in their march of conquest of the world by that time, I think we can all agree that almost a miracle has been ~~performed~~ ^{brought} in stopping them in their path of conquest and turning them back into their walls of defense.

I have given you the brighter side of the war picture as I see it today. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are still a long long way from ultimate victory in any major theatre of the war.

While one of the Axis partners has formally signed an armistice and dropped out of the war, we must still fight Germany on the very soil of Italy. Over a period of a year the Nazis have gradually taken physical control of Italy, looted her resources for ^{their} ~~her~~ own selfish benefit, and entrenched herself on the soil of Italy -- determined to make Italy a battle ground and ^{run off} ~~foretell~~ the inevitable day when Germany itself would be the scene of battle. The Germans will have to be beaten out of Italy by our armies before we can really say that Italy itself has been conquered.

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land, island by island, it would be a task which would take too long and which would cost too much in American lives and material. The objective is still to strike directly at the ~~islands~~ ^{home lands} of Japan itself. That is going to be a tough job but it will be done.

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Japan still holds a large part of China. She must be driven from the mainland and with all of the difficulties which I have described in getting fighting equipment into China, that is going to be a long and difficult undertaking.

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of all kinds have to be sent over distances that require careful months of planning and almost limitless supplies of vessels. Fortunately the great rate of shipping destruction by submarines which prevailed when this Congress met last January has been materially reduced. In fact during the last two months it has fallen to a minimum. But we can never be sure as to just when that menace will return either in its old form or under some improved operation to make our job more difficult and longer than it looks even now.

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to adopt the attitude that the war has been won. ~~Because~~ That
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superiority of fighting power which has dealt so much death and destruction to the enemy and at the same time has saved so many American lives.

That is why I have always maintained that there is no separate entity as the "home front". Every day lost in turning out an airplane or a ship at home will have its direct effect upon the men now ^{but they} crawling up the leg of Italy or stalking the Japs in the jungles of the Southwest Pacific.

There have been many complaints about the way this whole subject of production and the other activities here at home have been carried on. Many of these complaints are justified. On the other hand many of them come from selfish people who ^{merely} do not like to give up their pleasure driving or a part of their butter or meat or milk.

Fair-minded citizens, however, I think will realize that although mistakes have been made, a great job has been done in converting peace-time America to a war-time basis.



It would be nothing short of a miracle if this unprecedented job of transforming a peace-loving, unprepared industrial America into a fighting and war production machine were done without mistakes, ~~and justifiable complaint.~~ ^{or complaints.}

The Congress, on the whole, is well aware of the magnitude of the undertaking, and of the many ~~hard-splashing~~ ^{hard-splashing} problems involved.

Since January, 1941, when we really began to get into things, we have spent billions of dollars on war; ~~that~~ ^{and} we have turned out over _____ airplanes, _____ tanks, _____ fighting ships, to say nothing of ammunition and trucks and guns and clothing and equipment, ^{and food for our armed forces and for our allies.} Anyone who has had to build a single factory, tool it up, get the necessary help, ~~and~~ ^{produce and ship the product} set up an assembly line, ^{will} have some idea of what that amount of production has meant.

D We have had to raise and equip the army which now amounts to seven million men, a naval force now equal to two million men, an air corps now totalling _____ million men. ^{In spite of} ~~such~~ this drain on our best manpower resources, we had to find the men and women to man our war factories, arsenals, navy yards, civilian industries and farms.

We have had to raise and equip armed forces of ten million men, ^{in spite of this drain on our manpower,} and ^{simultaneously} we have had to find millions more men and millions of women to keep going war factories and arsenals, and navy yards and essential civilian industries, ~~and, last but not least,~~ — and the farms of America.

There have been the problems of greatly increasing the output of our natural resources — not only for our own Army and Navy and for our civilians at home, but also for our Allies and our own forces all over the world: oil, coal, metals, chemicals.

There were the problems of raising and distributing more food than ever before in our history — for our armed services, for our own people, and to help feed our Allies, especially ~~those~~ those in Britain (England?) who only have enough land to raise 50% of the needs of their populations and their armies.

^{There was} The difficult problem of ^{having} ~~feeding~~ all American citizens alike ^{treated} in the rationing of the necessities of life. There was the difficulty of keeping prices from skyrocketing ~~and~~ ^{and} the difficulty in fighting off the serious spectre of inflation.

There were new problems of communications, of censorship, of ~~war~~ information. There was the problem of transporting millions of men and billions of tons ^{of weapons and supplies} all over our own country and also to all corners of the world.

There were the ~~new~~ problems involved in our vast purchases in foreign countries; in our ^{control} ~~subsidizing~~ of foreign funds; in our custody of alien property; in our occupation of liberated areas.

There was the problem of maintaining proper management-labor relations; of fair treatment and just compensation to our millions of war workers; of preventing the exploitation of workers on natural resources by those who would seek to become war profiteers and war millionaires.

of avoiding strikes;

located in this country,

There was the task of providing housing for millions of new war workers all over the country.

And touching all of these, there was the great problem of raising the money to pay for all of ~~them~~ ^{them}.

No sincere sensible person doubts that in such an unprecedented, breathtaking enterprise errors of honest judgment ^{and} creep in and ^{that} occasional disputes among conscientious officials ^{will} occur.

But even sincere, sensible people sometimes fail to compare the handful of errors or disputes on the one hand, with the ^{enormous} ~~brink~~ of instances where the ^{tasks and} the agencies of government ^{work} ~~have~~ cooperation with each other ^{as a smoothly working machine} ~~have~~ more like a smoothly working machine.

The batting average and the fielding average ^{of our government are} ~~is~~ higher than that of any baseball team in ~~the country's~~ ^{history}.

The ~~overwhelmingly large part of the~~ day-by-day, month-by-month, routine operation of this vast machinery of war proceeds with the utmost efficiency.

The American people as a whole are fair-minded. They know that there is no so-called "news" when things run right. They know, for example, that ^{a few} newspapers and columnists and radio commentators can make controversy create news ^{and a few of them provide the type of controversy} which is eagerly sought by Axis propagandists in their evil work.

We have learned to distinguish between the sensational and the factual. Our common sense tells us that we never could have produced and shipped as much as we have ^{if} conditions in Washington and throughout the nation were anything like what some people try to paint them.

P We know that in any large private industrial plant doing a thousandth part of what their government in Washington is doing, there are more mistakes and more arguments than exist in their Nation's Capital.

that we would not be in the position we now occupy in the Mediterranean, in Italy, in the North Atlantic or in the Southwest Pacific or on the North Atlantic Convoy routes or even in the air over Germany & France,

What I have said is not in any way an apology -- it is an assertion and a boast that the American people and their government are doing an amazingly good job in carrying out a vast program which one year and two years ago was said to be impossible of fulfillment. Luckily the American people ^{have} ~~has~~ a sense of proportion.

As the war grows tougher and as new problems constantly arise in our domestic economy changes in methods and changes in legislation ^{may} become necessary.

In the next few months, I shall communicate to the Congress ^{certain} recommendations for actions which I deem necessary in connection with the more efficient use of our manpower and the greater production and distribution of food.

We should also begin to make plans for an orderly demobilization of war industries and war workers with a minimum of unemployment and dislocation of our economy.

Particularly we should move for the greater economic protection of our returning men and women in the armed forces -- and for greater educational opportunities for them. And for all our citizens we should provide a further measure of social security in order to protect them against certain continuing hazards of life.

All these things should be studied now and much of the necessary legislation should be enacted. I do not mean that this statement should be regarded in any way as an intimation that we are approaching the end of the war. Such thinking is based neither on fact nor on reason. But when the war ends, we do not want to be caught again with ^{no} ~~no~~ ^{at the end of the} ~~at the end of the~~ ^{planning and enactment of} ~~planning and enactment of~~ legislation, such as has occurred ^{in the past.} ~~in the past.~~

On all these, and on other subjects, I expect to communicate with this Congress from time to time.

last news

23

~~the~~ In this crucial period in the history of our country and of the world, I seek cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government to furnish our ~~own~~ citizens with the security of the standard of living which their resources and their skills in management and labor entitle them.

Finally, as the war progresses, I seek a national cooperation with other nations toward the end that world aggression be ended ^{and} ~~that~~ ^{international relationships} ~~fair trade~~ be established ^{on a permanent basis.} The policy of the Good Neighbor has shown such success in the Hemisphere of the Americas that its extension to the whole world ~~is worth the seeking so we~~ can keep faith with our sons and daughters at home and abroad.

seems to be the logical next step.
In that way we can begin to

FOURTH DRAFT

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

major battles in Europe and in Asia are beginning to be joined. The main

During the two month's recess of the Congress many important events have occurred at the war fronts and at home. You return at a time when ~~the~~ tides of conflict are

definitely and consistently running our way — *but we cannot be content merely to drift with this favorable tide.*

Fresh in our minds are the happenings in

Sicily and Italy. On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily. In spite of heavy German opposition it cleared this large and heavily fortified island in thirty-eight days.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and missing were approximately _____ of which the American forces lost _____. The losses among the Italians and Germans have been estimated at _____ dead, wounded and prisoners.

The joyous welcome given to the Allied troops by the *Italian people has* ~~population~~ proved conclusively that even in a country which had lived for a generation under a complete dictatorship -- with all of its propaganda, censorship, and ^{suppression} ~~limitation~~ of free speech and discussion -- [the people themselves welcomed the day of release from an intolerable yoke.] *Their love of liberty was unambiguous.*

It also proved conclusively that this war was not waged by the people of Italy on their own choice.

I believe that equal jubilation and enthusiasm will be shown by the people of the other nations now under the German heel when native Quislings and Nazi Gauleiters are removed through force or flight.

How different was this invading army of the Allies from the [invading hordes of] German [armies] ^{forces} that had ^{come into} [occupied Sicily] ^{ostensibly to "protect it"} a year before under the guise of protecting it.] Food, clothing, cattle, medicines and household goods had been systematically stolen from the people of Sicily, and sent North to the "master race" in Germany. Sicily, like other parts of Italy and like the other satellite and conquered nations, had been bled white by the Nazi and Fascist governments. Growers of crops were permitted to retain only a small fraction of their own produce for themselves and their families.

With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned organization, trained and equipped to give physical care to the local population -- food, clothing,

medicine. This new organization is also now in the process of restoring to the people of Sicily certain freedoms which, for many years, had been denied to them. *I am confident that,* Within a year, Sicily, to all intents and purposes, ^{once more} will be self-supporting -- and, in addition to that, once more self-respecting.

From Sicily the ~~onward sweep~~ ^{advance} of the allied armies has continued into the mainland. On the third day of September they landed on the toe of the Italian peninsula. These were the first allied troops to land on the continent of Europe to liberate the conquered and oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the answer to the prayer of the millions of liberty-loving human beings not only in these conquered lands but all over the world.

A little over a month ago-- even before we had completely occupied Sicily -- political events in Italy startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, the man who is more responsible for all of the sorrows of Italy than anyone except ^{possibly} Hitler himself, was forced out of office and stripped of his power as a result of his own

Insert (A) p 4

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

For the people and the Congress can be sure that ~~the honor and the integrity of this Republic are being maintained~~ the policy which we follow is founded upon the basic democratic traditions and ideals of this nation. We shall not be able to claim ^{in this war} that we have gained total victory ^{if any vestige of fascism} in any of its malignant ~~forms anywhere in the world~~ forms is permitted to survive anywhere in the world.

dismal failures and by the overwhelming demand of the Italian people. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to be followed, we are determined, by other and similar encouraging downfalls.

Early last month, the relentless application of overwhelming Allied power -- particularly air and sea power -- convinced the leaders of Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun by them with us. They were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Much as I would have liked to inform the Congress, and the members of the press, and also those who repeatedly expressed dismay or indignation at our apparent course in Italy, I could not. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only to the Axis but to the Italian people themselves.

I am sure that the Congress realizes that there are many situations in this war -- and there will be many more to come -- in which it is impossible for me to make any announcement or even to give any indication of the policy which we are following. And I ask the American people as well as the Congress to bear with me and with our Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is difficult to remain silent when unjustified attack and criticism come from those who are not in a position to have all the facts.

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Not long after his abdication, the relentless bombing of Italian cities by the Allied Air Forces convinced the leaders of Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun by them with us. They were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Much as I would have liked to inform the Congress, and the members of the press, and also those who repeatedly expressed dismay or indignation at our course in Italy, I could not. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only to the Axis but to the Italian people themselves.

I hope that the Congress realizes that there have been other similar situations, and that there will be more to come, where I cannot immediately announce either to them or to the American people events which are taking place or military plans which are being made. I ask the Congress to bear with me and with our joint Chiefs of

The Armistice with Italy was signed on September third in Sicily, but it could not be put into effect until September eighth, when we were ready to make landings in force in the Naples area. We had planned these landings some time before and were determined to go through with them, armistice or no armistice.

Italian leaders appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us. Italian soldiers, though disorganized and ill-supplied, have been bravely fighting the Germans in many regions. As you know, the Italian fleet has come over to our side; and it will be a powerful weapon in striking at the Nazi enemies of the Italian people.

Insert A
[Events are moving very fast. The Allies are confident that the Italian people will once again regain the good-will of the democratic nations of the world by helping to drive the Germans from their soil and from many parts of the Balkan peninsula now occupied by Nazi troops.]

When Hitler was forced to the conclusion that his offensive was broken, and he must go on the defensive, he started boasting that he had converted Europe into an impregnable fortress. But he neglected to provide that fortress with a roof. He also left various other weak spots in the wall of that fortress -- which we shall point out to him in due time.

The British and American air forces have been bombing the roofless fortress with ever-increasing effectiveness. It is now our purpose to establish bases within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany, and to bring devastating war home to these places by day and by night as it has already been brought to Western Germany.

The Allied forces are now engaged in a very hard battle south of Naples. Casualties are heavy. The desperateness with which the Germans are fighting reveals that they are well aware of the consequences to them of our occupation of Italy.

We are not going to be stopped. We shall drive the Germans out of Italy.

The Congress and the American people can rest assured that the landing on Italy is not the only landing we have in mind. That landing was planned at Casablanca. At Quebec, the leaders and the military staffs of Great Britain and the United States made specific and precise plans to bring to bear farther blows of equal or greater importance against Germany and Japan -- with definite times and places for other landings on the Continent of Europe and elsewhere.

page 5A

When Britain was being subjected to ~~mass~~^{mass} bombing in 1940 and 1941 — when the British people including their King and Prime Minister, were proving that Britain "could take it" — the strategists of the Royal Air Force and of our own Army Air Force were not idle. They were studying the mistakes that Goering and his staff of Nazi terrorists were making. Those were fatal mistakes, as it turned out.

Today, we and the British are not making those mistakes. We are not bombing tenements ~~needlessly~~ for the sheer sadistic pleasure of killing, as the Nazis did. We are striking devastating blows at carefully selected, clearly identified strategic objectives. And we are hitting ~~them~~^{these military targets}, and blowing them to bits.

German power can still do us great injury. But that evil power is being destroyed, surely, inexorably, day by day, and if Hitler doesn't know it by now, then the last vestige of sanity has departed from that distorted mind.

- factories, shipyards, munition dumps, transportation facilities which make it possible for the Nazis to wage war.

Staff. I assure you that it is difficult to remain silent when unjustified attack and criticism come from those who are not in a position to have all the facts.

Finally announcement was made on September eighth that an armistice had been arranged on September third. Simultaneously Italian leaders appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us. As you know, the Italian Navy has already come over to our side.

Events are moving very fast. The Allies are confident that the Italian people will once again regain the good-will of the democratic nations of the world by helping to drive the Germans from their soil and from many parts of the Balkan peninsula now occupied by Nazi troops.

The noose around the throat of Germany is being tightened -- and in time will choke her. It is our aim soon to come within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany, and bring devastating war home to these places as it has already been brought to Western Germany.

[We know the military effectiveness of the bombing of the Ruhr, and Cologne, and Hamburg, and Berlin and other places and that German munition production has been seriously curtailed as a result of it. We are determined to get further curtailment by bringing every city in Germany and all the German war plants in nearby occupied countries within easy range of our night bombers and day bombers -- and to try to destroy every important war factory, shipyard, and transportation facility which ^{helps} ~~keeps~~ the Nazis wage war.]

We must remember that in any great air attack the British and Americans lose a fairly high proportion of planes and that these losses must be made up quickly so that the weight of the bombing shall not decrease for a day in the future. In fact

a high rate of increase must be maintained according to plan -- *and that means constant slipping-up of our production here at home.*
[and I believe it can be.]

We have reliable information that there is [also] definite unrest and a growing desire for peace among the people [in most parts] of Hungary, [Yugoslavia and Greece,] in Bulgaria, ^{Finland} and

Rumania. We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt *against Nazi dominance* which commenced in Italy will [spread swiftly -- and with the

same result as in Italy.] *burst into flame and become a consuming fire.*

Every American is ^{thrilled by} aware of the smashing blows delivered against the Nazis ^{aggressors} by the Russian Armies. This summer there has been no ^{successful} German counter-attack ^{advance against the Russians,} far back into the Russian lines, as in 1941 and 1942. The shoe today is on the other foot -- and is pinching very hard. ^{Instead, the Russians have forced the} greater military reversal since Napoleon's retreat in 1812. The recapture of ^{Kharkov} ~~Stalino~~ by the Russians, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing of millions of ^{valuable} acres and "inhabited places" hearten the whole world as the Russian campaign moves toward the elimination of every German from Russian soil -- as it moves toward the invasion of Germany itself. It is certain that the campaign in North Africa, the occupation of Sicily, the fighting in Italy and the ^{compelling} ~~striking~~ of large numbers of German planes ^{to go into} ~~in~~ combat in the skies over the ~~coasts~~ of Holland, Belgium and France by reason of our air attacks, have given important help to the Russian armies along their advancing front from Leningrad to the Black Sea. We know, too, that we are contributing to that advance by making Germany keep many divisions in the Balkans, in Southern France and along the English Channel. I like to think that these words constitute an under statement.

back England

~~SECRET~~ P. 7a

Similarly, the events in the Mediterranean have a direct bearing upon the war against Japan.

When the American and British expeditionary forces first landed in North Africa last November, some people believed that we were neglecting our obligations to prosecute the war vigorously in the Pacific. Such people make the mistake of trying to divide the war into several water-tight compartments -- the Western European front -- the Russian front -- the Burma front -- the New Guinea and Solomons front, and so forth -- as though all of these were separate and unrelated to each other. You even hear talk of the "air war" as opposed to the "land war" or the "sea war."

Actually, we cannot think of this as several wars. It is all one war, and it must be governed by one basic strategy.

The freeing of the Mediterranean, which we started last fall, will lead directly to the resumption of our complete control of the waters of the Eastern Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal. Thus, we shall be enabled to strike the Japanese on another of their highly vulnerable flanks.

~~(Amman)~~

As long as Italy remained in the war as our enemy -- as long as the Italian fleet remained in being as a threat -- a substantial part of British naval strength had to be kept locked up in the Mediterranean. Now that formidable strength is freed to proceed eastward to join in the ever-increasing attack upon the Japs.

There has been one serious gap in the lines of our globe-girdling sea-power. That is the gap between Northwest Australia and Ceylon. That gap can now be closed as a result of victory in the Mediterranean.

We face, in the Orient, a long and difficult fight. We must be prepared for heavy losses in winning that fight. The power of Japan will not collapse until it has been literally pounded into the dust. It would be the utmost folly for us to try to pretend otherwise.

Even so, if the future is tough for us, think what it is for General Tojo and his murderous gang. They may look to the North, to the South, to the East or to the West. They can see closing in on them, from all directions, the forces of retribution under the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, General Stilwell, Admiral Lord Mountbatten, General MacArthur, Admiral Halsey and Admiral Nimitz.

The forces operating against Japan in the various Pacific theatres are just as much interrelated and dependent on each other as are the forces operating against Germany in Europe.

For instance - not only do our victories in the Aleutians enable us to regain bases from which to conduct further operations in a south-westerly direction; they also complicate the Japanese problems in the Solomons and in Burma. ~~For the Japanese must dispose their~~
~~forces~~

With the new threats that we offer from the North Japan can not afford to devote as large a proportion of her forces to hold the lines in other areas.

Such actions as the taking of Kiska do not just happen. They are the results of

~~the~~ careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while some of our orators were so perturbed that they had reached the verge of tears at what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them ~~to realize that the carefully planned and successful actions of Midway~~ to realize that the carefully planned and successful actions of Midway or in the Coral Sea or in the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians relatively unimportant.

Japan has been hard put to it to maintain her distended lines. She had to withdraw her garrison from Kiska in the face of the oncoming American-Canadian forces because she could not maintain a steady stream of adequate reinforcements and supplies to the Aleutians.

7-d-

FOURTH DRAFT

- 12 -

In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so much island territory that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact, it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat on our part against the Japanese in the seas that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.

American and Australian (and New Zealand?) troops in a magnificent campaign have whittled away far more Japanese strength than all of our losses combined.

After a long period of defensive strategy in Burma, we are finally taking the offensive there. I am also glad to report to you that we are getting more supplies and military help to China. Almost every day word comes that a new air battle has destroyed two and three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. That process will continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself.

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous military and naval policy of attrition. That means, cold-bloodedly, placing the ^{even increasing} ~~greater~~ resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the ^{even decreasing} ~~lesser~~ resources of the Axis. It means the training and use of the Allied manpower -- which is greater than the Axis. It means the use of our superior

FOURTH DRAFT

facilities and ability to make more munitions and above all aircraft more quickly than our enemies can do.

For example, the Allies today on the European Front have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war on any and every point of the encircling line -- more guns, more tanks, more planes, more trucks, more transports, more supply ships and more warships.

A-p. 9. →

However, unless we keep up and increase the tempo of our present rate of production, this superiority of plans and guns, tanks and ships might all be lost.

Our great production program started ^{during the darkest days of} after the fall of France in 1940. With the magnificent contribution made by American industry and American labor, it is approaching full production.

Britain has already attained full production. Today, Great Britain and the United States, together, are turning out so much more of everything needed in war that ^{we have definite} if we keep it up and do not slacken our efforts, our ^{and Japan which is growing} superiority over Germany ^{till grow} with every succeeding

[month] minute. But we have no minutes to lose.

[The same policy of attrition is succeeding equally well in the Pacific Ocean. Japan made the primary mistake in the first flush of victory in the months that followed Pearl Harbor by extending her]

Insert ④ PG 9

~~REDACTED~~

~~REDACTED~~

~~The war of attrition that we have waged
The shattering and... hit the Japs... the
in the Pacific... the... process
Alaskan Islands. Their material losses were far greater than~~

~~ours, and the same policy has extended throughout the Pacific~~

7A

Pacific,

In the past year and a half we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships — merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are all in our favor — for we grow in strength and they cannot even replace all their losses. It might be called a simple mathematical progression.

military and naval lines too far. When our task forces and submarines went to work on the Japanese lines of communication, they began to destroy shipping faster than the Japs could rebuild. That whittling down process has been going on ever since. The result is that Japan has been hard put to it to maintain her distended lines. For example, it was because Japan could not maintain a ^{steady} ~~stagnant~~ stream of adequate supplies and reinforcements to Kiska, that the Japanese garrison had to be withdrawn in the face of the oncoming American-Canadian force from our Western Coast.

These things do not just happen. They are the results of the careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while some of our orators were so perturbed that they had reached the verge of tears at what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them ~~to realize that the carefully planned and successful actions of Midway~~ to realize that the carefully planned and successful actions of Midway or in the Coral Sea or in the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians relatively unimportant.

However, there are no longer any Japanese left in the Aleutian Islands and the airfields they built there now become available for further operations by us in a westerly direction.

The whittling away process hit the Japs hard in the Aleutian Islands. Their material losses were far greater than ours. And the same policy has extended throughout the Pacific. In the past year and a half we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships -- merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are all in our favor -- for we grow in strength and they cannot even replace all their losses. It might be called a simple mathematical progression.

FOURTH DRAFT

10-11-12

12

[In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so much island territory that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact, it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat on our part against the Japanese in the seas that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.

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Those distant theatres of war present to mind problems that every American should realize -- problems of transporting the things of war which we make, from our shores to the actual fighting areas itself. Burma and China can be reached only with extraordinary difficulty. Two years ago,

most of the planes we sent had to be knocked down, crated, put on board ship, transported, then uncrated and put together again in India, and from there sent up to the fighting front.

P In the case of China, they had to be flown over enormous mountains. Even after they were safely delivered there, the planes had to be kept supplied with ground crews, tools, oil, gasoline and even spare parts. Since the Japs cut the Burma Road, all these ^{supplies} ~~things~~ have to be flown over hundreds of miles to bases which had to be built in China.

The same slow process was also the rule in the Southwest Pacific.

With the present increased range of airplanes, we are now flying more of them under their own power than before, but everything that goes to supply them -- the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts -- still have to be taken by ship to the fighting fronts all over the ^{world.} ~~Pacific~~ Practically every soldier ^{and} ^{equipment} ^{has} to go by ship, ^{and} ^{his} ^{equipment} ^{has} to go by ship. ^{Huge weapons have to go by ship.} And every time a new forward move develops the whole outfit has to go by ship.

I wonder how many people realize what it means to carry on one war across the ^{Atlantic and the} Pacific and through the ^{Mediterranean and} Indian Ocean, [and another war across the Atlantic and the Mediterranean] [especially when our ^{along} lines of supply [face lurking ^{attached by} submarines and dive bombers at many points.

The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest military movement over the longest number of miles to landings under fire that history has recorded anywhere.

[The operation against Sicily, parts of which started directly from Britain and from the United States, was at least equal.] The ships in this ^{campaign - and in the Sicilian and Solomon and} kind of movement are not loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable safe wharf. Most of the ships must be [what is called] "combat loaded" [- loaded] in such a way that the troops going ashore and first are immediately followed ^{in the proper order} by guns and ammunition, tanks, trucks and food, medical equipment and all the supplies of a modern army. ^{Preparations must be made to conduct these landings} [in the proper order] under enemy fire, and, ~~generally~~ on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen or planned this kind of operation ^{even} over long distances or short distances do not speak glibly about landing great

After amphibious operations - can

expeditions on a few day's notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

[The havoc which Germany started in bombing defenseless nations has at last come back to roost upon the roof tops of the German people themselves. Almost day by day, almost night by night, the American and British Air Forces have been over the cities of Germany and her satellite nations and over her war factories in the occupied countries dropping destruction from the sky.]

The difference between the German air attack and our own air attack, however, is that the Germans wasted their air power when they had it by ruthless bombing of objectives which had no material significance. Our own bombing of Germany is directed at her war industry, her transportation, her submarine and shipping bases and her shipyards. We know that this continued bombing is having a direct effect upon the German Armies actually in the field; because it is destroying or damaging the buildings and tools which make fighting equipment and submarines and ships; and because it is destroying the means of transporting materials of war to the armies in the field.]

FOURTH DRAFT

- 16 -

The Members of the Congress have undoubtedly had
an opportunity to see at first-hand *in their own home districts* some of our war factories
and plants and shipyards throughout the United States which

are now working at full-blast turning out the greatest amount of war production in the history of the world. Since the Congress took the recess from which it has now reconvened, I can give you some statistics without revealing information to the enemy.

[For instance - (here give some figures).]

Insert A P. 17

[There are a great many other items of manufacture of many kinds of instruments which it would be unwise at present to divulge.]

Even as the actual fighting engagements in which our troops take part increase in number, it is becoming more and more evident that this is essentially a great war of production. *The best way to avoid* [The outstanding reason for our comparatively light *heavy* casualty list *is to provide* has been the fact that our troops *with* have had the best equipment possible and plenty of it.]

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. [When we consider how far the Axis had gone in their march of conquest of the world by that time, I think we can all agree that almost a miracle has been wrought in stopping them in their path of conquest and turning them back into their walls of defense.]

Insert B I have given you the brighter side of the war picture as I see it today. [But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are still a long long way from ultimate victory in any major theatre of the war.]

Insert (A) p. 17

Last June and July we were worried by a reduction in the rate of increase in production. Great as our production had been we could not afford to level off. We had to continue the ~~increase~~ ^{upward curve and not pause on any plateaus.}

I am happy to report that the increase was resumed in August. In this month of September it is even better.

For example during the two months of the recess of the Caymans our factories produced approximately fifteen thousand planes. Production of heavy bombers in August was almost three times greater than January.

During those same ~~two~~ ^{two} months ^{American} ~~ships~~ ^{clippers} put into commission three million two hundred thousand tons of ^{large} merchant ships — a total of 326 ships 281 ships, almost four ships a day.

3400,000 tons of merchant ~~and~~ transport

[While one of the Axis partners has formally signed an armistice and dropped out of the war, we must still fight Germany on the very soil of Italy. Over a period of a year the Nazis have gradually taken physical control of Italy, looted her resources for their own selfish benefit, and entrenched herself on the soil of Italy -- determined to make Italy a battle ground and put off the inevitable day when Germany itself would be the scene of battle. The Germans will have to be beaten out of Italy by our armies before we can really say that Italy itself has been conquered.

The Russian Armies which have done the most brilliant, destructive, and determined and desperate fighting are still fighting on Russian soil.

Japan still holds most of her conquered lands and all those bases which she has strongly fortified over a period of a score of years illegally and in violation of the mandate which was given to her. If we ever attempt to take back this land, island by island, it would be a task which would take too long and which would cost too much in American lives and material. The objective is still to strike directly at the homeland of Japan itself. That is going to be a tough job but it will be done.]

[It goes almost without saying that when Japan surrenders the United Nations will never again let her have authority over the islands which were mandated to her by the League of Nations. Japan obviously is not to be trusted. And the same thing holds good, I think, in the case of the vast territories which Japan has stolen from China starting long before this war began.

Japan still holds a large part of China. She must be driven from the mainland and with all of the difficulties which I have described in getting fighting equipment into China, that is going to be a long and difficult undertaking.

We can never lose sight of the fact that all the implements of war which we use still have to be shipped either across the Atlantic Ocean or the Pacific Ocean. That reinforcements of men and supplies and tools and equipment of all kinds have to be sent over distances that require careful months of planning and almost limitless supplies of vessels. Fortunately the great rate of shipping destruction by submarines which prevailed when this Congress met last January has been materially reduced. In fact during the last two months it has fallen to a minimum. But we can never be sure as to just when that menace will return either in its old form or under some improved operation, to make our job more

]

19 1/2

take advantage of

First. Despite our substantial victories in the Mediterranean, we face a hard and costly fight up through Italy to the Alps — and a major job of ~~organizing~~ organizing our positions before we can capitalize them.

Second. From bases in the British Isles we ~~must~~ ^{know that we have assembled the strength} be ~~able~~ to strike not just in one direction but in many directions — by land and sea and in the air ~~involving~~ ^{with} overwhelming forces and equipment. our

Third. Although ~~the~~ ^{allies} Russians have made a magnificent counter-offensive, and are driving our common enemies back day by day, ~~they will have~~ the Russian armies still have far to go before the last German has been driven from Russian soil.

Fourth. The Japanese hold firmly established positions on an enormous front from the Kureles through the mandated islands to the Solomons and through the Netherlands East Indies to Malaysia and Burma and China. To break through this defensive ring we must hit them and hit them hard not merely at one point but at many points, and we must keep ~~them~~ on hitting them until we have gained the bases from which we can cut ~~away~~ their internal supply lines and from which Japan itself can be bled into submission.

In all of history, there has never been a task as tremendous as that which we now face. We can do it — and we will do it — but we must ~~plan~~ plan and work and fight with every ounce of intelligence and energy and courage that we possess.

its old form or under some improved operation, to make our job more difficult and longer than it looks even now.

The Congress has reconvened at a time when we are in the midst of the Third War Loan Drive seeking to raise a sum unparalleled in history — fifteen billion dollars. This is a dramatic example of the scale on which this war still has to be fought, and presents some idea of how difficult and costly the responsible leaders [and Chiefs of Staff] of this government believe the war will be.

Nothing we can do will be more costly in lives than to adopt the attitude that the war has been won — or nearly won. That would mean a let-down in the great tempo of production which we have reached, and would mean that our men who are now fighting all over the world will not have that overwhelming superiority of fighting power which has dealt so much death and destruction to the enemy and at the same time has saved so many American lives.

That is why I have always maintained that there is no ^{such} separate entity as the "home front". Every day lost in turning out an airplane or a ship at home will have its direct effect upon the men now ^{fighting in the Southwest Pacific} battling up the leg of Italy or [stalking the Japs] in the jungles of the Southwest Pacific / or in the clouds over China.

There have been ^{from some sources} many complaints about the way this whole subject of production and ^{domestic} other activities here at home ^{Some} have been carried on. ^{of course} Many of these complaints are justified. On the other hand ^{some} many of them come from selfish people who merely do not like to give up their pleasure ~~driving~~ or a part of their butter or meat or milk.

Fair-minded citizens, however, I think will realize that although mistakes have been made, ^{the fact} a great job has been done

in converting peace-time America to a war-time basis / has been a great job and a successful one of which all our people have good reason to be proud.

It would be nothing short of a miracle if this unprecedented job of transforming a peace-loving, unprepared industrial America into a fighting and war production machine had been accomplished without some mistakes being made and some ~~were~~ done without mistakes or complaints. ^{people being given cause for complaint.}

The Congress, on the whole, is well aware of the magnitude of the undertaking, and of the many ^{gigantic} head-splitting problems involved. ^{For the Congress has been actively involved in helping to work out the solutions to these unprecedented problems.}

How A Carried

[Since January, 1941, when we really began to get into things, we have spent billions of dollars on war; and we have turned out over _____ airplanes, _____ tanks, _____ fighting ships, to say nothing of ammunition and trucks and guns and clothing and equipment and food for our armed forces and for our Allies. ^{Any} anyone who has had to build a single factory, took it up, got the necessary help, set up an assembly line, produce and ship the product will have some idea of what that amount of production has meant.

We have had to raise and equip armed forces of ten million men. Simultaneously, in spite of this drain on our manpower, we have had to find millions more men and women ^{millions more of} ^{operations} to ~~run~~ war factories ~~plants~~, ^{ships} and arsenals, ~~and~~ yards, ^{and mines} essential civilian industries -- and the farms of America.

Insert Ap. 22 ~~to~~ ①

A few facts will show ~~just~~
~~how unprecedented stupor~~ what an
enormous this war has been — and how we
are constantly increasing the tempo of our
production.

TEMPO

(A)

(2)

from May 1940 to date

The total amount spent on the war to date is \$123,123,000,000.

~~Of this amount, 77 percent represents expenditures for munitions and ~~ships~~. The balance represents soldiers' pay, laundry, etc.~~

~~for ~~the~~ ~~army~~ and ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~navy~~.~~

The bill is now running at the rate of \$250,000,000 per day.

(A)

(3)

delivered ^{May} Up to September 1, 1943, among the more important items produced and since the armament program started in 1940 are the following:

Airplanes	123,000
Total weight of air transport	360,000 tons
(excluding engines & propellers)	
Airplane engines	144,000
Tanks	53,000
Artillery weapons	93,000
Small arms (rifles, carbines, machine guns, etc.)	9,500,000
Small arms ammunition	25,942,000,000 rounds
Trucks	1,233,000

In most instances more than half of the ^{above} total delivered to date was produced during the first ^{five} months of 1943:

Airplanes	52,000
Weight	190,000 tons
Tanks	23,000
Artillery weapons	40,600
Small arms (rifles, carbines, machine guns, etc.)	4,638,000
Small arms ammunition	13,339,000,000 rounds

(A4)

NAVY CONSTRUCTION

4. In the two and a half years between January 1, 1941 and July 1, 1943, the power plants built for Navy vessels had a horsepower equal to all the horsepower of all hydroelectric plants in the United States in January 1941.

3. The completions of Navy ships during the last six months was equal to completions in the entire year of 1942.

4. We have cut down the time required to build submarines by almost 50 percent.

5. The anti-aircraft and double purpose guns produced by the Navy since the defense program started ^{in May 1940,} if fired altogether, would throw 4,600 tons of projectiles per minute against the enemy.

6. The output of under-water ordnance (torpedoes, mines and depth charges) during the first half of 1943, was equal to the total production of 1942.

7. During the month of August, ^{1943,} we produced almost as many torpedoes as during all of World War I.

The number of fighting ^{and auxiliary} ships of all kinds ^{forwarded built} completed since May 1940 is 15,576 2,380 and 13,000 landing vessels.

There have been the problems of increasing greatly the output of our natural resources -- not only for our own Army and Navy and for our civilians at home, but also for our Allies and our own forces all over the world: oil, coal, ^{water power,} metals, chemicals. *(get figures showing increase)*

There were the problems of raising and distributing more food than ever before in our history -- for our armed services, for our own people, and to help feed our Allies, especially those in Britain (~~England~~) who only have enough land to raise 50% of the needs of their populations and their armies.

There was the ^{formidable} ~~difficult~~ problem of ^{establishing a} ~~having all Ameri-~~ rationing system of the necessities of life which would ~~can citizens treated alike in the rationing of the necessities~~ be fair to all ~~of our people.~~ ^{of our people.}

There was the difficulty of keeping prices from skyrocketing and fighting off the serious spectre of inflation.

There were new problems of communications, of censorship, of war information. There was the problem of transporting millions of men and billions of tons of weapons and supplies all over our own country and also to all corners of the world. *This necessitated the largest railroad and shipping operations in all history.*

There were the problems involved in our vast purchases in foreign countries; in our control of foreign funds, located in this country; in our custody of alien property; in our occupation of liberated areas.

There was the problem of maintaining proper management-labor relations; of fair treatment and just compensation to our millions of war workers; of avoiding strikes; of preventing the exploitation of workers on natural resources by those who would seek to become war profiteers and war millionaires.

Insert (A) p. 24

There was the task of providing housing for millions of new war workers all over the country.

And touching all of these, there was the great problem of raising the money to pay for all of them.

No sincere, sensible person doubts that in such an

unprecedented, breathtaking enterprise errors of honest judgment

were bound to

and creep in, and that occasional disputes among conscientious

were bound to

officials ~~and~~ occur. And if anyone thinks *working under our democratic*

made major mistakes in this war, he should take a look at some of the blunders made by our enemies in the so-called "efficient" dictatorships.

But Even sincere, sensible people sometimes fail

to compare the handfuls of errors or disputes on the one hand,

with the billions of instances where the agencies of government

in cooperation with each other have moved like a smoothly working

machine.

← INSERT (A) ^{100?} p. 24

Insert (A) p. 24

There were the problems of civilian defense, of lend-lease, of subcontracting war contracts to smaller businesses, of ~~substitution of Japanese~~ ~~living on the west coast~~, building up stock piles of strategic material whose natural sources have been seized by the enemy - such as rubber and tin

Not long ago a distinguished newspaper reporter was assigned by his boss to investigate the workings of one of our War Agencies and to write a series of stories on it.

When the reporter approached the Agency in question, he expected to meet with resistance, for he assumed this Agency wished to avoid investigation. However, he was cordially invited to go ahead -- to look into everything -- and make his public reports accordingly.

He spent several days on the job, and when he was about finished with it, he was asked, "Do you think you've found a good story here?"

He replied, "I've found at least a hundred good stories here. But I'm afraid that not one of them is the story I was sent here to write."

So -- as a result of all this work, nothing has been printed. And why? Because that reporter, being honest as well as able, gave the Agency a completely clean bill of health. And when a Government Agency is doing a good, efficient job in helping to win and shorten the war, that is not news.

The batting average and the fielding average of our government are higher than that of any baseball team in history.

The day-by-day, month-by-month, routine operation of this vast machinery of war proceeds with the utmost efficiency.

The American people as a whole are fair-minded. They know that there is no so-called "news" when things run right. They know, for example, that a few newspapers and columnists and radio commentators can make controversy create news which is eagerly sought by Axis propagandists in their evil work.

They have learned to distinguish between the sensational and the factual. ~~Our common sense tells us that we never could~~ have produced and shipped as much as we have, ~~that~~ we could not now be in the position we now occupy in the Mediterranean, in Italy, or in the Southwest Pacific or on the Atlantic convoy routes or in the air over Germany and France, if conditions in Washington and throughout the nation were ^{as confused and chaotic as} anything like what some people try to paint them.

We know that in any large private industrial plant doing a thousandth part of what their government in Washington is doing, there are more mistakes and more arguments than exist in their Nation's Capital.

What I have said is not in any way an apology — it is an assertion and a boast that the American people and their government are going an amazingly good job in carrying out a vast program which two years ago was said to be impossible of fulfillment.

Luckily the American people have a sense of proportion.

As the war grows tougher and as new problems constantly arise in our domestic economy changes in methods and changes in legislation may become necessary.

In the next few months, I shall communicate to the Congress certain recommendations for actions which I deem necessary in connection with the more efficient use of our manpower and the greater production and distribution of food.

We should also begin to make plans for an orderly demobilization of war industries and war workers with a minimum of unemployment and dislocation of our economy.

Particularly we should move for the greater economic protection of our returning men and women in the armed forces — and for greater educational opportunities for them. And for all our citizens we should provide a further measure of social security in order to protect them against certain continuing hazards of life.

Insert A
p. 26

~~Insert A~~
~~p. 28~~ p. 11.

As General Marshall has said, in his Biennial Report, "The development of the powerful army of today... has been ~~and is not yet clearly in sight but victory is certain. In many cases~~ dependent upon vast appropriations and the strong support of The Congress, and the cooperation of numerous Government agencies." ~~young leaders and of our pilots and their crews have been an inspiration~~ at the moment, and a complete assurance of the final victory to come."

I urge all Americans to read General Marshall's fine, soldierly record of the achievements of our Army throughout two of the most ^{transcendent} ~~crucial~~ ^{our} years in history. This is a record of which Americans ~~may be proud~~ ^{will never} forget. [^] ~~We must see to it that this record is sustained.~~

All these things should be studied now and much of the necessary legislation should be enacted. I do not mean that this statement should be regarded in any way as an intimation that we are approaching the end of the war. Such thinking is based neither on fact nor on reason. But when the war ends, we do not want to be caught again without planning or legislation, such as has occurred at the end of the last war.

On all these, and on other subjects, I expect to communicate with this Congress from time to time.

In this ^{critical} ~~crucial~~ period in the history of our country and of the world, ^{we} ~~we~~ seek cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government to furnish our citizens with the security of the standard of living which their resources and their skills in management and labor entitle them.

Finally, as the war progresses, ^{we} ~~we~~ seek a national cooperation with other nations toward the end that world aggression be ended and ~~and~~ that fair international relationships be established on a permanent basis. The policy of the Good Neighbor has shown such success in the Hemisphere of the Americas that its extension to the whole world seems to be the logical next step. In that way we can begin ^{who are fighting for freedom and for justice} to keep faith with our sons and daughters at home and abroad.

During the two months' recess of the Congress, many important events have occurred at the war fronts and at home. You return at a time when major battles in Europe and in Asia are beginning to be joined. *In recent months,* the main tides of conflict *have been* are definitely and consistently running our way — but we cannot be content merely to drift with this favorable tide. *could not and*

[fresh in our minds are the happenings in Sicily and Italy.] On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily. In spite of heavy German opposition it cleared this large and heavily fortified island in thirty-eight days.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and *in the Sicilian Campaign were* missing *were approximately* 31,500, of which the American forces lost 7445. The *casualties* among the Italians and Germans *were approximately* have been estimated at 165,000, *including 15,000 prisoners* and *dead, wounded and prisoners.*

unmistakably sincere The [joyous] welcome given to the Allied troops by the Italian people has proved conclusively that even in a country which had lived for a generation under a complete dictatorship — with all of its propaganda, censorship, and suppression of free speech and discussion — the love of liberty was unconquerable.

has It also proved conclusively that this war was not waged by the people of Italy on their own choice. *All of Mussolini's propaganda machine could not make them love Hitler or hate us. He has said about the fighting, "I would have preferred the better."*

INSERT A - P.1

You know ~~for example~~ from the news of the past few days that every military operation entails a legitimate military risk and that occasionally we have checks to our plans -- checks which necessarily involve severe losses of men and materials.

I believe that equal jubilation and enthusiasm will be shown by the people of the other nations now under the German heel when native ^{Nazi Gaulaiters and} Quislings [and Nazi Gaulaiters] are removed through force or flight.

How different was this invading army of the Allies from the German forces that had come into Sicily, ostensibly to "protect it." Food, clothing, cattle, medicines and household goods had been systematically stolen from the people of Sicily, and sent North to the "master race" in Germany. Sicily, like other parts of Italy and like the other satellite and conquered nations, had been bled white by the Nazi and Fascist governments. Growers of crops were permitted to retain only a small fraction of their own produce for themselves and their families.

With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned organization, trained and equipped to give physical care to the local population -- food, clothing, medicine. This new organization is also now in the process of restoring to the people of Sicily [certain] freedoms which, for many years, had been denied to them. I am confident that, within a year, Sicily will be once more self-supporting -- and, in addition to that, once more self-respecting.

From Sicily the advance of the allied armies has continued ~~west~~ ^{to} the mainland. On the third day of September they landed on the toe of the Italian peninsula. These were the first allied troops to ~~land on~~ ^{invade} the continent of Europe ^{in order} to liberate the conquered and oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the answer to the prayer of the millions of liberty-loving human beings not only in these conquered lands but all over the world.

On July 25th - two weeks after our first landings in
A little over a month ago -- even before we had completely occupied Sicily -- political events in Italy startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, the man who is more responsible for all of the sorrows of Italy than anyone except possibly Hitler himself, was forced out of office and stripped of his power as a result of ^{his wanton brutality} his own dismal failures and ^{the} ~~the~~ overwhelming demand of the Italian people. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to be followed, we are determined, by other and similar encouraging downfalls.

Insert A p. 3

Early last month, the relentless application of overwhelming Allied power -- particularly air and sea power -- convinced the leaders of Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun by them with us. ^{These conversations} They were carried on with the ut-

Proposed Insert A - p. 3

But there is one thing I want to make perfectly
clear: When Hitler and the Nazis go out, the Prussian
military clique must go with them. ^{The} ~~That~~ war-breeding
gang ^{- and out of Japan -} of militarists must be rooted out of Germany ^{if we}
are to have any real assurance of future peace.

Therefore, much as I wished to do so, I could not most secrecy. ^{much as I would have liked to inform the Congress, and} communicate ~~the facts of the case to the Congress, or~~ the members of ^{the press, [and also] ^{or to} those who repeatedly expressed dismay} or indignation at our apparent course in Italy, ~~I could not.~~ These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only to the Axis but to the Italian people themselves.

I am sure that the Congress realizes that there are many situations in this war -- and there will be many more to come -- in which it is impossible for us to make any announcement or even to give any indication of the policy which we are following. And I ask the American people as well as the Congress to bear with me and with our ~~Secret~~ Chiefs of Staff. It is difficult to remain silent when unjustified attack and criticism come from those who are not in a position to have all the facts.

But the people and the Congress can be sure that the policy which we follow is ^{an expression of} ~~founded upon~~ the basic democratic traditions and ideals of ^{Republic.} ~~this Nation.~~ We shall not be able to claim that we have gained total victory in this war if any vestige of Fascism in any of its malignant forms is permitted to survive anywhere in the world.

The Armistice with Italy was signed on September third in Sicily, but it could not be put into effect until September eighth, when we were ready to make landings in force in the Naples area. We had planned these

landings some time before and were determined to go through with them, armistice or no armistice.

Italian leaders appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us. Italian soldiers, though disorganized and ill-supplied, have been [bravely] fighting the Germans in many regions. As you know, the Italian fleet has come over to our side; and it will be a powerful weapon in striking at the Nazi enemies of the Italian people.

The Allied forces are now engaged in a very hard battle south of Naples. Casualties are heavy. The desperateness with which the Germans are fighting reveals that they are well aware of the consequences to them of our occupation of Italy.

We are not going to be stopped. We shall drive the Germans out of Italy. *We have the power to do it and we are applying that power.*

The Congress and the American people can rest assured that the landing on Italy is not the only landing we have in mind. That landing was planned at Casablanca. At Quebec, the leaders and the military staffs of Great Britain and the United States made specific and precise plans to bring to bear further blows of equal or greater importance against Germany and Japan — with definite times and places for other landings on the Continent of Europe and elsewhere.

When Hitler was forced to the conclusion that his offensive was broken, and he must go on the defensive, he started boasting that he had converted Europe into an impregnable fortress. But he neglected to provide that fortress with a roof. He also left various other ^{vulnerable} ~~weak~~ spots in the wall of ^{the so-called} ~~this~~ fortress -- which we shall point out to him in due time.

The British and American air forces have been bombing the roofless fortress with ever-increasing effectiveness. It is now our purpose to establish bases within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany, and to bring devastating war home to these places by day and by night as it has already been brought to Western Germany.

When Britain was being subjected to mass bombing in 1940 and 1941 -- when the British people including their King and Prime Minister, were proving that Britain "could take it" -- the strategists of the Royal Air Force and of our own Army Air Forces were not idle. They were studying the mistakes that Goering and his staff of Nazi terrorists were making. Those were fatal mistakes, as it turned out.

Today, we and the British are not making those mistakes.

We are not bombing tenements for the sheer sadistic pleasure of killing, as the Nazis did. We are striking devastating blows at carefully selected, clearly identified strategic objectives -- factories, shipyards, munition dumps, transportation facilities, which make it possible for the Nazis to wage war. And we are hitting these military targets and blowing them to bits.

German power can still do us great injury. But that evil power is being destroyed, surely, inexorably, day by day, and if Hitler doesn't know it by now, then the last ^{trace} ~~vestige~~ of sanity has departed from that distorted mind.

We must remember that in any great air attack the British and Americans lose a fairly high proportion of planes and that these losses must be made up quickly so that the weight of the bombing shall not decrease for a day in the future. In fact a high rate of increase must be maintained according to plan — and that means constant stepping-up of our production here at home.

← Insert A -

We have reliable information that there is definite unrest and a growing desire for peace among the peoples of Hungary, ^{These satellite countries — Rumania} [in Bulgaria] Bulgaria, Finland and ~~Rumania~~. We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt against Nazi dominance which commenced in Italy will burst into flame and become a consuming fire.

Every American is thrilled by the smashing blows delivered against the Nazi aggressors by the Russian Armies. This summer there has been no successful German advance against the Russians, as in 1941 and 1942. The shoe today is on the other foot — and is pinching very hard. Instead, the Russians have forced the greatest military reversal since Napoleon's retreat in 1812.

The recapture of Kharkov, Stalino and Bryansk by the Russians, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing of millions of valuable acres and "inhabited places" hearten the whole

INSERT A - p. 6

In the raid on the Ploesti oil fields in Rumania we lost many valuable bombers and more than five hundred of our finest men. That represented about fifty per cent of the force that was sent on that remarkable raid. This may seem like a disastrously high percentage, unless you figure it against the damage done to the enemy's war power. I am certain that the German or the Japanese high commands would cheerfully sacrifice tens of thousands of men to do the same amount of damage to us, if they could. Those gallant and brilliant young Americans who raided Ploesti won a smashing ~~win~~ victory which, I believe, will contribute materially to the shortening of the war and thus save countless lives.

We shall continue to make such raids all over the territory of Germany and the satellite countries. *with Italy in our hands* ^{*we have to travel*} *The distances will be far less and the risks proportionately reduced.*

world as the Russian campaign moves toward the elimination of every German from Russian soil — [as it moves] toward the invasion of Germany itself. It is certain that the campaign in North Africa, the occupation of Sicily, the fighting in Italy and the compelling of large numbers of German planes to go into combat in the skies over Holland, Belgium and France by reason of our air attacks, have given important help to the Russian armies along their advancing front from Leningrad to the Black Sea. We know, too, that we are contributing to that advance by making Germany keep many divisions in the Balkans, in Southern France and along the English Channel. I like to think that these words constitute an understatement.

Similarly, the events in the Mediterranean have a direct bearing upon the war against Japan.

When the American and British expeditionary forces first landed in North Africa last November, some people believed that we were neglecting our obligations to prosecute the war vigorously in the Pacific. Such ^{continually} people make the mistake of trying to divide the war into several watertight compartments — the Western European front — the Russian front — the Burma front — the New Guinea and Solomons front, and so forth — as though all of these were separate and unrelated to each other. You even ^{fronts} hear talk of the "air war" as opposed to the "land war" or the "sea war."

Actually, we cannot think of this as several wars. It is all one war, and it must be governed by one basic strategy.

The freeing of the Mediterranean, which we started last fall, will lead directly to the resumption of our complete control of the waters of the Eastern Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal. Thus, we shall be enabled to strike the Japanese on another of their highly vulnerable flanks.

As long as Italy remained in the war as our enemy -- as long as the Italian fleet remained in being as a threat -- a substantial part of British naval strength had to be kept locked up in the Mediterranean. Now that formidable strength is freed to proceed eastward to join in the ever-increasing attack upon the Japs.

There has been one serious gap in the lines of our globe-girdling sea power. That is the gap between Northwest Australia and Ceylon. That gap can now be closed as a result of victory in the Mediterranean.

We face, in the Orient, a long and difficult fight. We must be prepared for heavy losses in winning that fight. The power of Japan will not collapse until it has been literally pounded into the dust. It would be the utmost folly for us to try to pretend otherwise.

Even so, if the future is tough for us, think what it is for General Tojo and his murderous gang. They may look to the North, to the South, to the East or to the West. They can see closing in on them, from all directions, the forces of retribution under the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, [General Stilwell, Admiral Lord Mountbatten] General MacArthur, [Admiral Halsey and] Admiral Nimitz, ^{and Admiral} _{Lord Mountbatten.}

The forces operating against Japan in the various Pacific theatres are just as much interrelated and dependent on each other as are the forces operating against Germany in Europe.

12

For instance -- not only do our victories in the Aleutians enable us to regain bases from which to conduct further operations in a south-westerly direction; they also complicate the Japanese problems in the Solomons and in Burma.

With the new threats that we offer from the ^{Aleutians} North, Japan cannot afford to devote as large a proportion of her forces to hold the lines in other areas.

Such actions as the taking of Kiska do not just happen. They are the results of careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while some of our ^{critics} ~~critics~~ were so perturbed that they had reached the verge of tears at what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them to realize that the carefully

^{prepared} ~~planned~~ and successful actions of Midway or in the Coral Sea or in the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians ^{untenable} ~~relatively unimportant~~.

Japan has been hard put to it to maintain her ^{ex} ~~dis~~ ^{extended} lines. She had to withdraw her garrison from Kiska in the face of the oncoming American-Canadian forces because she could not maintain a steady stream of adequate reinforcements and supplies to the Aleutians.

In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so much island territory that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact, it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat on our part against the Japanese in the seas that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.

American and Australian (and New Zealand?) troops in a
in New Guinea have destroyed much
magnificent campaign have whittled away far more Japanese strength
and have gained *for us new bases from which to*
[than all of our losses combined.] *^ Launch new offensive operations.*

After a long period of defensive strategy in Burma, we are finally taking the offensive there. I am also glad to report to you that we are getting more supplies and military help to China. Almost every day word comes that a new air battle has destroyed two and three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. That process will continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself.

← Insert A
page 10

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous military and naval policy of attrition. That means, cold-bloodedly, placing the ever-increasing resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the ever-decreasing resources of the Axis. It means the training and use of the Allied manpower -- which is greater than the Axis. It means the use of our superior facilities and ability to make more munitions, and above all aircraft, more quickly than our enemies can do.

For example, the Allies today on the European Front have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war on any and every point of the encircling line -- more guns, more tanks, more planes, more trucks, more transports, more supply ships and more warships.

Invent A
page 11

It goes almost without saying that when Japan surrenders the United Nations will never again let her have authority over the islands which were mandated to her by the League of Nations. Japan obviously is not to be trusted. And the same thing holds good [~~in the case of~~] in the case of the vast territories which Japan has stolen from China starting long before this war began.

In the Pacific, we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships — merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are all in our favor — for we grow in strength and they cannot even replace all their losses. It might be called a simple mathematical progression.

However, unless we keep up and increase the tempo of our present rate of production, this superiority of planes and guns, tanks and ships might all be lost.

Our great production program started during the darkest days of 1940. With the magnificent contribution made by American industry and American labor, it is approaching full production. Britain has already attained full production. Today, Great Britain and the United States, together, are turning out so much more of everything needed in war that we have definite superiority over Germany and Japan which is growing with every succeeding minute. But we have no minutes to lose.

Those distant theatres of war present to mind problems that every American should realize — problems of transporting the things of war which we make, from our shores to the actual fighting areas itself. Burma and China can be reached only with extraordinary difficulty. Two years ago, most of the planes we sent had to be knocked down, crated, put on board ship, transported, then uncrated and put together again in India, and from there sent up to the fighting front.

In the case of China, they had to be flown over enormous mountains. Even after they were safely delivered there, the planes had to be kept supplied with ground crews, tools, oil, gasoline and even spare parts. Since the Japs cut the Burma Road, all these supplies have to be flown over hundreds of miles to bases which had to be built in China.

The same slow process was also the rule in the Southwest Pacific.

With the present increased range of airplanes, we are now flying more of them under their own power than before, but everything that goes to supply them -- the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts -- still have to be taken by ship to the fighting fronts all over the world. Practically every soldier and all his weapons and equipment have to go by ship. And every time a new forward move develops the whole outfit has to go by ship.

I wonder how many people realize what it means to carry ^{The} ~~the~~ on ^{the} ~~the~~ war across the Atlantic and the Pacific and through the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, along lines of supply attacked by submarines and dive bombers at many points.

The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest military movement over the longest number of miles to landings under fire that history has recorded anywhere.

The ships [in this campaign -- and in the Sicilian and Solomons and all other ^{for such an} amphibious operations] ~~it~~ cannot be loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable safe wharf. Most of the ships must be "combat loaded" in such a way that the troops go ashore first and are immediately followed in the proper order by guns and ammunition, tanks, trucks and food, medical equipment and all the supplies of a modern army. Preparations must be made to conduct these landings under enemy fire, and on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen or planned this kind of operation even over short distances do not speak glibly about landing great expeditions on a few days notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

The Members of the Congress have undoubtedly had an opportunity to see at first hand in their own home districts some of our war factories and plants and shipyards throughout the United States which are now working at full-blast turning out the greatest amount of war production in the history of the world. [Since the Congress took the recess from which it has now reconvened, I can give you some statistics without revealing information to the enemy.]

Last June and July we were worried by a reduction in the rate of increase in production. Great as our production had been we could not afford to level off. We had to continue the upward curve and not pause on any plateaus.

I am happy to report that the increase was resumed in August. In this month of September it is even better.

For example, during the two months of the recess of the

Congress our factories produced approximately fifteen thousand planes.

There was an especially important increase in the production of heavy bombers in August ~~was~~ almost three times greater than January. I cannot reveal the exact figures on this. They would give the enemy needed information — but ^{no comfort}

During those same two months American shipyards put into commission three million, two hundred thousand tons of large merchant ships — a total of 281 ships, almost four ships a day.

Even as the actual fighting engagements in which our troops take part increase in number, it is becoming more and more evident that this is essentially a great war of production. The best way to avoid heavy casualty lists is to provide our troops with the best equipment possible — and plenty of it.

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are still a long long way from ultimate victory in any major theatre of the war.

First: Despite our substantial victories in the Mediterranean, we face a hard and costly fight up through Italy to the Alps — and a major job of organizing our positions before we can take advantage of them.

Second: From bases in the British Isles we must be sure that we have assembled the strength to strike not just in one direction but in many directions -- by land and sea and in the air -- with overwhelming forces and equipment.

Third: Although our Russian allies have made a magnificent counter-offensive, and are driving our common enemies back day by day, the Russian armies still have far to go before the last German has been driven from Russian soil.

Fourth: The Japanese hold firmly established positions on an enormous front from the Kuriles through the mandated islands to the Solomons and through the Netherlands East Indies to Malaysia and Burma and China. To break through this defensive ring we must hit them and hit them hard not merely at one point but at many points, and we must keep on hitting them until we have gained the bases from which we can cut their internal supply lines and from which Japan itself can be bombed into submission.

In all of history, there has never been a task as tremendous as that which we now face. We can do it -- and we will do it -- but we must plan and work and fight with every ounce of intelligence and energy and courage that we possess.

The Congress has reconvened at a time when we are in the midst of the Third War Loan Drive seeking to raise a sum unparalleled in history -- fifteen billion dollars. This is a dramatic example of the scale on which this war still has to be fought, and presents some idea of how difficult and costly the responsible leaders of this government believe the war will be.

Nothing we can do will be more costly in lives than to adopt the attitude that the war has been won -- or nearly won. That would mean a let-down in the great tempo of production which we have reached, and would mean that our men who are now fighting all over the world will not have that overwhelming superiority of [fighting] power which has dealt so much death and destruction to the enemy and at the same time has saved so many American lives.

That is why I have always maintained that there is no such separate entity as the "home front." Every day lost in turning out an airplane or a ship at home will have its direct effect upon the men now battling up the leg of Italy or in the jungles of the Southwest Pacific or in the clouds over China.

There have been complaints from some sources about the way this whole subject of production and other domestic activities have been carried

on. Some of these complaints of course are justified. On the other hand some of them come from selfish people who merely do not like to give up their pleasure driving or a part of their butter or meat or milk.

Fair-minded citizens, however, [I think] will realize that although mistakes have been made, the job that has been done in converting peacetime America to a war-time basis has been a great job and a successful one of which all our people have good reason to be proud.

It would be nothing short of a miracle if this unprecedented job of transforming a peace-loving, unprepared industrial America into a fighting and war production machine had been accomplished without some mistakes being made and some people being given cause for complaint.

The Congress, [on the whole,] is well aware of the magnitude of the undertaking, and of the many gigantic problems involved. For the Congress has been actively involved in helping to work out the solutions to these unprecedented problems.

A few facts will show how vast an enterprise this war has been -- and how we are constantly increasing the tempo of our production.

The total amount spent on the war from May 1940 to date is \$128,123,000,000. The bill is now running at the rate of \$250,000,000 per day.

Up to September 1, 1943, among the more important items produced and delivered since the armament program started in May 1940 are the following:

Airplanes	123,000
Airplane engines	144,000
Tanks	53,000
Artillery weapons	93,000
Small arms (rifles, carbines, Machine guns, etc.)	9,500,000
Small arms ammunition	25,942,000,000 rounds
Trucks	1,233,000

In most instances more than half of the above total delivered

to date was produced during the first eight months of 1943:

Airplanes	52,000
Tanks	23,000
Artillery weapons	40,600
Small arms (rifles, carbines, machine guns, etc.)	4,636,000
Small arms ammunition	13,339,000,000 rounds

The number of fighting ships and auxiliaries of all kinds completed since May 1940 is 2,380 and 13,000 landing vessels.

In the two and a half years between January 1, 1941 and July 1, 1943, the power plants built for installation in Navy vessels had a horsepower equal to all the horsepower of all hydroelectric plants in the United States in January 1941.

The completions of Navy ships during the last six months was equal to completions in the entire year of 1942.

We have cut down the time required to build submarines by almost 50 percent.

The anti-aircraft and double purpose guns produced by the Navy since the defense program started in May, 1940, if fired altogether, would throw 4,800 tons of projectiles per minute against the enemy.

The output of under-water ordnance (torpedoes, mines and depth charges) during the first half of 1943, was equal to the total production of 1942.

During the month of August, 1943, we produced almost as many torpedoes as during all of World War I.

Anyone who has had to build a single factory, tool it up, get the necessary help, set up an assembly line, produce and ship the product will have some idea of what that amount of production has meant.

We have had to raise and equip armed forces of ten million men. Simultaneously, in spite of this drain on our manpower, we have had to find millions more men and millions of women to operate our war factories, arsenals, shipyards, essential civilian industries -- and the farms and mines of America.

There have been the problems of increasing greatly the output of our natural resources -- not only for our own Army and Navy and for our civilians at home, but also for our Allies and our own forces all over the world: oil, coal, water power, metals, chemicals.
(get figures showing increase)

2

There were the problems of raising and distributing more food than ever before in our history -- for our armed services, for our own people, and to help feed our Allies, especially those in Britain who have only enough land to raise 50% of the needs of their populations and their armies.

There was the formidable problem of establishing a rationing system of the necessities of life which would be fair to all of our people.

There was the difficulty of keeping prices from skyrocketing and fighting off the serious spectre of inflation.

There were new problems of communications, of censorship, of war information. There was the problem of transporting millions of men and billions of tons of weapons and supplies all over our own country and also to all corners of the world. This necessitated the largest railroad and shipping operations in all history.

There were the problems involved in our vast purchases in foreign countries; in our control of foreign funds, located in this country; in our custody of alien property; in our occupation of liberated areas.

There was the problem of maintaining proper management-labor relations; of fair treatment and just compensation to our millions of war workers; of avoiding strikes; of preventing the exploitation of workers on natural resources by those who would seek to become war profiteers and war millionaires.

There were the problems of civilian defense, of lend-lease, of subcontracting war contracts to smaller businesses, of building up stock piles of strategic material whose normal sources have been seized by the enemy — such as rubber and tin.

There was the ^{problem} task of providing housing for millions of new war workers all over the country.

And touching all of these, there was the great problem of raising the money to pay for all of them.

No sincere, sensible person doubts that in such an unprecedented, breathtaking enterprise errors of honest judgment were bound to creep in, and that occasional disputes among conscientious officials were bound to occur. And if anyone thinks that we, working under our democratic system, have made major mistakes in this war, he should take a look at some of the blunders made by our enemies in the so-called "efficient" dictatorships.

Even sincere, sensible people sometimes fail to compare the handfuls of errors or disputes on the one hand, with the billions of instances where the agencies of government in cooperation with each other have moved like a smoothly working machine.

Not long ago a distinguished newspaper reporter was assigned by his boss to investigate the workings of one of our War Agencies and to write a series of stories on it.

When the reporter approached the Agency in question, he expected to meet with resistance, for he assumed this Agency wished to avoid investigation. However, he was cordially invited to go ahead — to look into everything —

and make his public reports accordingly.

He spent several days on the job, and when he was about finished with it, he was asked, "Do you think you've found a good story here?"

He replied, "I've found at least a hundred good stories here. But I'm afraid that not one of them is the story I was sent here to write."

So -- as a result of all this work, nothing has been printed. And why? Because that reporter, being honest as well as able, gave the Agency a completely clean bill of health. And when a Government Agency is doing a good, efficient job in helping to win and shorten the war, that is not news.

The American people as a whole are fair-minded. They have learned to distinguish between the sensational and the factual. They know that there is no so-called "news" when things run right. They know, for example, that a few newspapers and columnists and radio commentators can make controversy create news which is eagerly sought by Axis propagandists in their evil work.

Obviously, we never could have produced and shipped as much as we have, we could not now be in the position we now occupy in the Mediterranean, in Italy, or in the Southwest Pacific or on the Atlantic convoy routes or in the air over Germany and France, if conditions in Washington and throughout the nation were as confused and chaotic as some people try to paint them.

2
We know that in any large private industrial plant doing a thousandth part of what their government in Washington is doing, there are more mistakes and more arguments than exist in their Nation's Capital.

What I have said is not in any way an apology — it is an assertion and a boast that the American people and their government are doing an amazingly good job in carrying out a vast program which two years ago was said to be impossible of fulfillment. Luckily the American people have a sense of proportion.

As General Marshall has said, in his Biennial Report, "The development of the powerful army of today has been dependent upon vast appropriations and the strong support of the Congress, and the cooperation of numerous Government agencies."

I urge all Americans to read General Marshall's fine, soldierly record of the achievements of our Army throughout two of the most tremendous years in our history. This is a record which Americans will never forget.

As the war grows tougher and as new problems constantly arise in our domestic economy, changes in methods and changes in legislation may become necessary.

[In the next few months, I shall communicate to the Congress certain recommendations for actions which I deem necessary in connection with the more efficient use of our manpower and the greater production

and distribution of food.]

- 25 -

(2) [We should also begin to make plans for an orderly demobilization of war industries and war workers with a minimum of unemployment and dislocation of our economy.]

Particularly we should move for the greater economic protection of our returning men and women in the armed forces -- and for greater educational opportunities for them. And for all our citizens we should provide a further measure of social security in order to protect them against certain continuing hazards of life.

as well as eventual demobilization

All these things should be studied now and much of the necessary

legislation should be enacted. I do not mean that this statement should be regarded in any way as an intimation that we are approaching the end of the war. *a intimation could not be based either* Such *[thinking is based neither]* on fact nor on reason. But when the war ends, we do not want to be caught again without planning or legislation, such as has occurred at the end of the last war.

On all these, and on other subjects, I expect to communicate with this Congress from time to time.

In this critical period in the history of our country and of the world, we seek cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government to furnish our citizens with the security of the standard of living which their resources and their skills in management and labor entitle them. *in all matters which concern*

this Nation's welfare, present and future -- and the first of such matters, obviously, is the winning of this war.

Finally, as the war progresses, we seek a national cooperation with other nations toward the end that world aggression be ended and that fair international relationships be established on a permanent basis. The policy of the Good Neighbor has shown such success in the Hemisphere of the Americas that its extension to the whole world seems to be the logical next step. In that way we can begin to keep faith with our sons and daughters who are fighting for freedom and for justice ^{and security} at home and abroad.

Hopkins

During the two months' recess of the Congress, many important events have occurred at the war fronts and at home. You return at a time when major battles in Europe and in Asia are beginning to be joined. The main tides of conflict are definitely and consistently running our way — but we cannot be content merely to drift with this favorable tide.

Fresh in our minds are the happenings in Sicily and Italy. On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily. In spite of heavy German opposition it cleared this large and heavily fortified island in thirty-eight days.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and missing were approximately 31,158, of which the American forces lost 7445. The losses among the Italians and Germans have been estimated at 165,000 missing, including 132,000 dead, wounded and prisoners.

The joyous welcome given to the Allied troops by the Italian people has proved conclusively that even in a country which had lived for a generation under a complete dictatorship -- with all of its propaganda, censorship, and suppression of free speech and discussion -- their love of liberty was unconquerable.

It also proved conclusively that this war was not waged by the people of Italy on their own choice.

Don't wait
long!

7

9

I believe that equal jubilation and enthusiasm will be shown by
7 the people of the other nations now under the German heel when native
Quislings and Nazi Gauleiters are removed through force or flight.

How different was this invading army of the Allies from the
German forces that had come into Sicily, ostensibly to "protect it."
Food, clothing, cattle, medicines and household goods had been system-
atically stolen from the people of Sicily, and sent North to the
"master race" in Germany. Sicily, like other parts of Italy and like
the other satellite and conquered nations, had been bled white by the
Nazi and Fascist governments. Growers of crops were permitted to
retain only a small fraction of their own produce for themselves and
their families.

With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned
organization, trained and equipped to give physical care to the local
population -- food, clothing, medicine. This new organization is also
now in the process of restoring to the people of Sicily ⁷ certain freedom
which, for many years, had been denied to them. I am confident that,
within a year, Sicily will be once more self-supporting -- and, in
addition to that, once more self-respecting.

From Sicily the advance of the allied armies has continued onto the mainland. On the third day of September they landed on the toe of the Italian peninsula. These were the first allied troops to land on the continent of Europe to liberate the conquered and oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the answer to the prayer of the millions of liberty-loving human beings not only in these conquered lands but all over the world.

A little over a month ago -- even before we had completely occupied Sicily -- political events in Italy startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, the man who is more responsible for all of the sorrows of Italy than anyone except possibly Hitler himself, was forced out of office and stripped of his power as a result of his own dismal failures and by the overwhelming demand of the Italian people. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to be followed, ~~by~~ we are determined, by other and similar encouraging downfalls.

Early last month, the relentless application of overwhelming Allied power -- particularly air and sea power -- convinced the leaders of Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun by them with us. They were carried on with the ut-

most secrecy. Much as I would have liked to inform the Congress, and the [?]members of the press, and also those who repeatedly expressed dismay or indignation at our apparent course in Italy, I could not. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only to the Axis but to the Italian people themselves.

I am sure that the Congress realizes that there are many situations in this war -- and there will be many more to come -- in which it is impossible for us to make any announcement or even to give any indication of the [?]policy which we are following. And I ask the American people as well as the Congress to bear with me and with our Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is difficult to remain silent when unjustified attack and criticism come from those who are not in a position to have all the facts.

But the people and the Congress can be sure that the policy which [?]we follow is founded upon the basic democratic traditions and ideals of this Nation. We shall not be able to claim that we have gained total victory in this war if any vestige of Fascism in any of its malignant forms is permitted to survive anywhere in the world.

The Armistice with Italy was signed on September third in Sicily, but it could not be put into effect until September eighth, when we were ready to make landings in force in the Naples area. We had planned these

landings some time before and were determined to go through with them, armistice or no armistice.

Italian leaders appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us. Italian soldiers, though disorganized and ill-supplied, have been bravely fighting the Germans in many regions. As you know, the Italian fleet has come over to our side; and it will be a powerful weapon in striking at the Nazi enemies of the Italian people.

The Allied forces are now engaged in a very hard battle south of Naples. Casualties are heavy. The desperateness with which the Germans are fighting reveals that they are well aware of the consequences to them of our occupation of Italy.

We are not going to be stopped. We shall drive the Germans out of Italy.

The Congress and the American people can rest assured that the landing on Italy is not the only landing we have in mind. That landing was planned at Casablanca. At Quebec, the leaders and the military staffs of Great Britain and the United States made specific and precise plans to bring to bear farther blows of equal or greater importance against Germany and Japan — with definite times and places for other landings on the Continent of Europe and elsewhere.

When Hitler was forced to the conclusion that his offensive was broken, and he must go on the defensive, he started boasting that he had converted Europe into an impregnable fortress. But he neglected to provide that fortress with a roof. He also left various other weak spots in the wall of that fortress -- which we shall point out to him in due time.

The British and American air forces have been bombing the roofless fortress with ever-increasing effectiveness. It is now our purpose to establish bases within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany, and to bring devastating war home to these places by day and by night as it has already been brought to Western Germany.

When Britain was being subjected to mass bombing in 1940 and 1941 -- when the British people including their King and Prime Minister, were proving that Britain "could take it" -- the strategists of the Royal Air Force and of our own Army Air Forces were not idle. They were studying the mistakes that Goering and his staff of Nazi terrorists were making. Those were fatal mistakes, as it turned out.

Today, we and the British are not making those mistakes. We are not bombing tenements for the sheer sadistic pleasure of killing, as the Nazis did. We are striking devastating blows at carefully selected, clearly identified strategic objectives — factories, shipyards, munition dumps, transportation facilities, which make it possible for the Nazis to wage war. And we are hitting these military targets and blowing them to bits.

German power can still do us great injury. But that evil power is being destroyed, surely, inexorably, day by day, and if Hitler doesn't know it by now, then the last vestige of sanity has departed from that distorted mind.

We must remember that in any great air attack the British and Americans lose a fairly high proportion of planes and that these losses must be made up quickly so that the weight of the bombing shall not decrease for a day in the future. In fact a high rate of increase must be maintained according to plan — and that means constant stepping-up of our production here at home.

We have reliable information that there is definite unrest and a growing desire for peace among the people of Hungary, in Bulgaria, Finland and Rumania. We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt against Nazi dominance which commenced in Italy will burst into flame and become a consuming fire.

Every American is thrilled by the smashing blows delivered against the Nazi aggressors by the Russian Armies. This summer there has been no successful German advance against the Russians, as in 1941 and 1942. The shoe today is on the other foot — and is pinching very hard. Instead, the Russians have forced the greatest military reversal since Napoleon's retreat in 1812.

The recapture of Kharkov, Staling and Bryansk by the Russians, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing of millions of valuable acres and "inhabited places" hearten the whole

world as the Russian campaign moves toward the elimination of every German from Russian soil -- as it moves toward the invasion of Germany itself. It is certain that the campaign in North Africa, the occupation of Sicily, the fighting in Italy and the compelling of large numbers of German planes to go into combat in the skies over Holland, Belgium and France by reason of our air attacks, have given important help to the Russian armies along their advancing front from Leningrad to the Black Sea. We know, too, that we are contributing to that advance by making Germany keep many divisions in the Balkans, in Southern France and along the English Channel. I like to think that these words constitute an understatement.

Similarly, the events in the Mediterranean have a direct bearing upon the war against Japan.

When the American and British expeditionary forces first landed in North Africa last November, some people believed that we were neglecting our obligations to prosecute the war vigorously in the Pacific. Such people make the mistake of trying to divide the war into several watertight compartments -- the Western European front -- the Russian front -- the Burma front -- the New Guinea and Solomons front, and so forth -- as though all of these were separate and unrelated to each other. You even hear talk of the "air war" as opposed to the "land war" or the "sea war."

Actually, we cannot think of this as several wars. It is all one war, and it must be governed by one basic strategy.

The freeing of the Mediterranean, which we started last fall, will lead directly to the resumption of our complete control of the waters of the Eastern Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal. Thus, we shall be enabled to strike the Japanese on another of their highly vulnerable flanks.

As long as Italy remained in the war as our enemy -- as long as the Italian fleet remained in being as a threat -- a substantial part of British naval strength had to be kept locked up in the Mediterranean. Now that formidable strength is freed to proceed eastward to join in the ever-increasing attack upon the Japs.

There has been one serious gap in the lines of our globe-girdling sea-power. That is the gap between Northwest Australia and Ceylon. That gap can now be closed as a result of victory in the Mediterranean.

We face, in the Orient, a long and difficult fight. We must be prepared for heavy losses in winning that fight. The power of Japan will not collapse until it has been literally pounded into the dust. It would be the utmost folly for us to try to pretend otherwise.

Even so, if the future is tough for us, think what it is for General Tojo and his murderous gang. They may look to the North, to the South, to the East or to the West. They can see closing in on them, from all directions, the forces of retribution under the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, [General Stilwell] Admiral Lord Mountbatten, General MacArthur, [Admiral Halsey] and Admiral Nimitz.

The forces operating against Japan in the various Pacific theatres are just as much interrelated and dependent on each other as are the forces operating against Germany in Europe.

For instance -- not only do our victories in the Aleutians enable us to regain bases from which to conduct further operations in a south-westerly direction; they also complicate the Japanese problems in the Solomons and in Burma.

With the new threats that we offer from the North, Japan cannot afford to devote as large a proportion of her forces to hold the lines in other areas.

Such actions as the taking of Kiska do not just happen. They are the results of careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while some of our orators were so perturbed that they had reached the verge of tears at what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them to realize that the carefully planned and successful actions of Midway or in the Coral Sea or in the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians relatively unimportant.

Japan has been hard put to it to maintain her distended lines. She had to withdraw her garrison from Kiska in the face of the oncoming American-Canadian forces because she could not maintain a steady stream of adequate reinforcements and supplies to the Aleutians.

In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so much island territory that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact, it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat on our part against the Japanese in the seas that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.

American and Australian (and New Zealand?) troops in a magnificent campaign have whittled away far more Japanese strength than all of our losses combined.

After a long period of defensive strategy in Burma, we are finally taking the offensive there. I am also glad to report to you that we are getting more supplies and military help to China. Almost every day word comes that a new air battle has destroyed *four* two and three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. That process will continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself.

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous military and naval policy of attrition. That means, cold-bloodedly, placing the ever-increasing resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the ever-decreasing resources of the Axis. It means the training and use of the Allied manpower — which is greater than the Axis. It means the use of our superior facilities and ability to make more munitions, and above all aircraft, more quickly than our enemies can do.

For example, the Allies today on the European Front have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war on any and every point of the encircling line — more guns, more tanks, more planes, more trucks, more transports, more supply ships and more warships.

In the Pacific, we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships -- merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are all in our favor -- for we grow in strength and they cannot even replace all their losses. It might be called a simple mathematical progression.

However, unless we keep up and increase the tempo of our present rate of production, this superiority of planes and guns, tanks and ships might all be lost.

Our great production program started during the darkest days of 1940. With the magnificent contribution made by American industry and American labor, it is approaching full production. Britain has already attained full production. Today, Great Britain and the United States, together, are turning out so much more of everything needed in war that we have definite superiority over Germany and Japan which is growing with every succeeding minute. But we have no minutes to lose.

Those distant theatres of war present to mind problems that every American should realize -- problems of transporting the things of war which we make, from our shores to the actual fighting areas itself. Burma and China can be reached only with extraordinary difficulty. Two years ago, most of the planes we sent had to be knocked down, crated, put on board ship, transported, then uncrated and put together again in India. and from there sent on to the fighting front.

In the case of China, they had to be flown over enormous mountains. Even after they were safely delivered there, the planes had to be kept supplied with ground crews, tools, oil, gasoline and even spare parts. Since the Japs cut the Burma Road, all these supplies have to be flown over hundreds of miles to bases which had to be built in China.

The same slow process was also the rule in the Southwest Pacific.

With the present increased range of airplanes, we are now flying more of them under their own power than before, but everything that goes to supply them -- the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts -- still have to be taken by ship to the fighting fronts all over the world. Practically every soldier and all his weapons and equipment have to go by ship. And every time a new forward move develops the whole outfit has to go by ship.

I wonder how many people realize what it means to carry on one war across the Atlantic and the Pacific and through the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, along lines of supply attacked by submarines and dive bombers at many points.

The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest military movement over the longest number of miles to landings under fire that history has recorded anywhere.

The ships in this campaign -- and in the Sicilian and Solomons and all other amphibious operations -- cannot be loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable safe wharf. Most of the ships must be "combat loaded" in such a way that the troops go ashore first and are immediately followed in the proper order by guns and ammunition, tanks, trucks and food, medical equipment and all the supplies of a modern army. Preparations must be made to conduct these landings under enemy fire, and on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen or planned this kind of operation even over short distances do not speak glibly about landing great expeditions on a few days notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

The Members of the Congress have undoubtedly had an opportunity to see at first hand in their own home districts some of our war factories and plants and shipyards throughout the United States which are now working at full-blast turning out the greatest amount of war production in the history of the world. Since the Congress took the recess from which it has now reconvened, I can give you some statistics without revealing information to the enemy.

Last June and July we were worried by a reduction in the rate of increase in production. Great as our production had been we could not afford to level off. We had to continue the upward curve and not pause on any plateaus.

I am happy to report that the increase was resumed in August. In this month of September it is even better.

For example, during the two months of the recess of the Congress our factories produced approximately fifteen thousand planes. Production of heavy bombers in August was almost three times greater than January.

During those same two months American shipyards put into commission three million, two hundred thousand tons of large merchant ships -- a total of 261 ships, almost four ships a day.

Even as the actual fighting engagements in which our troops take part increase in number, it is becoming more and more evident that this is essentially a great war of production. The best way to avoid heavy casualty lists is to provide our troops with the best equipment possible -- and plenty of it.

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are still a long long way from ultimate victory in any major theatre of the war.

First: Despite our substantial victories in the Mediterranean, we face a hard and costly fight up through Italy to the Alps -- and a major job of organizing our positions before we can take advantage of them.

Second: From bases in the British Isles we must be sure that we have assembled the strength to strike not just in one direction but in many directions -- by land and sea and in the air -- with overwhelming forces and equipment.

Third: Although our Russian allies have made a magnificent counter-offensive, and are driving our common enemies back day by day, the Russian armies still have far to go before the last German has been driven from Russian soil.

Fourth: The Japanese hold firmly established positions on an enormous front from the Kuriles through the mandated islands to the Solomons and through the Netherlands East Indies to Malaysia and Burma and China. To break through this defensive ring we must hit them and hit them hard not merely at one point but at many points, and we must keep on hitting them until we have gained the bases from which we can cut their internal supply lines and from which Japan itself can be bombed into submission.]

In all of history, there has never been a task as tremendous as that which we now face. We can do it -- and we will do it -- but we must plan and work and fight with every ounce of intelligence and energy and courage that we possess.

The Congress has reconvened at a time when we are in the midst of the Third War Loan Drive seeking to raise a sum unparalleled in history -- fifteen billion dollars. This is a dramatic example of the scale on which this war still has to be fought, and presents some idea of how difficult and costly the responsible leaders of this government believe the war will be.

Nothing we can do will be more costly in lives than to adopt the attitude that the war has been won -- or nearly won. That would mean a let-down in the great tempo of production which we have reached, and would mean that our men who are now fighting all over the world will not have that overwhelming superiority of fighting power which has dealt so much death and destruction to the enemy and at the same time has saved so many American lives.

That is why I have always maintained that there is no such separate entity as the "home front." Every day lost in turning out an airplane or a ship at home will have its direct effect upon the men now battling up the leg of Italy or in the jungles of the Southwest Pacific or in the clouds over China.

There have been complaints from some sources about the way this whole subject of production and other domestic activities have been carried

an. Some of these complaints of course are justified. On the other hand some of them come from selfish people who merely do not like to give up their pleasure driving or a part of their butter or meat or milk.

Fair-minded citizens, however, I think will realize that although mistakes have been made, the job that has been done in converting peacetime America to a war-time basis has been a great job and a successful one of which all our people have good reason to be proud.

It would be nothing short of a miracle if this unprecedented job of transforming a peace-loving, unprepared industrial America into a fighting and war production machine had been accomplished without some mistakes being made and some people being given cause for complaint.

The Congress, on the whole, is well aware of the magnitude of the undertaking, and of the many gigantic problems involved. For the Congress has been actively involved in helping to work out the solutions to these unprecedented problems.

A few facts will show how vast an enterprise this war has been -- and how we are constantly increasing the tempo of our production.

The total amount spent on the war from May 1940 to date is \$128,123,000,000. The bill is now running at the rate of \$250,000,000 per day.

Up to September 1, 1943, among the more important items produced and delivered since the armament program started in May 1940 are the following:

Airplanes	123,000
Airplane engines	144,000
Tanks	53,000
Artillery weapons	93,000
Small arms (rifles, carbines, Machine guns, etc.)	9,500,000
Small arms ammunition	25,942,000,000 rounds
Trucks	1,233,000

In most instances more than half of the above total delivered

to date was produced during the first eight months of 1943:

Airplanes	52,000
Tanks	23,000
Artillery weapons	40,600
Small arms (rifles, carbines, machine guns, etc.)	4,638,000
Small arms ammunition	13,339,000,000 rounds

The number of fighting ships and auxiliaries of all kinds completed since May 1940 is 2,380 and 13,000 landing vessels.

In the two and a half years between January 1, 1941 and July 1, 1943, the power plants built for installation in Navy vessels had a horsepower equal to all the horsepower of all hydroelectric plants in the United States in January 1941.

The completions of Navy ships during the last six months was equal to completions in the entire year of 1942.

We have cut down the time required to build submarines by almost 50 percent.

The anti-aircraft and double purpose guns produced by the Navy since the defense program started in May, 1940, if fired altogether, would throw 4,600 tons of projectiles per minute against the enemy.

The output of under-water ordnance (torpedoes, mines and depth charges) during the first half of 1945, was equal to the total production of 1942.

During the month of August, 1945, we produced almost as many torpedoes as during all of World War I.

Anyone who has had to build a single factory, tool it up, get the necessary help, set up an assembly line, produce and ship the product will have some idea of what that amount of production has meant.

We have had to raise and equip armed forces of ten million men. Simultaneously, in spite of this drain on our manpower, we have had to find millions more men and millions of women to operate our war factories, arsenals, shipyards, essential civilian industries — and the farms and mines of America.

There have been the problems of increasing greatly the output of our natural resources — not only for our own Army and Navy and for our civilians at home, but also for our Allies and our own forces all over the world: oil, coal, water power, metals, chemicals.

(Fast forward motion indicated)

There were the problems of raising and distributing more food than ever before in our history -- for our armed services, for our own people, and to help feed our Allies, especially those in Britain who have only enough land to raise 50% of the needs of their populations and their armies.

There was the formidable problem of establishing a rationing system of the necessities of life which would be fair to all of our people.

There was the difficulty of keeping prices from skyrocketing and fighting off the serious spectre of inflation.

There were new problems of communications, of censorship, of war information. There was the problem of transporting millions of men and billions of tons of weapons and supplies all over our own country and also to all corners of the world. This necessitated the largest railroad and shipping operations in all history.

There were the problems involved in our vast purchases in foreign countries; in our control of foreign funds, located in this country; in our custody of alien property; in our occupation of liberated areas.

There was the problem of maintaining proper management-labor relations; of fair treatment and just compensation to our millions of war workers; of avoiding strikes; of preventing the exploitation of workers on natural resources by those who would seek to become war profiteers and war millionaires.

There were the problems of civilian defense, of lend-lease, of subcontracting war contracts to smaller businesses, of building up stock piles of strategic material whose normal sources have been seized by the enemy — such as rubber and tin.

There was the task of providing housing for millions of new war workers all over the country.

And touching all of these, there was the great problem of raising the money to pay for all of them.

No sincere, sensible person doubts that in such an unprecedented, breathtaking enterprise errors of honest judgment were bound to creep in, and that occasional disputes among conscientious officials were bound to occur. And if anyone thinks that we, working under our democratic system, have made major mistakes in this war, he should take a look at some of the blunders made by our enemies in the so-called "efficient" dictatorships.

Even sincere, sensible people sometimes fail to compare the handfuls of errors or disputes on the one hand, with the billions of instances where the agencies of government in cooperation with each other have moved like a smoothly working machine.

Not long ago a distinguished newspaper reporter was assigned by his boss to investigate the workings of one of our War Agencies and to write a series of stories on it.

When the reporter approached the Agency in question, he expected to meet with resistance, for he assumed this Agency wished to avoid investigation. However, he was cordially invited to go ahead — to look into everything —

and make his public reports accordingly.

He spent several days on the job, and when he was about finished with it, he was asked, "Do you think you've found a good story here?"

He replied, "I've found at least a hundred good stories here. But I'm afraid that not one of them is the story I was sent here to write."

So -- as a result of all this work, nothing has been printed. And why? Because that reporter, being honest as well as able, gave the Agency a completely clean bill of health. And when a Government Agency is doing a good, efficient job in helping to win and shorten the war, that is not news.

The American people as a whole are fair-minded. They have learned to distinguish between the sensational and the factual. They know that there is no so-called "news" when things run right. They know, for example, that a few newspapers and columnists and radio commentators can make controversy create news which is eagerly sought by Axis propagandists in their evil work.

Obviously, we never could have produced and shipped as much as we have, we could not now be in the position we now occupy in the Mediterranean, in Italy, or in the Southwest Pacific or on the Atlantic convoy routes or in the air over Germany and France, if conditions in Washington and throughout the nation were as confused and chaotic as some people try to paint them.

We know that in any large private industrial plant doing a thousandth part of what their government in Washington is doing, there are more mistakes and more arguments than exist in their Nation's Capital.

What I have said is not in any way an apology — it is an assertion and a boast that the American people and their government are doing an amazingly good job in carrying out a vast program which two years ago was said to be impossible of fulfillment. Luckily the American people have a sense of proportion.

As General Marshall has said, in his Biennial Report, "The development of the powerful army of today has been dependent upon vast appropriations and the strong support of the Congress, and the cooperation of numerous Government agencies."

I urge all Americans to read General Marshall's fine, soldierly record of the achievements of our Army throughout two of the most tremendous years in our history. This is a record which Americans will never forget.

As the war grows tougher and as new problems constantly arise in our domestic economy, changes in methods and changes in legislation may become necessary.

In the next few months, I shall communicate to the Congress certain recommendations for actions which I deem necessary in connection with the more efficient use of our manpower and the greater production

and distribution of food.

We should also begin to make plans for an orderly demobilization of war industries and war workers with a minimum of unemployment and dislocation of our economy.

Particularly we should move for the greater economic protection of our returning men and women in the armed forces — and for greater educational opportunities for them. And for all our citizens we should provide a further measure of social security in order to protect them against certain continuing hazards of life.

All these things should be studied now and much of the necessary legislation should be enacted. I do not mean that this statement should be regarded in any way as an intimation that we are approaching the end of the war. Such thinking is based neither on fact nor on reason. But when the war ends, we do not want to be caught again without planning or legislation, such as has occurred at the end of the last war.

On all these, and on other subjects, I expect to communicate with this Congress from time to time.

In this critical period in the history of our country and of the world, we seek cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government to furnish our citizens with the security of the standard of living which their resources and their skills in management and labor entitle them.

Finally, as the war progresses, we seek a national cooperation with other nations toward the end that world aggression be ended and that fair international relationships be established on a permanent basis. The policy of the Good Neighbor has shown such success in the Hemisphere of the Americas that its extension to the whole world seems to be the logical next step. In that way we can begin to keep faith with our sons and daughters who are fighting for freedom and for justice at home and abroad.

SIXTH DRAFT

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

During the two months' recess of the Congress, many important events have occurred at the war fronts and at home. You return at a time when major battles in Europe and in Asia are beginning to be joined. In recent months, the main tides of conflict have been running our way -- but we could not and cannot be content merely to drift with this favorable tide.

You know from the news of the past few days that every military operation entails a legitimate military risk and that occasionally we have checks to our plans -- checks which necessarily involve severe losses of men and materials. (Indust^A 1.6)

On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily. In spite of heavy German opposition it cleared this large and heavily fortified island in thirty-eight days.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and missing in the Sicilian campaign were 51,158, of which the American forces lost 7445. The casualties among the Italians and Germans were approximately 165,000, including 152,000 prisoners.

The unmistakably sincere welcome given to the Allied troops by the Italian people has proved conclusively that even in a country

which had lived for a generation under a complete dictatorship -- with all of its propaganda, censorship, and suppression of free speech and discussion -- the love of liberty was unconquerable.

It has also proved conclusively that this ^{war} was not waged by the people of Italy on their own choice. All of Mussolini's propaganda machine could not make them love Hitler or hate us. The less said about the feelings toward Mussolini, the better.

I believe that equal jubilation and enthusiasm will be shown by the people of the other nations now under the German heel when Nazi Gauleiters and native Quislings are removed through force or flight.

How different was this invading army of the Allies from the German forces that had come into Sicily, ostensibly to "protect it." Food, clothing, cattle, medicines and household goods had been systematically stolen from the people of Sicily, and sent North to the "master race" in Germany. Sicily, like other parts of Italy and like the other satellite and conquered nations, had been bled white by the Nazi and Fascist governments. Growers of crops were permitted to retain only a small fraction of their own produce for themselves and their families.

With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned organisation, trained and equipped to give physical care to the local population -- food, clothing, medicine. This new organisation is also now in the process of restoring to the people of Sicily freedoms which, for many years, had been denied to them. I am confident that, within a year, Sicily will be once more self-supporting -- and, in addition to that, once more self-respecting.

From Sicily the advance of the Allied armies has continued to the mainland. On the third day of September they landed on the toe of the Italian peninsula. These were the first Allied troops to invade the continent of Europe in order to liberate the conquered and oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the answer to the prayer of the millions of liberty-loving human beings not only in these conquered lands but all over the world.

On July 25th -- two weeks after our first landings in Sicily -- political events in Italy startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, the man who is more responsible for all of the sorrows of Italy than anyone, except possibly Hitler himself, was forced out of office and stripped of his power as a result of his own dismal

failures, his wanton brutalities, and the overwhelming demand of the Italian people. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to be followed, we are determined, by other and similar encouraging downfalls.

But there is one thing I want to make perfectly clear: When Hitler and the Nazis go out, the Prussian military clique must go with them. The war-breeding ^{of} gangs of militarists must be rooted out of Germany -- and out of Japan -- if we are to have any real assurance of future peace.

Early last month, the relentless application of overwhelming Allied power -- particularly air and sea power -- convinced the leaders of Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun by them with us. These conversations were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Therefore, much as I wished to do so, I could not communicate the facts of the case to the Congress, or the press, or to those who repeatedly expressed dismay or indignation at our apparent course in Italy. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only to the Axis but to the Italian people themselves.

I am sure that the Congress realizes that there are many situations in this war -- and there will be many more to come -- in which it

is impossible for me to make any announcement or even to give any indication of the policy which we are following. And I ask the American people as well as the Congress to bear with me and with our Chiefs of Staff. It is difficult to remain silent when unjustified attack and criticism come from those who are not in a position to have all the facts.

But the people and the Congress can be sure that the policy which we follow is an expression of the basic democratic traditions and ideals of this Republic. We shall not be able to claim that we have gained total victory in this war if any vestige of Fascism in any of its malignant forms is permitted to survive anywhere in the world.

The Armistice with Italy was signed on September third in Sicily, but it could not be put into effect until September eighth, when we were ready to make landings in force in the Naples area. We had planned these landings some time before and were determined to go through with them, armistice or no armistice.

Italian leaders appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us. Italian soldiers, though disorganized and ill-supplied, *In conformity with the terms of unconditional surrender,* have been fighting the Germans in many regions. *As you know,* the Italian *can* fleet has come over to our side; and it ~~will~~ be a powerful weapon in striking at the Nazi enemies of the Italian people.

(A) To page 1 after 2nd ¶

The Allied forces are now engaged in a very hard battle south of Naples. Casualties are heavy. The desperateness^{ness} with which the Germans are fighting reveals that they are well aware of the consequences to them of our occupation of Italy.

~~We are not going to be stopped. We shall drive the Germans out of Italy. We have the power to do it and we are applying that power.~~

The Congress and the American people can rest assured that the landing on Italy is not the only landing we have in mind. That landing was planned at Cassablanca. At Quebec, the leaders and the military staffs of Great Britain and the United States made specific and precise plans to bring to bear further blows of equal or greater importance against Germany and Japan — with definite times and places for other landings on the continent of Europe and elsewhere.

When Hitler was forced to the conclusion that his offensive was broken, and he must go on the defensive, he started boasting that he had converted Europe into an impregnable fortress. But he neglected to provide that fortress with a roof. He also left various other vulnerable spots in the wall of the so-called fortress — which we shall point out to him in due time.

The British and American air forces have been bombing the roofless fortress with ever-increasing effectiveness. It is now our purpose

to establish bases within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany, and to bring devastating war home to these places by day and by night as it has already been brought to Western Germany.

When Britain was being subjected to mass bombing in 1940 and 1941 -- when the British people, including their King and Prime Minister, were proving that Britain "could take it" -- the strategists of the Royal Air Force and of our own Army Air Forces were not idle. They were studying the mistakes that Goering and his staff of Nazi terrorists were making. Those were fatal mistakes, as it turned out.

Today, we and the British are not making those mistakes. We are not bombing tenements for the sheer sadistic pleasure of killing, as the Nazis did. We are striking devastating blows at carefully selected, clearly identified strategic objectives -- factories, shipyards, munition dumps, transportation facilities, which make it possible for the Nazis to wage war. And we are hitting these military targets and blowing them to bits.

German power can still do us great injury. But that evil power is being destroyed, surely, inexorably, day by day, and if Hitler doesn't know it by now, then the last trace of sanity has departed from that distorted mind.

*are missing.
international
taken prisoner*

We must remember that in any great air attack the British and Americans lose a fairly high proportion of planes and that these losses must be made up quickly so that the weight of the bombing shall not decrease for a day in the future. In fact, a high rate of increase must be maintained according to plan -- and that means constant stepping-up of our production here at home.

remarkable
In the raid on the Ploesti oil fields in Rumania we lost *[many]*
fifty three of our heavy
 bombers and more than five hundred of our finest men *[that]*
~~represented about fifty per cent of the force that was sent on that re-~~
~~markable raid.~~ *loss* This may seem like a disastrously high *[percentage]*, un-
less you figure it against the damage done to the enemy's war power. I
am certain that the German or the Japanese high commands would cheer-
fully sacrifice tens of thousands of men to do the same amount of damage
to us, if they could. Those gallant and brilliant young Americans who
raided Ploesti won a smashing victory which, I believe, will contribute
materially to the shortening of the war and thus save countless lives.

We shall continue to make such raids all over the territory of
Germany and the satellite countries. With Italy in our hands, the dis-
tances we have to travel will be far less and the risks proportionately
reduced.

We have reliable information that there is definite unrest and a growing desire for peace among the peoples of these satellite countries -- Rumania, Hungary, Finland and Bulgaria. We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt against Nazi dominance which commenced in Italy will burst into flame and become a consuming fire.

Every American is thrilled by the ~~smashing blows~~ ^{sledge-hammer blows} delivered against the Nazi aggressors by the Russian Armies. This summer there has been no successful German advance against the Russians, as in 1941 and 1942. The shoe today is on the other foot -- and is pinching very hard. Instead, the Russians have forced the greatest military reversal since Napoleon's retreat in 1812.

The recapture of Kharkov, Stalino and ~~Erzmen~~ ^{other strongholds} by the Russians, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing of millions of valuable acres and ^{hundreds of} ~~inhabited places~~ hearten the whole world as the Russian campaign moves toward the elimination of every German from Russian soil -- toward the invasion of Germany itself. It is certain that the campaign in North Africa, the occupation of Sicily, the fighting in Italy and the compelling of large numbers of German planes to go into combat in the skies over Holland, Belgium and France by reason of our air attacks, have given important help to the Russian Armies along their advancing front

from Leningrad to the Black Sea. We know, too, that we are contributing to that advance by making Germany keep many divisions in the Balkans, in Southern France and along the English Channel. I like to think that these words constitute an understatement.

Similarly, the events in the Mediterranean have a direct bearing upon the war against Japan.

When the American and British expeditionary forces first landed in North Africa last November, some people believed that we were neglecting our obligations to prosecute the war vigorously in the Pacific. Such people continually make the mistake of trying to divide the war into several water-tight compartments -- the Western European front -- the Russian front -- the Burma front -- the New Guinea and Solomons front, and so forth -- as though all of these fronts were separate and unrelated to each other. You even hear talk of the "air war" as opposed to the "land war" or the "sea war."

Actually, we cannot think of this as several wars. It is all one war, and it must be governed by one basic strategy.

The freeing of the Mediterranean, which we started last fall, will lead directly to the resumption of our complete control of the waters of the Eastern Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal. Thus, we shall be enabled to strike the Japanese on another of their highly vulnerable flanks.

As long as Italy remained in the war as our enemy — as long as the Italian fleet remained in being as a threat — a substantial part of British naval strength had to be kept locked up in the Mediterranean.

Now that formidable strength is freed to proceed eastward to join in the ever-increasing attack upon the Japanese.

It has not been sufficient Englishmen that the closing of the Mediterranean is a fact of the war in the Far East
There has been one serious gap in the lines of our globe-

girdling sea power. That is the gap between Northwest Australia and Ceylon. That gap can now be closed as a result of victory in the Mediterranean.

We face, in the Orient, a long and difficult fight. We must be prepared for heavy losses in winning that fight. The power of Japan will not collapse until it has been literally pounded into the dust. It would be the utmost folly for us to try to pretend otherwise.

Even so, if the future is tough for us, think what it is for General Tojo and his murderous gang. They may look to the North, to the South, to the East or to the West. They can see closing in on them, from all directions, the forces of retribution under the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, General MacArthur, Admiral Nimitz, and Admiral Lord Mountbatten.

The forces operating against Japan in the various Pacific theatres are just as much interrelated and dependent on each other as

are the forces ^{boundary} ~~concentrated~~ against Germany in Europe.

With the new threats that we offer from the Aleutians, Japan cannot afford to devote as large a proportion of her forces to hold the lines in other areas.

Such actions as the taking of ^{Attu and} Kiska do not just happen. They are the results of careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while some of our critics were so perturbed that they had reached the verge of tears ^{over} what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them to realize that the carefully prepared and ^{crucial tests at} ~~successful actions of Midway~~ ^{and at Midway and} in the Coral Sea ⁱⁿ the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians untenable.

Japan has been hard put to it to maintain her extended lines. She had to withdraw her garrison from Kiska in the face of the oncoming American-Canadian forces because she could not maintain a steady stream of adequate reinforcements and supplies to the Aleutians.

In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so ^{many} ^{air bases} ~~many~~ island ~~territory~~ ^{territories} that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact, it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat on our part against

the Japanese in the seas that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.

American and Australian ^{and New Zealand} troops ^{and Dutch forces} in a magnificent campaign in New Guinea ^{and the Solomons} have destroyed much Japanese strength and have gained for us new bases from which to launch new offensive operations.

After a long period of defensive strategy in Burma, we are ^{determined to take} ~~finally ending~~ the offensive there. I am also glad to report to you that we are getting more supplies and military help to China. Almost every day word comes that a new air battle has destroyed two and three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. That process will continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself.

It goes almost without saying that when Japan surrenders, the United Nations will never again let her have authority over the islands which were mandated to her by the League of Nations. Japan obviously is not to be trusted. And the same thing holds good in the case of the vast territories which Japan has stolen from China starting long before this war began.

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous ^{continuously reduced enemy strength} ~~military and~~

by a process
naval ~~policy~~ of attrition. That means, cold-bloodedly, placing the ever-increasing resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the ever-decreasing resources of the Axis. It means the training and use of the Allied manpower — which is greater than the Axis. It means the use of our superior facilities and ability to make more munitions, and above all aircraft, more quickly than our enemies can do.

For example, the Allies today on the European Front have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war on any and every point of the encircling line — more guns, more tanks, more planes, more trucks, more transports, more supply ships and more warships.

In the Pacific, we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships — merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are all in our favor — for we grow in strength and they cannot even replace all their losses. It might be ²² ~~called~~ a simple mathematical progression.

However, unless we keep up and increase the tempo of our present rate of production, this ^{greater strength in} ~~superiority~~ planes and guns, tanks and ships ~~can~~ ^{can} ~~not~~ all be lost.

Our great production program started during the darkest days of 1940. With the magnificent contribution made by American industry and

The same slow process was also the rule in the Southwest Pacific.

With the present increased range of airplanes ^{The and establishment of additional bases,} we are now flying more of them under their own power than before, but ^{all the things} everything [^] that goes to supply them — the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts — still have to be taken by ship to the fighting fronts all over the world. Practically every soldier and all his weapons and equipment have to go by ship. And every time a new forward move develops the whole outfit has to go by ship.

I wonder how many people realize what it means to carry on the war across the Atlantic and the Pacific and through the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, along lines of supply attacked by submarines and dive bombers at many points.

The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest military movement over the longest number of miles to landings under fire that history has recorded anywhere.

The ships for such an amphibious operation cannot be loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable safe wharf. Most of the ships must be "combat loaded" in such a way that the troops go ashore first and are immediately followed in the proper order by guns and ammunition, tanks, trucks and food, medical equipment and all the supplies of a modern army. Preparations must be made to conduct these landings under enemy fire, and on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen or planned this kind of operation even over short distances do not speak glibly about landing great expeditions on a few days' notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

The Members of the Congress have undoubtedly had an opportunity to see at first hand in their own home districts some of our war factories and plants and shipyards throughout the United States which are now working at full-blast turning out the greatest amount of war production in the history of the world.


Last June and July we were worried by a reduction in the rate of increase in production. Great as our production had been we could not afford to level off. We had to continue the upward curve and not pause on any plateaus.

I am happy to report that the increase was resumed in August. In this month of September it is even better.

For example, during the two months of the recess of the Congress our factories produced approximately fifteen thousand planes. There was an especially important increase in the production of heavy bombers in August. I cannot reveal the exact figures on this. They would give the enemy needed information — but no comfort.

However, the total airplane production is still not good enough. We

not only to come up to the schedule but to surpass it

During those same two months American shipyards put into commission three million, two hundred thousand tons of large merchant ships — a total of 281 ships, almost ^{five} ~~four~~ ships a day.

Even as the actual fighting engagements in which our troops take part increase in number, it is becoming more and more evident that this is essentially a great war of production. The best way to avoid heavy casualty lists is to provide our troops with the best equipment possible — and plenty of it.

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are still a long, long way from ultimate victory in any major theatre of the war.

First: Despite our substantial victories in the Mediterranean, we face a hard and costly fight up through Italy ^[to the Alps] — and a major job of organizing our positions before we can take advantage of them.

Second: From bases in the British Isles we must be sure that we

have assembled the strength to strike not just in one direction but in many directions -- by land and sea and in the air -- with overwhelming forces and equipment.

Third: Although our Russian Allies have made a magnificent counter-offensive, and are driving our common enemies back day by day, the Russian armies still have far to go before *they get into Germany itself.* ~~the last German has been~~
~~driven from Russian soil.~~

Fourth: The Japanese hold firmly established positions on an enormous front from the Kuriles through the mandated islands to the Solomons and through the Netherlands East Indies to Malaysia and Burma and China. To break through this defensive ring we must hit them and hit them hard not merely at one point but at many points, and we must keep on hitting them.

In all of history, there has never been a task ^{so} as tremendous as that which we now face. We can do it -- and we will do it -- but we must plan and work and fight with every ounce of intelligence and energy and courage that we possess.

The Congress has reconvened at a time when we are in the midst of the Third War Loan Drive seeking to raise a sum unparalleled in history -- fifteen billion dollars. This is a dramatic example of the scale on which this war still has to be fought, and presents some idea of how difficult and costly the responsible leaders of this government believe the war will be.

Nothing we can do will be more costly in lives than to adopt the attitude that the war has been won -- or nearly won. That would mean a let-down in the great tempo of production which we have reached, and would mean that our men who are now fighting all over the world will not have that overwhelming superiority of power which has dealt so much death and destruction to the enemy and at the same time has saved so many American lives.

That is why I have always maintained that there is no such separate entity as the "home front." Every day lost in turning out an airplane or a ship at home will have its direct effect upon the men now battling up the leg of Italy or in the jungles of the Southwest Pacific or in the clouds over China.

There have been complaints from some sources about the way this whole subject of production and other domestic activities have been carried on. Some of these complaints of course are justified. On the other hand some of them come from selfish people who merely do not like to give up their ^{own} pleasure, ~~dreaming~~ or a part of their butter or meat or milk.

Far-sighted citizens, however, will realize that although mistakes have been made, the job that has been done in converting peacetime America to a wartime basis has been a great job and a successful one, of which all our people have good reason to be proud.

It would be nothing short of a miracle if this unprecedented job of transforming a peace-loving, unprepared industrial America into a fighting and ~~was~~ production machine had been accomplished without some mistakes being made and some people being given cause for complaint.

The Congress is well aware of the magnitude of the undertaking, and of the many gigantic problems involved. For the Congress has been actively involved in helping to work out the solutions to these unprecedented problems.

A few facts will show how vast an enterprise this war has been -- and how we are constantly increasing the tempo of our production.

The total amount spent on the war from May 1940 to date is \$128,125,000,000. The bill is now running at the rate of \$250,000,000 per day.

Up to September 1, 1943, among the more important items produced and delivered since the armament program started in May 1940 are the following:

Airplanes	123,000
Airplane engines	123,000 349,000
Tanks	55,000
Artillery weapons	95,000
Small arms (rifles, carbines, machine guns, etc.)	9,500,000
Small arms ammunition	25,942,000,000 rounds
Trucks	1,235,000

In most instances more than half of the above total delivered to date was produced during the first eight months of 1945;

Airplanes	52,000
Tanks	25,000
Artillery weapons	40,600
Small arms (rifles, carbines, machine guns, etc.)	4,658,000
Small arms ammunition	13,359,000,000 rounds

The number of fighting ships and auxiliaries of all kinds completed since May 1940 is 2,390 and 15,000 landing vessels.

In the two and a half years between January 1, 1941 and July 1, 1945, the power plants built for installation in Navy vessels had a equal to all the horsepower horsepower of all hydroelectric plants in the United States in January 1941.

The completions of Navy ships during the last six months ^{was} *more* equal to completions in the entire year of 1942.

We have cut down the time required to build submarines by almost 50 percent.

The anti-aircraft and double purpose guns produced by the Navy since the defense program started in May/ 1940, if fired altogether, would throw 4,600 tons of projectiles per minute against the enemy.

The output of under-water ordnance (torpedoes, mines and depth charges) during the first half of 1945/ was equal to the total production of 1942.

During the month of August, 1945, we produced almost as many torpedoes as during all of World War I.

Anyone who has had to build a single factory, tool it up, get the necessary help, set up an assembly line, produce and ship the product will have some idea of what that amount of production has meant.

We have had to raise and equip armed forces ~~of~~ ^{approximately} ~~of~~ million men. Simultaneously, in spite of this drain on our manpower, we have had to find millions more men and millions of women to operate our war factories, arsenals, shipyards, essential civilian industries -- and the farms and mines of America.

There have been the problems of increasing greatly the output of our natural resources -- not only for our own Army and Navy and for our civilians at home, but also for our Allies and our own forces all over the world: ~~oil, coal, water power, metals, chemicals,~~ ^{Insert (A)}
(~~petroleum, iron, steel, etc.~~)

There were the problems of raising and distributing more food than ever before in our history -- for our armed services, for our own people, and to help feed our Allies.

There was the formidable problem of establishing a rationing system of the necessities of life which would be fair to all of our people.

There was the difficulty of keeping prices from skyrocketing and fighting off the serious spectre of inflation.

Insert (A) p. 24

Since the outbreak of war in Europe, we have increased our output of petroleum by 66 percent. We have stepped up our bituminous coal production by 40 percent; chemicals by 300 percent; iron ore by 125 percent; and steel by 106 percent.

Hydroelectric power by
79 percent;

There was the problem of transporting millions of men and *hundreds*
of millions
~~millions~~ of tons of weapons and supplies all over our own country and
also to all corners of the world. This necessitated the largest rail-
road and shipping operations in all history.

There were the problems involved in our vast purchases in
foreign countries; in our control of foreign funds, located in this
country; in our custody of alien property; in our occupation of
liberated areas. There were new problems of communications, of censor-
ship, of war information.

There was the problem of maintaining proper management-labor
relations; of fair treatment and just compensation to our millions of
war workers; of avoiding strikes; of preventing the exploitation of
workers ^{as} ~~an~~ natural resources by those who would seek to become war
profiteers and war millionaires.

There were the problems of civilian defense, of lend-lease, of
subcontracting war contracts to smaller businesses, of building up stock
piles of strategic material whose normal sources have been seized by the
enemy -- such as rubber and tin.

10 There was the problem of providing housing for millions of new
war workers all over the country.

And touching all of these, there was the great problem of
raising the money to pay for all of them.

No sincere, sensible person doubts that in such an unprecedented, breathtaking enterprise errors of honest judgment were bound to creep in, and that occasional disputes among conscientious officials were bound to occur. And if anyone thinks that we, working under our democratic system, have made major mistakes in this war, he should take a look at some of the blunders made by our enemies in the so-called "efficient" dictatorships.

Even sincere, sensible people sometimes fail to compare the handful of errors or disputes on the one hand, with the billions of instances where the agencies of government in cooperation with each other have moved ^{with the precision of} ~~like~~ a smoothly working machine.

Insert A

INSERT A PAGE 26

Some people, when a doughnut is placed before them, claim they can see only the hole in it. Sometimes this is an example of sheer individual pessimism; but sometimes it is caused by motives not consonant with war-winning ideals.

- 2 -

SIXTH DRAFT

The American people as a whole ^{have been} are fair-minded. They have learned to distinguish between the sensational and the factual. They know that there is no so-called "news" when things run right. They know, for example, that a few newspapers and columnists and radio commentators can make controversy create "news" which is eagerly sought by Axis propagandists in their evil work.

Obviously, we never could have produced and shipped as much as we have, we could not now be in the position we now occupy in the Mediterranean, in Italy, or in the Southwest Pacific or on the Atlantic convoy routes or in the air over Germany and France, if conditions in Washington and throughout the Nation were as confused and chaotic as some people try to paint them.

We know that in any large private industrial plant doing a thousandth part of what their government in Washington is doing, there ^{are occasional} are some mistakes and some arguments, ^{But this is not a good} ~~then come in their National Capital.~~ ^{conference. It is like comparing a motor boat with a battleship.}

What I have said is not in any way an apology — it is an assertion and a boast that the American people and their Government are doing an amazingly good job in carrying out a vast program which two years ago was said to be impossible of fulfillment. Luckily the American people have a sense of proportion. — ^{and a memory.}

As General Marshall has said, in his Biennial Report, "The development of the powerful army of today has been dependent upon

SIXTH DRAFT

- 30 -
vast appropriations and the strong support of the Congress, and the cooperation of numerous Government agencies."

I urge all Americans to read General Marshall's fine, soldierly record of the achievements of our Army throughout two of the most tremendous years in our history. This is a record which Americans will never forget.

As the war grows tougher and as new problems constantly arise in our domestic economy, changes in methods and changes in legislation may become necessary.

~~Particularly~~ We should move for the greater economic protection of our returning men and women in the armed forces — and for greater educational opportunities for them. And for all our citizens we should provide a further measure of social security in order to protect them against certain continuing hazards of life.

All these things, as well as eventual demobilization, should be studied now and much of the necessary legislation should be enacted. I do not mean that this statement should be regarded in any way as an intimation that we are approaching the end of the war. Such an intimation could not be based either on fact or on reason. But when the war ends, we do not want to be caught again without planning or legislation, such as has occurred at the end of the last war.

24
- 25 -
ROUGH DRAFT

On all these, and on other subjects, I expect to communicate with this Congress from time to time.

In this critical period in the history of our country and of the world, we seek cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government to furnish our citizens with the security of the standard of living ^{to} which their resources and their skills in management and labor entitle them in all matters which concern this Nation's welfare, present and future, — and the first of such matters, obviously, is the winning of this war.

Finally, as the war progresses, we seek a national cooperation with other nations toward the end that world aggression be ended and that fair international relationships be established on a permanent basis. The policy of the Good Neighbor has shown such success in the Hemisphere of the Americas that its extension to the whole world seems to be the logical next step. In that way we can begin to keep faith with our sons and daughters who are fighting for freedom and ~~and~~ justice and security at home and abroad.

During the two months' recess of the Congress, many important events have occurred at the war fronts and at home. You return at a time when major battles in Europe and in Asia are beginning to be joined. In recent months, the main tides of conflict have been running our way -- but we could not and cannot be content merely to drift with this favorable tide.

You know from the news of the past few days that every military operation entails a legitimate military risk and that occasionally we have checks to our plans -- checks which necessarily involve severe losses of men and materials.

On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily. In spite of heavy German opposition it cleared this large and heavily fortified island in thirty-eight days.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and missing in the Sicilian campaign were 31,158, of which the American forces lost 7445. The casualties among the Italians and Germans were approximately 165,000, including 152,000 prisoners.

The unmistakably sincere welcome given to the Allied troops by the Italian people has proved conclusively that even in a country

which had lived for a generation under a complete dictatorship -- with all of its propaganda, censorship, and suppression of free speech and discussion -- the love of liberty was unconquerable.

It has also proved conclusively that this war was not waged by the people of Italy on their own choice. All of Mussolini's propaganda machine could not make them love Hitler or hate us. The less said about the feelings toward Mussolini, the better.

I believe that equal jubilation and enthusiasm will be shown by the people of the other nations now under the German heel when Nazi Gauleiters and native Quislings are removed through force or flight.

How different was this invading army of the Allies from the German forces that had come into Sicily, ostensibly to "protect it." Food, clothing, cattle, medicines and household goods had been systematically stolen from the people of Sicily, and sent North to the "master race" in Germany. Sicily, like other parts of Italy and like the other satellite and conquered nations, had been bled white by the Nazi and Fascist governments. Growers of crops were permitted to retain only a small fraction of their own produce for themselves and their families.

With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned organization, trained and equipped to give physical care to the local population — food, clothing, medicine. This new organization is also now in the process of restoring to the people of Sicily freedoms which, for many years, had been denied to them. I am confident that, within a year, Sicily will be once more self-supporting — and, in addition to that, once more self-respecting.

From Sicily the advance of the Allied armies has continued to the mainland. On the third day of September they landed on the toe of the Italian peninsula. These were the first Allied troops to invade the continent of Europe in order to liberate the conquered and oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the answer to the prayer of the millions of liberty-loving human beings not only in these conquered lands but all over the world.

On July 25th — two weeks after our first landings in Sicily -- political events in Italy startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, the man who is more responsible for all of the sorrows of Italy than anyone, except possibly Hitler himself, was forced out of office and stripped of his power as a result of his own dismal

failures, his wanton brutalities, and the overwhelming demand of the Italian people. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to be followed, we are determined, by other and similar encouraging downfalls.

But there is one thing I want to make perfectly clear: When Hitler and the Nazis go out, the Prussian military clique must go with them. The war-breeding gangs of militarists must be rooted out of Germany -- and out of Japan -- if we are to have any real assurance of future peace.

Early last month, the relentless application of overwhelming Allied power -- particularly air and sea power -- convinced the leaders of Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun by them with us. These conversations were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Therefore, much as I wished to do so, I could not communicate the facts of the case to the Congress, or the press, or to those who repeatedly expressed dismay or indignation at our apparent course in Italy. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only to the Axis but to the Italian people themselves.

I am sure that the Congress realizes that there are many situations in this war -- and there will be many more to come -- in which it

is impossible for me to make any announcement or even to give any indication of the policy which we are following. And I ask the American people as well as the Congress to bear with me and with our Chiefs of Staff. It is difficult to remain silent when unjustified attack and criticism come from those who are not in a position to have all the facts.

But the people and the Congress can be sure that the policy which we follow is an expression of the basic democratic traditions and ideals of this Republic. We shall not be able to claim that we have gained total victory in this war if any vestige of Fascism in any of its malignant forms is permitted to survive anywhere in the world.

The Armistice with Italy was signed on September third in Sicily, but it could not be put into effect until September eighth, when we were ready to make landings in force in the Naples area. We had planned these landings some time before and were determined to go through with them, armistice or no armistice.

Italian leaders appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us. Italian soldiers, though disorganized and ill-supplied, have been fighting the Germans in many regions. As you know, the Italian fleet has come over to our side; and it will be a powerful weapon in striking at the Nazi enemies of the Italian people.

The Allied forces are now engaged in a very hard battle south of Naples. Casualties are heavy. The desperateness with which the Germans are fighting reveals that they are well aware of the consequences to them of our occupation of Italy.

We are not going to be stopped. We shall drive the Germans out of Italy. We have the power to do it and we are applying that power.

The Congress and the American people can rest assured that the landing on Italy is not the only landing we have in mind. That landing was planned at Casablanca. At Quebec, the leaders and the military staffs of Great Britain and the United States made specific and precise plans to bring to bear further blows of equal or greater importance against Germany and Japan -- with definite times and places for other landings on the continent of Europe and elsewhere.

When Hitler was forced to the conclusion that his offensive was broken, and he must go on the defensive, he started boasting that he had converted Europe into an impregnable fortress. But he neglected to provide that fortress with a roof. He also left various other vulnerable spots in the wall of the so-called fortress -- which we shall point out to him in due time.

The British and American air forces have been bombing the roofless fortress with ever-increasing effectiveness. It is now our purpose

to establish bases within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany, and to bring devastating war home to these places by day and by night as it has already been brought to Western Germany.

When Britain was being subjected to mass bombing in 1940 and 1941 -- when the British people including their King and Prime Minister, were proving that Britain "could take it" -- the strategists of the Royal Air Force and of our own Army Air Forces were not idle. They were studying the mistakes that Goering and his staff of Nazi terrorists were making. Those were fatal mistakes, as it turned out.

Today, we and the British are not making those mistakes. We are not bombing tenements for the sheer sadistic pleasure of killing, as the Nazis did. We are striking devastating blows at carefully selected, clearly identified strategic objectives -- factories, shipyards, munition dumps, transportation facilities, which make it possible for the Nazis to wage war. And we are hitting these military targets and blowing them to bits.

German power can still do us great injury. But that evil power is being destroyed, surely, inexorably, day by day, and if Hitler doesn't know it by now, then the last trace of sanity has departed from that distorted mind.

We must remember that in any great air attack the British and Americans lose a fairly high proportion of planes and that these losses must be made up quickly so that the weight of the bombing shall not decrease for a day in the future. In fact, a high rate of increase must be maintained according to plan — and that means constant stepping-up of our production here at home.

In the raid on the Ploesti oil fields in Rumania we lost many valuable bombers and more than five hundred of our finest men. That represented about fifty per cent of the force that was sent on that remarkable raid. This may seem like a disastrously high percentage, unless you figure it against the damage done to the enemy's war power. I am certain that the German or the Japanese high commands would cheerfully sacrifice tens of thousands of men to do the same amount of damage to us, if they could. Those gallant and brilliant young Americans who raided Ploesti won a smashing victory which, I believe, will contribute materially to the shortening of the war and thus save countless lives.

We shall continue to make such raids all over the territory of Germany and the satellite countries. With Italy in our hands, the distances we have to travel will be far less and the risks proportionately reduced.

We have reliable information that there is definite unrest and a growing desire for peace among the peoples of these satellite countries -- Rumania, Hungary, Finland and Bulgaria. We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt against Nazi dominance which commenced in Italy will burst into flame and become a consuming fire.

Every American is thrilled by the smashing blows delivered against the Nazi aggressors by the Russian Armies. This summer there has been no successful German advance against the Russians, as in 1941 and 1942. The shoe today is on the other foot -- and is pinching very hard. Instead, the Russians have forced the greatest military reversal since Napoleon's retreat in 1812.

The recapture of Kharkov, Stalino and Bryansk by the Russians, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing of millions of valuable acres and "inhabited places" hearten the whole world as the Russian campaign moves toward the elimination of every German from Russian soil -- toward the invasion of Germany itself. It is certain that the campaign in North Africa, the occupation of Sicily, the fighting in Italy and the compelling of large numbers of German planes to go into combat in the skies over Holland, Belgium and France by reason of our air attacks, have given important help to the Russian armies along their advancing front

from Leningrad to the Black Sea. We know, too, that we are contributing to that advance by making Germany keep many divisions in the Balkans, in Southern France and along the English Channel. I like to think that these words constitute an understatement.

Similarly, the events in the Mediterranean have a direct bearing upon the war against Japan.

When the American and British expeditionary forces first landed in North Africa last November, some people believed that we were neglecting our obligations to prosecute the war vigorously in the Pacific. Such people continually make the mistake of trying to divide the war into several watertight compartments -- the Western European front -- the Russian front -- the Burma front -- the New Guinea and Solomons front, and so forth -- as though all of these fronts were separate and unrelated to each other. You even hear talk of the "air war" as opposed to the "land war" or the "sea war."

Actually, we cannot think of this as several wars. It is all one war, and it must be governed by one basic strategy.

The freeing of the Mediterranean, which we started last fall, will lead directly to the resumption of our complete control of the waters of the Eastern Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal. Thus, we shall be enabled to strike the Japanese on another of their highly vulnerable flanks.

As long as Italy remained in the war as our enemy -- as long as the Italian fleet remained in being as a threat -- a substantial part of British naval strength had to be kept locked up in the Mediterranean. Now that formidable strength is freed to proceed eastward to join in the ever-increasing attack upon the Japs.

There has been one serious gap in the lines of our globe-girdling sea power. That is the gap between Northwest Australia and Ceylon. That gap can now be closed as a result of victory in the Mediterranean.

We face, in the Orient, a long and difficult fight. We must be prepared for heavy losses in winning that fight. The power of Japan will not collapse until it has been literally pounded into the dust. It would be the utmost folly for us to try to pretend otherwise.

Even so, if the future is tough for us, think what it is for General Tojo and his murderous gang. They may look to the North, to the South, to the East or to the West. They can see closing in on them, from all directions, the forces of retribution under the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, General MacArthur, Admiral Nimitz, and Admiral Lord Mountbatten.

The forces operating against Japan in the various Pacific theatres are just as much interrelated and dependent on each other as

are the forces operating against Germany in Europe.

With the new threats that we offer from the Aleutians, Japan cannot afford to devote as large a proportion of her forces to hold the lines in other areas.

Such actions as the taking of Kiska do not just happen. They are the results of careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while some of our critics were so perturbed that they had reached the verge of tears at what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them to realize that the carefully prepared and successful actions of Midway or in the Coral Sea or in the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians untenable.

Japan has been hard put to it to maintain her extended lines. She had to withdraw her garrison from Kiska in the face of the oncoming American-Canadian forces because she could not maintain a steady stream of adequate reinforcements and supplies to the Aleutians.

In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so much island territory that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact, it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat on our part against

the Japanese in the seas that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.

American and Australian (and New Zealand?) troops in a magnificent campaign in New Guinea have destroyed much Japanese strength and have gained for us new bases from which to launch new offensive operations.

After a long period of defensive strategy in Burma, we are finally taking the offensive there. I am also glad to report to you that we are getting more supplies and military help to China. Almost every day word comes that a new air battle has destroyed two and three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. That process will continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself.

It goes almost without saying that when Japan surrenders the United Nations will never again let her have authority over the islands which were mandated to her by the League of Nations. Japan obviously is not to be trusted. And the same thing holds good in the case of the vast territories which Japan has stolen from China starting long before this war began.

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous military and

naval policy of attrition. That means, cold-bloodedly, placing the ever-increasing resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the ever-decreasing resources of the Axis. It means the training and use of the Allied manpower -- which is greater than the Axis. It means the use of our superior facilities and ability to make more munitions, and above all aircraft, more quickly than our enemies can do.

For example, the Allies today on the European Front have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war on any and every point of the encircling line -- more guns, more tanks, more planes, more trucks, more transports, more supply ships and more warships.

In the Pacific, we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships -- merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are all in our favor -- for we grow in strength and they cannot even replace all their losses. It might be capped a simple mathematical progression.

However, unless we keep up and increase the tempo of our present rate of production, this superiority of planes and guns, tanks and ships might all be lost.

Our great production program started during the darkest days of 1940. With the magnificent contribution made by American industry and

American labor, it is approaching full production. Britain has already attained full production. Today, Great Britain and the United States, together, are turning out so much more of everything needed in war that we have definite superiority over Germany and Japan which is growing with every succeeding minute. But we have no minutes to lose.

Those distant theatres of war present to mind problems that every American should realize — problems of transporting the things of war which we make, from our shores to the actual fighting areas itself. Burma and China can be reached only with extraordinary difficulty. Two years ago, most of the planes we sent had to be knocked down, crated, put on board ship, transported, then uncrated and put together again in India, and from there sent up to the fighting front.

In the case of China, they had to be flown over enormous mountains. Even after they were safely delivered there, the planes had to be kept supplied with ground crews, tools, oil, gasoline and even spare parts. Since the Japs cut the Burma Road, all these supplies have to be flown over hundreds of miles to bases which had to be built in China.

The same slow process was also the rule in the Southwest Pacific.

With the present increased range of airplanes, we are now flying more of them under their own power than before, but everything that goes to supply them -- the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts -- still have to be taken by ship to the fighting fronts all over the world. Practically every soldier and all his weapons and equipment have to go by ship. And every time a new forward move develops the whole outfit has to go by ship.

I wonder how many people realize what it means to carry on the war across the Atlantic and the Pacific and through the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, along lines of supply attacked by submarines and dive bombers at many points.

The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest military movement over the longest number of miles to landings under fire that history has recorded anywhere.

The ships for such an amphibious operation cannot be loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable safe wharf. Most of the ships must be "combat loaded" in such a way that the troops go ashore first and are immediately followed in the proper order by guns and ammunition, tanks, trucks and food, medical equipment and all the supplies of a modern army. Preparations must be made to conduct these landings under enemy fire, and on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen or planned this kind of operation even over short distances do not speak glibly about landing great expeditions on a few days notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

The Members of the Congress have undoubtedly had an opportunity to see at first hand in their own home districts some of our war factories and plants and shipyards throughout the United States which are now working at full-blaze turning out the greatest amount of war production in the history of the world.

Last June and July we were worried by a reduction in the rate of increase in production. Great as our production had been we could not afford to level off. We had to continue the upward curve and not pause on any plateaus.

I am happy to report that the increase was resumed in August. In this month of September it is even better.

For example, during the two months of the recess of the Congress our factories produced approximately fifteen thousand planes. There was an especially important increase in the production of heavy bombers in August. I cannot reveal the exact figures on this. They would give the enemy needed information -- but no comfort.

During those same two months American shipyards put into commission three million, two hundred thousand tons of large merchant ships -- a total of 261 ships, almost four ships a day.

Even as the actual fighting engagements in which our troops take part increase in number, it is becoming more and more evident that this is essentially a great war of production. The best way to avoid heavy casualty lists is to provide our troops with the best equipment possible -- and plenty of it.

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are still a long long way from ultimate victory in any major theatre of the war.

First: Despite our substantial victories in the Mediterranean, we face a hard and costly fight up through Italy to the Alps -- and a major job of organizing our positions before we can take advantage of them.

Second: From bases in the British Isles we must be sure that we

have assembled the strength to strike not just in one direction but in many directions -- by land and sea and in the air -- with overwhelming forces and equipment.

Third: Although our Russian allies have made a magnificent counter-offensive, and are driving our common enemies back day by day, the Russian armies still have far to go before the last German has been driven from Russian soil.

Fourth: The Japanese hold firmly established positions on an enormous front from the Kuriles through the mandated islands to the Solomons and through the Netherlands East Indies to Malaysia and Burma and China. To break through this defensive ring we must hit them and hit them hard not merely at one point but at many points, and we must keep on hitting them.

In all of history, there has never been a task as tremendous as that which we now face. We can do it -- and we will do it -- but we must plan and work and fight with every ounce of intelligence and energy and courage that we possess.

The Congress has reconvened at a time when we are in the midst of the Third War Loan Drive seeking to raise a sum unparalleled in history -- fifteen billion dollars. This is a dramatic example of the scale on which this war still has to be fought, and presents some idea of how difficult and costly the responsible leaders of this government believe the war will be.

Nothing we can do will be more costly in lives than to adopt the attitude that the war has been won -- or nearly won. That would mean a let-down in the great tempo of production which we have reached, and would mean that our men who are now fighting all over the world will not have that overwhelming superiority of power which has dealt so much death and destruction to the enemy and at the same time has saved so many American lives.

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In most instances more than half of the above total delivered to date was produced during the first eight months of 1943:

Airplanes	52,000
Tanks	23,000
Artillery weapons	40,600
Small arms (rifles, carbines, machine guns, etc.)	4,658,000
Small arms ammunition	15,359,000,000 rounds

The number of fighting ships and auxiliaries of all kinds completed since May 1940 is 2,380 and 15,000 landing vessels.

In the two and a half years between January 1, 1941 and July 1, 1943, the power plants built for installation in Navy vessels had a ^{equal to all the horsepower} horsepower of all hydroelectric plants in the United States in January 1941.

The completions of Navy ships during the last six months was equal to completions in the entire year of 1942.

We have cut down the time required to build submarines by almost 50 percent.

The anti-aircraft and double purpose guns produced by the Navy since the defense program started in May, 1940, if fired altogether, would throw 4,600 tons of projectiles per minute against the enemy.

The output of under-water ordnance (torpedoes, mines and depth charges) during the first half of 1943, was equal to the total production of 1942.

During the month of August, 1945, we produced almost as many torpedoes as during all of World War I.

Anyone who has had to build a single factory, tool it up, get the necessary help, set up an assembly line, produce and ship the product will have some idea of what that amount of production has meant.

We have had to raise and equip armed forces of ten million men. Simultaneously, in spite of this drain on our manpower, we have had to find millions more men and millions of women to operate our war factories, arsenals, shipyards, essential civilian industries — and the farms and mines of America.

There have been the problems of increasing greatly the output of our natural resources — not only for our own Army and Navy and for our civilians at home, but also for our Allies and our own forces all over the world: oil, coal, water power, metals, chemicals.
(get figures showing increase)

There were the problems of raising and distributing more food than ever before in our history — for our armed services, for our own people, and to help feed our Allies.

There was the formidable problem of establishing a rationing system of the necessities of life which would be fair to all of our people.

There was the difficulty of keeping prices from skyrocketing and fighting off the serious spectre of inflation.

There was the problem of transporting millions of men and billions of tons of weapons and supplies all over our own country and also to all corners of the world. This necessitated the largest railroad and shipping operations in all history.

There were the problems involved in our vast purchases in foreign countries; in our control of foreign funds, located in this country; in our custody of alien property; in our occupation of liberated areas. There were new problems of communications, of censorship, of war information.

There was the problem of maintaining proper management-labor relations; of fair treatment and just compensation to our millions of war workers; of avoiding strikes; of preventing the exploitation of workers on natural resources by those who would seek to become war profiteers and war millionaires.

There were the problems of civilian defense, of lend-lease, of subcontracting war contracts to smaller businesses, of building up stock piles of strategic material whose normal sources have been seized by the enemy — such as rubber and tin.

There was the problem of providing housing for millions of new war workers all over the country.

And touching all of these, there was the great problem of raising the money to pay for all of them.

No sincere, sensible person doubts that in such an unprecedented, breathtaking enterprise errors of honest judgment were bound to creep in, and that occasional disputes among conscientious officials were bound to occur. And if anyone thinks that we, working under our democratic system, have made major mistakes in this war, he should take a look at some of the blunders made by our enemies in the so-called "efficient" dictatorships.

Even sincere, sensible people sometimes fail to compare the handfuls of errors or disputes on the one hand, with the billions of instances where the agencies of government in cooperation with each other have moved like a smoothly working machine.

SIXTH DRAFT

The American people as a whole are fair-minded. They have learned to distinguish between the sensational and the factual. They know that there is no so-called "news" when things run right. They know, for example, that a few newspapers and columnists and radio commentators can make controversy create news which is eagerly sought by Axis propagandists in their evil work.

Obviously, we never could have produced and shipped as much as we have, we could not now be in the position we now occupy in the Mediterranean, in Italy, or in the Southwest Pacific or on the Atlantic convoy routes or in the air over Germany and France, if conditions in Washington and throughout the nation were as confused and chaotic as some people try to paint them.

We know that in any large private industrial plant doing a thousandth part of what their government in Washington is doing, there are more mistakes and more arguments than exist in their Nation's Capital.

What I have said is not in any way an apology — it is an assertion and a boast that the American people and their government are doing an amazingly good job in carrying out a vast program which two years ago was said to be impossible of fulfillment. Luckily the American people have a sense of proportion.

As General Marshall has said, in his Biennial Report, "The development of the powerful army of today has been dependent upon

SIXTH DRAFT

vast appropriations and the strong support of the Congress, and the cooperation of numerous Government agencies."

I urge all Americans to read General Marshall's fine, soldierly record of the achievements of our Army throughout two of the most tremendous years in our history. This is a record which Americans will never forget.

As the war grows tougher and as new problems constantly arise in our domestic economy, changes in methods and changes in legislation may become necessary.

Particularly we should move for the greater economic protection of our returning men and women in the armed forces -- and for greater educational opportunities for them. And for all our citizens we should provide a further measure of social security in order to protect them against certain continuing hazards of life.

All these things, as well as eventual demobilization, should be studied now and much of the necessary legislation should be enacted. I do not mean that this statement should be regarded in any way as an intimation that we are approaching the end of the war. Such an intimation could not be based either on fact or on reason. But when the war ends, we do not want to be caught again without planning or legislation, such as has occurred at the end of the last war.

On all these, and on other subjects, I expect to communicate with this Congress from time to time.

In this critical period in the history of our country and of the world, we seek cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government to furnish our citizens with the security of the standard of living which their resources and their skills in management and labor entitle them in all matters which concern this Nation's welfare, present and future, -- and the first of such matters, obviously, is the winning of this war.

Finally, as the war progresses, we seek a national cooperation with other nations toward the end that world aggression be ended and that fair international relationships be established on a permanent basis. The policy of the Good Neighbor has shown such success in the Hemisphere of the Americas that its extension to the whole world seems to be the logical next step. In that way we can begin to keep faith with our sons and daughters who are fighting for freedom and for justice and security at home and abroad.

INSERT A - p. 6

In the raid on the Ploesti oil fields in Rumania we lost many valuable bombers and more than five hundred of our finest men. That represented about fifty per cent of the force that was sent on that remarkable raid. This may seem like a disastrously high percentage, unless you figure it against the damage done to the enemy's war power. I am certain that the German or the Japanese high commands would cheerfully sacrifice tens of thousands of men to do the same amount of damage to us, if they could. Those gallant and brilliant young Americans who raided Ploesti won a smashing victory which, I believe, will contribute materially to the shortening of the war and thus save countless lives.

We shall continue to make such raids all over the territory of Germany and the satellite countries.

9/5/76
NOTED TO CONGRESS



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30

Message to Congress - 9/15/43

Third Draft - carbon - 24 pages - S.I.R. corrections throughout

Fourth Draft - carbon - 27 pages - S.I.R. corrections

Fifth Draft - carbon - 25 pages - S.I.R. corrections

Sixth Draft - carbon - 29 pages - R.E.S. corrections



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MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

THIRD DRAFT

During the two month's recess of the Congress, many important events have occurred at the war fronts and at home. I know that all Americans are glad to see you back again, meeting at a time when the tides of conflict are definitely and consistently running our way.

~~Most~~ ^{Not} fresh in our minds are the happenings in Sicily and Italy. On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily. In spite of heavy German opposition ^{and heavily fortified} it cleared this large island in four weeks, 35 days.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and missing were approximately _____ of which the American forces lost _____. The losses among the Italians and Germans have been estimated at _____ dead, wounded and prisoners.

The joyous welcome given to the Allied troops by the population proved conclusively that even in a country which had lived for a generation under a complete dictatorship ^{with all its propaganda, censorship, and limitation of free speech and} the people themselves welcomed the day of release from ~~the~~ ^{their} intolerable yoke.



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THIRD DRAFT

- 2 -

*where people suffered, at
the dictation of Hitler, have
forced wars upon their
unhappy people.*

It also proved conclusively that this war was
not waged by the people of Italy on their own choice. (A)

It is plain that we shall see a lot more of these wars in other satellite nations of the Axis
How different was this invading army of the

Allies ^{him} ~~for~~ the invading hordes of German armies that had
occupied Sicily a year before under the guise of protecting

it! Food, clothing, cattle, medicines and household goods
^{systematically} had been stolen from the people of Italy, and sent back to

the "master race" in Germany. ^{Italy} ~~Stolen~~ ^{North} like other parts of
Italy and like the other satellite and conquered nations, ^{Sicily}

had been bled white by the Nazi and Fascist governments.

Growers of crops were permitted to retain only a small fraction of
their own produce for themselves and their families
of their needs. } With the Allied armies, however, went a care-

fully planned organization, trained and equipped to give

physical care to the local population -- food, clothing,

This new organization is also now in the process of restoring to the people Sicily
medicine, -- ^{and also to restore} certain freedoms which, for
^{individual} many years, had been denied to them. ^{freedom} Within a year, Sicily,

to all intents and purposes, will be self-supporting -- and,

in addition to that self-respecting. ^{once more} *I am confident that,*

From Sicily the onward sweep of the allied armies

has continued into the mainland. On the third day of September

they landed on the ^{for} ~~beach~~ of the Italian peninsula. These

were the first allied troops to land on the continent of



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THIRD DRAFT

- 3 -

Europe to liberate the conquered and oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the answer to the prayer of the millions of liberty-loving human beings not only in these conquered lands but all over the world.

A little over a month ago -- even before we had completely occupied Sicily -- political events in Italy startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, the man who is more responsible for all of the sorrows of Italy than anyone except Hitler himself, was forced ^{to place and strip of his power as a result of} out by his own dismal failures and by the overwhelming demand of the Italian people, ~~and seems to have disappeared~~. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to be followed, we are determined, by other and similar encouraging ^{developments} ~~disappearances~~.

Not long after his abdication, the relentless bombing of Italian cities by the Allied Air Forces convinced the leaders of Italy that it could ^{no longer} ~~not~~ continue an active ^{negotiations} part in the war. ^{at their request} Conversations were begun by us with the Italian leaders. They were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Much as I would have liked to inform the Congress, and the ^{also} members of the press, and those who repeatedly expressed dismay



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THIRD DRAFT

- 4 -

or indignation at our course in Italy, I could not. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only to the Axis but to the Italian people themselves. ^{our talks with the Italian leaders,} as a result of these conversations, announcement was made on September wighth that an armistice had been

arranged on September third. The reason for the delay in the
~~was to await the Allied bombing of the Italian harbor the Germans~~
~~public announcement.~~ Simultaneously Italian leaders appealed

to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us. As you know, the
Union Navy has come over to our side.

Events are moving very fast. The Allies are

confident that the Italian people will once again regain the
 9-11-44
 respect of the democratic nations of the world by helping to
 drive the Germans from their soil and from many parts of the
 Balkan peninsula now occupied by Nazi troops.

The noose around the throat of Germany is being tightened -- and, in time ~~it~~ ^{it} will choke. It is our aim soon to come within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany, and bring devastating war home to these places as it has already been brought to Western Germany.

THE RECORDS BY THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

We know the effectiveness of the bombing of
the Ruhr, and Cologne, and Hamburg, and Berlin, and ~~Munich~~ ^{and}
and other places. ^{We know} and that German munition production has



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THIRD DRAFT

-5-

as a result of this. We are determined to curtail it
 been seriously curtailed, ~~We will get further curtailment~~
 still further ^{German}
 by bringing every city in Germany and all the war plants in

nearby occupied countries within easy range of our night

bombers and day bombers, ~~and to wipe off the map every war~~
 factory, shipyard, ^{and} transportation facility ~~which keeps Germany~~
 And we must remember that in any great air ^{campaign}

attack the British and ourselves lose a fairly high

proportion of planes and that these losses must be made up ^{quickly}

so that the weight of the bombing shall not decrease in the ^{for a day}

future. ^{In fact it is to get quickly - it must} ~~Actually it ought to increase --~~ and I believe it

will if we can keep up and speed up our daily ^{production} completion of

fighting aircraft of all kinds.

We have reliable information that there is also

definite unrest and a growing desire for peace ^{among the people} in most parts

of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Greece ^{and} in Bulgaria and Rumania.

We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt which ^{has} commenced in Italy will spread ^{and with the same speed as} with great rapidity. ^{in Italy.}

Every American is aware of the smashing blows

delivered against them by the Russian Armies. This Summer ^{to Russia}

there has been no German ^{counter attack} push far back into the Russian lines, ^{as} in 1941 and 1942

The shoe today is on the other foot, ^{and is pinching} very hard.



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THIRD DRAFT

- 6 -

The recapture by the Russians of Rostov and Stalingrad, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing of millions of acres and "inhabited places" hearten the whole world as the campaign moves toward the ^{Russian} ~~elimination~~ ^{destruction} of every German from Russian soil -- as it moves toward the invasion of Germany itself. ^{any people can} ~~We like to think~~ that the campaign in North Africa, the occupation of Sicily, the fighting in Italy and the freezing of large numbers of German planes on the coasts of Holland, Belgium and France have given some help to the Russian armies in their great push from Leningrad to the Black Sea. ^{by itself} ^{important} We hope, too, that we are contributing to that push by ~~the~~ making Germany keep many divisions in the Balkans, in Southern France and along the English Channel. ~~I like to think that~~ ^{are really} these words constitute an under-statement.

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous military and naval policy of attrition. That means, cold-bloodedly, placing the greater resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the lesser resources of the Axis. It means the training and use of the Allied manpower -- which is greater than the Axis. It means the use of our superior



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THIRD DRAFT

- 7 -

facilities and ability ^{to make} ~~the making~~ more munitions more quickly than our enemies can.

For example, the Allies today on the European Front have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war [more planes] on any and every point of the encircling line -- more guns, more tanks, ^{more planes,} more trucks; more transports, more supply ships and more warships.

However, unless we keep up and increase the tempo of our present rate of production, this superiority of planes and [weapons] guns, tanks and ships ^{might well be lost} can quickly be changed once again into the tragic picture of the air dominated by the Axis and the battlefields controlled by enemy tanks and the seas made partially impassable by enemy submarines.]

Our great production program only started ^{after the Fall of France} ~~two years~~ ^{in 1940}

ago. With the magnificent contribution made by American industry and American Labor, it may well be said to be approaching full production. Britain has already attained full production. Today, Great Britain and the United States are turning out so much more of everything needed in war that if we keep it up and do not slacken our efforts, our superiority over Germany will grow with every succeeding month.



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THIRD DRAFT

- 8 -

The same policy of attrition is succeeding equally well in the Pacific Ocean. Japan made the primary mistake in the first flush of victory in the months that followed Pearl Harbor by extending her military and naval lines too far. When our task forces and submarines went to work on the Japanese lines of communication, they began to destroy shipping faster than the Japs could rebuild. That whittling down process has been going on ever since. The result is that Japan has been hard put to it to maintain her ^{extended} far-flung lines. For example, it was because Japan could not maintain a steady stream of adequate supplies and reinforcements to Kiska, that the Japanese garrison had to be withdrawn in the face of the ^{American} oncoming force from our Western Coast.

It was because of the sacrifices of our armed forces and the ability of our people to produce on the home front that the flag of the Rising Sun has been trampled once again to the ground and the Stars and Stripes are flying on the barren rocks of the Island of Kiska.

These things do not just happen. They are the results of the careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while some of our orators were so perturbed that they



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THIRD DRAFT

- 9 -

had reached the verge of tears at what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

It was difficult for them to realize that the carefully planned and successful actions of Midway or in the Coral Sea or in the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians relatively unimportant.

However, there are no longer any Japanese left in the Aleutian Islands and the airfields they built there now become available for further operations by us in a westerly direction.

The whittling away process hit the Japs hard in the Aleutian Islands. Their material losses were far greater than ours. And the same policy has extended throughout the Pacific. In the past year and a half we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships -- all merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are ~~still~~ in our favor -- for we are manufacturing far more than they can manufacture. It might even be called a simple mathematical progression.



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In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so much island territory that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact, it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat on our part against the Japanese in the Seas that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.

*any
11.7.41
this
area*

→ American and Australian troops in a magnificent campaign have whittled away far more Japanese strength than all of our losses combined. Finally, after a long period of defensive strategy in Burma, we are taking the offensive and I am glad to say we are getting more supplies and military help to China. Almost every day word comes that a new air battle has destroyed two and three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. That process will continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself.

That presents to my mind problems that every American should realize -- problems of getting the things of war which we make, from our shores to the actual fighting theatre itself. Burma and China cannot be reached except with extraordinary difficulty. Two years ago, most of the planes we sent



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THIRD DRAFT

- 11 -

had to be knocked down, crated, put on board ship, uncrated and put together in India and sent up to the fighting front. In the case of China they had to be sent over enormous mountains. Once delivered there the planes had to be supplied with ground crews, tools, oil, gasoline and even spare parts. Since the Japs cut the Burma Road, all these things have to be flown over hundreds of miles to bases in China which had to be built.

The same slow process was also the rule in the Southwest Pacific.

With the increased range of airplanes, we are now sending more of them under our own power than before, but everything that goes to supply them -- the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts -- ^{has} had to be taken by ship to the fighting fronts ^{has} all over the Pacific. Practically every soldier ^{has} had to go by ship. All his equipment ^{has} had to go by ship. Huge weapons ^{has} had to go by ship. And every time a new forward move developed the whole outfit ^{has} had to go by ship.

I wonder how many people realize what carrying on one war across the Pacific and through the Indian Ocean and another war across the Atlantic and the Mediterranean means, especially when our lines of supply face lurking submarines at many points and dive bombers.



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THIRD DRAFT

12
• L •

The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest military movement over the longest number of miles and ending with landings under fire that history records anywhere.

The operation against Sicily, a part of which started directly in Britain and in the United States, was at least equal. The ships in this kind of movement are not loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable safe wharf. Most of the ships have to be what is called "combat loaded" -- loaded in such a way that the troops going ashore first are immediately followed by guns and ammunition, tanks, trucks and food, medical equipment and all the supplies of a modern army -- ~~all~~ under enemy fire, and, generally, on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen or planned this kind of operation over long distances or short distances do not speak glibly about landing great expeditions on a few day's notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

The havoc which Germany started in bombing defenseless nations has at last come back to roost upon the



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THIRD DRAFT

- 13 -

roof tops of the German people themselves. Almost day by day, almost night by night, the American and British Air Forces have been over the cities of Germany and her satellite nations and over her war factories in the occupied countries dropping destruction from the sky.

The difference between the German air attack and our own air attack, however, is that the Germans wasted their air power when they had it by ruthless bombing of objectives which had no material significance. Our own bombing of Germany is directed at her war industry, her transportation, her submarine and shipping bases and her shipyards. We know that this continued bombing is having a direct effect upon the German Armies actually in the field; because it is destroying or damaging the buildings and tools which make fighting equipment and submarines and ships; and because it is destroying the means of transporting materials of war to the armies in the field.

The Members of the Congress have undoubtedly had an opportunity to see at first-hand some of our war factories and plants and shipyards throughout the United States which



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THIRD DRAFT

-14-

are now working at full-blast turning out the greatest amount of war production in the history of the world. Since the Congress took ^{the} ~~its~~ recess from which it has now reconvened, I can give you some statistics without revealing information to the enemy.

For instance - (here give some figures).

*As if not
any more
just give the*
There are a great many other items of manufacture of many kinds of instruments which it would be unwise at present to divulge.

Even as the actual fighting engagements in which our troops take part increase in number, it is becoming more and more evident that this is essentially a great ^{war} ~~war~~ of production. The outstanding reason for our comparatively light casualty list has been the fact that our troops have had the best equipment possible and plenty of it.

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. When we consider how far the Axis had gone in their march of conquest of the world by that time, I think we can all agree that almost a miracle has been ^{wrought} performed in stopping them in their path of conquest and turning them back into their walls of defense.



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THIRD DRAFT

-15-

I have given you the brighter side of the war picture as I see it today. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are still a long long way from ultimate victory in any major theatre of the war.

While one of the Axis partners has formally signed an armistice and dropped out of the war, we must still fight Germany on the very soil of Italy. Over a period of a year the Nazis have gradually taken physical control of Italy, looted her resources for her own selfish benefit, and entrenched herself on the soil of Italy -- determined to make Italy a battle ground and ^{but if} forestall the inevitable day when Germany itself would be the scene of battle. The Germans will have to be beaten out of Italy by our armies before we can really say that Italy itself has been conquered.

The Russian Armies which have done the most brilliant, destructive, and determined and desperate fighting are still fighting on Russian soil.

Japan still holds most of her conquered lands and all those bases which she has strongly fortified over a period of a score of years illegally and in violation of the mandate which was given to her. If we ever attempt to take back this



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THIRD DRAFT

-16-

land, island by island, it would be a task which would take too long and which would cost too much in American lives and material. The objective is still to strike directly at the ~~islands~~ ^{mainlands} of Japan itself. That is going to be a tough job but it will be done.

It goes almost without saying that when Japan surrenders the United Nations will never again let her have authority over the islands which were mandated to her by the League of Nations. Japan obviously is not to be trusted. And the same thing holds good, I think, in the case of the ~~vast~~ ^{vast} ~~great~~ territories which Japan has stolen from China starting long before this war began.

Japan still holds a large part of China. She must be driven from the mainland and with all of the difficulties which I have described in getting fighting equipment into China, that is going to be a long and difficult undertaking.

We can never lose sight of the fact that all the implements of war which we use have to be shipped either across the Atlantic Ocean or the Pacific Ocean. That reinforcements of men and supplies and tools and equipment



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of all kinds have to be sent over distances that require careful months of planning and almost limitless supplies of vessels. Fortunately the great rate of shipping destruction by submarines which prevailed when this Congress met last January has been materially reduced. In fact during the last two months it has fallen to a minimum. But we can never be sure as to just when that menace will return either in its old form or under some improved operation to make our job more difficult and longer than it looks even now.

The Congress has reconvened at a time when we are in the midst of the Third War Loan Drive seeking to raise a sum unparalleled in history -- fifteen ~~bisc~~ billion dollars. This is a dramatic example of the scale on which this war still has to be fought and presents some idea of how difficult and costly the responsible leaders and Chiefs of Staff of this government believe the war will be.

Nothing we can do will be more costly in lives than to adopt the attitude that the war has been won. Because that would mean a let-down in the ~~ix~~ great tempo of production which we have reached and would mean that our men who are now fighting all over the world will not have that overwhelming



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THIRD DRAFT

-18-

superiority of fighting power which has dealt so much death and destruction to the enemy and at the same time has saved so many American lives.

That is why I have always maintained that there is no separate entity as the "home front". Every day lost in turning out an airplane or a ship at home will have its direct effect upon the men now ^{beating} ~~creating~~ up the leg of Italy or stalking the Japs in the jungles of the Southwest Pacific.

There have been many complaints about the way this whole subject of production and the other activities here at home have been carried on. Many of these complaints are justified. On the other hand many of them come from selfish people who do not like to give up their pleasure driving or a part of their butter or meat or milk.

Fair-minded citizens, however I think will realize that although mistakes have been made, a great job has been done in converting peace-time America to a war-time basis.

etc.



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THIRD DRAFT

-18-

It would be nothing short of a miracle if this unprecedented job of transforming a peace-loving, unprepared industrial America into a fighting and war production machine were done without mistakes and justifiable complaint.

The Congress, on the whole, is well aware of the magnitude of the undertaking and of the many ^{head-}~~tail~~-splitting problems involved.

Since January, 1941, when we really began to get into things, we have spent billions of dollars on war, that we have turned out over _____ airplanes, _____ tanks, _____ fighting ships, to say nothing of ammunition and trucks and guns and clothing and equipment. Anyone who has had to build a single factory, tool it up, get the necessary help, and set up an assembly line, will have some idea of what that amount of production has meant.

We have had to raise and equip the army which now amounts to seven million men, a naval force now equal to two million men, an air corps now totalling _____ million men.

With this drain on our best manpower resources, we had to find the men and women to man our war factories, arsenals, navy yards, civilian industries and farms.



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THIRD DRAFT

- 20 -

There were the problems of getting our natural resources out in amounts never before dreamed of -- not only for our own Army and Navy and for our civilians at home but for our allies and for our forces all over the world: oil, coal, metals, chemicals. And we were forced with the necessity of raising and distributing more food than ever before in our history -- for our armed services, for our own people, and to help feed the soldiers of all our allies.

There was the difficult but all-important problem of seeing to it that all our American citizens are treated alike in the rationing of the necessities of life whether they are rich or poor -- to see that prices are not allowed to skyrocket -- to fight off the spectre of inflation!

There were the problems of communications, of censorship, of information. There was the problem of transporting millions of men and billions of tons of equipment not only to various parts of the United States but to all corners of the world, in the face of lurking submarines and enemy planes.

Then there were the myriad of problems involved in our vast purchases in foreign countries, in our control of



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THIRD DRAFT

- 21 -

foreign funds, in our custody of all alien property in our occupation of liberated areas.

There was the problem of maintaining proper management-labor relations, of keeping up the morale of our millions of war workers by fair treatment and just compensation, of avoiding war-time strikes, of preventing the exploitation of workers or resources by those who would seek to become war profiteers and millionaires.

There was the job of providing housing for millions of new war workers all over the United States.

And above all there were the problems involved in raising the money to pay the bills for all this.

Can any sincere sensible person doubt that in such an unprecedented enterprise there must be errors and occasional disputes among conscientious officials as to where the authority of each might end.

Compare the handful of disputes and of mistakes with the billions of instances where different agencies of government cooperate in a smoothly working machine, in the day-by-day, month-by-month routine operation of this vast machinery of war, without a hitch, without even the suspicion of friction, and with the utmost efficiency.



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THIRD DRAFT

-22 -

The only trouble is that there is no so-called "news" when things run right. It is only when a mistake or a dispute occurs that the newspapers go into print, and the columnists and radio commentators go into action -- and the Axis propagandist get in their evil work.

But the American people have learned to distinguish between the sensational and the factual. Their common sense tells them that we never could have produced and shipped as much as we have if the conditions in Washington were anything like what some of our columnists try to paint them. They know that in any large private industrial plant, doing a millionth part of what their government in Washington is doing, there are more mistakes and internal arguments than exist in their Nation's Capital.

But as the war grows tougher and as new problems arise in our domestic economy changes in administration and in our statutes become necessary. I shall communicate to the Congress shortly recommendations as to action which I deem necessary in connection with the more efficient use of our manpower and the greater production and distribution of food.



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THIRD DRAFT

-23-

We should also begin to make plans for quick action after hostilities cease to bring about an orderly demobilization of our war industries and our war workers with a minimum of unemployment and dirt dislocation of our economy.

Particularly we should legislate now for the greater economic protection of our returning men and women in the armed forces -- and for greater educational opportunities for them. And for all our citizens we should provide now a further measure of social security to become effective after the war in order to protect them against the hazards of old age, unemployment, disability and disease.

On all these and on other subjects, I shall communicate with this Congress from time to time.

I am sure that in this crucial period in the history of our country and of the world the Executive and Legislative Branches of the government can and will cooperate to bring this war to as early an end as possible, to provide a framework of international cooperation which will make such a war impossible again, and to furnish our own citizens with the security and standard of living to



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THIRD DRAFT

-24-

which their resources and their skills in management and
labor entitle them.



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✓
MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

FOURTH DRAFT

During the two month's recess of the Congress many important events have occurred at the war fronts and at home. You return at a time when the tides of conflict are definitely and consistently running our way.

Fresh in our minds are the happenings in Sicily and Italy. On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily. In spite of heavy German opposition it cleared this large and heavily fortified island in thirty-eight days.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and missing were approximately _____ of which the American forces lost _____. The losses among the Italians and Germans have been estimated at _____ dead, wounded and prisoners.

The joyous welcome given to the Allied troops by the population proved conclusively that even in a country which had lived for a generation under a complete dictatorship — with all of its propaganda, censorship, and limitation of free speech and discussion — the people themselves welcomed the day of release from an intolerable yoke.



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Isabel L. Hopkins

It also proved conclusively that this war was not waged by the people of Italy on their own choice.

I believe that equal jubilation and enthusiasm will be shown by the people of the other nations now under the German heel when native Quislings and Nazi Gauleiters are removed through force or flight.

How different was this invading army of the Allies from the invading hordes of German armies that had occupied Sicily a year before under the guise of protecting it! Food, clothing, cattle, medicines and household goods had been systematically stolen from the people of Sicily, and sent North to the "Master race" in Germany. Sicily, like other parts of Italy and like the other satellite and conquered nations, had been bled white by the Nazi and Fascist governments. Growers of crops were permitted to retain only a small fraction of their own produce for themselves and their families.

With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned organization, trained and equipped to give physical care to the local population -- food, clothing,



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Harry L. Hopkins

medicine. This new organization is also now in the process of restoring to the people of Sicily certain freedoms which, for many years, had been denied to them. Within a year, Sicily, to all intents and purposes, will be self-supporting -- and, in addition to that, once more self-respecting.

From Sicily the onward sweep of the allied armies has continued into the mainland. On the third day of September they landed on the toe of the Italian peninsula. These were the first allied troops to land on the continent of Europe to liberate the conquered and oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the answer to the prayer of the millions of liberty-loving human beings not only in these conquered lands but all over the world.

A little over a month ago-- even before we had completely occupied Sicily -- political events in Italy startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, the man who is more responsible for all of the sorrows of Italy than anyone except Hitler himself, was forced out of office and stripped of his power as a result of his own



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FOURTH DRAFT

-4-

dismal failures and by the overwhelming demand of the Italian people. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to be followed, we are determined, by other and similar encouraging downfalls.

Not long after his abdication, the relentless bombing of Italian cities by the Allied Air Forces convinced the leaders of Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun by them with us. They were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Much as I would have liked to inform the Congress, and the members of the press, and also those who repeatedly expressed dismay or indignation at our course in Italy, I could not. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only to the Axis but to the Italian people themselves.

I hope that the Congress realizes that there have been other similar situations, and that there will be more to come, where I cannot immediately announce either to them or to the American people events which are taking place or military plans which are being made. I ask the Congress to bear with me and with our joint Chiefs of



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Staff. I assure you that it is difficult to remain silent when unjustified attack and criticism come from those who are not in a position to have all the facts.

Finally announcement was made on September eighth that an armistice had been arranged on September third. Simultaneously Italian leaders appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us. As you know, the Italian Navy has already come over to our side.

Events are moving very fast. The Allies are confident that the Italian people will once again regain the good-will of the democratic nations of the world by helping to drive the Germans from their soil and from many parts of the Balkan peninsula now occupied by Nazi troops.

The noose around the throat of Germany is being tightened -- and in time will choke her. It is our aim soon to come within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany, and bring devastating war home to these places as it has already been brought to Western Germany.



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 6 -

We know the military effectiveness of the bombing of the Ruhr, and Cologne, and Hamburg, and Berlin and other places and that German munition production has been seriously curtailed as a result of it. We are determined to get further curtailment by bringing every city in Germany and all the German war plants in nearby occupied countries within easy range of our night bombers and day bombers — and to try to destroy every important war factory, shipyard, and transportation facility which helps the Nazis wage war.

We must remember that in any great air attack the British and Americans lose a fairly high proportion of planes and that these losses must be made up quickly so that the weight of the bombing shall not decrease for a day in the future. In fact a high rate of increase must be maintained according to plan — and I believe it can be.

We have reliable information that there is also definite unrest and a growing desire for peace among the people in most parts of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Greece, in Bulgaria and Rumania. We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt which commenced in Italy will spread swiftly — and with the same result as in Italy.



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Every American is aware of the smashing blows delivered against the Nazis by the Russian Armies. This summer there has been no German counter-attack far back into the Russian lines, as in 1941 and 1942. The shoe today is on the other foot — and it is pinching very hard.

The recapture of Rostov and Staling by the Russians, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing of millions of acres and "inhabited places" hearten the whole world as the Russian campaign moves toward the elimination of every German from Russian soil — as it moves toward the invasion of Germany itself. It is certain that the campaign in North Africa, the occupation of Sicily, the fighting in Italy and the freezing of large numbers of German planes on the coasts of Holland, Belgium and France by reason of our air attacks, have given important help to the Russian armies along their advancing front from Leningrad to the Black Sea. We know, too, that we are contributing to that advance by making Germany keep many divisions in the Balkans, in Southern France and along the English Channel. I like to think that these words constitute an understatement.



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 3 -

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous military and naval policy of attrition. That means, cold-bloodedly, placing the greater resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the lesser resources of the Axis. It means the training and use of the Allied manpower -- which is greater than the Axis. It means the use of our superior



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FOURTH ERAFT

facilities and ability to make more munitions and above all aircraft more quickly than our enemies can do.

For example, the Allies today on the European Front have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war on any and every point of the encircling line — more guns, more tanks, more planes, more trucks, more transports, more supply ships and more warships.

However, unless we keep up and increase the tempo of our present rate of production, this superiority of plans and guns, tanks and ships might all be lost.

Our great production program started after the fall of France in 1940. With the significant contribution made by American industry and American labor, it is approaching full production. Britain has already attained full production. Today, Great Britain and the United States, together, are turning out so much more of everything needed in war that if we keep it up and do not slacken our efforts, our superiority over Germany will grow with every succeeding month.

The same policy of attrition is succeeding equally well in the Pacific Ocean. Japan made the primary mistake in the first flush of victory in the months that followed Pearl Harbor by extending her



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FOURTH DRAFT

military and naval lines the far. When our land forces and submarines went to work on the Japanese lines of communication, they began to destroy shipping faster than the Japs could rebuild. That ~~which~~ ^{which} our process has been going on ever since. The result is that Japan has been hard put to it to hold in her stretched lines. For example, it was because Japan could not maintain a steady stream of adequate supplies and reinforcements to Korea, that the Japanese garrison had to be withdrawn in the face of the oncoming American and Canadian forces from the Korean Peninsula.

These things are not just moves. They are the results of the careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while each of our officers were so perturbed that they had reached the verge of tears at what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them to realize that the carefully planned and successful actions of Alamy or in the total war in the Solomons rendered the Japanese tenfold in the Aleutians relatively unimportant.

However, there were large Japanese garrisons left in the Aleutian Islands and the airfields they built there were now available for further operations by us in a westerly direction.



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The whittling away process hit the Japs hard in the Aleutian Islands. Their material losses were far greater than ours. And the same policy has extended throughout the Pacific. In the past year and a half we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships -- merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are all in our favor -- for we grow in strength and they cannot even replace all their losses. It might be called a simple mathematical progression.



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In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so much island territory that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact, it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat on our part against the Japanese in the sense that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.

American and Australian (and New Zealand?) troops in a magnificent campaign have whittled away far more Japanese strength than all of our losses combined.

After a long period of defensive strategy in Burma, we are finally taking the offensive there. I am also glad to report to you that we are getting more supplies and military help to China. Almost every day word comes that a new air battle has destroyed two and three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. That process will continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself.

These distant theatres of war present to mind problems that every American should realize -- problems of transporting the things of war which we make, from our shores to the actual fighting areas itself. Burma and China can be reached only with extraordinary difficulty. Two years ago,



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 13 -

most of the planes we sent had to be knocked down, crated, put on board ship, transported, then uncrated and put together again in India, and from there sent up to the fighting front. In the case of China, they had to be flown over enormous mountains. Even after they were safely delivered there, the planes had to be kept supplied with ground crews, tools, oil, gasoline and even spare parts. Since the Japs cut the Burma Road, all these things have to be flown over hundreds of miles to bases which had to be built in China.

The same slow process was also the rule in the Southwest Pacific.

With the present increased range of airplanes, we are now flying more of them under their own power than before, but everything that goes to supply them -- the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts -- still have to be taken by ship to the fighting fronts all over the Pacific. Practically every soldier has to go by ship. All his equipment has to go by ship. His weapons have to go by ship. And every time a new forward move develops the whole outfit has to go by ship.



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I wonder how many people realize what it means to carry on one war across the Pacific and through the Indian Ocean, and another war across the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, especially when our lines of supply face lurking submarines and dive bombers at many points.

The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest military movement over the longest number of miles to landings under fire that history has recorded anywhere.

The operation against Sicily, parts of which started directly from Britain and from the United States, was at least equal. The ships in this kind of movement are not loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable safe wharf. Most of the ships must be, what is called, "combat loaded" — loaded in such a way that the troops going ashore first are immediately followed by guns and ammunition, tanks, trucks and food, medical equipment and all the supplies of a modern army, in the proper order — under enemy fire, and, generally, on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen or planned this kind of operation over long distances or short distances do not speak glibly about landing great



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expeditions on a few day's notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

The havoc which Germany started in bombing defenseless nations has at last come back to roost upon the roof tops of the German people themselves. Almost day by day, almost night by night, the American and British Air Forces have been over the cities of Germany and her satellite nations and over her war factories in the occupied countries dropping destruction from the sky.

The difference between the German air attack and our own air attack, however, is that the Germans started their air power when they saw it by ruthless bombing of objectives which has no material significance. Our own bombing of Germany is directed at her war industry, her transportation, her submarine and shipping bases and her shipyards. We know that this continued bombing is having a direct effect upon the German armies fighting in the front, because it is destroying or damaging the buildings and tools which make fighting equipment and submarines and ships and because it is destroying the means of transporting materials of war to the armies in the field.



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 16 -

The Members of the Congress have undoubtedly had an opportunity to see at first-hand some of our war factories and plants and shipyards throughout the United States which



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are now working at full-blast turning out the greatest amount of war production in the history of the world. Since the Congress took the recess from which it has now reconvened, I can give you some statistics without revealing information to the enemy.

For instance - (here give some figures).

There are a great many other items of manufacture of many kinds of instruments which it would be unwise at present to divulge.

Even as the actual fighting engagements in which our troops take part increase in number, it is becoming more and more evident that this is essentially a great war of production. The outstanding reason for our comparatively light casualty list has been the fact that our troops have had the best equipment possible and plenty of it.

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. When we consider how far the Axis had gone in their march of conquest of the world by that time, I think we can all agree that almost a miracle has been wrought in stopping them in their path of conquest and turning them back into their walls of defense.

I have given you the brighter side of the war picture as I see it today. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are still a long long way from ultimate victory in any major theatre of the war.



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While one of the Axis partners has formally signed an armistice and dropped out of the war, we must still fight Germany on the very soil of Italy. Over a period of a year the Axis have gradually taken physical control of Italy, looted her resources for their own selfish benefit, and entrenched herself on the soil of Italy — determined to make Italy a battle ground and put off the inevitable day when Germany itself would be the scene of battle. The Germans will have to be beaten out of Italy by our armies before we can really say that Italy itself has been conquered.

The Russian armies which have done the most brilliant, destructive, and determined and desperate fighting are still fighting on Russian soil.

Japan still holds most of her conquered lands and all those bases which she has strongly fortified over a period of a score of years illegally and in violation of the mandate which was given to her. If we ever attempt to take back this land, island by island, it would be a task which would take too long and which would cost too much in American lives and material. The objective is still to strike directly at the homeland of Japan itself. That is going to be a tough job but it will be done.



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It goes almost without saying that when Japan surrenders the United Nations will never again let her have authority over the islands which were mandated to her by the League of Nations. Japan obviously is not to be trusted. And the same thing holds good, I think, in the case of the vast territories which Japan has stolen from China starting long before this war began.

Japan still holds a large part of China. She must be driven from the mainland and with all of the difficulties which I have described in getting fighting equipment into China, that is going to be a long and difficult undertaking.

We can never lose sight of the fact that all the implements of war which we use still have to be shipped either across the Atlantic Ocean or the Pacific Ocean. That reinforcements of men and supplies and tools and equipment of all kinds have to be sent over distances that require careful months of planning and almost limitless supplies of vessels. Fortunately the great rate of shipping destruction by submarines which prevailed when this Congress met last January has been materially reduced. In fact during the last two months it has fallen to a minimum. But we can never be sure as to just when that menace will return either in its old form or under some improved adaptation to make our job more



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its old form or under some improved operation, to make our job more difficult and longer than it looks even now.

The Congress has reconvened at a time when we are in the midst of the Third War Loan Drive seeking to raise a sum unparalleled in history — fifteen billion dollars. This is a dramatic example of the scale on which this war still has to be fought, and presents some idea of how difficult and costly the responsible leaders and Chiefs of Staff of this government believe the war will be.

Nothing we can do will be more costly in lives than to adopt the attitude that the war has been won — or nearly won. That would mean a let-down in the great tempo of production which we have reached, and would mean that our men who are now fighting all over the world will not have that overwhelming superiority of fighting power which has dealt so much death and destruction to the enemy and at the same time has saved so many American lives.

That is why I have always maintained that there is no separate entity as the "back front". Every day lost in turning out an airplane or a ship at home will have its direct effect upon the men now battling up the leg of Italy or stalking the Japs in the jungles of the Southwest Pacific.



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There have been many complaints about the way this whole subject of production and the other activities here at home have been carried on. Many of these complaints are justified. On the other hand many of them come from selfish people who merely do not like to give up their pleasure in driving or a part of their butter or meat or milk.

Firedrained citizens, however, I think will realize that although mistakes have been made, a great job has been done in converting peace-time America to a war-time basis.

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It would be not ing short of a miracle if this un-recented job of transforming a peace-loving, un-repaired industrial America into a fighting and war production machine were done without mistakes or complaints.

The Congress, on the whole, is well aware of the magnitude of the undertaking, and of the many head-splitting problems involved.

Since January, 1941, when we really began to get into things, we have spent billions of dollars on war; and we have turned out over _____ airplanes, _____ tanks, _____ fighting ships, to say nothing of ammunition and trucks and guns and clothing and equipment and food for our armed forces and for our Allies. Anyone who has had to build a single factory, to look it up, get the necessary help, set up an assembly line, produce and ship the product will have some idea of what that amount of production has meant.

We have had to raise and equip armed forces of ten million men. Simultaneously, in spite of this drain on our manpower, we have had to find millions more _____ millions more men and women to keep war factories going, and arsenals, and navy yards, and essential civilian industries -- and the farms of America.



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There have been the problem of increasing greatly the output of our natural resources -- not only for our own army and navy, and for our civilians at home, but also for our allies and our own forces all over the world: oil, coal, metals, chemicals.

There were the problems of raising and distributing more food than ever before in our history -- for our armed services, for our own people, and to help feed our allies, especially those in Britain (England) and only have enough land to raise 50% of the needs of their population and their armies.

There was the difficult problem of having all American citizens treated alike in the rationing of the necessities of life.

There was the difficulty of keeping prices from skyrocketing and fighting off the various aspects of inflation.

There were now problems of communications, of commerce, of war information. There was the problem of transporting millions of men and billions of tons of weapons and supplies all over our own country and also to all corners of the world.



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There were the problems involved in our vast purchases in foreign countries; in our control of foreign funds, located in this country; in our custody of alien property; in our occupation of liberated areas.

There was the problem of maintaining proper management-labor relations; of fair treatment and just compensation to our millions of war workers; of avoiding strikes; of preventing the exploitation of workers on natural resources by those who would seek to become war profiteers and war millionaires.

There was the task of providing housing for millions of new war workers all over the country.

And touching all of these, there was the great problem of raising the money to pay for all of them.

No sincere, sensible person doubts that in such an unprecedented, breathtaking enterprise errors of honest judgment will creep in and that occasional disputes among conscientious officials will occur.

But even sincere, sensible people sometimes fail to compare the handfuls of errors or disputes on the one hand, with the billions of instances where the agencies of government in cooperation with each other have moved like a smoothly working machine.



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The batting average and the fielding average of our government are higher than that of any baseball team in history.

The day-by-day, month-by-month, routine operation of this vast machinery of war proceeds with the utmost efficiency.

The American people as a whole are fair-minded. They know that there is no so-called "news" when things run right. They know, for example, that a few newspapers and columnists and radio commentators can make controversy create news which is eagerly sought by Axis propagandists in their evil work.

We have learned to distinguish between the sensational and the factual. Our common sense tells us that we never could have produced and shipped as much as we have, that we could not be in the position we now occupy in the Mediterranean, in Italy, or in the Southwest Pacific or on the Atlantic convoy routes or in the air over Germany and France, if conditions in Washington and throughout the nation were anything like what some people try to paint them.

We know that in any large private industrial plant doing a thousandth part of what their government in Washington is doing, there are more mistakes and more arguments than exist in their Nation's Capital.



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FOURTH DRAFT

-26-

What I have said is not in any way an apology -- it is an assertion and a boast that the American people and their government are going an amazingly good job in carrying out a vast program which two years ago was said to be impossible of fulfillment. Luckily the American people have a sense of proportion.

As the war grows tougher and as new problems constantly arise in our domestic economy changes in methods and changes in legislation may become necessary.

In the next few months, I shall communicate to the Congress certain recommendations for actions which I deem necessary in connection with the more efficient use of our manpower and the greater production and distribution of food.

We should also begin to make plans for an orderly demobilization of war industries and war workers with a minimum of unemployment and dislocation of our economy.

Particularly we should move for the greater economic protection of our returning men and women in the armed forces -- and for greater educational opportunities for them. And for all our citizens we should provide a further measure of social security in order to protect them against certain continuing hazards of life.



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From the Papers of
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All these things should be studied now and much of the necessary legislation should be enacted. I do not mean that this statement should be regarded in any way as an intimation that we are approaching the end of the war. Such thinking is based neither on fact nor on reason. But when the war ends, we do not want to be caught again without planning or legislation, such as has occurred at the end of the last war.

On all these, and on other subjects, I expect to communicate with this Congress from time to time.

In this crucial period in the history of our country and of the world, I seek cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government to furnish our citizens with the security of the standard of living which their resources and their skills in management and labor entitle them.

Finally, as the war progresses, I seek a national cooperation with other nations toward the end that world aggression be ended and that fair international relationships be established on a permanent basis. The policy of the Good Neighbor has shown such success in the Hemisphere of the Americas that its extension to the whole world seems to be the logical next step. In that way we can begin to keep faith with our sons and daughters at home and abroad.



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Harry L. Hopkins

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

FOURTH DRAFT

During the two month's recess of the Congress many important events have occurred at the war fronts and at home. You return at a time when the tides of conflict are definitely and consistently running our way.

Fresh in our minds are the happenings in Sicily and Italy. On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily. In spite of heavy German opposition it cleared this large and heavily fortified island in thirty-eight days.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and missing were approximately 31,158 of which the American forces lost 7445. The losses among the Italians and Germans have been estimated at 165,000 dead, wounded and missing — including 132,000 ~~prisoners~~ prisoners.

The joyous welcome given to the Allied troops by the population proved conclusively that even in a country which had lived for a generation under a complete dictatorship — with all of its propaganda, censorship, and limitation of free speech and discussion — the people themselves welcomed the day of release from an intolerable yoke.



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From the Papers of
General I. Rosenbaum

It also proved conclusively that this war was not waged by the people of Italy on their own choice.

I believe that equal jubilation and enthusiasm will be shown by the people of the other nations now under the German heel when native Quislings and Nazi Gaulsitters are removed through force or flight.

How different was this invading army of the Allies from the invading hordes of German armies that had occupied Sicily a year before under the guise of protecting it! Food, clothing, cattle, medicines and household goods had been systematically stolen from the people of Sicily, and sent North to the "master race" in Germany. Sicily, like other parts of Italy and like the other satellite and conquered nations, had been bled white by the Nazi and Fascist governments. Growers of crops were permitted to retain only a small fraction of their own produce for themselves and their families.

With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned organization, trained and equipped to give physical care to the local population -- food, clothing,



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FOURTH DRAFT

-3-

medicine. This new organization is also now in the process of restoring to the people of Sicily certain freedoms which, for many years, had been denied to them. Within a year, Sicily, to all intents and purposes, will be self-supporting — and, in addition to that, once more self-respecting.

From Sicily the onward sweep of the allied armies has continued into the mainland. On the third day of September they landed on the toe of the Italian peninsula. These were the first allied troops to land on the continent of Europe to liberate the conquered and oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the answer to the prayer of the millions of liberty-loving human beings not only in these conquered lands but all over the world.

A little over a month ago— even before we had completely occupied Sicily — political events in Italy startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, the man who is more responsible for all of the sorrows of Italy than anyone except Hitler himself, was forced out of office and stripped of his power as a result of his own



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FOURTH DRAFT

-4-

dismal failures and by the overwhelming demand of the Italian people. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to be followed, we are determined, by other and similar encouraging downfalls.

Not long after his abdication, the relentless bombing of Italian cities by the Allied Air Forces convinced the leaders of Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun by them with us. They were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Much as I would have liked to inform the Congress, and the members of the press, and also those who repeatedly expressed dismay or indignation at our course in Italy, I could not. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only to the Axis but to the Italian people themselves.

I hope that the Congress realizes that there have been other similar situations, and that there will be more to come, where I cannot immediately announce either to them or to the American people events which are taking place or military plans which are being made. I ask the Congress to bear with me and with our joint Chiefs of



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FOURTH DRAFT

-5-

Staff. I assure you that it is difficult to remain silent when unjustified attack and criticism come from those who are not in a position to have all the facts.

Finally announcement was made on September eighth that an armistice had been arranged on September third. Simultaneously Italian leaders appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us. As you know, the Italian Navy has already come over to our side.

Events are moving very fast. The Allies are confident that the Italian people will once again regain the good-will of the democratic nations of the world by helping to drive the Germans from their soil and from many parts of the Balkan peninsula now occupied by Nazi troops.

The noose around the throat of Germany is being tightened — and in time will choke her. It is our aim soon to come within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany, and bring devastating war home to these places as it has already been brought to Western Germany.



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 6 -

We know the military effectiveness of the bombing of the Ruhr, and Cologne, and Hamburg, and Berlin and other places and that German munition production has been seriously curtailed as a result of it. We are determined to get further curtailment by bringing every city in Germany and all the German war plants in nearby occupied countries within easy range of our night bombers and day bombers -- and to try to destroy every important war factory, shipyard, and transportation facility which ^{helps} ~~keeps~~ the Nazis wage war.

We must remember that in any great air attack the British and Americans lose a fairly high proportion of planes and that these losses must be made up quickly so that the weight of the bombing shall not decrease for a day in the future. In fact a high rate of increase must be maintained according to plan -- and I believe it can be.

We have reliable information that there is also definite unrest and a growing desire for peace among the people in most parts of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Greece, in Bulgaria and Rumania. We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt which commenced in Italy will spread swiftly -- and with the same result as in Italy.



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 7 -

Every American is aware of the smashing blows delivered against the Nazis by the Russian Armies. This summer there has been no German counter-attack far back into the Russian lines, as in 1941 and 1942. The shoe today is on the other foot -- and is pinching very hard.

The recapture of Rostov and Staling by the Russians, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing of millions of acres and "inhabited places" hearten the whole world as the Russian campaign moves toward the elimination of every German from Russian soil -- as it moves toward the invasion of Germany itself. It is certain that the campaign in North Africa, the occupation of Sicily, the fighting in Italy and the freezing of large numbers of German planes on the coasts of Holland, Belgium and France by reason of our air attacks, have given important help to the Russian armies along their advancing front from Leningrad to the Black Sea. We know, too, that we are contributing to that advance by making Germany keep many divisions in the Balkans, in Southern France and along the English Channel. I like to think that these words constitute an understatement.



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 8 -

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous military and naval policy of attrition. That means, cold-bloodedly, placing the greater resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the lesser resources of the Axis. It means the training and use of the Allied manpower — which is greater than the Axis. It means the use of our superior



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FOURTH DRAFT

facilities and ability to make more munitions and above all aircraft more quickly than our enemies can do.

For example, the Allies today on the European Front have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war on any and every point of the encircling line — more guns, more tanks, more planes, more trucks, more transports, more supply ships and more warships.

However, unless we keep up and increase the tempo of our present rate of production, this superiority of plane and guns, tanks and ships might all be lost.

Our great production program started after the fall of France in 1940. With the significant contribution made by American industry and American labor, it is approaching full production. Britain has already attained full production. Today, Great Britain and the United States, together, are turning out so much more of everything needed in war that if we keep it up and do not slacken our efforts, our superiority over Germany will grow with every succeeding month.

The same policy of attrition is succeeding equally well in the Pacific Ocean. Japan made the primary mistake in the first flush of victory in the month that followed Pearl Harbor by extending her



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FOURTH DRAFT

-10-

military and naval lines too far. When our task forces and submarines went to work on the Japanese lines of communication, they began to destroy shipping faster than the Japs could rebuild. That whittling down process has been going on ever since. The result is that Japan has been hard put to it to maintain her distended lines. For example, it was because Japan could not maintain a ^{steady} ~~steady~~ stream of adequate supplies and reinforcements to Kiska, that the Japanese garrison had to be withdrawn in the face of the oncoming American-Canadian force from our Western Coast.

These things do not just happen. They are the results of

FOURTH DRAFT

- 13 -



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Samuel I. Rosenman

most of the planes we sent had to be knocked down, crated, put on board ship, transported, then uncrated and put together again in India, and from there sent up to the fighting front. In the case of China, they had to be flown over enormous mountains. Even after they were safely delivered there, the planes had to be kept supplied with ground crews, tools, oil, gasoline and even spare parts. Since the Japs cut the Burma Road, all these things have to be flown over hundreds of miles to bases which had to be built in China.

The same slow process was also the rule in the Southwest Pacific.

With the present increased range of airplanes, we are now flying more of them under their own power than before, but everything that goes to supply them -- the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts -- still have to be taken by ship to the fighting fronts all over the Pacific. Practically every soldier has to go by ship. All his equipment has to go by ship. Huge weapons have to go by ship. And every time a new forward move develops the whole outfit has to go by ship.

FOURTH DRAFT

- 14 -

I wonder how many people realize what it means to carry on ~~one~~ war across the Pacific and through the Indian Ocean, and another war across the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, especially when our lines of supply face lurking submarines and dive bombers at many points.

The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest military movement over the longest number of miles to landings under fire that history has recorded anywhere.

The operation against Sicily, parts of which started directly from Britain and from the United States, was at least equal. The ships in this kind of movement are not loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable safe wharf. Most of the ships must be, what is called, "combat loaded" -- loaded in such a way that the troops going ashore ^{and} first are immediately followed by guns and ammunition, tanks, trucks and food, medical equipment and all the supplies of a modern army, in the proper order -- under enemy fire, and, generally, on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen or planned this kind of operation ^{upon} over long distances or short distances do not speak glibly about landing great



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 15 -

expeditions on a few day's notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

[The havoc which Germany started in bombing defenseless nations has at last come back to roost upon the roof tops of the German people themselves. Almost day by day, almost night by night, the American and British Air Forces have been over the cities of Germany and her satellite nations and over her war factories in the occupied countries dropping destruction from the sky.]

The difference between the German air attack and our own air attack, however, is that the Germans wasted their air power when they had it by ruthless bombing of objectives which had no material significance. Our own bombing of Germany is directed at her war industry, her transportation, her submarine and shipping bases and her shipyards. We know that this continued bombing is having a direct effect upon the German Armies actually in the field; because it is destroying or damaging the buildings and tools which make fighting equipment and submarines and ships; and because it is destroying the means of transporting materials of war to the armies in the field.



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 16 -

The Members of the Congress have undoubtedly had an opportunity to see at first-hand some of our war factories and plants and shipyards throughout the United States which



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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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FOURTH DRAFT

-17-



are now working at full-blast turning out the greatest amount of war production in the history of the world. Since the Congress took the recess from which it has now reconvened, I can give you some statistics without revealing information to the enemy.

For instance - (here give some figures).

There are a great many other items of manufacture of many kinds of instruments which it would be unwise at present to divulge.

Even as the actual fighting engagements in which our troops take part increase in number, it is becoming more and more evident that this is essentially a great war of production. The outstanding reason for our comparatively light casualty list has been the fact that our troops have had the best equipment possible and plenty of it.

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. When we consider how far the Axis had gone in their march of conquest of the world by that time, I think we can all agree that almost a miracle has been wrought in stopping them in their path of conquest and turning them back into their walls of defense.

I have given you the brighter side of the war picture as I see it today. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are still a long long way from ultimate victory in any major theatre of the war.

FOURTH DRAFT

-18-

While one of the Axis partners has formally signed an armistice and dropped out of the war, we must still fight Germany on the very soil of Italy. Over a period of a year the Nazis have gradually taken physical control of Italy, looted her resources for their own selfish benefit, and entrenched herself on the soil of Italy -- determined to make Italy a battle ground and put off the inevitable day when Germany itself would be the scene of battle. The Germans will have to be beaten out of Italy by our armies before we can really say that Italy itself has been conquered.

The Russian armies which have done the most brilliant, destructive, and determined and desperate fighting are still fighting on Russian soil.

Japan still holds most of her conquered lands and all those bases which she has strongly fortified over a period of a score of years illegally and in violation of the mandate which was given to her. If we ever attempt to take back this land, island by island, it would be a task which would take too long and which would cost too much in American lives and material. The objective is still to strike directly at the homeland of Japan itself. That is going to be a tough job but it will be done.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenthal

It goes almost without saying that when Japan surrenders the United Nations will never again let her have authority over the islands which were mandated to her by the League of Nations. Japan obviously is not to be trusted. And the same thing holds good, I think, in the case of the vast territories which Japan has stolen from China starting long before this war began.

Japan still holds a large part of China. She must be driven from the mainland and with all of the difficulties which I have described in getting fighting equipment into China, that is going to be a long and difficult undertaking.

We can never lose sight of the fact that all the implements of war which we use still have to be shipped either across the Atlantic Ocean or the Pacific Ocean. That reinforcements of men and supplies and tools and equipment of all kinds have to be sent over distances that require careful months of planning and almost limitless supplies of vessels. Fortunately the great rate of shipping destruction by submarines which prevailed when this Congress met last January has been materially reduced. In fact during the last two months it has fallen to a minimum. But we can never be sure as to just when that menace will return either in its old form or under some improved variation. It will be a long



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FOURTH DRAFT

-20-

its old form or under some improved operation, to make our job more difficult and longer than it looks even now.

The Congress has reconvened at a time when we are in the midst of the Third War Loan Drive seeking to raise a sum unparalleled in history — fifteen billion dollars. This is a dramatic example of the scale on which this war still has to be fought, and presents some idea of how difficult and costly the responsible leaders and Chiefs of Staff of this government believe the war will be.

Nothing we can do will be more costly in lives than to adopt the attitude that the war has been won — or nearly won. That would mean a let-down in the great tempo of production which we have reached, and would mean that our men who are now fighting all over the world will not have that overwhelming superiority of fighting power which has dealt so much death and destruction to the enemy and at the same time has saved so many American lives.

That is why I have always maintained that there is no separate entity as the "home front". Every day lost in turning out an airplane or a ship at home will have its direct effect upon the men now battling up the leg of Italy or stalking the Japs in the jungles of the Southwest Pacific.



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From the Papers of
General I. B. MacArthur

There have been ~~many~~ ^{from some sources} complaints about the way this whole subject of production ^{limited} and the other activities here at home have been carried on. ^{Some} ~~Many~~ of these complaints ^{have} are justified. On the other hand ^{now} ~~many~~ of them come from selfish people who merely do not like to give up their pleasure ~~car~~ driving or a part of their butter or meat or milk.

Fair-minded citizens, however, I think will realize that although mistakes have been made, a great job has been done in converting peace-time America to a war-time basis.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenthal

FOURTH DRAFT

- 22 -

It could be nothing short of a miracle if this unrecanted job of transforming a peace-loving, unprepared, industrial America into a fighting and war production machine were done without mistakes or complaints.

The Congress, on the whole, is well aware of the magnitude of the undertaking, and of the many ^{significant} head-splitting problems involved.

Since January, 1941, when we really began to get into things, we have spent billions of dollars on war; and we have turned out over _____ airplanes, _____ tanks, _____ fighting ships, to say nothing of ammunition and trucks and guns and clothing and equipment and food for our armed forces and for our Allies. Anyone who has had to build a single factory, took it up, get the necessary help, set up an assembly line, produce and ship the product will have some idea of what that amount of production has meant.

We have had to raise and equip armed forces of ten million men. Simultaneously, in spite of this drain on our manpower, we have had to find ^{millions more} millions more men and women to keep war factories going, and arsenals, and navy yards, and essential civilian industries -- and the farms of America.



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From the Papers of
General F. D. Roosevelt

There have been the problems of increasing greatly the output of our natural resources -- not only for our own Army and Navy and for our civilians at home, but also for our Allies and our own forces all over the world: oil, coal, metals, chemicals.

There were the problems of raising and distributing more food than ever before in our history -- for our armed services, for our own people, and to help feed our Allies, especially those in Britain (England) who only have enough land to raise 50% of the needs of their populations and their armies.

There was the difficult problem of having all American citizens treated alike in the rationing of the necessities of life.

There was the difficulty of keeping prices from skyrocketing and fighting off the serious spectre of inflation.

There were new problems of communications, of censorship, of war information. There was the problem of transporting millions of men and billions of tons of weapons and supplies all over our own country and also to all corners of the world.



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 24 -

There were the problems involved in our vast purchases in foreign countries; in our control of foreign funds, located in this country; in our custody of alien property; in our occupation of liberated areas.

There was the problem of maintaining proper management-labor relations; of fair treatment and just compensation to our millions of war workers; of avoiding strikes; of preventing the exploitation of workers on natural resources by those who would seek to become war profiteers and war millionaires.

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From the Papers of

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The batting average and the fielding average of our government are higher than that of any baseball team in history.

The day-by-day, month-by-month, routine operation of this vast machinery of war proceeds with the utmost efficiency.

The American people as a whole are fair-minded. They know that there is no so-called "news" when things run right. They know, for example, that a few newspapers and columnists and radio commentators can make controversy create news which is eagerly sought by Axis propagandists in their evil work.

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We know that in any large private industrial plant doing a thousandth part of what their government in Washington is doing, there are more mistakes and more arguments than exist in their Nation's Capital.



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From the Papers of

General I. Eisenhower

FOURTH DRAFT

-26-

What I have said is not in any way an apology -- it is an assertion and a boast that the American people and their government are going an amazingly good job in carrying out a vast program which two years ago was said to be impossible of fulfillment. Luckily the American people have a sense of proportion.

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In the next few months, I shall communicate to the Congress certain recommendations for actions which I deem necessary in connection with the more efficient use of our manpower and the greater production and distribution of food.

We should also begin to make plans for an orderly demobilization of war industries and war workers with a minimum of unemployment and dislocation of our economy.

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FOURTH DRAFT

-27-

All these things should be studied now and much of the necessary legislation should be enacted. I do not mean that this statement should be regarded in any way as an intimation that we are approaching the end of the war. Such thinking is based neither on fact nor on reason. But when the war ends, we do not want to be caught again without planning or legislation, such as has occurred at the end of the last war.

On all these, and on other subjects, I expect to communicate with this Congress from time to time.

In this crucial period in the history of our country and of the world, I seek cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government to furnish our citizens with the security of the standard of living which their resources and their skills in management and labor entitle them.

Finally, as the war progresses, I seek a national cooperation with other nations toward the end that world aggression be ended and that fair international relationships be established on a permanent basis. The policy of the Good Neighbor has shown such success in the Hemisphere of the Americas that its extension to the whole world seems to be the logical next step. In that way we can begin to keep faith with our sons and daughters at home and abroad.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

FIFTH DRAFT

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

During the two months' recess of the Congress, many important events have occurred at the war fronts and at home. You return at a time when major battles in Europe and in Asia are beginning to be joined. The main tides of conflict are definitely and consistently running our way — but we cannot be content merely to drift with this favorable tide. (A)

Fresh in our minds are the happenings in Sicily and Italy. On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily. In spite of heavy German opposition it cleared this large and heavily fortified island in thirty-eight days.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and missing were approximately _____, of which the American forces lost _____. The losses among the Italians and Germans have been estimated at _____ dead, wounded and prisoners.

The joyous welcome given to the Allied troops by the Italian people has proved conclusively that even in a country which has lived for a generation under a complete dictatorship — with all of its propaganda, censorship, and suppression of free speech and discussion — their love of liberty was unconquerable.

It also proved conclusively that this war was not waged by the people of Italy on their own choice.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

FIFTH DRAFT

- 2 -

I believe that equal jubilation and enthusiasm will be shown by the people of the other nations now under the German heel when native Quislings and Nazi Gauleiters are removed through force or flight.

How different was this invading army of the Allies from the German forces that had come into Sicily, ostensibly to "protect it." Food, clothing, cattle, medicines and household goods had been systematically stolen from the people of Sicily, and sent North to the "master race" in Germany. Sicily, like other parts of Italy and like the other satellite and conquered nations, had been blood white by the Nazi and Fascist governments. Growers of crops were permitted to retain only a small fraction of their own produce for themselves and their families.

With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned organization, trained and equipped to give physical care to the local population — food, clothing, medicine. This new organization is also now in the process of restoring to the people of Sicily certain freedoms which, for many years, had been denied to them. I am confident that, within a year, Sicily will be once more self-supporting — and, in addition to that, once more self-respecting.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF

SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

FIFTH DRAFT

- 3 -

From Sicily the advance of the allied armies has continued ^{late} to the mainland. On the third day of September they landed on the toe of the Italian peninsula. These were the first allied troops ^{invade} to ^{land on} the continent of Europe ^{in order} to liberate the conquered and oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the answer to the prayer of the millions of liberty-loving human beings not only in these conquered lands but all over the world.

A little over a month ago — even before we had completely occupied Sicily — political events in Italy startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, the man who is more responsible for all of the sorrows of Italy than anyone except possibly Hitler himself, was forced out of office and stripped of his power as a result of his own dismal failures and ^{by} the overwhelming demand of the Italian people. This was the first break in Axis leadership — to be followed, we are determined, by other and similar encouraging downfalls.

Early last month, the relentless application of overwhelming Allied power — particularly air and sea power — convinced the leaders of Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun by them with us. They were carried on with the ut-



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FIFTH DRAFT

- 4 -

most secrecy. Much as I would have liked to inform the Congress, and the members of the press, and also those who repeatedly expressed dismay or indignation at our apparent course in Italy, I could not. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only to the Axis but to the Italian people themselves.

I am sure that the Congress realizes that there are many situations in this war — and there will be many more to come — in which it is impossible for me to make any announcement or even to give any indication of the policy which we are following. And I ask the American people as well as the Congress to bear with me and with our Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is difficult to remain silent when unjustified attack and criticism come from those who are not in a position to have all the facts.

But the people and the Congress can be sure that the policy which we follow is founded upon the basic democratic traditions and ideals of this Nation. We shall not be able to claim that we have gained total victory in this war if any vestige of Fascism in any of its malignant forms is permitted to survive anywhere in the world.

The Armistice with Italy was signed on September third in Sicily, but it could not be put into effect until September eighth, when we were ready to make landings in force in the Naples area. We had planned these



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FIFTH DRAFT

- 8 -

landings some time before and were determined to go through with them, amistice or no amistice.

Italian leaders appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us. Italian soldiers, though disorganized and ill-supplied, have been bravely fighting the Germans in many regions. As you know, the Italian fleet has come over to our side; and it will be a powerful weapon in striking at the Nazi enemies of the Italian people.

The Allied forces are now engaged in a very hard battle south of Naples. Casualties are heavy. The desperateness with which the Germans are fighting reveals that they are well aware of the consequences to them of our occupation of Italy.

We are not going to be stopped. We shall drive the Germans out of Italy.

The Congress and the American people can rest assured that the landing on Italy is not the only landing we have in mind. That landing was planned at Casablanca. At Quebec, the leaders and the military staffs of Great Britain and the United States made specific and precise plans to bring to bear farther blows of equal or greater importance against Germany and Japan — with definite times and places for other landings on the Continent of Europe and elsewhere.



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FIFTH DRAFT

- 5a -

When Hitler was forced to the conclusion that his offensive was broken, and he must go on the defensive, he started boasting that he had converted Europe into an impregnable fortress. But he neglected to provide that fortress with a roof. He also left various other weak spots in the wall of that fortress -- which we shall point out to him in due time.

The British and American air forces have been bombing the roofless fortress with ever-increasing effectiveness. It is now our purpose to establish bases within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany, and to bring devastating war home to these places by day and by night as it has already been brought to Western Germany.

When Britain was being subjected to mass bombing in 1940 and 1941 -- when the British people including their King and Prime Minister, were proving that Britain "could take it" -- the strategists of the Royal Air Force and of our own Army Air Forces were not idle. They were studying the mistakes that Goering and his staff of Nazi terrorists were making. Those were fatal mistakes, as it turned out.



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FIFTH DRAFT

- 25 -

Today, we and the British are not making those mistakes. We are not bombing tenements for the sheer sadistic pleasure of killing, as the Nazis did. We are striking devastating blows at carefully selected, clearly identified strategic objectives — factories, shipyards, munition dumps, transportation facilities, which make it possible for the Nazis to wage war. And we are hitting these military targets and blowing them to bits.

German power can still do us great injury. But that evil power is being destroyed, surely, inexorably, day by day, and if Hitler doesn't know it by now, then the last vestige of sanity has departed from that distorted mind.



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FIFTH DRAFT

- 6 -

We must remember that in any great air attack the British and Americans lose a fairly high proportion of planes and that these losses must be made up quickly so that the weight of the bombing shall not decrease for a day in the future. In fact a high rate of increase must be maintained according to plan — and that means constant stepping-up of our production here at home.

We have reliable information that there is definite unrest and a growing desire for peace among the people of Hungary, in Bulgaria, Finland and Rumania. We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt against Nazi dominance which commenced in Italy will burst into flame and become a consuming fire.

Every American is thrilled by the smashing blows delivered against the Nazi aggressors by the Russian Armies. This summer there has been no successful German advance against the Russians, as in 1941 and 1942. The shoe today is on the other foot — and is pinching very hard. Instead, the Russians have forced the greatest military reversal since Napoleon's retreat in 1812.

The recapture of Kharkov, Stalino and Bryansk by the Russians, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing of millions of valuable acres and "inhabited places" hearten the whole



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FIFTH DRAFT

- 7 -

world as the Russian campaign moves toward the elimination of every German from Russian soil -- as it moves toward the invasion of Germany itself. It is certain that the campaign in North Africa, the occupation of Sicily, the fighting in Italy and the compelling of large numbers of German planes to go into combat in the skies over Holland, Belgium and France by reason of our air attacks, have given important help to the Russian armies along their advancing front from Leningrad to the Black Sea. We know, too, that we are contributing to that advance by making Germany keep many divisions in the Balkans, in Southern France and along the English Channel. I like to think that these words constitute an understatement.

Similarly, the events in the Mediterranean have a direct bearing upon the war against Japan.

When the American and British expeditionary forces first landed in North Africa last November, some people believed that we were neglecting our obligations to prosecute the war vigorously in the Pacific. Such people make the mistake of trying to divide the war into several watertight compartments -- the Western European front -- the Russian front -- the Burma front -- the New Guinea and Solomons front, and so forth -- as though all of these were separate and unrelated to each other. You even hear talk of the "air war" as opposed to the "land war" or the "sea war."



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FIFTH DRAFT

- 8 -

Actually, we cannot think of this as several wars. It is all one war, and it must be governed by one basic strategy.

The freeing of the Mediterranean, which we started last fall, will lead directly to the resumption of our complete control of the waters of the Eastern Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal. Thus, we shall be enabled to strike the Japanese on another of their highly vulnerable flanks.

As long as Italy remained in the war as our enemy — as long as the Italian fleet remained in being as a threat — a substantial part of British naval strength had to be kept locked up in the Mediterranean. Now that formidable strength is freed to proceed eastward to join in the over-increasing attack upon the Japs.

There has been one serious gap in the lines of our globe-girdling sea-power. That is the gap between Northwest Australia and Ceylon. That gap can now be closed as a result of victory in the Mediterranean.

We face, in the Orient, a long and difficult fight. We must be prepared for heavy losses in winning that fight. The power of Japan will not collapse until it has been literally pounded into the dust. It would be the utmost folly for us to try to pretend otherwise.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

FIFTH DRAFT

- 8 -

Even so, if the future is tough for us, think what it is for General Tojo and his murderous gang. They may look to the North, to the South, to the East or to the West. They can see closing in on them, from all directions, the forces of retribution under the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, General Stilwell, Admiral Lord Mountbatten, General MacArthur, Admiral Halsey and Admiral Nimitz.

The forces operating against Japan in the various Pacific theatres are just as much interrelated and dependent on each other as are the forces operating against Germany in Europe.



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from the Papers of
General I. E. Brown

For instance -- not only do our victories in the Aleutians enable us to regain bases from which to conduct further operations in a south-westerly direction; they also complicate the Japanese problems in the Solomons and in Burma.

With the new threats that we offer from the North, Japan cannot afford to devote as large a proportion of her forces to hold the lines in other areas.

Such actions as the taking of Kiska do not just happen. They are the results of careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while some of our orators were so perturbed that they had reached the verge of tears at what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them to realize that the carefully planned and successful actions of Midway or in the Coral Sea or in the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians relatively unimportant.

Japan has been hard put to it to maintain her distended lines. She had to withdraw her garrison from Kiska in the face of the oncoming American-Canadian forces because she could not maintain a steady stream of adequate reinforcements and supplies to the Aleutians.

In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so much island territory that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact, it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat on our part against the Japanese in the seas that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.



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From the Papers of
Samuel T. Rosenman

American and Australian (and New Zealand?) troops in a magnificent campaign have whittled away far more Japanese strength than all of our losses combined.

After a long period of defensive strategy in Burma, we are finally taking the offensive there. I am also glad to report to you that we are getting more supplies and military help to China. Almost every day word comes that a new air battle has destroyed two and three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. That process will continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself.

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous military and naval policy of attrition. That means, cold-bloodedly, placing the ever-increasing resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the ever-decreasing resources of the Axis. It means the training and use of the Allied manpower -- which is greater than the Axis. It means the use of our superior facilities and ability to make more munitions, and above all aircraft, more quickly than our enemies can do.

For example, the Allies today on the European Front have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war on any and every point of the encircling line -- more guns, more tanks, more planes, more trucks, more transports, more supply ships and more warships.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

In the Pacific, we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships -- merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are all in our favor -- for we grow in strength and they cannot even replace all their losses. It might be called a simple mathematical progression.

However, unless we keep up and increase the tempo of our present rate of production, this superiority of planes and guns, tanks and ships might all be lost.

Our great production program started during the darkest days of 1940. With the magnificent contribution made by American industry and American labor, it is approaching full production. Britain has already attained full production. Today, Great Britain and the United States, together, are turning out so much more of everything needed in war that we have definite superiority over Germany and Japan which is growing with every succeeding minute. But we have no minutes to lose.

Those distant theatres of war present to mind problems that every American should realize -- problems of transporting the things of war which we make, from our shores to the actual fighting areas itself. Burma and China can be reached only with extraordinary difficulty. Two years ago, most of the planes we sent had to be knocked down, crated, put on board ship, transported, then uncrated and put together again in India, and from there sent up to the fighting front.



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In the case of China, they had to be flown over enormous mountains. Even after they were safely delivered there, the planes had to be kept supplied with ground crews, tools, oil, gasoline and even spare parts. Since the Japs cut the Burma Road, all these supplies have to be flown over hundreds of miles to bases which had to be built in China.

The same slow process was also the rule in the Southwest Pacific.

With the present increased range of airplanes, we are now flying more of them under their own power than before, but everything that goes to supply them — the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts — still have to be taken by ship to the fighting fronts all over the world. Practically every soldier and all his weapons and equipment have to go by ship. And every time a new forward move develops the whole outfit has to go by ship.

I wonder how many people realize what it means to carry on one war across the Atlantic and the Pacific and through the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, along lines of supply attacked by submarines and dive bombers at many points.

The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest military movement over the longest number of miles to landings under fire that history has recorded anywhere.



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The ships in this campaign — and in the Sicilian and Solomons and all other amphibious operations — cannot be loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable safe wharf. Most of the ships must be "combat loaded" in such a way that the troops go ashore first and are immediately followed in the proper order by guns and ammunition, tanks, trucks and food, medical equipment and all the supplies of a modern army. Preparations must be made to conduct these landings under enemy fire, and on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen or planned this kind of operation even over short distances do not speak glibly about landing great expeditions on a few days notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

The Members of the Congress have undoubtedly had an opportunity to see at first hand in their own home districts some of our war factories and plants and shipyards throughout the United States which are now working at full-blast turning out the greatest amount of war production in the history of the world. Since the Congress took the recess from which it has now reconvened, I can give you some statistics without revealing information to the enemy.

Last June and July we were worried by a reduction in the rate of increase in production. Great as our production had been we could not afford to level off. We had to continue the upward curve and not pause on any plateau.



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I am happy to report that the increase was resumed in August. In this month of September it is even better.

For example, during the two months of the recess of the Congress our factories produced approximately fifteen thousand planes. Production of heavy bombers in August was almost three times greater than January.

During those same two months American shipyards put into commission three million, two hundred thousand tons of large merchant ships -- a total of 281 ships, almost four ships a day.

Even as the actual fighting engagements in which our troops take part increase in number, it is becoming more and more evident that this is essentially a great war of production. The best way to avoid heavy casualty lists is to provide our troops with the best equipment possible -- and plenty of it.

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are still a long long way from ultimate victory in any major theatre of the war.

First: Despite our substantial victories in the Mediterranean, we face a hard and costly fight up through Italy to the Alps -- and a major job of organizing our positions before we can take advantage of them.



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Second: From bases in the British Isles we must be sure

that we have assembled the strength to strike not just in one direction but in many directions — by land and sea and in the air — with overwhelming forces and equipment.

Third: Although our Russian allies have made a magnificent counter-offensive, and are driving our common enemies back day by day, the Russian armies still have far to go before the last German has been driven from Russian soil.

Fourth: The Japanese hold firmly established positions on an enormous front from the Kuriles through the mandated islands to the Solomons and through the Netherlands East Indies to Malaysia and Burma and China. To break through this defensive ring we must hit them and hit them hard not merely at one point but at many points, and we must keep on hitting them until we have gained the bases from which we can cut their internal supply lines and from which Japan itself can be bombed into submission.

In all of history, there has never been a task as tremendous as that which we now face. We can do it — and we will do it — but we must plan and work and fight with every ounce of intelligence and energy and courage that we possess.



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The Congress has reconvened at a time when we are in the midst of the Third War Loan Drive seeking to raise a sum unparalleled in history -- fifteen billion dollars. This is a dramatic example of the scale on which this war still has to be fought, and presents some idea of how difficult and costly the responsible leaders of this government believe the war will be.

Nothing we can do will be more costly in lives than to adopt the attitude that the war has been won -- or nearly won. That would mean a let-down in the great tempo of production which we have reached, and would mean that our men who are now fighting all over the world will not have that overwhelming superiority of fighting power which has dealt so much death and destruction to the enemy and at the same time has saved so many American lives.

That is why I have always maintained that there is no such separate entity as the "home front." Every day lost in turning out an airplane or a ship at home will have its direct effect upon the men now battling up the leg of Italy or in the jungles of the Southwest Pacific or in the clouds over China.

There have been complaints from some sources about the way this whole subject of production and other domestic activities have been carried



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on. Some of these complaints of course are justified. On the other hand some of them come from selfish people who merely do not like to give up their pleasure driving or a part of their butter or meat or milk.

Fair-minded citizens, however, I think will realize that although mistakes have been made, the job that has been done in converting peacetime America to a war-time basis has been a great job and a successful one of which all our people have good reason to be proud.

It would be nothing short of a miracle if this unprecedented job of transforming a peace-loving, unprepared industrial America into a fighting and war production machine had been accomplished without some mistakes being made and some people being given cause for complaint.

The Congress, on the whole, is well aware of the magnitude of the undertaking, and of the many gigantic problems involved. For the Congress has been actively involved in helping to work out the solutions to these unprecedented problems.

A few facts will show how vast an enterprise this war has been — and how we are constantly increasing the tempo of our production.

The total amount spent on the war from May 1940 to date is \$128,123,000,000. The bill is now running at the rate of \$250,000,000 per day.



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Up to September 1, 1943, among the more important items produced and delivered since the armament program started in May 1940 are the followings:

Airplanes	123,000
Airplane engines	144,600
Tanks	53,000
Artillery weapons	93,000
Small arms (rifles, carbines, Machine guns, etc.)	9,500,000
Small arms ammunition	25,942,000,000 rounds
Trucks	1,233,000

In most instances more than half of the above total delivered

to date was produced during the first eight months of 1943:

Airplanes	52,000
Tanks	23,000
Artillery weapons	40,600
Small arms (rifles, carbines, machine guns, etc.)	4,634,000
Small arms ammunition	13,339,000,000 rounds

The number of fighting ships and auxiliaries of all kinds completed since May 1940 is 2,380 and 13,000 landing vessels.

In the two and a half years between January 1, 1941 and July 1, 1943, the power plants built for installation in Navy vessels had a horsepower equal to all the horsepower of all hydroelectric plants in the United States in January 1941.

The completions of Navy ships during the last six months was equal to completions in the entire year of 1942.



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Samuel I. Rosenberg

We have cut down the time required to build submarines by almost 50 percent.

The anti-aircraft and double purpose guns produced by the Navy since the defense program started in May, 1940, if fired altogether, would throw 4,800 tons of projectiles per minute against the enemy.

The output of under-water ordnance (torpedoes, mines and depth charges) during the first half of 1945, was equal to the total production of 1942.

During the month of August, 1945, we produced almost as many torpedoes as during all of World War I.

Anyone who has had to build a single factory, tool it up, get the necessary help, set up an assembly line, produce and ship the product will have some idea of what that amount of production has meant.

We have had to raise and equip armed forces of ten million men. Simultaneously, in spite of this drain on our manpower, we have had to find millions more men and millions of women to operate our war factories, arsenals, shipyards, essential civilian industries -- and the farms and mines of America.

There have been the problems of increasing greatly the output of our natural resources -- not only for our own Army and Navy and for our civilians at home, but also for our allies and our own forces all over the world: oil, coal, water power, metals, chemicals.
(not figures showing increase)



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Hays

There were the problems of raising and distributing more food than ever before in our history — for our armed services, for our own people, and to help feed our Allies, especially those in Britain who have only enough land to raise 50% of the needs of their populations and their armies.

There was the formidable problem of establishing a rationing system of the necessities of life which would be fair to all of our people.

There was the difficulty of keeping prices from skyrocketing and fighting off the serious spectre of inflation.

There were new problems of communications, of censorship, of war information. There was the problem of transporting millions of men and billions of tons of weapons and supplies all over our own country and also to all corners of the world. This necessitated the largest railroad and shipping operations in all history.

There were the problems involved in our vast purchases in foreign countries; in our control of foreign funds, located in this country; in our custody of alien property; in our occupation of liberated areas.

There was the problem of maintaining proper management-labor relations; of fair treatment and just compensation to our millions of war workers; of avoiding strikes; of preventing the exploitation of workers on natural resources by those who would seek to become war profiteers and war millionaires.



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From the Reports of
SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

There were the problems of civilian defense, of lend-lease, of subcontracting war contracts to smaller businesses, of building up stock piles of strategic material whose normal sources have been seized by the enemy -- such as rubber and tin.

There was the task of providing housing for millions of new war workers all over the country.

And touching all of these, there was the great problem of raising the money to pay for all of them.

No sincere, sensible person doubts that in such an unprecedented, breathtaking enterprise errors of honest judgment were bound to creep in, and that occasional disputes among conscientious officials were bound to occur. And if anyone thinks that we, working under our democratic system, have made major mistakes in this war, he should take a look at some of the blunders made by our enemies in the so-called "efficient" dictatorships.

Even sincere, sensible people sometimes fail to compare the handfuls of errors or disputes on the one hand, with the billions of instances where the agencies of government in cooperation with each other have moved like a smoothly working machine.

Not long ago a distinguished newspaper reporter was assigned by his boss to investigate the workings of one of our War Agencies and to write a series of stories on it.

When the reporter approached the Agency in question, he expected to meet with resistance, for he assumed this Agency wished to avoid investigation. However, he was cordially invited to go ahead -- to look into everything --



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From the Papers of

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and make his public reports accordingly.

He spent several days on the job, and when he was about finished with it, he was asked, "Do you think you've found a good story here?"

He replied, "I've found at least a hundred good stories here. But I'm afraid that not one of them is the story I was sent here to write."

So -- as a result of all this work, nothing has been printed, And why? Because that reporter, being honest as well as able, gave the Agency a completely clean bill of health. And when a Government Agency is doing a good, efficient job in helping to win and shorten the war, that is not news.

The American people as a whole are fair-minded. They have learned to distinguish between the sensational and the factual. They know that there is no so-called "news" when things run right. They know, for example, that a few newspapers and columnists and radio commentators can make controversy create news which is eagerly sought by Axis propagandists in their evil work.

Obviously, we never could have produced and shipped as much as we have, we could not now be in the position we now occupy in the Mediterranean, in Italy, or in the Southwest Pacific or on the Atlantic convey routes or in the air over Germany and France, if conditions in Washington and throughout the nation were as confused and chaotic as some people try to paint them.



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- 18 -

and distribution of food.

We should also begin to make plans for an orderly demobilization of war industries and war workers with a minimum of unemployment and dislocation or our economy.

Particularly we should move for the greater economic protection of our returning men and women in the armed forces -- and for greater educational opportunities for them. And for all our citizens we should provide a further measure of social security in order to protect them against certain continuing hazards of life.

All these things should be studied now and much of the necessary legislation should be enacted. I do not mean that this statement should be regarded in any way as an intimation that we are approaching the end of the war. Such thinking is based neither on fact nor on reason. But when the war ends, we do not want to be caught again without planning or legislation, such as has occurred at the end of the last war.

On all these, and on other subjects, I expect to communicate with this Congress from time to time.

In this critical period in the history of our country and of the world, we seek cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government to furnish our citizens with the security of the standard of living which their resources and their skills in management and labor entitle them.



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SIXTH DRAFT

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

N.S.

During the two months' recess of the Congress, many important events have occurred at the war fronts and at home. You return at a time when major battles in Europe and in Asia are beginning to be joined. In recent months, the main tides of conflict have been running our way -- but we could not and cannot be content merely to drift with this favorable tide.

You know from the news of the past few days that every military operation entails a legitimate military risk and that occasionally we have checks to our plans -- checks which necessarily involve severe losses of men and materials.

← Insert 9/11/42 p. 6

On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily. In spite of heavy German opposition it cleared this large and heavily fortified island in thirty-eight days.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and missing in the Sicilian campaign were 31,158, of which the American forces lost 7445. The casualties among the Italians and Germans were approximately 165,000, including 152,000 prisoners.

The unmistakably sincere welcome given to the Allied troops by the Italian people has proved conclusively that even in a country



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 2 -

which had lived for a generation under a complete dictatorship -- with all of its propaganda, censorship, and suppression of free speech and discussion -- the love of liberty was unconquerable.

It has also proved conclusively that this was ~~was~~ not waged by the people of Italy on their own choice. All of Mussolini's propaganda machine could not make them love Hitler or hate us. The less said about the feelings toward Mussolini, the better.

I believe that equal jubilation and enthusiasm will be shown by the people of the other nations now under the German heel when Nazi Gauleiters and native Quislings are removed through force or flight.

How different was this invading army of the Allies from the German forces that had come into Sicily, ostensibly to "protect it." Food, clothing, cattle, medicines and household goods had been systematically stolen from the people of Sicily, and sent North to the "master race" in Germany. Sicily, like other parts of Italy and like the other satellite and conquered nations, had been bled white by the Nazi and Fascist governments. Growers of crops were permitted to retain only a small fraction of their own produce for themselves and their families.



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 3 -

With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned organization, trained and equipped to give physical care to the local population — food, clothing, medicine. This new organization is also now in the process of restoring to the people of Sicily freedoms which, for many years, had been denied to them. I am confident that, within a year, Sicily will be once more self-supporting — and, in addition to that, once more self-respecting.

From Sicily the advance of the Allied armies has continued to the mainland. On the third day of September they landed on the toe of the Italian peninsula. These were the first Allied troops to invade the continent of Europe in order to liberate the conquered and oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the answer to the prayer of the millions of liberty-loving human beings not only in those conquered lands but all over the world.

On July 28th — two weeks after our first landings in Sicily — political events in Italy startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, the man who is more responsible for all of the sorrows of Italy than anyone, except possibly Hitler himself, was forced out of office and stripped of his power as a result of his own dismal



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 4 -

failures, his wanton brutalities, and the overwhelming demand of the Italian people. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to be followed, we are determined, by other and similar encouraging downfalls.

But there is one thing I want to make perfectly clear: When Hitler and the Nazis go out, the Prussian military clique must go with them. The war-breeding ^{gangs} ~~gangs~~ of militarists must be rooted out of Germany -- and out of Japan -- if we are to have any real assurance of future peace.

Early last month, the relentless application of overwhelming Allied power -- particularly air and sea power -- convinced the leaders of Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun by them with us. These conversations were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Therefore, much as I wished to do so, I could not communicate the facts of the case to the Congress, or the press, or to those who repeatedly expressed dismay or indignation at our apparent course in Italy. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only to the Axis but to the Italian people themselves.

I am sure that the Congress realizes that there are many situations in this war -- and there will be many more to come -- in which it



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 5 -

is impossible for me to make any announcement or even to give any indication of the policy which we are following. And I ask the American people as well as the Congress to bear with me and with our Chiefs of Staff. It is difficult to remain silent when unjustified attack and criticism come from those who are not in a position to have all the facts.

But the people and the Congress can be sure that the policy which we follow is an expression of the basic democratic traditions and ideals of this Republic. We shall not be able to claim that we have gained total victory in this war if any vestige of Fascism in any of its malignant forms is permitted to survive anywhere in the world.

The Armistice with Italy was signed on September third in Sicily, but it could not be put into effect until September eighth, when we were ready to make landings in force in the Naples area. We had planned these landings some time before and were determined to go through with them, armistice or no armistice.

Italian leaders appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us. Italian soldiers, though disorganized and ill-supplied, have been fighting the Germans in many regions. As you know, the Italian fleet has come over to our side; and it will be a powerful weapon in striking at the Nazi enemies of the Italian people.



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 6 -

7/2
to
p. 1.

The Allied forces are now engaged in a very hard battle south of Naples. Casualties are heavy. The desperate ^{low} ~~struggle~~ with which the Germans are fighting reveals that they are well aware of the consequences to them of our occupation of Italy.

[~~We are not going to be stopped. We shall drive the Germans out of Italy. We have the power to do it and we are applying that power.~~]

The Congress and the American people can rest assured that the landing on Italy is not the only landing we have in mind. That landing was planned at Casablanca. At Quebec, the leaders and the military staffs of Great Britain and the United States made specific and precise plans to bring to bear further blows of equal or greater importance against Germany and Japan — with definite times and places for other landings on the continent of Europe and elsewhere.

When Hitler was forced to the conclusion that his offensive was broken, and he must go on the defensive, he started boasting that he had converted Europe into an impregnable fortress. But he neglected to provide that fortress with a roof. He also left various other vulnerable spots in the wall of the so-called fortress — which we shall point out to him in due time.

The British and American air forces have been bombing the roofless fortress with ever-increasing effectiveness. It is now our purpose



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 7 -

to establish bases within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany, and to bring devastating war home to these places by day and by night as it has already been brought to Western Germany.

When Britain was being subjected to mass bombing in 1940 and 1941 — when the British people including their King and Prime Minister, were proving that Britain "could take it" — the strategists of the Royal Air Force and of our own Army Air Forces were not idle. They were studying the mistakes that Goering and his staff of Nazi terrorists were making. Those were fatal mistakes, as it turned out.

Today, we and the British are not making those mistakes. We are not bombing towns for the sheer sadistic pleasure of killing, as the Nazis did. We are striking devastating blows at carefully selected, clearly identified strategic objectives — factories, shipyards, munition dumps, transportation facilities, which make it possible for the Nazis to wage war. And we are hitting these military targets and blowing them to bits.

German power can still do us great injury. But that evil power is being destroyed, surely, inexorably, day by day, and if Hitler doesn't know it by now, then the last trace of sanity has departed from that distorted mind.



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 8 -

We must remember that in any great air attack the British and Americans lose a fairly high proportion of planes and that these losses must be made up quickly so that the weight of the bombing shall not decrease for a day in the future. In fact, a high rate of increase must be maintained according to plan -- and that means constant stepping-up of our production here at home.

In the raid on the Floesti oil fields in Rumania we lost many valuable bombers and more than five hundred of our finest men. ^{and} ~~That~~ *53 of our heavy bombers* represented about fifty per cent of the force that was sent on that remarkable raid. ^{loss} This may seem like a disastrously high percentage, unless you figure it against the damage done to the enemy's war power. I am certain that the German or the Japanese high commands would cheerfully sacrifice tens of thousands of men to do the same amount of damage to us, if they could. Those gallant and brilliant young Americans who raided Floesti won a smashing victory which, I believe, will contribute materially to the shortening of the war and thus save countless lives.

We shall continue to make such raids all over the territory of Germany and the satellite countries. With Italy in our hands, the distances we have to travel will be far less and the risks proportionately reduced.



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 2 -

We have reliable information that there is definite unrest and a growing desire for peace among the peoples of these satellite countries -- Rumania, Hungary, Finland and Bulgaria. We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt against Nazi dominance which commenced in Italy will burst into flame and become a consuming fire.

Every American is thrilled by the *sledgehammer* blows delivered against the Nazi aggressors by the Russian Armies. This summer there has been no successful German advance against the Russians, as in 1941 and 1942. The shoe today is on the other foot -- and is pinching very hard. Instead, the Russians have forced the greatest military reversal since Napoleon's retreat in 1812.

The recapture of Kharkov, Staling and Bryansk by the Russians, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing of millions of valuable acres and *inhabited places* hearten the whole world as the Russian campaign moves toward the elimination of every German from Russian soil -- toward the invasion of Germany itself. It is certain that the campaign in North Africa, the occupation of Sicily, the fighting in Italy and the compelling of large numbers of German planes to go into combat in the skies over Holland, Belgium and France by reason of our air attacks, have given important help to the Russian armies along their advancing front



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As long as Italy remained in the war as our enemy -- as long as the Italian fleet remained in being as a threat -- a substantial part of British naval strength had to be kept locked up in the Mediterranean.

Now that formidable strength is freed to proceed eastward to join in the ever-increasing attack upon the ~~enemy~~ ^{it has not been sufficiently} Japanese, ^{emphasized} *that the freeing of the Mediterranean was a great asset to the war in the Far East.*

There has been one serious gap in the lines of our globe-girdling sea power. That is the gap between Northwest Australia and Ceylon. That gap can now be closed as a result of victory in the Mediterranean.

We face, in the Orient, a long and difficult fight. We must be prepared for heavy losses in winning that fight. The power of Japan will not collapse until it has been literally pounded into the dust. It would be the utmost folly for us to try to pretend otherwise.

Even so, if the future is tough for us, think what it is for General Tojo and his murderous gang. They may look to the North, to the South, to the East or to the West. They can see closing in on them, from all directions, the forces of retribution under the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, General MacArthur, Admiral Nimitz, and Admiral Lord Mountbatten.

The forces operating against Japan in the various Pacific theatres are just as much interrelated and dependent on each other as



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 12 -

are the forces ^{pounding} ~~spanning~~ against Germany in Europe.

With the new threats that we offer from the Aleutians, Japan cannot afford to devote as large a proportion of her forces to hold the lines in other areas.

Such actions as the taking of Kiska do not just happen. They are the results of careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while some of our critics were so perturbed that they had reached the verge of tears ^{over} ~~at~~ what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them to realize that the carefully prepared and successful actions of Midway or in the Coral Sea or in the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians untenable.

Japan has been hard put to it to maintain her extended lines. She had to withdraw her garrison from Kiska in the face of the oncoming American-Canadian forces because she could not maintain a steady stream of adequate reinforcements and supplies to the Aleutians.

In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so much island territory that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact, it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat on our part against



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 15 -

the Japanese in the seas that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.

American and Australian ^g and New Zealand ^{Dutch} troops in a magnificent campaign in New Guinea ^{and the Solomons} have destroyed much Japanese strength and have gained for us new bases from which to launch new offensive operations. ?

After a long period of defensive strategy in Burma, we are ^{determined to take} finally taking the offensive there. I am also glad to report to you that we are getting more supplies and military help to China. Almost every day word comes that a new air battle has destroyed two and three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. That process will continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself.

It goes almost without saying that when Japan surrenders the United Nations will never again let her have authority over the islands which were mandated to her by the League of Nations. Japan obviously is not to be trusted. And the same thing holds good in the case of the vast territories which Japan has stolen from China starting long before this war began.

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two ^{continually reduced Axis strength} years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous military and ^{by} ^{air} ^{war}



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 14 -

naval policy of attrition. That means, cold-bloodedly, placing the ever-increasing resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the ever-decreasing resources of the Axis. It means the training and use of the Allied manpower -- which is greater than the Axis. It means the use of our superior facilities and ability to make more munitions, and above all aircraft, more quickly than our enemies can do.

For example, the Allies today on the European Front have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war on any and every point of the encircling line -- more guns, more tanks, more planes, more trucks, more transports, more supply ships and more warships.

In the Pacific, we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships -- merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are all in our favor -- for we grow in strength and they cannot even replace all their losses. It might be called a simple mathematical progression.

However, unless we keep up and increase the tempo of our present rate of production, this superiority of planes and guns, tanks and ships ^{can} ~~might~~ all be lost.

Our great production program started during the darkest days of 1940. With the significant contribution made by American industry and



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SIXTH DRAFT

15-18-

American labor, it is approaching full production. Britain has

The British Empire
already attained full production. Today, ~~Great Britain~~ and the United

States, together, are turning out so much more of everything ^{essential to} (needed in)

war that we have definite superiority over Germany and Japan which is

growing with every succeeding minute. But we have no minutes to lose.

A Realization of the distances we must cover brings
~~has created a situation of war~~ to mind problems that

every American should realize -- problems of transporting the things of X

war which we make, from our shores to the actual fighting areas ~~across~~

Burma and China can be reached only with extraordinary difficulty. Two

years ago, most of the planes we sent had to be knocked down, crated,

put on board ship, transported, then uncrated and put together again

in India, and from there sent up to the fighting front.

In the case of China, they had to be flown over enormous

mountains. Even after they were safely delivered there, the planes

had to be kept supplied with ground crews, tools, oil, gasoline and

even spare parts. Since the Japs cut the Burma Road, all these sup-

plies have to be flown over hundreds of miles to bases which had to

be built in China.



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 17 -

The same slow process was also the rule in the Southwest Pacific.

With the present increased range of airplanes, we are now flying more of them under their own power than before, but *all the things* everything that goes to supply them -- the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts -- still have to be taken by ship to the fighting fronts all over the world. Practically every soldier and all his weapons and equipment have to go by ship. And every time a new forward move develops the whole outfit has to go by ship.

I wonder how many people realize what it means to carry on the war across the Atlantic and the Pacific and through the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, along lines of supply attacked by submarines and dive bombers at many points.

The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest military movement over the longest number of miles to landings under fire that history has recorded anywhere.



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 18 -

The ships for such an amphibious operation cannot be loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable safe wharf, Most of the ships must be "combat loaded" in such a way that the troops go ashore first and are immediately followed in the proper order by guns and ammunition, tanks, trucks and food, medical equipment and all the supplies of a modern army. Preparations must be made to conduct these landings under enemy fire, and on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen or planned this kind of operation even over short distances do not speak glibly about landing great expeditions on a few days notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

The Members of the Congress have undoubtedly had an opportunity to see at first hand in their own home districts some of our war factories and plants and shipyards throughout the United States which are now working at full-blaze turning out the greatest amount of war production in the history of the world.

Last June and July we were worried by a reduction in the rate of increase in production. Great as our production had been we could not afford to level off. We had to continue the upward curve and not pause on any plateaus.

I am happy to report that the increase was resumed in August. In this month of September it is even better.



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For example, during the two months of the recess of the Congress our factories produced approximately fifteen thousand planes. There was an especially important increase in the production of heavy bombers in August. I cannot reveal the exact figures on this. They

would give the enemy needed information — but no comfort. *And I seek not only to come up to the schedule but to surpass it.*

During those same two months American shipyards put into commission three million, two hundred thousand tons of large merchant ships — a total of 281 ships, almost four ships a day.

Even as the actual fighting engagements in which our troops take part increase in number, it is becoming more and more evident that this is essentially a great war of production. The best way to avoid heavy casualty lists is to provide our troops with the best equipment possible — and plenty of it.

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are still a long long way from ultimate victory in any major theatre of the war.

First: Despite our substantial victories in the Mediterranean, we face a hard and costly fight up through Italy (to the Alps) — and a major job of organizing our positions before we can take advantage of them.

Second: From bases in the British Isles we must be sure that we



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have assembled the strength to strike not just in one direction but in many directions — by land and sea and in the air — with overwhelming forces and equipment.

Third: Although our Russian allies have made a magnificent counter-offensive, and are driving our common enemies back day by day, the Russian armies still have far to go before ^{They get into Germany itself.} the last German has been driven from Russian soil.

Fourth: The Japanese hold firmly established positions on an enormous front from the Kuriles through the mandated islands to the Solomon and through the Netherlands East Indies to Malaysia and Burma and China. To break through this defensive ring we must hit them and hit them hard not merely at one point but at many points, and we must keep on hitting them.

In all of history, there has never been a task as tremendous as that which we now face. We can do it — and we will do it — but we must plan and work and fight with every ounce of intelligence and energy and courage that we possess.

The Congress has reconvened at a time when we are in the midst of the Third War Loan Drive seeking to raise a sum unparalleled in history — fifteen billion dollars. This is a dramatic example of the scale on which this war still has to be fought, and presents some idea of how difficult and costly the responsible leaders of this government believe the war will be.



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Nothing we can do will be more costly in lives than to adopt the attitude that the war has been won -- or nearly won. That would mean a let-down in the great tempo of production which we have reached, and would mean that our men who are now fighting all over the world will not have that overwhelming superiority of power which has dealt so much death and destruction to the enemy and at the same time has saved so many American lives.

That is why I have always maintained that there is no such separate entity as the "home front." Every day lost in turning out an airplane or a ship at home will have its direct effect upon the men now battling up the leg of Italy or in the jungles of the Southwest Pacific or in the clouds over China.

There have been complaints from some sources about the way this whole subject of production and other domestic activities have been carried on. Some of these complaints of course are justified. On the other hand some of them come from selfish people who merely do not like to give up ^{some of} their pleasures ~~driving~~ or a part of their butter or meat or milk.

Fair-minded citizens, however, will realize that although mistakes have been made, the job that has been done in converting peacetime America to a war-time basis has been a great job and a successful one of which all our people have good reason to be proud.



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It would be nothing short of a miracle if this unprecedented job of transforming a peace-loving, unprepared industrial America into a fighting and ~~and~~ production machine had been accomplished without some mistakes being made and some people being given cause for complaint.

The Congress is well aware of the magnitude of the undertaking, and of the many gigantic problems involved. For the Congress has been actively involved in helping to work out the solutions to these unprecedented problems.

A few facts will show how vast an enterprise this war has been -- and how we are constantly increasing the tempo of our production.

The total amount spent on the war from May 1940 to date is \$128,125,000,000. The bill is now running at the rate of \$250,000,000 per day.

Up to September 1, 1943, among the more important items produced and delivered since the armament program started in May 1940 are the following:

Airplanes	125,000
Airplane engines	144,000
Tanks	53,000
Artillery weapons	95,000
Small arms (rifles, carbines, Machine guns, etc.)	9,500,000
Small arms ammunition	25,942,000,000 rounds
Trucks	1,235,000



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In most instances more than half of the above total delivered to date was produced during the first eight months of 1945:

Airplanes	52,000 ✓
Tanks	23,000
Artillery weapons	40,600
Small arms (rifles, carbines, machine guns, etc.)	4,638,000
Small arms ammunition	15,839,000,000 rounds

The number of fighting ships and auxiliaries of all kinds completed since May 1940 is 2,880 and 15,000 landing vessels.

In the two and a half years between January 1, 1941 and July 1, 1945, the power plants built for installation in Navy vessels had a [✓] equal to all the horsepower of all hydroelectric plants in the United States in January 1941.

The completions of Navy ships during the last six months was equal to completions in the entire year of 1942.

We have cut down the time required to build submarines by almost 50 percent.

The anti-aircraft and double purpose guns produced by the Navy since the defense program started in May, 1940, if fired altogether, would throw 4,600 tons of projectiles per minute against the enemy.

The output of under-water ordnance (torpedoes, mines and depth charges) during the first half of 1945, was equal to the total production of 1942.



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During the month of August, 1945, we produced almost as many torpedoes as during all of World War I.

Anyone who has had to build a single factory, tool it up, get the necessary help, set up an assembly line, produce and ship the product will have some idea of what that amount of production has meant.

We have had to raise and equip armed forces ^{approaching} ~~of~~ ten million men.

Simultaneously, in spite of this drain on our manpower, we have had to find millions more men and millions of women to operate our war factories, arsenals, shipyards, essential civilian industries -- and the farms and mines of America.

There have been the problems of increasing greatly the output of our natural resources -- not only for our own Army and Navy and for our civilians at home, but also for our Allies and our own forces all over the world: oil, coal, water power, metals, chemicals.

~~(not figures showing increase)~~

There were the problems of raising and distributing more food than ever before in our history -- for our armed services, for our own people, and to help feed our Allies.

There was the formidable problem of establishing a rationing system of the necessities of life which would be fair to all of our people.

There was the difficulty of keeping prices from skyrocketing and fighting off the serious spectre of inflation.



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SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

There was the problem of transporting millions of men and *hundreds of millions* billions of tons of weapons and supplies all over our own country and also to all corners of the world. This necessitated the largest railroad and shipping operations in all history.

There were the problems involved in our vast purchases in foreign countries; in our control of foreign funds, located in this country; in our custody of alien property; in our occupation of liberated areas. There were new problems of communications, of censorship, of war information.

There was the problem of maintaining proper management-labor relations; of fair treatment and just compensation to our millions of war workers; of avoiding strikes; of preventing the exploitation of workers on natural resources by those who would seek to become war profiteers and war millionaires.

There were the problems of civilian defense, of lend-lease, of subcontracting war contracts to smaller businesses, of building up stock piles of strategic material whose normal sources have been seized by the enemy — such as rubber and tin.

There was the problem of providing housing for millions of new war workers all over the country.

And touching all of these, there was the great problem of raising the money to pay for all of them.



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General I. Hosenbaum

No sincere, sensible person doubts that in such an unprecedented, breathtaking enterprise errors of honest judgment were bound to creep in, and that occasional disputes among conscientious officials were bound to occur. And if anyone thinks that we, working under our democratic system, have made major mistakes in this war, he should take a look at some of the blunders made by our enemies in the so-called "efficient" dictatorships.

Even sincere, sensible people sometimes fail to compare the handfuls of errors or disputes on the one hand, with the billions of instances where the agencies of government in cooperation with each other have moved like a smoothly working machine.

Some people when a doughnut is placed before their eyes claim they can see only the hole in it. Sometimes this is ~~not~~ an example of sheer individual pessimism; but sometimes it is caused by motives not consonant with war-winning ideals.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

STIR DRAFT

humans
The American people as a whole are fair-minded. They have

learned to distinguish between the sensational and the factual. They know that there is no so-called "news" when things run right. They know, for example, that a few newspapers and columnists and radio commentators can make controversy create news which is eagerly sought by Axis propagandists in their evil work.

Obviously, we never could have produced and shipped as much as we have, we could not now be in the position we now occupy in the Mediterranean, in Italy, or in the Southwest Pacific or on the Atlantic convoy routes or in the air over Germany and France, if conditions in Washington and throughout the nation were as confused and chaotic as some people try to paint them.

We know that in any large private industrial plant doing a thousandth part of what their government in Washington is doing, there

also occasional But this is not a good comparison. *are some mistakes and some arguments than exist in their native capital. It is like comparing a motor-boat with a battleship.* ✓

What I have said is not in any way an apology — it is an

assertion and a boast that the American people and their government are doing an amazingly good job in carrying out a vast program which two years ago was said to be impossible of fulfillment. Luckily the American people have a sense of proportion — *and a memory.*

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As General Marshall has said, in his Biennial Report, "The development of the powerful army of today has been dependent upon



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SIXTH DRAFT

vast appropriations and the strong support of the Congress, and the cooperation of numerous Government agencies."

I urge all Americans to read General Marshall's fine, soldierly record of the achievements of our Army throughout two of the most tremendous years in our history. This is a record which Americans will never forget.

As the war grows tougher and as new problems constantly arise in our domestic economy, changes in methods and changes in legislation may become necessary.

Particularly we should move for the greater economic protection of our returning men and women in the armed forces -- and for greater educational opportunities for them. And for all our citizens we should provide a further measure of social security in order to protect them against certain continuing hazards of life.

All these things, as well as eventual demobilization, should be studied now and such of the necessary legislation should be enacted. I do not mean that this statement should be regarded in any way as an intimation that we are approaching the end of the war. Such an intimation could not be based either on fact or on reason. But when the war ends, we do not want to be caught again without planning or legislation, such as has occurred at the end of the last war.



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 29 -

On all these, and on other subjects, I expect to communicate with this Congress from time to time.

In this critical period in the history of our country and of the world, we seek cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government to furnish our citizens with the security of the standard of living which their resources and their skills in management and labor entitle them in all matters which concern this Nation's welfare, present and future, — and the first of such matters, obviously, is the winning of this war.

Finally, as the war progresses, we seek a national cooperation with other nations toward the end that world aggression be ended and that fair international relationships be established on a permanent basis. The policy of the Good Neighbor has shown such success in the Hemisphere of the Americas that its extension to the whole world seems to be the logical next step. In that way we can begin to keep faith with our sons and daughters who are fighting for freedom and ~~and~~ justice and security at home and abroad.



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 12, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR HARRY HOPKINS.

Dear Harry:

This is a draft of the message
to go up on Wednesday. It is not finished.

If you feel well enough I
would like to come out to the hospital on
Tuesday and discuss it with you.

I hope you feel fine.

Regards,

SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN



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Harry L. Hopkins

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

THIRD DRAFT

During the two month's recess of the Congress, many important events have occurred at the war fronts and at home. I know that all Americans are glad to see you back again, meeting at a time when the tides of conflict are definitely and consistently running our way.

Most fresh in our minds are the happenings in Sicily and Italy. On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily. In spite of heavy German opposition it cleared this large island in four weeks.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and missing were approximately _____ of which the American forces lost _____. The losses among the Italians and Germans have been estimated at _____ dead, wounded and prisoners.

The joyous welcome given to the Allied troops by the population proved conclusively that even in a country which had lived for a generation under a complete dictatorship, the people themselves welcomed the day of release from an intolerable yoke.



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It also proved conclusively that this war was not waged by the people of Italy on their own choice.

How different was this invading army of the Allies to the invading hordes of German armies that had occupied Sicily a year before under the guise of protecting it! Food, clothing, cattle, medicines and household goods had been stolen from the people of Italy, and sent back to the "master race" in Germany. Sicily, like other parts of Italy and like the other satellite and conquered nations, had been bled white by the Nazi and Fascist governments. Growers of crops were permitted to retain only a small fraction of their needs. With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned organization, trained and equipped to give physical care to the local population -- e.g. food, clothing, medicine -- and also to restore certain freedoms which, for many years, had been denied to them. Within a year, Sicily, to all intents and purposes, will be self-supporting -- and in addition to that self-respecting.

From Sicily the onward sweep of the allied armies has continued into the mainland. On the third day of September they landed on the boot of the Italian peninsula. These were the first allied troops to land on the continent of



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Europe to liberate the conquered and oppressed countries. History will always remember this day as the beginning of the answer to the prayer of the millions of liberty-loving human beings not only in those conquered lands but all over the world.

A little over a month ago - even before we had completely occupied Sicily -- political events in Italy startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, the man who is more responsible for all of the sorrows of Italy than anyone except Hitler himself, was forced out by his own dismal failure and by the overwhelming demand of the Italian people, and seems to have disappeared. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to be followed, we are determined, by other and similar encouraging disappearances.

Not long after his abdication, the relentless bombing of Italian cities by the Allied Air Forces convinced the leaders of Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun by us with the Italian leaders. They were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Much as I would have liked to inform the Congress, and the members of the press, and those who repeatedly expressed dismay



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or indignation at our course in Italy, I could not. These negotiations turned out to be a complete surprise to nearly everyone, not only to the Axis but to the Italian people themselves. As a result of these conversations, announcement was made on September eighth that an armistice had been arranged on September third. The reason for the delay in the public announcement. Simultaneously Italian leaders appealed to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us.

Events are moving very fast. The Allies are confident that the Italian people will once again regain the respect of the democratic nations of the world by helping to drive the Germans from their soil and from many parts of the Balkan peninsula now occupied by Nazi troops.

The noose around the throat of Germany is being tightened — and in time it will choke. It is our aim soon to come within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany, and bring devastating war home to those places as it has already been brought to Western Germany.

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We know the effectiveness of the bombing of
the Ruhr, and Hamburg, and Berlin, and Nuremberg
and other places and that German munition production has

THIRD DRAFT

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been seriously curtailed. We will get further curtailment by bringing every city in Germany and all the war plants in nearby occupied countries within easy range of our night bombers and day bombers.

And we must remember that in any great air attack the British and ourselves lose a fairly high proportion of planes and that these losses must be made up so that the weight of the bombing shall not decrease in the future. Actually it ought to increase -- and I believe it will if we can keep up and speed up our daily completion of fighting aircraft of all kinds.

We have reliable information that there is also definite unrest and a growing desire for peace in most parts of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Greece -- in Bulgaria and Rumania. We hope that in these nations the spirit of revolt which commenced in Italy will spread with great rapidity.

Every American is aware of the smashing blows delivered against them by the Russian Armies. This Summer there has been no German push far back into the Russian lines. The shoe today is on the other foot.



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THIRD DRAFT

- 6 -

The recapture by the Russians of Rostov and Staling, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing of millions of acres and "inhabited places" hearten the whole world as the campaign moves toward the elimination of every German from Russian soil -- as it moves toward the invasion of Germany itself. We like to think that the campaign in North Africa, the occupation of Sicily, the fighting in Italy and the freeing of large numbers of German planes on the coasts of Holland, Belgium and France have given some help to the Russian armies in their great push from Leningrad to the Black Sea. We hope, too, that we are contributing to that push by ~~the~~ making Germany keep many divisions in the Balkans, in Southern France and along the English Channel. I like to think that these words constitute an under statement.

Since the beginning of our entrance into the war, nearly two years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous military and naval policy of attrition. That means, cold-bloodedly, placing the greater resources of the Allies into deadly competition with the lesser resources of the Axis. It means the training and use of the Allied manpower -- which is greater than the Axis. It means the use of our superior



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facilities and ability in making more munitions more quickly than our enemies can do.

For example, the Allies today on the European Front have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war, more planes on any and every point of the encircling line -- more guns, more tanks, more trucks; more transports, more supply ships and more warships.

However, unless we keep up and increase the tempo of our present rate of production, this superiority of planes and weapons, guns, tanks and ships can quickly be changed once again into the tragic picture of the air dominated by the Axis and the battlefields controlled by enemy tanks and the seas made partially impassable by enemy submarines.

Our great production program only started two years ago. With the magnificent contribution made by American industry and American labor, it may well be said to be approaching full production. Britain has already attained full production. Today, Great Britain and the United States are turning out so much more of everything needed in war that if we keep it up and do not slacken our efforts, our superiority over Germany will grow with every succeeding month.



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THIRD DRAFT

- 8 -

The same policy of attrition is succeeding equally well in the Pacific Ocean. Japan made the primary mistake in the first flush of victory in the months that followed Pearl Harbor by extending her military and naval lines too far. When our task forces and submarines went to work on the Japanese lines of communication, they began to destroy shipping faster than the Japs could rebuild. That whittling down process has been going on ever since. The result is that Japan has been hard put to it to maintain her far-flung lines. For example, it was because Japan could not maintain a steady stream of adequate supplies and reinforcements to Kiska, that the Japanese garrison had to be withdrawn in the face of the oncoming force from our Western Coast.

It was because of the sacrifices of our armed forces and the ability of our people to produce on the home front that the flag of the Rising Sun has been trampled once again to the ground and the Stars and Stripes are flying on the barren rocks of the Island of Kiska.

These things do not just happen. They are the results of the careful and complete planning which was going on quietly while some of our orators were so perturbed that they



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THIRD DRAFT

- 9 -

had reached the verge of tears at what they called the threatened invasion of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them to realize that the carefully planned and successful actions of Midway or in the Coral Sea or in the Solomons rendered the Japanese toe-hold in the Aleutians relatively unimportant.

However, there are no longer any Japanese left in the Aleutian Islands and the airfields they built there now become available for further operations by us in a westerly direction.

The whittling away process hit the Japs hard in the Aleutian Islands. Their material losses were far greater than ours. And the same policy has extended throughout the Pacific. In the past year and a half we have taken a steady toll of Japanese war planes and a steady toll of Japanese ships -- all merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are still in our favor -- for we are manufacturing far more than they can manufacture. It might even be called a simple mathematical progression.



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In the Solomon Islands, with heavy fighting, we have gained so much island territory that the threat to Australia and New Zealand across the Coral Sea has been practically dissipated. In fact, it is safe to say that our position in that area has become a threat on our part against the Japanese in the Seas that lie north of the Solomons and north of New Guinea.

American and Australian troops in a magnificent campaign have whittled away far more Japanese strength than all of our losses combined. Finally, after a long period of defensive strategy in Burma, we are taking the offensive and I am glad to say we are getting more supplies and military help to China. Almost every day word comes that a new air battle has destroyed two and three times more Japanese planes in China and Burma than we ourselves have lost. That process will continue until we are ready to strike right at the heart of Japan itself.

That presents to my mind problems that every American should realize -- problems of getting the things of war which we make, from our shores to the actual fighting theatre itself. Burma and China cannot be reached except with extraordinary difficulty. Two years ago, most of the planes we sent



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had to be knocked down, crated, put on board ship, uncrated and put together in India and sent up to the fighting front. In the case of China they had to be sent over enormous mountains. Once delivered there the planes had to be supplied with ground crews, tools, oil, gasoline and even spare parts. Since the Japs cut the Burma Road, all these things have to be flown over hundreds of miles to bases in China which had to be built.

The same slow process was also the rule in the Southwest Pacific.

With the increased range of airplanes, we are now sending more of them under our own power than before, but everything that goes to supply them -- the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts -- had to be taken by ship to the fighting front all over the Pacific. Practically every soldier had to go by ship. All his equipment had to go by ship. Huge weapons had to go by ship. And every time a new forward move developed the whole outfit had to go by ship.

I wonder how many people realize what carrying on one war across the Pacific and through the Indian Ocean and another war across the Atlantic and the Mediterranean means, especially when our lines of supply face lurking submarines at many points and dive bombers.



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THIRD DRAFT

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The combined operation of the British and Americans last November against Morocco and Algeria was in point of numbers the largest military movement over the longest number of miles and ending with landings under fire that history records anywhere.

The operation against Sicily, a part of which started directly in Britain and in the United States, was at least equal. The ships in this kind of movement are not loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable safe wharf. Most of the ships have to be what is called "beachhead loaded" -- loaded in such a way that the troops going ashore first are immediately followed by guns and ammunition, tanks, trucks and food, medical equipment and all the supplies of a modern army -- all under enemy fire, and, generally, on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen or planned this kind of operation over long distances or short distances do not speak glibly about landing great expeditions on a few day's notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

The havoc which Germany started in bombing defenseless nations has at last come back to roost upon the



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roof tops of the German people themselves. Almost day by day, almost night by night, the American and British Air Forces have been over the cities of Germany and her satellite nations and over her war factories in the occupied countries dropping destruction from the sky.

The difference between the German air attack and our own air attack, however, is that the Germans wasted their air power when they had it by ruthless bombing of objectives which had no material significance. Our own bombing of Germany is directed at her war industry, her transportation, her submarine and shipping bases and her shipyards. We know that this continued bombing is having a direct effect upon the German Armies actually in the field; because it is destroying or damaging the buildings and tools which make fighting equipment and submarines and ships; and because it is destroying the means of transporting materials of war to the armies in the field.

The Members of the Congress have undoubtedly had an opportunity to see at first-hand some of our war factories and plants and shipyards throughout the United States which



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are now working at full-blast turning out the greatest amount of war production in the history of the world. Since the Congress took its recess from which it has now reconvened, I can give you some statistics without revealing information to the enemy.

For instance - (here give some figures),

There are a great many other items of manufacture of many kinds of instruments which it would be unwise at present to divulge.

Even as the actual fighting engagements in which our troops take part increase in number, it is becoming more and more evident that this is essentially a great ^{war} ~~war~~ of production. The outstanding reason for our comparatively light casualty list has been the fact that our troops have had the best equipment possible and plenty of it.

We have come a great way since this Congress first met in January of this year. When we consider how far the Axis had gone in their march of conquest of the world by that time, I think we can all agree that almost a miracle has been performed in stopping them in their path of conquest and turning them back into their walls of defense.



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Harry L. Hopkins

I have given you the brighter side of the war picture as I see it today. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are still a long long way from ultimate victory in any major theatre of the war.

While one of the Axis partners has formally signed an armistice and dropped out of the war, we must still fight Germany on the very soil of Italy. Over a period of a year the Nazis have gradually taken physical control of Italy, looted her resources for her own selfish benefit, and entrenched herself on the soil of Italy — determined to make Italy a battle ground and forestall the inevitable day when Germany itself would be the scene of battle. The Germans will have to be beaten out of Italy by our armies before we can really say that Italy itself has been conquered.

The Russian Armies which have done the most brilliant, destructive, and determined and desperate fighting are still fighting on Russian soil.

Japan still holds most of her conquered lands and all those bases which she has strongly fortified over a period of a score of years illegally and in violation of the mandate which was given to her. If we ever attempt to take back this



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land, island by island, it would be a task which would take too long and which would cost too much in American lives and material. The objective is still to strike directly at the islands of Japan itself. That is going to be a tough job but it will be done.

It goes almost without saying that when Japan surrenders the United Nations will never again let her have authority over the islands which were mandated to her by the League of Nations. Japan obviously is not to be trusted. And the same thing holds good, I think, in the case of the ^{vast} ~~last~~ territories which Japan has stolen from China starting long before this war began.

Japan still holds a large part of China. She must be driven from the mainland and with all of the difficulties which I have described in getting fighting equipment into China, that is going to be a long and difficult undertaking.

We can never lose sight of the fact that all the implements of war which we use have to be shipped either across the Atlantic Ocean or the Pacific Ocean. That reinforcements of men and supplies and tools and equipment



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THIRD DRAFT

-17-

of all kinds have to be sent over distances that require careful months of planning and almost limitless supplies of vessels.

Fortunately the great rate of shipping destruction by submarines which prevailed when this Congress met last January has been materially reduced. In fact during the last two months it has fallen to a minimum. But we can never be sure as to just when that menace will return either in its old form or under some improved operation to make our job more difficult and longer than it looks even now.

The Congress has reconvened at a time when we are in the midst of the Third War Loan Drive seeking to raise a sum unparalleled in history -- fifteen ~~bix~~ billion dollars. This is a dramatic example of the scale on which this war still has to be fought and presents some idea of how difficult and costly the responsible leaders and Chiefs of Staff of this government believe the war will be.

Nothing we can do will be more costly in lives than to adopt the attitude that the war has been won. Because that would mean a let-down in the ~~tx~~ great tempo of production which we have reached and would mean that our men who are now fighting all over the world will not have that overwhelming



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THIRD DRAFT

-18-

superiority of fighting power which has dealt so much death and destruction to the enemy and at the same time has saved so many American lives.

That is why I have always maintained that there is no separate entity as the "home front". Every day lost in turning out an airplane or a ship at home will have its direct effect upon the men now crawling up the leg of Italy or stalking the Japs in the jungles of the Southwest Pacific.

There have been many complaints about the way this whole subject of production and the other activities here at home have been carried on. Many of these complaints are justified. On the other hand many of them come from selfish people who do not like to give up their pleasure driving or a part of their butter or meat or milk.

Fair-minded citizens, however I think will realize that although mistakes have been made, a great job has been done in converting peace-time America to a war-time basis.

etc.



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BARRY L. HOPKINS

It would be nothing short of a miracle if this unprecedented job of transforming a peace-loving, unprepared industrial America into a fighting and war production machine were done without mistakes and justifiable complaint.

The Congress, on the whole, is well aware of the magnitude of the undertaking and of the many ^{lead-} ~~lead-~~ splitting problems involved.

Since January, 1941, when we really began to get into things, we have spent billions of dollars on war, that we have turned out over _____ airplanes, _____ tanks, _____ fighting ships, to say nothing of ammunition and trucks and guns and clothing and equipment. Anyone who has had to build a single factory, tool it up, get the necessary help, and set up an assembly line, will have some idea of what that amount of production has meant.

We have had to raise and equip the army which now amounts to seven million men, a naval force now equal to two million men, an air corps now totalling _____ million men.

With this drain on our best manpower resources, we had to find the men and women to man our war factories, arsenals, navy yards, civilian industries and farms.



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There were the problems of getting our natural resources out in amounts never before dreamed of -- not only for our own Army and Navy and for our civilians at home but for our allies and for our forces all over the world: oil, coal, metals, chemicals. And we were forced with the necessity of raising and distributing more food than ever before in our history -- for our armed services, for our own people, and to help feed the soldiers of all our allies.

There was the difficult but all-important problem of seeing to it that all our American citizens are treated alike in the rationing of the necessities of life whether they are rich or poor -- to see that prices are not allowed to skyrocket -- to fight off the spectre of inflation!

There were the problems of communications, of censorship, of information. There was the problem of transporting millions of men and billions of tons of equipment not only to various parts of the United States but to all corners of the world, in the face of lurking submarines and enemy planes.

Then there were the myriad of problems involved in our vast purchases in foreign countries, in our control of



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foreign funds, in our custody of all alien property in our occupation of liberated areas.

There was the problem of maintaining proper management-labor relations, of keeping up the morale of our millions of war workers by fair treatment and just compensation, of avoiding war-time strikes, of preventing the exploitation of workers or resources by those who would seek to become war profiteers and millionaires.

There was the job of providing housing for millions of new war workers all over the United States.

And above all there were the problems involved in raising the money to pay the bills for all this.

Can any sincere sensible person doubt that in such an unprecedented enterprise there must be errors and occasional disputes among conscientious officials as to where the authority of each might end.

Compare the handful of disputes and of mistakes with the billions of instances where different agencies of government cooperate in a smoothly working machine, in the day-by-day, month-by-month routine operation of this vast machinery of war, without a hitch, without even the suspicion of friction, and with the utmost efficiency.



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From the papers of
HARRY L. HOPKINS

The only trouble is that there is no so-called "news" when things run right. It is only when a mistake or a dispute occurs that the newspapers go into print, and the columnists and radio commentators go into action -- and the Axis propagandist get in their evil work.

But the American people have learned to distinguish between the sensational and the factual. Their common sense tells them that we never could have produced and shipped as much as we have if the conditions in Washington were anything like what some of our columnists try to paint them. They know that in any large private industrial plant, doing a millionth part of what their government in Washington is doing, there are more mistakes and internal arguments than exist in their Nation's Capital.

But as the war grows tougher and as new problems arise in our domestic economy changes in administration and in our statutes become necessary. I shall communicate to the Congress shortly recommendations as to action which I deem necessary in connection with the more efficient use of our manpower and the greater production and distribution of food.



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We should also begin to make plans for quick action after hostilities cease to bring about an orderly demobilization of our war industries and our war workers with a minimum of unemployment and disk dislocation of our economy.

Particularly we should legislate now for the greater economic protection of our returning men and women in the armed forces — and for greater educational opportunities for them. And for all our citizens we should provide now a further measure of social security to become effective after the war in order to protect them against the hazards of old age, unemployment, disability and disease.

On all these and on other subjects, I shall communicate with this Congress from time to time.

I am sure that in this crucial period in the history of our country and of the world the Executive and Legislative Branches of the government can and will cooperate to bring this war to as early an end as possible, to provide a framework of international cooperation which will make such a war impossible again, and to furnish our own citizens with the security and standard of living to which their ancestors and their children are entitled and



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-24-

which their resources and their skills in management and
labor entitle them.



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Harry L. Hopkins

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1943.

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From the Reports of
Samuel I. Rosenbaum

Text of Radio Address by Secretary of War Outlining Policies of the S

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13.—Following is the text of the address by Secretary of War over the NBC network:

I.
In July of last year, in an address over these networks, I outlined, as definitely as was possible at that time, the chief problems and conditions confronting us in the field of foreign relations and sought to indicate some of the policies necessary for meeting these problems. I pointed out that in the present conflict each of the United Nations is fighting for the preservation of its freedom, its homes, its very existence; and that only through united effort to defend our countries in freedom or the opportunity for freedom be preserved for all countries and all peoples. I spoke of the need to chart for the future a course in enduring spiritual values which would bring our nation and all nations greatness for enduring peace and greater measure of human welfare. To this end I urged that we study, hard thinking, broad vision and leadership by all nations, within each nation who provide spiritual, moral and intellectual guidance.

At that time the military picture was still dark. The United Nations were still fighting a desperate war of defense against better prepared forces. We had suffered a succession of grim defeats.

Since then the military picture has greatly changed. We are now winning heartening victories, in the air, at sea and on land. Our countries are steadily increasing in power and effectiveness. Their steps are leading us to our final triumph over the forces of conquest and slavery.

Attainment of complete victory, although now certain, is still a formidable task. Our lesser enemies are fast losing heart and strength. Italy has already surrendered. But our principal enemies, Germany and Japan, though weakened, still possess great resources and enormous strength. They still control vast portions of Europe and of Asia. They still dominate completely the United Nations need to make, on the battlefield and at home, efforts even greater than those thus far made.

In making these more intensified efforts it is more important than ever for all countries to

duction and delivery in all history. Our war supplies are flowing outward to a constant and ever-increasing stream, not alone as a result of our own resources but also because our forces are engaged but to every point on the globe at which the armed forces of the United Nations are fighting.

We are in continuous consultation with our allies on various phases of military, economic and political activity—as required by the exigencies of a constantly changing situation.

Our cooperation with our allies has long since reached the state where contingents of the forces of various nations are fighting side by side, under unified command. We have developed this type of cooperation with invincible Britain, with intertidal and realistic Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, with valiant and determined China, and with the forces of other Allies. It is bringing rapidly extended as the military operations progress.

To the Soviet Union, whose heroic armies and civilian population have earned everlasting respect through their magnificent feats of courage and sacrifice, we have been glad to render all possible aid. Our determination to settle policy that collaboration and cooperation between our two countries shall steadily increase during and following the war.

With the Soviet Union, whose power of France we have been and are developing a heartening cooperation in our common fight.

With governments which the Axis powers have driven from their invaded and brutally oppressed territories, we have the most friendly relations. These relations reflect the friendship and active sympathy for the suffering of their peoples and our determination that the victory of the United Nations shall restore their nations to freedom of their people.

With all but one of the nations of the Western Hemisphere we have a recent record of solidarity and association—the fruits of ten years of unremitting discharge of the responsibilities of nations to build in this hemisphere a fraternity of Good Neighbors. Each of our American associates is making a magnificent contribution to the victory. Here we have, in peace and in war, a highly successful example of cooperation between

fearless Danish officials on free soil, and with the Government of Iceland made it possible to guard the great North Atlantic passage as a vital lifeline for our allies and troops and as a defense against attack from the north.

The perseverance of China, the first victim of the movement of aggression, in resistance to Japan, has been added in no small measure by the faith of her leaders in us, based on our own efforts in our history and policy and on their observation, as time went on, of our efforts for peace and peaceful settlement in the Far East, our economic and moral support, and our military assistance. China's resistance has held enormous her front against Japanese forces which might otherwise have been focused against us in the Pacific; and China is playing an important part in the United Nations' program for the winning of the war and achievement of a stable peace.

The agencies of our foreign policy are at all times in the closest cooperation of national defense. Since the attack upon us, they have been increasing their efforts to achieve the victories which are fast increasing in number and significance.

III.
Beyond final victory, our fundamental national purposes are—as they always have been—the assuring of our national security and the fostering of the economic and social well-being of our people. To maintain peace in the world, our foreign policy must necessarily deal with current conditions and with the long-range future in the light of the concepts and beliefs which we have adopted for ourselves as the guiding lines of our international behavior.

Throughout our national history, our basic policy in dealing with foreign nations has been to keep certain beliefs which are widely and deeply rooted in the minds of our people. Among these are:

1. All peoples who, with "a decent regard to the opinions of mankind," have qualified themselves to assume the responsibilities of liberty are entitled to its enjoyment.
2. Each sovereign nation, large or small, is in law and in fact the equal of every other nation.
3. All nations, large and small, which respect the rights

of taking practical steps to create conditions which there will be security for every nation; in which each nation will have an equal opportunity to develop and progress in ways of its own choice; in which there will be, for each nation, improved facilities to attain, by its own effort and in cooperation with others, an increasing measure of political stability and of economic, social and cultural welfare.

If our nation and like-minded nations fall in this task, the way will be opened for a new era of international anarchy, for new and even more destructive wars, for an increasing material and spiritual impoverishment of mankind. Many times in the course of history nations have drifted into catastrophes through failure to act in time to recognize the dangers which confronted them and to take the necessary steps to ward off those dangers. Post-war cooperation to maintain the peace for peace-seeking nations accordingly has essential for its success. It is the present cooperative effort to win the war.

IV.
There is nothing on which all men of conscience are agreed. It is the proposition that the monstrous specter of a world war may develop into a world of peace. The people of this and other lands unite this demand.

It is abundantly clear that a world of organized international cooperation for the maintenance of peace must be based upon the willingness of the cooperating nations to use force, if necessary, to keep the peace. This requires that adequate and appropriate means are available to use the force. It requires that the maintenance of peace, if necessary, be substituted for war as to be found.

Differences between nations which lead toward armed conflict may be those of a character, commonly referred to as political, and those capable of being resolved by application of law, commonly referred to as justiciable. Another cause of armed conflict is aggression by nations whose only motive is

tion can be successful only to the extent to which the nations of the world are willing to accept certain fundamental propositions. First, each nation will have to maintain a stable government. Each nation should be free to decide for itself the forms and details of its governmental organization—so long as it conducts its affairs in such a way as not to menace the peace and security of other nations.

Second, each nation should conduct its economic affairs in such a way as to promote the most effective utilization of its human and material resources and the greatest practicable measure of economic welfare and social security for all of its citizens. Each nation should be free to decide for itself the forms of its internal economic and social organization—but it should conduct its affairs in such a way as to respect the rights of others and to play its necessary part in a system of international economic relations.

Third, each nation should be willing to submit differences arising between it and other nations to peaceful means of settlement, and should be prepared to carry out other obligations which may develop into an effective system of organized international relations.

All of this calls for the creation of a system of international relations, based upon the rule of law and justice as distinguished from the anarchy of unbridled and unbridled force, economic and political. The outstanding characteristic of such a system is liberty under the law, as well as individuals. It is liberty in practice, not in theory.

The form and functions of the international agencies of the future will be determined by the existing condition of international justice may or may not need to be changed. The scope and character of the means for making international justice effective will be determined by the nature of international economic conditions and by the conditions that may be desirable and feasible.

with all these are among the problems which are receiving attention and which will need to be determined by agreement among governments, subject, of course, to approval by their respective peoples. They are being studied intensively by this Government and by other governments. They are gradually being made subjects of consultations between and among governments. They are being studied and discussed by the people of this country and the peoples of other countries. In the final analysis, it is the will of the peoples of the world that decides the all-embracing issues of peace and of human welfare.

V.
The outbreak of war made it clear that problems of crucial importance in the field of foreign relations would confront this country as well as other countries upon the termination of hostilities. It became the obvious duty of the Department of State to give special attention to the study of conditions and developments relevant to the future of the world war spread over the earth, the scope of these studies was extended and the work was steadily increased, in so far as was compatible with the full possible prosecution of the war.

By direction of the President

Man, that's COFFEE

When asked "Smack, fellow—straw, or vertical—coffee of its best!"

COFFEE

Is at your grocer's, in vacuum-packed glass containers—its marvelous flavor intact. But some days

and with his own work, the Dept. undertakes, organized for the purpose of examining the various factors in the conduct of the making of the policy for the solution of the problems. In doing so, it has had close contacts with the representatives of agencies of the organized labor of many nations. In regard to that, it is the final analysis, it is the will of the peoples of the world that decides the all-embracing issues of peace and of human welfare.