File No. 1482

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 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 tide of conflict is definitely ebbing.

Most fresh in our minds are the happenings in Italy. On the tenth of July a carefully prepared expedition landed in Sicily, and in the face 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 were greatly at _____.

[Handwritten note: "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 long under a complete dictatorship, the people themselves welcomed the day of release from an intolerable yoke. 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"]
How different was this invading army of the Allies to the invading hordes of German armies that marched a year before under the guise of protecting it. Sicily. Food, clothing, medicines and household goods had been stolen and sent back to the "master race" were taken from the people of Italy. Sicily, like other 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 went a carefully planned set up for giving immediate care to the local population -- food, clothing, and 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 Sicily should be exploited to the full and the onward sweep has continued into the mainland. The boot 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, other events startled the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, was forced by what is clearly the overwhelming desire of the Italians, to be followed, we hope, by other and similar encouraging disappearances.

Not long after his disappearance that conversation began for the obvious reason that Italy was unable to continue an active part in the war. Talks with Italian leaders were carried on with the utmost secrecy and in complete surprise not only among the Allied Nations, but among the Italian people themselves. As a result, announcement was made on September eighth that an armistice had been arranged and simultaneously
And then on the ___ day of September, the allied armies landed on the boot of the Italian peninsula and in Naples, 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.

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

Much as I would have liked to inform the members of the press and those who repeatedly expressed dismay at our not continuing to urge Italy to surrender, those 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.

\[\text{Events are moving very fast. The Allies strongly hope that the people will once again support the forces of democracies. By Italian aid rendered, great military and naval assistance in driving the Germans from their own soil and from the soil of many parts of the Balkan peninsula now occupied by their troops.}\]

Thus if all goes well and remembering always that the Germans are in great strength, the cord of German unity will be tightened. It is our wish to come within bomb range of Southern and Eastern Germany and bring the war ever closer to homes and lives as it has already brought to Western Germany. In distant corners of the world there is also definite unrest and a desire for peace in growing parts of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Greece, together with growing unrest in Bulgaria and Romania. We hope that in these nations the American is aware of the smashing blows delivered against them by the Russian Army. This summer there has been no German push far back into the Russian lines. The shoe today is on the other foot.

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

\[\text{That means cold-bloodedly, deliberately, destruction of the resources of the Allies with the lesser resources of the}\]
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 greatest Allied manpower which is greater than the Axis.

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 European line—more guns, more tanks, more trucks; in the same way more transports, more supply ships and more warships.

Our great progress, 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 our so much more of everything that the superiority over Germany grows a little with every succeeding month.

The 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 of extending military and naval lines too fast. When our task forces and submarines went to work on the Japanese lines of communication, we destroyed their shipping faster than they could rebuild, and Japan has been going on ever since. The result is Japan
However, unless we not only keep up but increase 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 by the Axis and of the sea ruled by enemy submarines. A field dominated by enemy tanks.
Our great production program started two years ago and with the contribution of American industry and the magnificent 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 on the home front, the superiority of Germany grows a little and will continue to grow less with every succeeding month.
has been put to it to maintain far-flung lines. 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.

These things do not just happen. They are the result of long, patient
preparation. 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 too-hold in the Aleutians
relatively unimportant.

However, there are no Japanese left in the Aleutians Islands
and they became available for further operations in a westerly
direction.

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
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 were going on again by 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.
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 that we are manufacturing far more than they can manufacture.
It might even be called a 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 a relatively safe and into
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 Burmese,
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 presents to my mind problems that every American should
realize — problems of getting the war things we make from our shores
to the actual fighting theatre itself. Burmese 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 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
be sent over enormous mountains. But 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 be the rule in
problems - the Southwest Pacific another. 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
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 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. This kind of movement is not a mere does not mean that the ships are loaded in the ordinary way, to be unloaded alongside a comfortable wharf, not where. 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 food, medical equipment and, all the supply of a modern army—all to be unloaded under fire and generally on beaches instead of at docks. People who have seen this kind of operation over long distances or planned 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.
SECOND DRAFT

It proved conclusively that this war was not waged by
the people of Italy 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, cash,
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 care-
fully planned organization, trained and equipped to give
local population food, clothing, medicine and also for
restoring certain freedoms which, for many years, had been
denied to them. Within a year, Sicily, still to all intents
and purposes self-supporting and in addition to that self-
respecting.

From Sicily the onward sweep has continued into the
mainland. On the 3rd day of September the Allied armies landed
on the boot of the Italian peninsula near Naples. 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, in these conquered lands but all over the world.

A little over a month ago, political events in Italy started the world. Mussolini, the incubus of Italy for a generation, was forced out by his own failure and by the overwhelming desire of the Italians and seems to have disappeared. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to 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 Italy that it could not continue an active part in the war. Conversations were begun with Italian leaders. They were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Much as I would have liked to 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 among the Allied Nations, but among the Italian people themselves. As a result of these conversations, announcement was made on September eighth that an
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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 of democratic nations by combating assistance in raising the Germans from their soil and from many parts of the Balkan peninsula now occupied by Nazi troops.

The throat of Germany is being tightened—and in time it will close. It is our aim soon to come within bombing range of Southern and Eastern Germany and bring 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, Jugoslavia 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, or Hamburg, or Berlin, or Neurenberg
and other places and that German munition production has
been seriously curtailed. We 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 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.

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.

(Elaborating on the significance of the recapture by the Russians of Rostov, Stalingrad, 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 than the Axis. It means the use of our superior 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
The recapture by the Russians of Rostov and Stalino, the opening of the Ukraine and the Donets Basin and the freeing of millions of acres and "inhabited places" heartens the whole world as it 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 necessity for keeping large numbers of German planes on the coasts of Holland, Belgium and France has 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 many divisions in the Balkans, in Southern France and along the English Channel. I like to think that these words constitute an under statement.
SECOND DRAFT

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 must be changed once again into a tragic picture of air dominated by the Axis and ground controlled by enemy tanks and sea roamed by enemy submarines.

Our great production program 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 making a marvelous combination of British and American efforts. We are turning out so much more of everything that if we keep this up and not for one moment slacken our efforts, the superiority over Germany grows 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 extending her military and naval lines too far. When our task forces and submarines went to work on the Japanese lines of communication, we began to destroy their shipping faster than they 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 far-flung lines. For example, it was
because Japan could not maintain adequate supplies and
reinforcements to Kiska that the Japanese garrison had to be
withdrawn in the face of 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.

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 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.
SECOND DRAFT

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.

\[\checkmark\] 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 unusual size (?) 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 and good, 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 almost night by night, the American
and British Air Forces have been over the cities of Germany and her
satellite nations and her factories in the occupied countries dropping
destruction from the sky. The difference between the German air attack
and our 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,
hers 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, because it is destroying the means of transporting
materials of war to the armies in the field. We have definite information
that the Germans are already feeling the pinch of decreased production
which has been caused by the fleets of destroyers, submarines, etc. which
leave their bases in the British Isles in North Africa and which will
soon be carrying on from the mainland of Europe itself. 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 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 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 manufacture as I see it to be. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are 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 the strongest
of her former partners 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 determined to make Italy a battle ground.

To forestall the inevitable day when Germany itself would
be the scene of battle. The Germans will have to be beaten
out of Italy before we can really say that Italy itself has been conquered.

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
remains ahead.

Japan still holds most of her conquered lands and all 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
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. 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 everybody wants 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 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 in some improved form 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. 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 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
now going up of Italy or 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
NOTE:-

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

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 fewer than thirty days.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and missing were approximately 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 discussion the people themselves welcomed the day of release from an intolerable yoke.
I believe there was equal enthusiasm throughout the volumes by the German and when native Germanic and Neolithic incursions are removed there is none of flight
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 blad white by the Nazi and Fascist governments.

Growers of crops were permitted to retain only a small fraction of their produce for themselves and their families of their needs. With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned organization, trained and equipped to give physical care to the local population -- food, clothing, medicines, 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, once more, 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
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 offfice and stripped of his powers as a result of his own dismal failure and by the overwhelming demand of the Italian people, overcome in their aspiration. This was the first break in Axis leadership -- to be followed, we are determined, by other and similar encouraging developments.

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...
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.

As you know, the Italian Army has already come on 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. 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.

Military

We know the effectiveness of the bombing of the Ruhr, and Hamburg, and Berlin, and now

and other places and that German munition production has
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.
THIRD DRAFT

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 to stop destroying every important war factory, shipyard, and transportation facility which helps the Nazi war machine.

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 quickly 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; so 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 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 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.

We hope, too, that we are contributing to that push 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.

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 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 six years after the fall of France in 1940. 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.
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 supply 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
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 re-
latively 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 still in our
favor -- for we are manufacturing more than they can
manufacture. It might 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. 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.

Those distant theaters of war present 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 areas. 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 flown 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 flying more of them under our own power than before, but everything that goes to supply them -- the gasoline, the tools, the spare parts -- 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 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 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 landings under fire that had history records anywhere.

The operation against Sicily, 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 had 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 -- 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 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 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 own selfish benefit, and entrenched herself on the soil of Italy — determined to make Italy a battle ground and focused on 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 heart 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 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 
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 
-or nearly-won. That to adopt the attitude that the war has been won, 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 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.
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 without complaint.

The Congress, on the whole, is well aware of the magnitude of the undertaking, and of the many 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. 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.
We have had to raise and equip armed forces of ten million men, 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, 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 in Britain (England) who only have enough land to raise 50% of the needs of their populations and their armies.

The difficult problem of treating all American citizens alike in the rationing of the necessities of life; there was the difficulty of keeping prices from skyrocketing. There was the difficulty of 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 supplies all over our own country and also to all corners of the world.

There were the vexed problems involved in our vast purchases in foreign countries; in our administration 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.
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 creep in and occasional disputes among conscientious officials occur.

But even sincere sensible people sometimes fail to compare the handful of errors or disputes on the one hand, with the dozens of instances where the tasks and the agencies of government proceeded with such other hand, smoothly working machine.

The batting average and the fielding average is higher than that of any baseball team in the country's history.

The overwhelming 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 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.

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 one year ago and 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.

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 the absence of planning and the absence of 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 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 and international relationships be ended and that fair terms be established. 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.
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 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 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. 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.

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 come into 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 bledd 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,
FOURTH DRAFT

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 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 Hitler himself, was forced out of office and stripped of his power as a result of his own
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 that we have gained total victory in any respects of fascism in any of its malignant 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 repeated 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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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.

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

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 those 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 desperation 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 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 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 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 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.

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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 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 building-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 in most parts of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Greece, in Bulgaria, 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 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. Indeed, the Russians have captured a number of large towns and cities, among them the recapture of Stalingrad 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 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 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.
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 Nimitz 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-westly direction; they also complicate the Japanese problems in the Solomons and in Bismarck. For the Japanese command depends upon Japan

with the new threat that we offer from the North. Japan can not afford to devote an larger 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

some 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 realise 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 hand-picked to maintain her disputed 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 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 **resources of the Allies** into deadly competition with the **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.

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

Our great production program started 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 if we keep it up and do not slacken our
efforts, our superiority over Germany will grow with every succeeding
month. 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
The area of attention thus far has been focused in the Pacific. The initial thrust has been against the Aleutian Islands. Their material losses were far greater than ever, and the war 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.
mil\vory 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
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
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.

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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. 

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.
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 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
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.
In 1943 and July we were worried by a reduction in the rate of increase in production. Even so our production had been we could not afford to level off. We had to continue the pressure.

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 past months of the closure of the Cuyahoga over factories produced approximately fifteen thousand planes. Production of heavy bombers in August was almost three times greater than January.

During those same two months ships put into commission three million two hundred thousand tons of merchant ships—a total of 336 ships 281 ships, almost four ships a day.

3400,000 tons of merchant transport
While one of the Axis powers 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 more improved operation, to make our job more
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 capitalize them.

Second. From bases in the British Isles we must be able to strike not just in one direction but in many directions—by land and sea and in the air—with overwhelming forces and equipment on our Allies.

Third. Although the Russians 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 their Kinmen through the mandated islands to the Solomons and through the Netherlands East Indies to Malaya and Burma and China. To break through this defensible line 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 joined the bases from which we can cut their internal supply lines and from which Japan itself can be brought 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.
FOURTH DRAFT

...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
element 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 stalkings the Japs in the
jungles of the Southwest Pacific, or in the clouds over China.
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, like 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. Has been a great job and a successful one of which all our people have good reason to be proud.
FOURTH DRAFT - 22 -

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 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 men and women to man war factories, shipyards, defense yards, and arsenals, and essential civilian industries -- and the farms of America.
A few facts will show how fast our population is increasing. This war has been long and how we are constantly increasing the tempo of our production.
The total amount spent on the war to date is $123,123,000,000.

Of this amount, 77 percent represents expenditures for munitions,

and the balance represents soldiers' pay, travel, etc.

The bill is now running at the rate of $25,000,000

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

- **Airplanes**: 123,000
- **Total weight of air frames (excluding engines & propellers)**: 360,000 tons
- **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 total delivered to date was produced during the first nine months of 1943:

- **Airplanes**: 52,000
  - **Weight**: 195,000 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
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.

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, 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, we produced almost as many torpedoes as during all of World War I.

The number of fighting ships of all kinds launched, completed since May 1940 is 15874 and 2380 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, 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 difficult problem of maintaining a rationing system of the necessities of life which would ensure 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. This necessitated the largest railroad and shipping operations in all history.
FOURTH DRAFT

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 creep in, and that occasional disputes among conscientious officials would occur. And if anyone thinks that any system has 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.

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There was the problem of civilian defense, of land-arm, of subcontracting war contracts to smaller businesses, of automation of Japan and living on the cash system, building up stockpiles of strategic material whose natural sources had been ruined 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 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.
FOURTH DRAFT

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.
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."

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 critical years in history. This is a record of which Americans 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
cought 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, 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, 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
who are straining 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 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 fortifi-
fied island in thirty-eight days.

British, Canadian and American losses in killed, wounded and
missing were approximately 31,558, of which the American forces lost 7,445.

The losses among the Italians and Germans have been estimated at 168,000,
dead, wounded and missing. Including 15,000 prisoners, unanimously 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 propaga-
da, 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. All of Mussolini's propaganda
machine could not make them love Hitler or hate us.

The [text is unclear]
INSERT A - P.1

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.
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 blud 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 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 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 wanton brutalities, his own dismal failures 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.

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-
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-breading gang 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, in the most secrecy. Much as I would have liked to inform the Congress, and communicate the facts of the case to the Congress, or to 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 [ ] 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 [country]. 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 desperation 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 otherwise vulnerable 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 vestiges 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, Bulgaria, Finland and Russia. 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, Stalingrad 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
In the raid on the Floesti 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 Floesti won a smashing [hit] 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 distance will be far less and the risks proportionately reduced.
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 bear-
ing 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 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.

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.
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 Bering, 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 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 realise 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 relatively unimportant.

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 Solomons 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 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.

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.
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.
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 on 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. This 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 not give the enemy needed information — but

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
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 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 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: 1,641,000
- Tanks: 53,000
- Artillery weapons: 93,000
- Small arms (rifles, carbines, machine guns, etc.): 9,500,000
- Small arms ammunition: 25,962,000,000 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 2,280 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.

(figure 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 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 land-lease, of subcontracting war contracts to smaller businesses, of building up stock piles of strategic material whose normal sources have been seised 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.

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. 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 at home and abroad.
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.

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 7,445.

The losses among the Italians and Germans have been estimated at 165,000 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 propa-
ganda, 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.
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 blud 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 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 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 occu-
pied 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 him-
selves, 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. Conver-
sations 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 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
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 desperation 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, Stalingrad 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 water-
tight compartments — the Western European front — the Russian front —
the Burma front — the New Guinea and Solomon 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 realise 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 Solomons 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 to 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 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 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 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 Solensens 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 2ML 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 over-
whelming 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
beamed 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
en. 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 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 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 mill 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** 168,000
**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.)** 1,638,000
**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 hydroslectric 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.
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 land-lease, of subcontracting war contracts to smaller businesses, of building up stockpiles 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 demobilisation 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 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 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.
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. (\(\text{indented}\))

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 7,445. The casualties among the Italians and Germans were approximately 165,000, including 132,000 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 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 blud 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 gang 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. Conversa-
sions 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 situa-
tions in this war -- and there will be many more to come -- in which it
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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 desperation 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 those 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 those 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.

Remarkable

In the raid on the Ploesti oil fields in Rumania we lost [many] 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 mission]. 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 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, Stalingrad and [repeated] 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 freezing 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.
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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 Japanese. There has been one serious gap in the lines of our 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 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 realise that the carefully prepared and successful actions on May 8 in and at Midway and the Coral Sea we 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 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 magnif-
nificent 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
determined to take

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
continuously reduced enemy strength
years ago, the United Nations have followed a continuous military and
nearly conclusive. 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 greater strength in planes and guns, tanks and ships cannot 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, the British Empire and the United States, together, are turning out so much of every war that we have definite superiority over Germany and Japan which is growing with every succeeding minute. But we have no minutes to lose.

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 Morroco 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.

In 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 — five a total of 231 ships, almost 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 Malaya 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.

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 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 pleasures, potatoes 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 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 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 $128,123,000,000. The bill is now running at the rate of $250,000,000 per day.

Up to September 1, 1945, among the more important items produced and delivered since the armament program started in May 1940 are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity/Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Airplanes</td>
<td>123,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airplane engines</td>
<td>349,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanks</td>
<td>53,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery weapons</td>
<td>95,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small arms (rifles, carbines, machine guns, etc.)</td>
<td>9,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small arms ammunition</td>
<td>25,942,000,000 rounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trucks</td>
<td>1,255,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In most instances more than half of the above total delivered to date was produced during the first eight months of 1945:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Airplanes</td>
<td>52,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanks</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery weapons</td>
<td>40,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small arms (rifles, carbines,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machine guns, etc.)</td>
<td>4,658,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small arms ammunition</td>
<td>15,559,000,000 rounds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of fighting ships and auxiliaries of all kinds completed since May 1940 is 2,580 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 of all hydroelectric plants in the United States in January 1941, 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 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.

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.
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 millions 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 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 like a smoothly working machine.
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.
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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 amazing 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
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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.

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 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 51,158, of which the American forces lost 7445. The casualties among the Italians and Germans were approximately 185,000, including 182,000 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 Goatsers and native Quislings are removed through force or flight.

Now 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 realises 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 disorganised 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 desparateness 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 staff 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 offensive, 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 Floesti 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 command 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.
SIXTH DRAFT

We have reliable information that there is definite unrest and a growing desire for peace among the peoples of these satellite countries — Romania, 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, Stalingrad 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 neglect-
ing 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 un-
related 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 looked 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.

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-blest 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.

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, 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 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Airplanes</td>
<td>125,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airplane engines</td>
<td>144,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanks</td>
<td>55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery weapons</td>
<td>95,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small arms (rifles, carbines, Machine guns, etc.)</td>
<td>9,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small arms ammunition</td>
<td>85,942,000,000 rounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trucks</td>
<td>1,225,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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: 22,000
- Artillery weapons: 40,600
- Small arms (rifles, carbines, machine guns, etc.): 4,658,000
- Small arms ammunition: 15,859,000,000 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, 1945, the power plants built for installation in Navy vessels had a 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
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.
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.
Message to Congress - 9/17/43

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
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, 36 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 forms of censorship and limitation of free speech and argument the people themselves welcomed the day of release from an intolerable yoke.
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 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 stolen from the people of Italy, and sent back to the "master race" in Germany. Steele, 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 of their needs. With the Allied armies, however, went a carefully planned organization, trained and equipped to give physical care to the local population — food, clothing, medicines, 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 west 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 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 press 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 the Italian people
themselves. As a result of these conversations, announcement
was made on September 8th that an armistice had been
arranged on September 8th. The reason for the delay in the
public announcement. Italian leaders appealed
to their Army and Navy to end hostilities against us. And we know, the
entire Italian Army has 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 and 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 these places as it has
already been brought to Western Germany.

We know the effectiveness of the bombing of
the Ruhr, Hamburg, and Berlin, and
and other places. And that German munition production has
THIRD DRAFT

We are determined to continue at
been seriously curtailed. We will get further curtailment
still further by bringing every city in Germany and all the war plants in
nearly occupied countries within easy range of our night
bombers and day bombers— and to wipe out the centres of every war
factory, shipyard, transportation facility which keeps Germany
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 production 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— 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 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 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 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 men, 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.
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 forces 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 — all merchant ships and naval vessels. The odds are shifted 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.

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
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 fronts 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 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
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 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 today. But I state only a blunt fact when I tell the Congress that we are still a 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 prepare 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
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
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
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 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 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 crossing 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.
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 semi-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.
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...
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 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.
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.
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 dist 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 resources and their skills in management and labor entitle them.
MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

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 propagandists, censorship, and limitation of free speech and discussion — the people themselves welcomed the day of release from an intolerable yoke.
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 than 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 blighted 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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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 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 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.

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
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 goodwill 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 the Nazi 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 those nations the spirit of revolt which commenced in Italy will spread swiftly — and with the same result as in Italy.
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 for 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 Stalingrad 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 freeing 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 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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more quickly than our enemies can do.

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have a definite superiority in almost all weapons of war on any and
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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
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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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is that Japan has been hard put to it to maintain her extended lines.
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adequate supplies and reinforcements to Korea that the Japanese
forces had to be withdrawn under the coming American
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some of our leaders were so perturbed that they had reached the verge
of tears at what they called the treacherous invasion of Seattle.
Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was difficult for them
for in Seattle and other communities throughout the United States to
realize that the carefully planned and successful taking of many
or in the local base in the islands rendered the Japanese too hard in
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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. Heavy 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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FOURTH DRAFT

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The difference between the German air attack and our own air attack, however, is that the Germans wasted their air power when they used it by mindless 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 armed forces at the front, because it is destroying or damaging the buildings and tools which make fighting equipment and submarines and ships. It is also because it is destroying the means of transporting materials of war to the armies in the field.
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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 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, constructive, 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 matériel. 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 assigned 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 temporized condition to make our task more.
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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 unprecedented 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 air-loom 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.
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 cars driving or a part of their butter or meat or milk.

Patriotic citizens, however, I think will realize that although mistakes have been made, a great job has been done in converting peace-time farming to a war-time basis.
It could 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 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, 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
millions more

our manpower, we have had to find 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 problems of increasing greatly the output of our natural resources -- not only for our own Army and Navy, but for our civilian 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 population and their armies.

There was the difficult problem of saving all American civilians treated alike in the rationing of the necessities of life.

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

There were the problems of communications, of censorship, of our information. There was the problem of transporting millions of men and billions of tons of coal and supplies all over our own country and also to all corners of the world.
FOURTH DRAFT

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 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 like a smoothly working machine.
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 procured 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
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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.
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 demobilisation 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 indication 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.
FOURTH DRAFT

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

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 7457 were American forces lost. The losses among the Italians and Germans have been estimated at 16,500 dead, wounded and missing — including 13,000 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.
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 Goebelers 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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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
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
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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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.
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 Stalingrad 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
worlds as the Russian campaign moves toward the elimination of
every German from Russian soil -- as it moves toward the in-
vansion 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 taking
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 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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military and naval lines too far. Then 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 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
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.
I wonder how many people realize what it means to carry on two wars 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
expeditions on a few day's notice or on all the beaches of Europe at the same time.

The havoc which Germany started in bombed 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
recess from which it has now resumed, 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

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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.
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.

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 _____.

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.
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 system-
matically 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 blud 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 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 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, 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 that 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 disay
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 situa-
tions 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 indica-
tion 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 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, an 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 aid 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 desperation 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 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 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 those 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 these mistakes.
We are not bombing tenements for the sheer sadistic pleasure of
killing, as the Fasis did. These are striking devastating blows at
carefully selected, clearly identified strategic objectives —
factories, shipyards, munition dumps, transportation facilities,
which make it possible for the Fasis 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
corporate 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, Stalingrad 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 North 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 realise 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 Solomons 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 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 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 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 Salerno
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, t
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 work-
ing 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 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 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 followings:

- 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: 25,962,000,000 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.): 1,638,000
- Small arms ammunition: 13,339,000,000 rounds

The number of fighting ships and auxiliaries of all kinds completed since May 1940 is 2,360 and 12,000 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 hydro-electric 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, 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 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, 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 seised 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 ensuves 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.
and distribution of food.

We should also begin to make plans for an orderly desobilisation 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.
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 7,445. The casualties among the Italians and Germans were approximately 165,000, including 132,000 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 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 blud 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 cliques must go with
them. The war-breeding breed 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. Conver-
sations 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 situa-
tions 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.
SIXTH DRAFT

The Allied forces are now engaged in a very hard battle south of Naples. Casualties are heavy. The desperation 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
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 study-
ing 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 dis-
torted 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 Roumania we lost many valuable bombers and more than five hundred of our finest men. (That 53 of our heavy bombers 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.
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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 flames and become a consuming fire.

Every American is thrilled by the blows delivered against the Nazi aggressors by the Russian Army. 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
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 sufficiently
emphasized that the freeing of the Mediterranean was a great asset to the war in the
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 Medi-
terranean.

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 opposing 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 Hidetsu 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 magnificient campaign in New Guinea have destroyed such 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 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...
SIXTH DRAFT

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 passed 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.

A Realization of the distance we must cover brings 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. 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 crew, 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-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 plateau.

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. And I seek not only to come up to the schedule but to exceed it.

During those same two months American shipyards put into commission three million, two hundred thousand tons of large merchant ships — a total of 501 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 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.

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 pleasures or a part of their butter or meat or milk.

Firm-minded citizens, however, will realize that although mistakes have been made, the job that 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 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, 1945, among the more important items produced and delivered since the armament program started in May 1940 are the followings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Airplanes</td>
<td>125,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airplane engines</td>
<td>144,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanks</td>
<td>55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery weapons</td>
<td>95,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small arms (rifles, carbines, Machine guns, etc.)</td>
<td>9,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small arms ammunition</td>
<td>25,942,000,000 rounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trucks</td>
<td>1,285,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In most instances more than half of the above total delivered
to date was produced during the first eight months of 1945:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Airplanes</td>
<td>52,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanks</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery weapons</td>
<td>40,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small arms (rifles, carbines, machine guns, etc.)</td>
<td>4,639,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small arms ammunition</td>
<td>15,859,000,000 rounds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of fighting ships and auxiliaries of all kinds com-
pleted since May 1940 is 2,580 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 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.

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 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 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.

Some people when a doughnut is placed before their eyes 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.
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 some mistakes and some arguments that exist in their nation's 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.

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 tre-
mendous 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.
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 justice and security at home and abroad.
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
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.
THIRD DRAFT

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 -- 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
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
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 eighteenth 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.

The recapture by the 8th Armored Division of the Ruhr, and Hamburg, and Berlin, and Munich and other places and that German munition production has
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.
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 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
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.
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
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 too-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.
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
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.
The combined operation of the British and American forces against Morocco and Algiers 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 blithely about landing great expeditions on a few day's notice 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
rooftops 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-steam 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 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
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 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
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 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 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 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 rent 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.
THIRD DRAFT

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 lead-magnitude of the undertaking and of the many Zenes-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.
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
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.
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.
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 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 an end as soon 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 they are entitled in a permanent and
which their resources and their skills in management and labor entitle them.
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Sept. 12—For the first time in many years, Secretary Hull outlined the policy of the United States toward foreign nations, presented the case for the United Nations, and evaluated the state of international affairs.

In his radio address on the 12th, Hull stated that the United States was ready to meet the challenge of international cooperation, and that it was the duty of every nation to work for the peace and security of the world.

Hull referred to the recent developments in Europe and Asia, and emphasized the importance of maintaining friendly relations with all nations. He urged the United Nations to work together for the common good, and to assist those nations that were struggling against aggression.

The Secretary also spoke of the importance of economic cooperation, and called for an end to the protectionist policies of some nations. He urged the United Nations to work for a world of free trade and open markets.

In conclusion, Hull stated that the United States was willing to play its part in the work of the United Nations, and that it was the responsibility of every nation to work for the peace and security of the world.