"O LITTLE TOWN OF BETHLEHEM"

1. O little town of Bethlehem,
   How still we see thee lie!
   Above thy deep and dreamless sleep,
   The silent stars go by.
   Yet in thy dark streets shineth
   The everlasting light;
   The hopes and fears of all the years
   Are met in thee tonight.

2. For Christ is born of Mary,
   And gather'd all above;
   While mortals sleep, the angels keep
   Their watch of wond'ring love.
   Of morning stars, together
   Proclaim the Holy Birth!
   And praises sing to God the King
   And peace to men on earth.

3. How swiftly, and how silently,
   The wondrous gift is given!
   So God imparts to human hearts
   The blessings of His heaven.
   No ear may hear His coming,
   But in this world of sin,
   Where mock souls will receive
   Him still,
   The dear Christ enters in.

4. O holy Child of Bethlehem!
   Descend to us, we pray;
   Cast out our sin, and enter in
   So born in us today.
   We hear the Christmas angels
   The great glad tidings tell;
   Oh, come to us, abide with us,
   Our Lord Emmanuel!

* * * * * * *

"GOOD KING WENCESLAS"

1. Good King Wenceslas look'd out
   On the Feast of Stephen,
   When the snow lay round about,
   Deep, and crisp, and even:
   Brightly shone the moon that night,
   Though the frost was cruel,
   When a poor man came in sight,
   Gath'ring winter fuel.

2. "Hither, page, and stand by me;
   If thou know'st it, telling,
   Yonder peasant, who is he?
   Where and what his dwelling?
   "Sire, he lives a good league hence,
   Underneath the mountain;
   Right against the forest fence,
   By Saint Agnes' fountain!

3. "Bring me flesh, and bring me wine,
   Bring me pine logs hither;
   Thou and I will see him dine,
   When we bear them thither!
   Page and monarch forth they went,
   Forth they went together;
   Through the rudo wind's wild lament,
   And the bitter weather.

4. "Sire, the night is darker now,
   And the wind blows stronger;
   Fails my heart, I know not now,
   I can go no longer!
   "Mark my footsteps, my good page,
   Tread thou in them boldly;
   Thou shalt find the winter's rage
   Freeze thy blood less coldly!

5. In his master's steps he trod,
   Where the snow lay dinted;
   Heat was in the very sod
   Which the saint had printed.
   Therefore, Christian men, be sure,
   Wealth or rank possessing,
   Ye who now will bless the poor,
   Shall yourselves find blessing.

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

File No. 1497-A

1943 December 24

Radio Report on Cairo and Teheran Conference
I have just returned from extensive journeyings in the region of the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia. I have conferred with the leaders of Britain and Russia and China on military matters of the present -- especially on plans for stepping-up our successful attack on our enemies as quickly as possible and from many different points of the compass.

On this Christmas Eve there are over ten million men in the armed forces of the United States alone. One year ago 1,700,000 were serving overseas. Today, this figure has been more than doubled to 3,800,000 on duty overseas. By next July that number will rise to over 5,000,000.
a spirit which brings us close to our homes, our families, our friends and neighbors -- the Christmas spirit of "peace on earth, good will toward men".

During the past years of international gangsterism and brutal aggression in Europe and in Asia, our Christmas celebrations have been darkened with apprehension for the future. We have said, "Merry Christmas -- Happy New Year", but we have known in our hearts that the clouds which have hung over our world have prevented us from saying it with full sincerity and conviction.

And even this year, we still have much to face in the way of further suffering, and sacrifice, and personal tragedy. Our men, who have been through the fierce battles in the Solomons, the Gilberts, Tunisia and Italy know, from their experience and knowledge of modern war, that many bigger and costlier battles are still to be fought.
But -- on Christmas Eve this year -- I can say to you that at last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that, however great the cost, "peace on earth, good will toward men" can be and will be realized and ensured. This year I can say that. Last year I could not do more than express a hope. Today I express a certainty -- though the cost may be high and the time may be long.

Within the past year -- within the past few weeks -- history has been made, and it is far better history for the whole human race than any that we have known, or even dared to hope for, in these tragic times through which we pass.

A great beginning was made in the Moscow conference in October by Mr. Molotov, Mr. Eden and our own Mr. Hull. There and then the way was paved for the later meetings.

At Cairo and Teheran we devoted ourselves not only to military matters, we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future -- to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this war.
Of course, as you all know, Mr. Churchill and I have happily met many times before, and we know and understand each other very well. Indeed, Mr. Churchill has become known and beloved by many millions of Americans, and the heartfelt prayers of all of us have been with this great citizen of the world in his recent serious illness.

The Cairo and Teheran conferences, however gave me my first opportunity to meet the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, and Marshal Stalin -- and to sit down at the table with these unconquerable men and talk with them face to face. We had planned to talk to each other across the table at Cairo and Teheran; but we soon found that we were all on the same side of the table. We came to the conferences with faith in each other. But we needed the personal contact. And now we have supplemented faith with definite knowledge.
It was well worth travelling thousands of miles over land and sea to bring about this personal meeting, and to gain the heartening assurance that we are absolutely agreed with one another on all the major objectives -- and on the military means of obtaining them.

At Cairo, Prime Minister Churchill and I spent four days with the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek. It was the first time that we had had an opportunity to go over the complex situation in the Far East with him personally. We were able not only to settle upon definite military strategy, but also to discuss certain long-range principles which we believe can assure peace in the Far East for many generations to come.

Those principles are as simple as they are fundamental. They involve the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners, and the recognition of the rights of millions of people in the Far East to build up their own forms of self-government without molestation. Essential to all peace and security
in the Pacific and in the rest of the world is the permanent elimination of the Empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression. Never again must our soldiers and sailors and marines be compelled to fight from island to island as they are fighting so gallantly and so successfully today.

Increasingly powerful forces are now hammering at the Japanese at many points over an enormous arc which curves down through the Pacific from the Aleutians to the jungles of Burma. Our own Army and Navy, our Air Forces, the Australians and New Zealanders, the Dutch, and the British land, air and sea forces are all forming a band of steel which is closing in on Japan.

On the mainland of Asia, under the Generalissimo's leadership, the Chinese ground and air forces augmented by American air forces are playing a vital part in starting the drive which will push invaders into the sea.
Following out the military decisions at Cairo, General Marshall has just flown around the world and has had conferences with General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz -- conferences which will spell plenty of bad news for the Japs in the not too far distant future.

I met in the Generalissimo a man of great vision and great courage, and remarkably keen understanding of the problems of today and tomorrow. We discussed all the manifold military plans for striking at Japan with decisive force from many directions, and I believe I can say that he returned to Chungking with the positive assurance of total victory over our common enemy. Today we and the Republic of China are closer together than ever before in deep friendship and in unity of purpose.

After the Cairo conference, Mr. Churchill and I went by airplane to Teheran. There we met with Marshal Stalin.
We talked with complete frankness on every conceivable subject
connected with the winning of the war and the establishment
of a durable peace after the war.

Within three days of intense and consistently amicable
discussions, we agreed on every point concerned with the
launching of a gigantic attack upon Germany.

The Russian army will continue its stern offensives
on Germany's Eastern front, the allied armies in Italy and
Africa will bring relentless pressure on Germany from the
south, and now the encirclement will be complete as great
American and British forces attack from other points of the
compass.

The Commander selected to lead the combined attack
from these other points is General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

His performances in Africa, Sicily and Italy have been
brilliant. He knows by practical and successful experience
the way to coordinate air, sea and land power. All these
will be under his control. Lieutenant General Carl Spaats
will command the entire American strategic bombing force operating against Germany.

General Eisenhower gives up his command in the Mediterranean to a British officer whose name is being announced by Mr. Churchill. We now pledge that new Commander that our powerful ground, sea and air forces in the vital Mediterranean area will stand by his side until every objective in that bitter theatre is attained.

Both of these new Commanders will have American and British subordinate Commanders whose names will be announced in a few days.

During the last two days at Teheran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and I looked ahead to the days and months and years which will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that Germany must be stripped of her military might and be given no opportunity within the foreseeable future to regain that might.
The United Nations have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have a normal chance to develop, in peace, as useful and respectable members of the European family. But we must certainly emphasize that word "respectable" -- for we intend to rid them once and for all of Nazism and Prussian militarism and the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute the "Master Race".

We did discuss international relationships from the point of view of big, broad objectives, rather than details. But on the basis of what we did discuss, I can say even today that I do not think any insoluble differences will arise among Russia, Great Britain and the United States.

In these conferences we were concerned with basic principles -- principles which involve the security and the welfare and the standard of living of human beings in countries large and small.
To use an American and ungrammatical colloquialism, I may say that I "got along fine" with Marshal Stalin. He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a stalwart good humor. I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia; and I believe that we are going to get along well with him and the Russian people -- very well indeed.

Britain, Russia, China and the United States and their Allies represent more than three-quarters of the total population of the earth. As long as these four nations with great military power stick together in determination to keep the peace there will be no possibility of an aggressor nation arising to start another world war.

But those four powers must be united with and cooperate with all the freedom-loving peoples of Europe, and Asia, and Africa and the Americas. The rights of every nation, large or small, must be respected and guarded as jealously as are the rights of every individual within our own republic.
The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the doctrine of our enemies -- and we reject it.

But, at the same time, we are agreed that if force is necessary to keep international peace, international force will be applied -- for as long as it may be necessary.

It has been our steady policy -- and it is certainly a common sense policy -- that the right of each nation to freedom must be measured by the willingness of that nation to fight for freedom. And today we salute our unseen allies in occupied countries -- the underground resistance groups and the armies of liberation. They will provide potent forces against our enemies, when the day of invasion comes.

Through the development of science the world has become so much smaller that we have had to discard the geographical yardsticks of the past. For instance, through our early history the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were believed to be walls of
safety for the United States. Time and distance made it physically possible for us and for the other American Republics to obtain and maintain our independence against infinitely stronger powers. Until recently very few people, even military experts, thought that the day could ever come when we might have to defend our Pacific Coast against Japanese threats of invasion.

At the outbreak of the first World War relatively few people thought that our ships and shipping would be menaced by German submarines on the high seas or that the German militarists would ever attempt to dominate any nation outside of central Europe.

After the Armistice in 1918, we thought and hoped that the militaristic philosophy of Germany had been crushed; and being full of the milk of human kindness we spent the next fifteen years disarming, while the Germans whined so pathetically that the other nations permitted them -- and even helped them -- to rearm.
For too many years we lived on pious hopes that aggressor
and warlike nations would learn and understand and carry out
the doctrine of purely voluntary peace.

The well-intentioned but ill-fated experiments of former
years did not work. It is my hope that we will not try them
again. No -- that is too weakly-- it is my intention to do all
that I humanly can as President and Commander-in-Chief to see
to it that these tragic mistakes shall not be made again.

There have always been cheerful idiots in this country
who believed that there would be no more war for us, if everybody
in America would only return into their homes and lock their
front doors behind them. Assuming that their motives were of
the highest, events have shown how unwilling they were to face
the facts.

The overwhelming majority of all the people in the
world want peace. Most of them are fighting for the attainment
of peace -- not just a truce, not just an armistice --
but peace that is as strongly enforced and as durable as mortal
man can make it. If we are willing to fight for peace now,
is it not good logic that we should use force if necessary,
in the future, to keep the peace?

I believe, and I think I can say, that the other three
great nations who are fighting so magnificently to gain peace
are in complete agreement that we must be prepared to keep
the peace by force. If the people of Germany and Japan are
made to realize thoroughly that the world is not going to
let them break out again, it is possible, and, I hope,
probably, that they will abandon the philosophy of aggression --
the belief that they can gain the whole world even at the
risk of losing their own souls.

I shall have more to say about the Cairo and Teheran
conferences when I make my report to the Congress in about
two weeks' time. And, on that occasion, I shall also have
a great deal to say about certain conditions here at home.
But today I wish to say that in all my travels, at home and abroad, it is the sight of our soldiers and sailors and their magnificent achievements which have given me the greatest inspiration and the greatest encouragement for the future.

To the members of our armed forces, to their wives, mothers and fathers, I want to affirm the great faith and confidence we have in General Marshall and Admiral King who direct all of our armed might throughout the world. Upon them falls the great responsibility of planning the strategy of determining when and where we shall fight. Both of these men have already gained high places in American history, which will record many evidences of their military genius that cannot be published today.

Some of our men overseas are now spending their third Christmas far from home. To them and to all others overseas or soon to go overseas, I can give assurance that it is the purpose of their Government to win this war and to bring them home at the earliest possible date.
And we here in the United States had better be sure that when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an America in which they are given full opportunities for education, rehabilitation, social security, employment and business enterprise under the free American system -- and that they will find a Government which, by their votes as American citizens, they have had a full share in electing.

The American people have had every reason to know that this is a tough, destructive war. On my trip abroad, I talked with many military men who had faced our enemies in the field. These hard-headed realists testify to the strength and skill and resourcefulness of the enemy generals and men whom we must beat before final victory is won. The war is now reaching the stage where we shall have to look forward to large casualty lists -- dead, wounded and missing.

War entails just that. There is no easy road to victory. And the end is not yet in sight.
I have been back only for a week. It is fair that I should tell you my impression. I think I see a tendency in some of our people here to assume a quick ending of the war -- that we have already gained the victory. And, perhaps as a result of this false reasoning, I think I discern an effort to resume or even encourage an outbreak of partisan thinking and talking. I hope I am wrong. For, surely, our first and foremost tasks are all concerned with winning the war and winning a just peace that will last for generations.

The massive offensives which are in the making -- both in Europe and the Far East -- will require every ounce of energy and fortitude that we and our Allies can summon on the fighting fronts and in all the workshops at home. As I have said before, you cannot order up a great attack on a Monday and demand that it be delivered on Saturday.
Less than a month ago I flew in a big Army transport plane over the little town of Bethlehem, in Palestine.

Tonight, on Christmas Eve, all men and women everywhere who love Christmas are thinking of that ancient town and of the star of faith that shone there more than nineteen centuries ago.

American boys are fighting today in snow-covered mountains, in malarial jungles, and on blazing deserts, they are fighting on the far stretches of the sea and above the clouds, and the thing for which they struggle is best symbolized by the message that came out of Bethlehem.

On behalf of the American people -- your own people -- I send this Christmas message to you who are in our armed forces:

In our hearts are prayers for you and for all your comrades in arms who fight to rid the world of evil.

We ask God's blessing upon you -- upon your fathers and mothers, wives and children -- all your loved ones at home.
We ask that the comfort of God's grace shall be granted to those who are sick and wounded, and to those who are prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy, waiting for the day when they will again be free.

And we ask that God receive and cherish those who have given their lives, and that He keep them in honor and in the grateful memory of their countrymen forever.

God bless all of you who fight our battles on this Christmas Eve.

God bless us all. God keep us strong in our faith that we fight for a better day for human kind -- here and everywhere.
ADDRESS of the President
Broadcast from Hyde Park, N. Y.
December 24, 1943
At 3.00 P.M., E.W.T.

My friends:
I have recently (just) returned from extensive
journeyings in the region of the Mediterranean and as far as
the borders of Russia. I have conferred with the leaders of
Britain and Russia and China on military matters of the present
-- especially on plans for stepping-up our successful attack
on our enemies as quickly as possible and from many different
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in the armed forces of the United States alone. One year ago
1,700,000 were serving overseas. Today, this figure has been
more than doubled to 3,800,000 on duty overseas. By next July
first that number overseas will rise to over 5,000,000 men and
women.

That this is truly a World War was demonstrated to me
when arrangements were being made with our overseas broadcast-
ing agencies for the time to speak today to our soldiers, and
sailors, and marines and merchant seamen in every part of the
world. In fixing the time for this (the) broadcast, we took
into consideration that at this moment here in the United
States, and in the Caribbean and on the Northeast Coast of
South America, it is afternoon. In Alaska and in Hawaii and
the mid-Pacific, it is still morning. In Iceland, in Great
This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.
Britain, in North Africa, in Italy and the Middle East, it is now evening.

In the Southwest Pacific, in Australia, in China and Burma and India, it is already Christmas Day. So we can correctly say that at this moment, in those far eastern parts where Americans are fighting, today is tomorrow.

But everywhere throughout the world -- through this war that covers the world -- there is a special spirit that has warmed our hearts since our earliest childhood -- a spirit that brings us close to our homes, our families, our friends and neighbors -- the Christmas spirit of "peace on earth, goodwill toward men." It is an unquenchable spirit.

During the past years of international gangsterism and brutal aggression in Europe and in Asia, our Christmas celebrations have been darkened with apprehension for the future. We have said, "Merry Christmas -- a Happy New Year," but we have known in our hearts that the clouds which have hung over our world have prevented us from saying it with full sincerity and conviction.

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so gallantly and so successfully today.

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But today I wish to say that in all my travels, at home and abroad, it is the sight of our soldiers and sailors and their magnificent achievements which have given me the greatest inspiration and the greatest encouragement for the future.

To the members of our armed forces, to their wives, mothers and fathers, I want to affirm the great faith and confidence that we have in General Marshall and in Admiral King who direct all of our armed might throughout the world. Upon them falls the (great) responsibility of planning the strategy of determining (when and) where and when we shall fight. Both of these men have already gained high places in American history, places which will record in that history many evidences of their military genius that cannot be published today.

Some of our men overseas are now spending their third Christmas far from home. To them and to all others overseas or soon to go overseas, I can give assurance that it is the purpose of their Government to win this war and to bring them home at the earliest possible time (date).

(And) We here in the United States had better be sure that when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an America in which they are given full
opportunities for education, and rehabilitation, social security, and employment and business enterprise under the free American system -- and that they will find a Government which, by their votes as American citizens, they have had a full share in electing.

The American people have had every reason to know that this is a tough and destructive war. On my trip abroad, I talked with many military men who had faced our enemies in the field. These hard-headed realists testify to the strength and skill and resourcefulness of the enemy generals and men whom we must beat before final victory is won. The war is now reaching the stage where we shall all have to look forward to large casualty lists -- dead, wounded and missing.

War entails just that. There is no easy road to victory. And the end is not yet in sight.

I have been back only for a week. It is fair that I should tell you my impression. I think I see a tendency in some of our people here to assume a quick ending of the war -- that we have already gained the victory. And, perhaps as a result of this false reasoning, I think I discern an effort to resume or even encourage an outbreak of partisan thinking and talking. I hope I am wrong. For, surely, our first and most foremost tasks are all concerned with winning the war and winning a just peace that will last for generations.

The massive offensives which are in the making -- both in Europe and the Far East -- will require every ounce of energy and fortitude that we and our Allies can summon
on the fighting fronts and in all the workshops at home. As I have said before, you cannot order up a great attack on a Monday and demand that it be delivered on Saturday.

Less than a month ago I flew in a big Army transport plane over the little town of Bethlehem, in Palestine.

 Tonight, on Christmas Eve, all men and women everywhere who love Christmas are thinking of that ancient town and of the star of faith that shone there more than nineteen centuries ago.

 American boys are fighting today in snow-covered mountains, in malarial jungles, (and) on blazing deserts, they are fighting on the far stretches of the sea and above the clouds, and fighting for the thing for which they struggle. ( )

 I think it is best symbolized by the message that came out of Bethlehem.

 On behalf of the American people -- your own people -- I send this Christmas message to you, to you who are in our armed forces:

  In our hearts are prayers for you and for all your comrades in arms who fight to rid the world of evil.

  We ask God's blessing upon you -- upon your fathers, (and) mothers, and wives and children -- all your loved ones at home.

  We ask that the comfort of God's grace shall be granted to those who are sick and wounded, and to those who are prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy, waiting for the day when they will again be free.
And we ask that God receive and cherish those who have given their lives, and that He keep them in honor and in the grateful memory of their countrymen forever.

God bless all of you who fight our battles on this Christmas Eve.

God bless us all. (God) Keep us strong in our faith that we fight for a better day for human kind -- here and everywhere.
I have just returned from extensive journeyings in the region of the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia. I have conferred with the leaders of Britain and Russia and China on military matters of the present -- especially on plans for stepping-up our successful attack on our enemies as quickly as possible and from many different points of the compass.

On this Christmas Eve there are over ten million men in the armed forces of the United States alone. One year ago 1,700,000 were serving overseas. Today, this figure has been more than doubled to 3,800,000 on duty overseas. By next July that number will rise to over 5,000,000.

On Christmas Eve this year -- I can say to you that at last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that, however great the cost, "peace on earth, good will toward men" can be and will be realized and ensured. This year I can say that. Last year I could not do more than express a hope. Today I express a certainty -- though the cost may be high and the time may be long.

*********
At Cairo and Teheran we devoted ourselves not only to military matters, we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future -- to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this war.

The Cairo and Teheran conferences, however, gave me my first opportunity to meet the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, and Marshal Stalin -- and to sit down at the table with these unconquerable men and talk with them face to face. We had planned to talk to each other across the table at Cairo and Teheran; but we soon found that we were all on the same side of the table. We came to the conferences with faith in each other. But we needed the personal contact. And now we have supplemented faith with definite knowledge.

It was well worth traveling thousands of miles over land and sea to bring about this personal meeting, and to gain the heartening assurance that we are absolutely agreed with one another on all the major objectives -- and on the military means of obtaining them.

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After the Cairo conference, Mr. Churchill and I went by airplane to Teheran. There we met with Marshal Stalin. We talked with complete frankness on every conceivable subject connected with the winning of the war and the establishment of a durable peace after the war.

Within three days of intense and consistently amicable discussions, we agreed on every point concerned with the launching of a gigantic attack upon Germany.

The Russian army will continue its stern offensives on Germany's Eastern front, the allied armies in Italy and Africa will bring relentless pressure on Germany from the south, and now the encirclement will be complete as great American and British forces attack from other points of the compass.

The Commander selected to lead the combined attack from these other points is General Dwight D. Eisenhower. His performances in Africa, Sicily and Italy have been brilliant. He knows by practical and successful experience the way to coordinate air, sea and land power. All these will be under his control.

Lieutenant General Carl Spaatz will command the entire American strategic bombing force operating against Germany.
During the last two days at Teheran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and I looked ahead to the days and months and years which will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that Germany must be stripped of her military might and be given no opportunity within the foreseeable future to regain that might.

The United Nations have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have a normal chance to develop, in peace, as useful and respectable members of the European family. But we most certainly emphasize that word "respectable" -- for we intend to rid them once and for all of Nazism and Prussian militarism and the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute the "Master Race."

We did discuss international relationships from the point of view of big, broad objectives, rather than details. But on the basis of what we did discuss, I can say even today that I do not think any insoluble differences will arise among Russia, Great Britain and the United States.

In these conferences we were concerned with basic principles -- principles which involve the security and the welfare and the standard of living of human beings in countries large and small.

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To use an American and ungrammatical colloquialism, I may say that I "got along fine" with Marshal Stalin. He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a stalwart good humor. I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia; and I believe that we are going to get along well with him and the Russian people -- very well indeed.

Britain, Russia, China and the United States and their Allies represent more than three-quarters of the total population of the earth. As long as these four nations with great military power stick together in determination to keep the peace there will be no possibility of an aggressor nation arising to start another world war.

But those four powers must be united with and cooperate with all the freedom-loving peoples of Europe, and Asia, and Africa and the Americas. The rights of every nation, large or small, must be respected and guarded as jealously as are the rights of every individual within our own republic.

The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the doctrine of our enemies -- and we reject it.

But, at the same time, we are agreed that if force is necessary to keep international peace, international force will be applied -- for as long as it may be necessary.

*****
To the members of our armed forces, to their wives, mothers and fathers, I want to affirm the great faith and confidence we have in General Marshall and Admiral King who direct all of our armed might throughout the world. Upon them falls the great responsibility of planning the strategy of determining when and where we shall fight. Both of these men have already gained high places in American history, which will record many evidences of their military genius that cannot be published today.

Some of our men overseas are now spending their third Christmas far from home. To them and to all others overseas or soon to go overseas, I can give assurance that it is the purpose of their Government to win this war and to bring them home at the earliest possible date.
And we here in the United States had better be sure that when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an America in which they are given full opportunities for education, rehabilitation, social security, employment and business enterprise under the free American system -- and that they will find a Government which, by their votes as American citizens, they have had a full share in electing.

The American people have had every reason to know that this is a tough, destructive war. On my trip abroad, I talked with many military men who had faced our enemies in the field. These hard-headed realists testify to the strength and skill and resourcefulness of the enemy generals and men whom we must beat before final victory is won. The war is now reaching the stage where we shall have to look forward to large casualty lists -- dead, wounded and missing.

War entails just that. There is no easy road to victory. And the end is not yet in sight.

I have been back only for a week. It is fair that I should tell you my impression. I think I see a tendency in some of our people here to assume a quick ending of the war -- that we have already gained the victory. And, perhaps as a result of this false reasoning, I think I discern an effort to resume or even encourage an outbreak of partisan thinking and talking. I hope I am wrong. For, surely, our first and foremost tasks are all concerned with winning the war and winning a just peace that will last for generations. *******
On behalf of the American people -- your own people --
I send this Christmas message to you who are in our armed forces:
In our hearts are prayers for you and for all your
comrades in arms who fight to rid the world of evil.
We ask God's blessing upon you -- upon your fathers and
mothers, wives and children -- all your loved ones at home.

We ask that the comfort of God's grace shall be granted
to those who are sick and wounded, and to those who are prisoners
of war in the hands of the enemy, waiting for the day when they
will again be free.

And we ask that God receive and cherish those who have
given their lives, and that He keep them in honor and in the
grateful memory of their countrymen forever.

God bless all of you who fight our battles on this
Christmas Eve.

God bless us all. God keep us strong in our faith that
we fight for a better day for human kind -- here and everywhere.

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I have returned from extensive journeyings in the region of the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia. I have conferred with the leaders of Britain and Russia and China on military matters of the present and especially on the plans involving the continuation of our successful attack on our enemies as quickly as possible and from as many points of the compass as we can. This involves the day by day increase of our forces in the Atlantic, the Mediterranean and Far Eastern areas.

It may interest you to know that where a year ago Americans were overseas, outside the continental limits of the United States doing their part in uniform in the common effort, there are today over 3,600,000 Americans scattered literally all over the world -- members of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps.
I have seen our men on the ocean, in North Africa, in Sicily, in Egypt and in Iran. Many of them are in the fighting zones, but many others are doing essential work for the winning of the war in dozens of other non-combat duties. For example, we have 29,000 Americans in Iran (which we used to call Persia) carrying out the epic task of pushing through to Russia the very necessary munitions which are helping the Russian armies to speed up the retreat of the invading German hordes back whence they came.

These American thousands come from every part of the United States -- white and colored engineering battalions and transportation troops -- some working in areas where the heat a good part of the year is well over one hundred degrees. Others are working in the snow encompassed mountain areas of the north. Every one of them has to be supplied with food from home, for here as in many other parts of the world the locality itself cannot furnish any part of the food or clothing or equipment necessary to the task of the moment.

The same thing is true not only of the other places I visited and saw American troops but it is also true of the tens of thousands of Americans on the supply lines and in southern Asia and the Islands of the Southwest Pacific.
And we are not forgetting the men who are guarding the essential key positions, such as the Aleutian Islands and the Panama Canal and the Antilles and South America and West Africa.

Whenever I had the chance I told these boys of ours that they were not forgotten at home and that we knew back home the splendid work they are doing and the many hardships they are going through, not because they like it, but because they know the value to America. To you people back home, I want to say very simply that I hope I told them the truth.

I wish that you at home could have been with me, for I think it would have opened the eyes of many people who think the war has been won and who have no conception of what it means to keep one active fighting man in the combat field.

Satisfied?

Yes, when I think of what has been done in two years in the training at home, in the equipment we have made, in our shipbuilding totals, in our transportation overseas, and in the splendid record we have made in actual fighting. I am satisfied with the help we are giving to our Allies and especially with the splendid teamwork between us and the British Army and Navy behind the lines and at the front. And I am satisfied, obviously,
with the bravery and effectiveness of the Russian Armies. I hope we shall never forget that on the people of the Soviet Union far greater loss of life, destruction of their own cities and hardships of a thousand kinds have fallen than on us.

But I am not satisfied with the progress of the war on the home front. I had a terrific feeling of let-down when on my return I surveyed the situation back here. I mince no words. I will speak of it again later on.

As you know, one of the principal objectives of the journey was to get to know the leaders of the two great nations whose success in the total winning of the war are as important as the success of Britain and America. At Cairo, Prime Minister Churchill and I spent four days with the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-Shek. It was the first time that we had had an opportunity to go over the military situation in the Far East, and at the same time to announce certain principles which we believe will lead to peace in the Pacific for many generations to come. This involved the unanimous objective of restoring stolen property, a knowledge that China and the British and ourselves seek no additional territory, and that millions of people in the Far
East can be permitted, without molestation, to build up their own self-government. Such security requires the elimination of the Empire of Japan as a force of aggression to the rest of the world -- the placing of Japan and its leaders in such a situation that it cannot in the years to come grab territory or enslave people as in the past.

Such a course is essential to the elimination of war in the whole of the Pacific area, for we know to our cost that Japan with its present purposes and attitude could beyond question involve the peace of the United States and the peace of hundreds of millions of other human beings in China and many other part of the Pacific. In one generation we have learned that lesson.

If you are an isolationist and want to fly in the face of current facts then I hope you will continue to go along with those cheerful idiots who have told you for many years that there would be no more war in the world if everybody in America would retire into their homes and lock the door behind them. I do not resent but I pity Americans of that kind. It is best not to impugn their motives. In some
cases their motives may be pure but in those cases I fear that they suffer from soft-headedness or an unwillingness to face facts.

Then Mr. Churchill and I went to Teheran and had a very useful four days with Marshal Stalin, who was accompanied by Mr. Molotov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Marshal V________, a great leader in the Soviet Army. We spent many hours surveying the total of the military picture — all over the world — and we came to decisions about future operations which were satisfactory to all of us. We are, of course, not announcing these decisions to our enemies, but I can say to you frankly that I advise you not to pay too much attention to the so-called desk military experts who write for the papers or whom you hear over the radio. Not one of them has knowledge of the actual decisions and their publicity guesses are not worth much more than the guesses of high school boys and girls. You will have to take my official word for it that the plans unanimously adopted at Teheran represent the honest and best effort of those who were there. All of us hope and believe that they will be carried to success.
These military plans call, of course, for a maintenance of our effort back home without any let-up. I have told you that today we have 3,600,000 men overseas. This number will approach the five million mark by this coming July -- and an even greater number by the end of 1944.

That means that there will be great additions to the total but it is well to remember also that this includes tens of thousands of men as replacements for the many who will of necessity, and to our sorrow, have to be classified as dead, wounded, missing or sick.

War entails just that. You are not in this war for fun. You are not in this war to lead normal lives. You are not in this war to escape casualties -- you are in this war to win it -- win it outright.

There was another unanimous belief at Teheran. Germany, who started the war, must be eliminated for generations to come as a military force which breaks the peace of the world. It goes without saying that the leaders of Germany and their followers must be placed in a position where never again can they lead Germany down the path of conquest. And the German people, as a whole, who have
enthusiastically followed the leadership of Hitler and his
gang must get over the thought that the German people belong
to a superior race. They don't. They form only eighty or
ninety million human beings in a world of human beings
totaling two billion. At the outside, they constitute 1/20
of mankind. Some day I hope they will recognize that fact
and get over their costly delusions. Until they get over
these delusions they cannot be welcomed back into fellowship.
We do not intend to welcome them or to run the danger of
another war started by them. They must be disarmed and kept
under control by military force, if necessary, just so long
as they continue a menace to peace.

That is the long-range objectives of this war
all over the world, and it applies to Japan as well as Germany.
We are fighting for our defense, if you like, but we are
fighting for the true objectives of eliminating the threat
of pirates and bandits for just as long as anyone who is alive
today continues on this earth.
At Teheran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and I also discussed rather fully the post-war period -- things to be done when Germany is eliminated as a danger. We have to remember that this was the first time that the three of us had been together and it would have been premature for us to agree and announce the final territorial adjustments.

I think I can say that human beings counted more in our discussions than square miles here, there, or the other place. Through all our talks ran the thread of people and a secure peace after the threat of Germany as an aggressor and conqueror is permanently eliminated.

Europe is and always has been a conglomeration of racial and geographical hates -- even worse than it was in 1914. When I was a boy making bicycle trips with another young men in many parts of Europe, neither of us carried a passport. We bicycled cheerfully through Germany and Holland and France and Switzerland and Austria. And no one stopped us and everybody apparently was glad to see us. We are all seeking a Europe where hatreds will cool down and where people in one valley will get to be friends with people in the next valley.
I emphasize that we talk of broad objectives rather than details of administration. I hope the people of this country will take a leaf out of that notebook. We here do not want and should not start straw men at which we will shoot from every point of the compass with the grave danger of killing or hurting each other. Think of the big things and cut out the little things.

Before I stop speaking of the Teheran meeting, I want to tell you again that this war in Europe is not over and that the end is not in sight. I do tell you -- and I want you to think of it every day -- that the winning of the war is a difficult and will be a costly operation. I believe that during the course of 1944 we shall fight greater battles with more loss of life than any we have fought before, and the American people -- if they want to win this war -- must understand that probable fact.

In all the conferences we have made definite progress toward an ideal. I come back home to find people -- luckily a handful of them -- reviving the phrase "a separate peace".
If you meet any of these gentry accuse them of advocating a temporary peace, to be followed in fifteen or twenty years by another war of even greater magnitude and even more horrors than the present war. These people are merely another phase of isolationism. Actually they invite a greater militarism, a greater peril to our type of civilization than at the present. They are sirens seeking to lure their own country and their own and their own fellow citizens to destruction. They falsify the past; they falsify the present, and they beg of you to falsify the future.

I come back home to tell you and to tell the men in the armed forces who are out of this country -- men in the Atlantic, Mediterranean and the Pacific -- an unfortunate but, at the same time, a truthful impression. It is this: Far too many people in the United States, including -- I regret to say -- a large number of citizens in important places or with an ability to be heard, do not seem to know that we are at war. That is a serious statement but, as you know, I have the record of being frank.
It is said that Washington is a cross section of the country. I am not entirely sure that it is. But here in Washington there is discord, much unfinished business, a contentious attitude, and the everlasting playing of party politics.

The reason I say that I doubt if Washington represents a cross section of the country is that I doubt that other sections contain the same amount of back-biting and personal smallness.

It is still my honest belief that the people of the United States are all right at heart and want this war won first, as quickly as possible and second, in such a way that we will not have to do it again in our lifetimes.

If I were to believe what I hear over the air and in the newspapers and in the Halls of the Congress from many individuals, I would be discouraged. But I am not. I do not think that these purveyors of bad news, these magnifyers of the small things do represent the country. I believe that it is a small percentage of our citizens who complain loudly that their gasoline ration is lower, or if they cannot get butter, or if there are many articles they cannot get at all, or if there is a handful of unauthorized strikes, or if a local matter is blown up by
publicity into a national matter, or if an individual member of the government throws mud at another member of the government.

With more than 130 million people involved in this war I marvel at the success of the nation in building up from a peacetime process of living in three or four years to a war machine and a war economy that constitutes a far greater and more drastic change than any we have ever had in all our 160 years of freedom.

In this capital city and in some other cities politics is seeking to benefit one side or another. This is definitely hurting the war effort. In this city and in some other cities and towns and country districts, many people are seeking to get a higher wage or a higher level at which they can sell their foodstuffs to the public.
Through the development of science the world has become so much smaller that geographical yardsticks of the past are no longer valid. For instance, through our early history the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were a wall of safety to the United States. Time and distance made it physically possible for us and the other American Republics to obtain and maintain our independence against infinitely stronger powers. Until recently very few people, even military experts, thought that we would have to defend our Pacific Coast against Japanese threats of invasion.

At the outbreak of the first World War relatively few people thought that our ships and shipping would be menaced by German submarines on the high seas or that we would ever be threatened by a new philosophy which had no thought of stopping at the domination of all of Europe. Civilization had suddenly clashed with the German plan to dominate the whole world.

We thought and hoped then that with the defeat of Germany their philosophy had been crushed; and being full of the milk of human kindness we spent twenty years of disarming while Germany whined so pathetically that the
other nations let them -- and even helped them -- to re-arm.

It is my hope that we will not do this again. No --
that is too weak -- it is my intention to do all that I
humanly can as President and Commander-in-Chief to see to it
that that state of affairs will never happen again anywhere
in the world, or at least as long as we live.

We gave another trial to pious hopes that aggressor
and war-like nations would learn and understand and carry
out the doctrine of voluntary peace.

That great experiment of former years did not work.
Therefore, it is my belief that we should not try it again.

The overwhelming majority of all the people in the
world want peace. Most of them are fighting for the attain-
ment of peace -- not just a truce, but the prevention of the
rise of any nation which would adopt or re-adopt the doctrine
of conquest through aggression. If we are

for peace now, is it not good logic that we should use force,
if necessary in the future, to keep another World War from
breaking out?
I believe and I think I can say that the other three nations who are fighting so magnificently to gain peace go along with me in the thought that all of us propose to keep the peace by force. If the people of Germany and Japan thoroughly realize that the world is not going to let them break out again, it is possible and I hope probable that they may abandon the philosophy of the superior race -- the philosophy of seeking to gain the whole world even if, as now, they lose their own soul. That is a goal worth trying for even though it takes a generation or more.
SECOND DRAFT

On this Christmas Eve, and I wish to speak to all the men and women in our armed forces and particularly to those on duty overseas, far from home.

Here in the United States, and in the Caribbean and on the East Coast of South America, it is afternoon. In Alaska and in Hawaii and the mid-Pacific, it is morning. In Great Britain and in North Africa and Italy and the Middle East, it is evening.

In the Southwest Pacific, and in China and India, it is already Christmas Day.

But everywhere throughout the world — throughout this war which covers the world — there is a special spirit which has warmed our hearts since our earliest childhood — a spirit which brings us ever close to our homes, our families, our friends and neighbors — the spirit of "peace on earth, good will to men."

During the past years, ever since the rise to power of international gangsters in Europe and in Asia, our Christmas celebrations have been darkened with apprehension for the future. We have said, "Merry Christmas — Happy New Year," but we have known in our hearts that the clouds which have hung over the world have prevented us from saying it with full sincerity and conviction.
SECOND DRAFT

And this year, we shall have much to face in the way of further suffering, and sacrifice, and personal tragedy.

But — on this Christmas Eve — I can say to you that at last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that "peace on earth, good will be men" can be and will be obtained and ensured.

Within the past year — within the past few weeks — history has been made, and it is far better history for the whole human race than any that we have known or even dared to hope for within living memory.

I have just returned from extensive journeyings in the regions around the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia in the Middle East. I have conferred with the political and military leaders of Britain and Russia and China. We devoted ourselves to the military matters of the present — to plans for the stepping up of our relentless attacks on our enemies with constantly increasing force and from many points of the compass as we see. And we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future — to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this long and terrible war.

One of the principal objectives of my journey was to meet face to face, and get to know, the leaders of the two great nations of Russia.
and China whose contribution to the winning of this war has been so vast."

Of course, as you all know, Mr. Churchill and I have met many times and we have come to know and understand each other very well. Indeed, Mr. Churchill has become known and beloved by many thousands of Americans, and the heartfelt prayers of all of us have been with him in his recent serious illness.

The Cairo and Teheran conferences, however, gave me my first opportunity to meet the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Marshal Stalin — and to sit down at the table with these great living men and talk to them face to face.

I need not tell you how different and how much more effective this kind of personal meeting is than communicating with each other over great distances. It was well worth travelling thousands of miles over land and sea to bring about this personal meeting, and to gain the heartening assurance that we absolutely agree with one another on all the major objectives and the means of obtaining them.

At Cairo, Prime Minister Churchill and I spent four days with the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek. It was the first time that we had had an opportunity to go over the military situation in the Far East with him personally. We were able not only to settle upon definite military
strategy but also to agree upon certain long-range principles which we
believe will assure peace in the Pacific for many generations to come.

Those principles were as simple as they were fundamental -- to restore
stolen property, to guarantee that the United Nations of China and
Britain and the United States seek no additional territory for themselves
and to restore to millions of people in the Far East the sovereign right,
without molestation, to build up their own forms of self-government.

Essential to all peace and security in the Pacific is the permanent elim-
ination of the Empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression to the
rest of the world. Never again must our soldiers and sailors and marines
be compelled to fight from island to island as they are fighting so gal-
lantly and so successfully today.

I met in the Generalissimo a man of great stature, great vision,
and remarkably fine understanding of the problems of today
and great courage. He made known to him all our military plans for striking
at Japan with decisive force from many directions, and I believe I can say
that he returned to Chungking with the positive assurance of total victory
over our common enemy.

Under his leadership and his able command, the Chinese forces
and the Chinese people were the first to deal the mortal blows of inter-
national gangsters and who were compelled to resist at first almost with
their bare hands, and under his leadership, play their full part in driving
the invaders into the sea. The plans are all made to get the weapons of war there. They will be used and Tokyo will itself feel the result.

I believe I can say that today we are closer to China in friendship and in understanding than ever before.

After the Cairo conference, Mr. Churchill and I went by airplane to Teheran. There we met Marshal Stalin. We talked with complete frankness on every conceivable subject connected with the winning of the war and the establishment of a durable peace after the war.

There is no nonsense about Marshal Stalin. He leaves you in no doubt as to precisely where he stands. There was consequently no delay in getting down to cases.

Within three days of intense and consistently amicable discussions, we had agreed on every point concerned with the complete military defeat of Germany. We designated the time and the place for every attack on the German armies from the Russian front, in the East, from the Italian front, and various other places in the south and in the west of the European continent — in fact from all directions.

There was complete satisfaction and agreement on all sides with these plans, and complete confidence that they will produce the knockout blow for Hitler and the Nazis and the whole Prussian military system which has
caused so much death and destruction on this earth.

During the last two days at Teheran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and I looked ahead to the days and months and years which will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that Germany must be stripped of her military might and given no opportunity to regain that might.

The United Nations

We have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have every chance to develop, in peace, as useful, respectable members of the European family. But we most certainly propose to rid them once and for all of the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute a "Master Race," to strip them of all their power ever again to try to show that they are.\[insert A\]

I may say that I got along fine with Marshal Stalin. He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a very human good humor. I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia — and I believe that we are going to get along well with Russia — very well indeed.

We must do it. We must do it in our generation, and we must pass on to future generations the positive proof that it can be done.
To those who fear that secret political commitments may have been made, I say that Mr. Churchill, the Generalissimo and Marshal Stalin are all thoroughly conversant with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. And so am I.

At Teheran we did not try to arrive at any final territorial adjustments in Europe. It would have been premature to do so. But on the basis of what we did discuss, I can say even today that I do not think any serious differences will arise among the United Nations. We were concerned with basic principles -- principles which involve the security and the welfare and the standard of living of human beings in countries large and small.
Britain, Russia, China and the United States now represent the
four great instruments of retribution against Germany and Japan. As long
as those four great powers stick together in determination to keep the
peace there will be no possibility of an aggressor nation arising to start
another world war.

But those four powers must be united with and cooperate with all
the freedom-loving peoples of Europe, and Asia, and the Americas. The
rights of every nation, large or small, must be respected and guarded as
jealously as are the rights of every individual within our own republic.

The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the
doctrine of our enemies, and we reject it.

But — at the same time — we are agreed that if force is neces-
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Insert B
I shall have more to say about the Cairo and Teheran conferences when I make my report to the Congress in about two weeks' time.

And, on that occasion, I shall also have a great deal to say about certain conditions here at home.

But today I wish to say, that in all my travels, at home and abroad,

it is the sight of our soldiers and sailors and their magnificent achievements which has given me the greatest inspiration and the greatest encouragement for the future.

Last January, when I visited Casablanca, I saw the great troops of the 5th Army. The men who since then have distinguished themselves at Salerno and in all the tough fighting in the mountains of Italy.

At that time, we had men overseas. Today, the number of men overseas has been increased 3,600,000. Within the next six months it will be 5,000,000 - soldiers, sailors and marines - all properly trained and equipped.

Some of these men are now spending their third Christmas far from home. To them and to all others overseas or soon to go
overseas I can give assurance that it is the purpose of Their Government to end this war and to bring them home at the earliest possible date.

We shall not have long to wait for massive moves to be made in Europe and in the Far East.

Mr. Churchill and I and the Combined Chiefs of Staff have agreed that the Supreme Commander of the Anglo-American forces in the invasion of Europe shall be (guess who?)
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Tonight, on Christmas Eve, all men and women everywhere who love Christmas are thinking of that little town and of the star of faith that shone there more than nineteen centuries ago.

American boys are fighting today in snow-covered mountains and in pestilential jungles, they are fighting on the far stretches of the sea and above the clouds, and the thing for which they are fighting is best symbolized by the message that came out of Bethlehem.

In our hearts are prayers for those boys and for all their comrades in arms who fight to rid the world of evil.

We ask for God's blessing upon them.

We ask that the comfort of God's grace shall be granted to those who are sick and wounded, and to those prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy who wait for the day when they will once more be free.

And we ask — and we feel that our prayers are not in vain — we ask that God shall receive and shall cherish those who have given their lives, and that He shall keep them in honor and in the grateful memory of their countrymen forever.

These are our prayers for those who fight our battles on this Christmas Eve.
THIRD DRAFT

On this Christmas Eve, our hopes and prayers are with the men and women of our armed forces and particularly with those on duty overseas, far from home.

For our boys here in the United States, and in the Caribbean and on the East Coast of South America, it is afternoon. In Alaska and in Hawaii and the mid-Pacific, it is still morning. In Great Britain and in North Africa and Italy and the Middle East, it is evening.

For those in the Southwest Pacific, and in China and India, it is already Christmas Day.

But everywhere throughout the world -- throughout this war which covers the world -- there is a special spirit which has warmed our hearts since our earliest childhood -- a spirit which brings us ever close to our homes, our families, our friends and neighbors -- the spirit of "peace on earth, good will toward men."

During the past years of international gangsterism and brutal aggression in Europe and in Asia, our Christmas celebrations have been darkened with apprehension for the future. We have said, "Merry Christmas -- Happy New Year," but we have known in our hearts that the clouds which have hung over our world have prevented us from saying it with full sincerity and conviction.
And this year, we still have much to face in the way of further suffering, and sacrifice, and personal tragedy.

But — on this Christmas Eve — I can say to you that at last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that "peace on earth, good will toward men" can be and will be realised and ensured.

Within the past year — within the past few weeks — history has been made, and it is far better history for the whole human race than any that we have known or even dared to hope for in these tragic times through which we have passed.

I have just returned from extensive journeyings in the regions around the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia in the Middle East. I have conferred with the political and military leaders of Britain and Russia and China.

We devoted ourselves to the military matters of the present — to plans for the stepping up of our relentless attacks on our enemies with constantly increasing force, and from many different points of the compass.

And we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future — to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this long and terrible war.
Of course, as you all know, Mr. Churchill and I have met many times before, and we know and understand each other very well. Indeed, Mr. Churchill has become known and beloved by many thousands of Americans, and the heartfelt prayers of all of us have been with this great citizen of the world in his recent serious illness.

The Cairo and Teheran conferences, however, gave me my first opportunity to meet the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, and Marshal Stalin — and to sit down at the table with these unconquerable men and talk to them face to face.

I need not tell you how different and how much more effective this kind of personal meeting is than communicating with each other from great distances. It was well worth travelling thousands of miles over land and sea to bring about this personal meeting, and to gain the heartening assurance that we are absolutely agreed with one another on all the major objectives — and on the means of obtaining them.

At Cairo, Prime Minister Churchill and I spent four days with the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek. It was the first time that we had had an opportunity to go over the military situation in the Far East with him personally. We were able not only to settle
upon definite military strategy but also to agree upon certain
long-range principles which we believe will assure peace in the
Pacific for many generations to come.

Those principles were as simple as they were fundamental --
to restore stolen property to its proper owners, and to guarantee to
millions of people in the Far East the sovereign right to build up
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tion of the Empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression to
the rest of the world. Never again must our soldiers and sailors
and marines be compelled to fight from island to island as they are
fighting so gallantly and so successfully today.

I met in the Generalissimo a man of great vision and great
courage, and remarkably keen understanding of the problems of today
and tomorrow. We made known to him all our military plans for striking
at Japan with decisive force from many directions, and I believe I can
say that he returned to Chungking with the positive assurance of total
victory over our common enemy.

Under his leadership and his able command, the Chinese
forces will play a positive part in driving the invaders into the sea.
The plans are all made to get the weapons of war into China -- and
Tokyo itself will feel the result.

I believe I can say that today we are closer to China in friendship and in unity of purpose than ever before.

After the Cairo conference, Mr. Churchill and I went by airplane to Teheran. There we met with Marshal Stalin. We talked with complete frankness on every conceivable subject connected with the winning of the war and the establishment of a durable peace after the war.

There was no delay in getting down to cases. Within three days of intense and consistently amicable discussions, we had agreed on every point concerned with the complete military defeat of Germany. We designated the time, and the place, and the size of the forces for every attack on the Germans — from the Russian front, from the East, from the Italian front, and from various other places in the south and in the west of the European continent — in fact from all directions.

There was complete satisfaction and agreement on all sides with these plans, and complete confidence that they will produce the knockout blow for Hitler and the Nazis and the whole Prussian military system which has caused so much death and destruction on this earth.
During the last two days at Teheran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and I looked ahead to the days and months and years which will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that Germany must be stripped of her military might and given no opportunity to regain that might.

The United Nations have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have every chance to develop, in peace, as useful, respectable members of the European family. But we most certainly intend to rid them once and for all of the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute a "Master Race."

To those who fear that secret political commitments may have been made, I say that Mr. Churchill, the Generalissimo and Marshal Stalin are all thoroughly conversant with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. And so am I.

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But — at the same time — we are agreed that if force is
In next to last paragraph, page 8, should the 2nd line read:
"the number of men overseas has been increased to 3,600,000." instead of "increased 3,600,000". ?????????
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troops of the Fifth Army — the men who since then have distinguished
themselves at Salerno and in all the tough fighting in the mountains
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THIRD DRAFT

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FOURTH DRAFT

On this Christmas Eve, there are $\frac{more \ than \ ten}{3,000,000}$ million
men in the armed forces of the United States, of whom $3,500,000$ are
now on duty overseas.

We, our soldiers, sailors and marines here in the United
States, and in the Caribbean and on the East Coast of South America,
it is afternoon. In Alaska and in Hawaii and the mid-Pacific, it is
still morning. In Iceland, in Great Britain, in North Africa, in
Italy and the Middle East, it is evening.

For those in the Southwest Pacific, in Australia, in China
and India, it is already Christmas Day.

But everywhere throughout the world — throughout this war
which covers the world — there is a special spirit which has warned
our hearts since our earliest childhood — a spirit which brings us
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During the past years of international gangsterism and
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that the clouds which have hung over our world have prevented us from
saying it with full sincerity and conviction.
And this year, we still have much to face in the way of further
suffering, and sacrifice, and personal tragedy. Our men, who have been
through the fierce battles of Tarawa and San Pietro, know that many bigger
and costlier battles are still to be fought.

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I have conferred with the political and military leaders of Britain and Russia
and China.

We devoted ourselves to the military matters of the present -- to plans
for the launching of full-scale attacks on our enemies from many different points
of the compass. And we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future --
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opportunity to meet the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, and Marshal
Stalin — and to sit down at the table with these unconquerable men and
talk to them face to face. We had planned at Cairo and Teheran to talk
to each other across the table; but we soon found that we were all on
the same side of the table, and only conversation needed the lift.

I need not tell you how different and how much more effective
this kind of personal meeting is than communicating with each other
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FOURTH DRAFT

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victory over our common enemy. and that today we and the Republic of
Increasingly powerful forces are now hammering at the Japanese at many points over an enormous arc which curves down through the Pacific from the Aleutians to the jungles of Burma. Our own Army and Navy, our air forces, the Australians and New Zealanders, the Dutch and British land, air and sea forces are all forming a band of steel which is closing in on Japan.

Offensive actions at many points in this arc will be stepped up powerfully and soon.

On the mainland of Asia,
China are closer together than ever before in friendship and in unity of purpose.

After the Cairo conference, Mr. Churchill and I went by airplane to Teheran. There we met with Marshal Stalin. We talked with complete frankness on every conceivable subject connected with the winning of the war and the establishment of a durable peace after the war. There was no delay in getting down to cases.

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The United Nations have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have a normal chance to develop, in peace, as useful, respectable members of the European family. But we must certainly emphasize that word "respectable" — for we intend to rid them once and for all of the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute the "Master Race."

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which involve the security and the welfare and the standard of living of human beings in countries large and small. It was not the time to discuss the many details that will come to the front when Germany and Japan surrender, so long as the major objectives are attained.

I may say that I got along fine with Marshal Stalin. He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a very human good humor. I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia — and I believe that we are going to get along well with Russia very well indeed.

We must do it. We must do it in our generation, and we must pass on to future generations the positive proof that it can be done.

Britain, Russia, China and the United States now represent the great instruments of retribution against Germany and Japan. They represent nearly three-quarters of the total population of the earth. As long as those four great powers stick together in determination to keep the peace there will be no possibility of an aggressor nation arising to start another world war.

But those four powers must be united with and cooperate with all the freedom-loving peoples of Europe and Asia and the Americas. The rights of every nation, large or small, must be respected and guarded as jealously as are the rights of every individual within our own republic.

The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the doc-
trine of our enemies, and we reject it.

But — at the same time — we are agreed that if force is necessary to keep our peace, force will be applied, for as long as may be necessary.

Through the development of science the world has become so much smaller that geographical yardsticks of the past are no longer valid. For instance, through our early history the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were believed to be walls of safety for the United States. Time and distance made it physically possible for us and the other American Republics to obtain and maintain our independence against infinitely stronger powers. Until recently very few people, even military experts, thought that the day could ever come when we might have to defend our Pacific Coast against Japanese threats of invasion.

At the outbreak of the first World War relatively few people thought that our ships and shipping would be menaced by German submarines on the high seas or that the German militarists would ever attempt to dominate any nation outside of Europe.

We thought and hoped then that with the defeat of Germany their philosophy had been crushed; and being full of the milk of human kindness we spent twenty years of disarming while Germany whined so pathetically
that the other nations let them — and even helped them — to re-arm.

We gave another trial to pious hopes that aggressor and warlike nations would learn and understand and carry out the doctrine of voluntary peace.

That well-intentioned but ill-fated experiment of former years did not work. It is my hope that we will not be this again. No — that is too weak — it is my intention to do all that I humanly can as President and Commander-in-Chief to see to it that these tragic mistakes shall not be made again, at least for as long as any of us may live.

There have always been cheerful idiots at home and in other parts of the world who for many years have told us that there would be no more war — that if everybody in America would only retire into their homes and lock the door behind them. Assuming that their motives were of the highest, events have shown how unwilling they were to face the facts.

The overwhelming majority of all the people in the world want peace. Most of them are fighting for the attainment of peace — not just a truce, not just an armistice — but peace that is as strongly, guaranteed, and as durable as mortal man can make it. If we are willing to fight for peace now, is it not good logic that we should use force, if necessary
in the future, to keep another World War from breaking out?

I believe and I think I can say that the other three great nations who are fighting so magnificently to gain peace are in complete agreement that we must be prepared to keep the peace by force. If the people of Germany and Japan are made to realize thoroughly that the world is not going to let them break out again, it is possible and I hope probable that they may abandon the philosophy of aggression -- the belief that they can gain the whole world even if, as now, they lose their own soul. That is a goal worth trying for, even though it take a generation.

I shall have more to say about the Cairo and Teheran conferences when I make my report to the Congress in about two weeks' time. And, on that occasion, I shall also have a great deal to say about certain conditions here at home.

But today I wish to say, that in all my travels, at home and abroad, it is the sight of our soldiers and sailors and their magnificent achievements which has given me the greatest inspiration and the greatest encouragement for the future.

Some of men are now spending their third Christmas far from home. To them and to all others overseas or soon to go overseas I can give assurance that it is the purpose of their Government to end this
Having crossed the Atlantic on a combat ship, I had good opportunity to see the men of our Navy in the performance of their duties. In the Caribbean, in North Africa, in Sicily, in Egypt and in Iran, I saw many thousands of our soldiers. Many of them are in the fighting zones, but many others are doing essential work in dozens of other non-combat duties. For example, we have thousands of Americans in Iran (which we used to call Persia) carrying out the vital task of pushing through to Russia the munitions which are helping the Russian armies to defeat and destroy a large part of the German military power.
war and to bring them home at the earliest possible date.

We all knew — and the American people — frankly told Aug. 25 —
that this was going to be a tough, destructive war. On my trip abroad,
I talked with many military men who had faced our enemies in military
strategy and actual combat. These hard-headed realists testify to the
strength and skill and resourcefulness of the generals and men whom we
must beat before final victory is won. The war is now reaching the
stage where we shall have to look forward to large casualty lists —
death, wounded and missing.

War entails just that. There is no easy road to victory.

And the end is not yet in sight.

I am sorry to say that some folks back here act as though
the end were already here, as though our enemies are now on the run and
all that our troops have to do is chase them back into Berlin and Tokyo.

Massive offensives are in the making — both in Europe and the
Far East — but they will require every ounce of energy and fortitude
that we and our Allies can summon on the fighting fronts and on the home
fronts as well. As I have said before you cannot order up an
invasion on a Monday and demand that it be achieved by
Mr. Churchill, Marshal Stalin, and I and the Combined Chiefs
of Staff — have agreed that the Supreme Commander of the Anglo-American
And we here in the United States had better be sure that when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an America in which they are given full opportunities for education, rehabilitation, employment, and social security and they will find a Government — of party control — which they have shared fully in electing.
FOURTH DRAFT

forces in the impending invasion of Europe shall be 

Less than a month ago I flew in a big Army transport plane over 

the little town of Bethlehem, in Palestine.

Tonight, on Christmas Eve, all men and women everywhere who love 

Christmas are thinking of that ancient town and of the star of faith that 

shone there more than nineteen centuries ago.

American boys are fighting today in snow-covered mountains, in 

malarial jungles, and on blazing deserts, they are fighting on the far 

stretches of the sea and above the clouds, and the thing for which they are 

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In our hearts are prayers for those boys and for all their 

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And we ask -- and we feel that our prayers are not in vain -- 

we ask that God shall receive and shall cherish those who have given their 

lives, and that He shall keep them in honor and in the grateful memory of 

their countrymen forever.
These are our prayers for those who fight our battles on this Christmas Eve.

God bless us all. God keep us strong in our hopes that we fight for a better day for human kind—here and everywhere.
I have returned from extensive journeyings in the region of the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia. I have conferred with the leaders of Britain and Russia and China on military matters of the present [and] especially on the plans involving the continuation of our successful attack on our enemies as quickly as possible and from as many points of the compass as we can.

And now we come to the commemoration of Christmas -- all over the world.

That this is a World War was proved to me when I asked the broadcasting agencies for time to speak to our soldiers, sailors, marines and merchant seamen in every part of the world. In setting the time for the broadcast, we took with consideration that told me that at this moment here in the United States, and in the Caribbean and on the East Coast of South America, it is afternoon. In Alaska and in Hawaii and the mid-Pacific, it is still morning. In Iceland, in Great Britain, in North Africa, in Italy and the Middle East, it is evening.

We can correctly say that at this moment in those far eastern parts where Americans are fighting today is tomorrow.
On this Christmas Eve there are over 30 million men in the armed forces of the United States of whom 3,800,000 are now on duty overseas.
But everywhere throughout the world -- throughout this war which covers the world -- there is a special spirit which has warmed our hearts since our earliest childhood -- a spirit which brings us close to our homes, our families, our friends and neighbors -- the Christmas spirit of "peace on earth, good will toward men."

During the past years of international gangsterism and brutal aggression in Europe and in Asia, our Christmas celebrations have been darkened with apprehension for the future. We have said, "Merry Christmas -- Happy New Year," but we have known in our hearts that the clouds/have hung over our world have prevented us from saying it with full sincerity and conviction.

And even this year, we still have much to face in the way of further suffering, and sacrifice, and personal tragedy. Our men, who have been through such fierce battles as Tarawa and San Pietro, know that many bigger and costlier battles are still to be fought. -- for bigger, and because we have the experience and the knowledge of modern war, far costlier.

But -- on this Christmas Eve -- I can say to you this year that at last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that, however great the cost, "peace on
FIFTH DRAFT

earth, good will toward men" can be and will be realized and
ensured.

Within the past year -- within the past few weeks --
history has been made, and it is far better history for the
whole human race than any that we have known, or even dared to
hope for, in these tragic times through which we pass.

Before the meetings in Teheran and Cairo, this World
War was going along reasonably well, but I do not think that
people realized that four great nations with their Allies were
conducting the war as a whole largely on faith -- faith that
we were all of us seeking the same ideals, but a faith which
greatly lacked a knowledge of each other, of minds [by personal contact].

We needed more realism. We needed to supplement messengers
and radio messages with face-to-face talks. Today, we have had
these talks. Our expectations have been fulfilled and from the
practical angle of things we have supplemented faith with knowledge.

We devoted ourselves to the military matters of the
present -- to plans for the launching of full-scale attacks on
our enemies from almost every different point of the compass.
And we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future -- to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this war. And may I add that the representatives of the four greatest powers in this war made no national commitments in regard to post-war plans. I say this with a certain kind of pity -- pity for those small minds, those picayune politicians who, even since my return a week ago, have tried to frighten my fellow-Americans by demanding to know what commitments were made in relation to future policies of the United States.

Of course, as you all know, Mr. Churchill and I have happily met many times before, and we know and understand each other very well. Indeed, Mr. Churchill has become known and beloved by many millions of Americans, and the heartfelt prayers of all of us have been with this great citizen of the world in his recent serious illness.

The Cairo and Teheran conferences, however, gave me my first opportunity to meet the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, and Marshal Stalin -- and to sit down at the table with these
unconquerable men and talk with them face to face. We had planned to talk to each other across the table at Cairo and Teheran; but we soon found that we were all on the same side of the table.

I need not tell you how different and how much more effective this kind of personal meeting is than communicating with each other from great distances. It was well worth travelling thousands of miles over land and sea to bring about this personal meeting, and to gain the heartening assurance that we are absolutely agreed with one another on all the major objectives — and in general — on the military means of obtaining them.

At Cairo, Prime Minister Churchill and I spent four days with the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek. It was the first time that we had had an opportunity to go over the complex situation in the Far East with him personally. We were able not only to settle upon definite military strategy but also to agree upon certain long-range principles which we believe will assure peace in the Far East for many generations to come.

Those principles were as simple as they were fundamental. They involve the restoration to its rightful owners, and to guarantee to millions of people in the Far East the sovereign right to build
up their own forms of self-government without molestation. Essential to all peace and security in the Pacific and the rest of the world is the permanent elimination of the Empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression. Never again must our soldiers and sailors and marines be compelled to fight from island to island as they are fighting so gallantly and so successfully today.

Increasingly powerful forces are now hammering at the Japanese at many points over an enormous arc which curves down through the Pacific from the Aleutians to the jungles of Burma. Our own Army and Navy, our Air Forces, the Australians and New Zealanders, the Dutch and British land, air and sea forces are all forming a band of steel which is closing in on Japan. Under the Generalissimo’s leadership, the Chinese forces are playing a vital positive part in the beginning of driving the invaders into the sea. More and more we are getting the weapons of war into China. And Tokyo itself will soon feel the result.

I met the Generalissimo a man of great vision and great courage, and remarkably keen understanding of the problems of today and tomorrow. We made known to him all our military plans for striking at Japan with decisive force from many
Today we and the Republic of China are closer together than ever before in deep friendship and in unity of purpose.

After the Cairo conference, Mr. Churchill and I went by airplane to Teheran. There we met with Marshal Stalin. We talked with complete frankness on every conceivable subject connected with the winning of the war and the establishment of a durable peace after the war. [There was no delay in getting down to cases.]

Within three days of intense and consistently amicable discussions, we agreed on every point concerned with the launching of a gigantic attack upon complete military defeat of Germany. We designated the time, and the place, and the size of the forces for attack on the Germans -- from the Russian front on the East, from the Italian front on the South, and from various other places in the north, south and the west of the European continent.

[To give you the exact names of these places, the dates, the size of the forces, would be an unpardonable sin on my part.]
The Russian army will continue its stern offensives on Germany's [Western] front -- the allied armies in Italy will bring relentless pressure on Germany from the south, and now the iron ring will be complete as great American and British forces attack from the North and the West. The time is fixed. Germany...
FIFTH DRAFT

It would be like telling a radio audience and his opponent that at the beginning of the next round Joe Louis would start with a right-upper-cut, to be immediately followed by a left-hook.

There was complete satisfaction and agreement on all sides with these plans, and complete confidence that they will produce necessary blows leading up to the eventual knockout for Hitler and the Nazis and the whole Prussian military system which has caused so much death and destruction and sorrow to the world.

During the last two days at Teheran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and I looked ahead to the days and months and years which will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that Germany must be stripped of her military might and given no opportunity to regain that might.

The United Nations have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have a normal chance to develop, in peace, as useful and respectable members of the European family.

But we most certainly emphasize that word "respectable" -- for Nazism, Russian militarism and we intend to rid them once and for all of the fantastic and disastrous notions that they constitute the "Master Race".
The Commander selected to lead the combined attack from England's shores is General Dwight Eisenhower. His performances in Africa, Sicily and Italy have been brilliant. He knows by practical and successful experience the way to coordinate air, sea and land power. All these will be under his control.

He gives up his command in the Mediterranean to a British officer, and I now pledge that new Commander that our powerful ground, sea and air forces in the Mediterranean area stand by his side until every objective in that bitter theatre is attained. See next page.
Both of these new Commanders will have American and British subordinate Commanders whose names will be announced in a few days.
We did discuss final adjustments in Europe from the point of view of big, broad objectives. We did not discuss final adjustments from the point of view of details. It would have been premature to do so. But on the basis of what we did discuss, I can say even today that I do not think any insoluble differences will arise among the United Nations. In these conferences we were concerned with basic principles—principles which involve the security and the welfare and the standard of living of human beings in countries large and small.

"Far too many people, in far too many places, are paying more attention to post-war details than they are to broad war objectives. Let us bring about the surrender of Germany and Japan first. In so doing let us agree as unanimously as possible that a patched-up peace is no peace and, therefore, that world peace maintained — if it be necessary by force itself — is the goal of the nations united against present or would-be outlaws."
To use an [grammatical] American colloquialism—
"I may say that I 'got along fine' with Marshal Stalin." He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a very human good humor. I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia -- and I believe that we are going to get along well with him and the Russian people -- very well indeed.

Britain, Russia, China and the United States and their Allies now represent the great instruments of retribution against Germany and Japan. They represent more than three-quarters of the total population of the whole earth. As long as the four nations with great military power stick together in determination to keep the peace there will be no possibility of an aggressor nation arising to start another world war.

But those four powers must be united with and cooperate with all the freedom-loving peoples of Europe, and Asia, and Africa and the Americas. The rights of every nation, large or small, must be respected and guarded as jealously as are the rights of every individual within our own republic.
The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the doctrine of our enemies, and we reject it.

But -- at the same time -- we are agreed that if force is necessary to keep international peace, international force will be applied, for as long as may be necessary.

Through the development of science the world has become so much smaller that geographical yardsticks of the past are no longer valid. For instance, through our early history the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were believed to be walls of safety for the United States. Time and distance made it physically impossible for us and the other American Republics to obtain and maintain our independence against infinitely stronger powers. Until recently very few people, even military experts, thought that the day could ever come when we might have to defend our Pacific Coast against Japanese threats of invasion.

At the outbreak of the first World War relatively few people thought that our ships and shipping would be menaced by German submarines on the high seas or that the German militarists would ever attempt to dominate any nation outside of Europe.
I t has been our steady policy --
and it is certainly a common sense
policy -- that the right of each
nation to freedom must be measured
by the willingness of that nation
to fight for freedom. And today we
salute our unseen allies in oc-
cupied countries -- such as the
Council of Resistance in France,
the armies of liberation in Jugo-
Slav ia, and many other heroic and
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A - page #11

-2-

effective underground movements in
Europe, and in Asia. They form the
United Nations' "Fifth Column" in
this way, and they will provide
potent forces against our enemies
when the day of invasion comes.

***************
We thought and hoped then that with the defeat of Germany their philosophy had been crushed; and being full of the milk of human kindness we spent twenty years of disarming while Germany whined so pathetically that the other nations let them -- and even helped them -- to rearm.

We gave another trial to pious hopes that aggressor and warlike nations would learn and understand and carry out the doctrine of voluntary peace.

That well-intentioned but ill-fated experiment of former years did not work. It is my hope that we will not try this again. No -- that is too weak -- it is my intention to do all that I humanly can as President and Commander-in-Chief to see to it that these tragic mistakes shall not be made again, at least for as long as any of us may live.

There have always been cheerful idiots at home and in other parts of the world who for many years have told us that there would be no more war for us if everybody in America would only retire into their homes and lock the door behind them. Assuming that their motives were of the highest, events have shown how unwilling they were to face the facts.
The overwhelming majority of all the people in the world want peace. Most of them are fighting for the attainment of peace -- not just a truce, not just an armistice -- but peace that is as strongly enforced and as durable as mortal man can make it. If we are willing to fight for peace now, is it not good logic that we should use force, if necessary in the future, to keep the peace?

I believe, and I think I can say, that the other three great nations who are fighting so magnificently to gain peace are in complete agreement that we must be prepared to keep the peace by force. If the people of Germany and Japan are made to realize thoroughly that the world is not going to let them break out again, it is possible, and I hope probable, that they may abandon the philosophy of aggression -- the belief that they can gain the whole world even if, as now, they lose their own soul. That is a goal worth trying for.

I shall have more to say about the Cairo and Teheran conferences when I make my report to the Congress in about two weeks' time. And, on that occasion, I shall also have a great deal to say about certain conditions here at home.
But today I wish to say, that in all my travels, at home and abroad, it is the sight of our soldiers and sailors and their magnificent achievements which has given me the greatest inspiration and the greatest encouragement for the future.

Having crossed the Atlantic on a combat ship, I had good opportunity to see the men of our Navy in the performance of their duties. In the Caribbean, in North Africa, in Sicily, in Egypt and in Iran, I saw many thousands of our soldiers. Many of them are in the fighting zones, but many others are doing essential work in dozens of other non-combat duties. For example, we have thousands of Americans in Iran (which we used to call Persia) carrying out the vital task of pushing through to Russia the munitions which are helping the Russian armies to defeat and destroy a large part of the German military power.

Some of our men are now spending their third Christmas far from home. To them and to all others overseas or soon to go overseas I can give assurance that it is the purpose of their Government to end this war and to bring them home at the earliest possible date.
To the members of our armed forces, to their wives, mothers and fathers, I want to affirm the great faith and confidence we have in General Marshall and Admiral King who direct all of our armed might throughout the world.

Upon them falls the great responsibility of planning the strategy of determining when and where we shall fight.

The American people owe both of these men their eternal gratitude. Both of these men have already gained high places in American history which will record evidences of their military genius that cannot be published today.

General Marshall's recent conferences with General MacArthur in the Southwest Pacific may be accepted as indication interpreted as indicating some bad news for Japan in the not too distant future.
And we here in the United States had better be sure that when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an America in which they are given full opportunities for education, rehabilitation, employment, and social security and that they will find a Government which they have shared in electing.

The American people have been frankly told that this was going to be a tough, destructive war. On my trip abroad, I talked with many military men who had faced our enemies in the field. These hard-headed realists testify to the strength and skill and resourcefulness of the generals and men whom we must beat before final victory is won. The war is now reaching the stage where we shall have to look forward to large casualty lists -- dead, wounded and missing.

War entails just that. There is no easy road to victory. And the end is not yet in sight.

I am sorry to say that some folks back here act as though the end were already here, as though our enemies are now on the run and all that our troops have to do is chase them back into Berlin and Tokyo.
Massive offensives are in the making -- both in Europe and the Far East -- but they will require every ounce of energy and fortitude that we and our Allies can summon on the fighting fronts and on the home fronts as well. As I have said before you cannot order up a great attack on a Monday and demand that it be delivered on Saturday.

Mr. Churchill, Marshal Stalin, and I and the Combined Chiefs of Staff -- have agreed that the Supreme Commander of the Anglo-American forces in the next great attack on the Fortress of Germany shall be who has so splendidly coordinated and pressed home the invasions of North Africa, Sicily and Italy.

Less than a month ago I flew in a big Army transport plane over the little town of Bethlehem, in Palestine.

Tonight, on Christmas Eve, all men and women everywhere who love Christmas are thinking of that ancient town and of the star of faith that shone there more than nineteen centuries ago.

American boys are fighting today in snow-covered mountains, in malarial jungles, and on blazing deserts, they are fighting on the far stretches of the sea and above the clouds, and the thing for which they are fighting is best symbolized by the message that came out of Bethlehem.
In our hearts are prayers for all your comrades in arms who fight to rid the world of evil.

We ask for God's blessing upon you.

We ask that the comfort of God's grace shall be granted to those who are sick and wounded, and to those who are prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy, waiting for the day when they will again be free.

And we ask -- and we feel that our prayers are not in vain -- we ask that God shall receive and shall cherish those who have given their lives, and that He shall keep them in honor and in the grateful memory of their countrymen forever.

These are our prayers for you who fight our battles on this Christmas Eve.

God bless us all. God keep us strong in our hope that we fight for a better day for human kind -- here and everywhere.
On behalf of the American people - your own people - I send this Christmas message to you who are in our armed forces.
I have just returned from extensive journeyings in the region of the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia. I have conferred with the leaders of Britain and Russia and China on military matters of the present — especially on plans for stepping-up our successful attack on our enemies as quickly as possible and from almost every point of the compass again come to the commemoration of Christmas — all over the world.

On this Christmas Eve there are over ten million men in the armed forces of the United States — 1,800,000 are on duty overseas. Today 384,000 are on duty overseas, and next July that number will rise to 4,000,000. And this is truly a World War was proved to me when I asked (demonstrated when)

Arrangements were made with our

the overseas broadcasting agencies for time to speak to our soldiers, sailors, marines and merchant seamen in every part of the world. In fixing the time for the broadcast we took into consideration that at this moment here in the United States, and in the Caribbean and on the Northeast coast of South America, it is afternoon. In Alaska and in Hawaii and the mid-Pacific, it is still morning. In Iceland, in Great Britain, in North Africa, in Italy and the Middle East, it is evening.
In the Southwest Pacific, in Australia, in China and India, it is already Christmas Day.

We can correctly say that at this moment in those far eastern parts where Americans are fighting today is tomorrow.

But everywhere throughout the world — throughout this war which covers the world — there is a special spirit which has warmed our hearts since our earliest childhood — a spirit which brings us close to our homes, our families, our friends and neighbors — the Christmas spirit of "peace on earth, good will toward men."

During the past years of international gangsterism and brutal aggression in Europe and in Asia, our Christmas celebrations have been darkened with apprehension for the future. We have said, "Merry Christmas — Happy New Year," but we have known in our hearts that the clouds which have hung over our world have prevented us from saying it with full sincerity and conviction.

And even this year, we still have much to face in the way of further suffering, and sacrifice, and personal tragedy. Our men, who have been through some fierce battles [as Tarawa and San Pietro] know, from their experience and knowledge of modern war, that many bigger and costlier battles are still to be fought.

But — on Christmas Eve this year — I can say to you that at
last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that, however great the cost, "peace on earth, good will toward men" can be and will be realised and ensured.

Within the past year — within the past few weeks — history has been made, and it is far better history for the whole human race than any that we have known, or even dared to hope for, in these tragic times through which we pass.

Before the meetings in Teheran and Cairo, this World War was going along reasonably well. But I do not think that people realised that these four great nations, with their Allies, were conducting the war as a whole largely on faith — faith that we were — all of us — fighting for the same ideals. We had that faith but we greatly lacked a knowledge of each other. We needed personal contact for a real meeting of minds. We needed more realism. We needed to supplement messengers and cables with face-to-face talks.

Today, we have had these talks. Our expectations have been fulfilled. We have supplemented faith with definite knowledge.

We devoted ourselves not only to military matters...
This year I can say that. Last year I could not do more than express a hope. Today I express a certainty, though the cost may be high and the time may be long.
SIXTH DRAFT

We devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future -- to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this war.

And may I add that the representatives of the four greatest powers in this war made no national commitments in regard to post-war plans. I say this in defense of those hypocrite politicians who, even since my return a week ago, have tried to frighten my fellow-Americans by demanding to know what commitments were made in relation to future policies of the United States.

Of course, as you all know, Mr. Churchill and I have happily met many times before, and we know and understand each other very well. Indeed, Mr. Churchill has become known and beloved by many millions of Americans, and the heartfelt prayers of all of us have been with this great citizen of the world in his recent serious illness.

The Cairo and Tehran conferences, however, gave me my first opportunity to meet the Generalissimo, Chiang K'ei-shék, and Marshal Stalin -- and to sit down at the table with these
unconquerable men and talk with them face to face. We had planned
to talk to each other across the table at Cairo and Teheran; but we
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range principles which we believe can assure peace in the Far East
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Those principles are as simple as they are fundamental. They
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We came to the conferences with faith in each other. But we needed the personal contact. And how we have supplemented faith with definite knowledge.
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Increasingly powerful forces are now hammering at the
Japanese at many points over an enormous arc which curves down through
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and Navy, our Air Forces, the Australians and New Zealanders, the Dutch,
and the British land, air and sea forces are all forming a band of steel
which is closing in on Japan.

On the mainland of Asia, under the Generalissimo’s leader-
ship, the Chinese forces are playing a vital part in driving the in-
vaders into the sea.

I met in the Generalissimo a man of great vision and great
courage, and remarkably keen understanding of the problems of today and
tomorrow. We discussed all the manifold military plans for striking
at Japan with decisive force from many directions, and I believe I can
say that he returned to Chungking with the positive
Following our The military decisions at Cairo, General Marshall has just flown around the world and has had conferences with General MacArthur, Admiral Nimitz—conferences which spell plenty of bad news for the Japs in the not too far distant future.
assurance of total victory over our common enemy. Today we and the
Republic of China are closer together than ever before in deep friend-
ship and in unity of purpose.

After the Cairo conference, Mr. Churchill and I went by
airplane to Teheran. There we met with Marshal Stalin. We talked
with complete frankness on every conceivable subject connected with
the winning of the war and the establishment of a durable peace after
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Within three days of intense and consistently amicable
discussions, we agreed on every point concerned with the launching
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The Commander selected to lead the combined attack is General Dwight Eisenhower. His performances in Africa, Sicily, and Italy have been brilliant. He knows by practical and successful experience the way to coordinate air, sea and land power. All these will be under his control.

He gives up his command in the Mediterranean to a British whose name is being announced by Mr. Churchill, the officer. And I now pledge that new Commander that our powerful ground, sea and air forces in the vital Mediterranean area, stand by his side until every objective in that bitter theatre is attained.

Both of these new Commanders will have American and British subordinate Commanders whose names will be announced in a few days.

During the last two days at Teheran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and I looked ahead to the days and months and years which will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that Germany must be stripped of her military might and given no opportunity within the foreseeable future to regain that might.

The United Nations have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have a normal chance to develop, in peace,
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We did discuss international relationships from the point
of view of big, broad objectives, rather than details. But on
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To use an American colloquialism, I may say that I "got along fine" with Marshal Stalin. He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a very good humor; I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia and I believe that we are going to get along well with him and the Russian people — very well indeed.

Britain, Russia, China and the United States and their Allies represent the great instruments of retribution against Germany and Japan. They represent more than three-quarters of the total population of the whole earth. As long as the four nations with great military power stick together in determination to keep the peace there will be no possibility of an aggressor nation arising to start another world war.

But those four powers must be united with and cooperate with all the freedom-loving peoples of Europe, and Asia, and Africa and the Americas. The rights of every nation, large or small, must be respected and guarded as jealously as are the rights of every individual within our own republic.
The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the doctrine of our enemies and we reject it.

But we at the same time are agreed that if force is necessary to keep international peace, international force will be applied for as long as may be necessary.

It has been our steady policy — and it is certainly a common sense policy — that the right of each nation to freedom must be measured by the willingness of that nation to fight for freedom. And today we salute our unseen allies in occupied countries — such as the Council of Resistance in France, the armies of liberation in Switzerland, and many other heroic and effective underground movements in Europe and in Asia. They will provide potent forces against our enemies when the day of invasion comes.

Through the development of science the world has become so much smaller that geographical yardsticks of the past are no longer valid. For instance, through our early history the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were believed to be walls of safety for the United States. Time and distance made it physically possible for us and for the other American Republics to obtain and maintain our independence against infinitely stronger powers. Until recently very few people,
even military experts, thought that the day could ever come when
we might have to defend our Pacific Coast against Japanese threats
of invasion.

At the outbreak of the first World War relatively few
people thought that our ships and shipping would be menaced by
German submarines on the high seas or that the German militarists
would ever attempt to dominate any nation outside of central
Europe.

In 1918, we thought and hoped[that][with][at] the[defeat of
Germany, their militaristic philosophy had been crushed; and being full
of the milk of human kindness we spent the next fifteen years disarm-
ing while Germany whined so pathetically that the other nations permitted
her to arm -- and even helped her -- to rearm.

In the many years we lived on
we gave another trial to pious hopes that aggressor
and warlike nations would learn and understand and carry out the
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The well-intentioned but ill-fated experiments of
former years did not work. It is my hope that we will not try it
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Assuming that their motives were of the highest, events have
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SIXTH DRAFT

And we here in the United States had better be sure that when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an America in which they are given full opportunities for education, rehabilitation, social security, employment and business opportunity under the free American system and that they will find a Government which, by their votes as American citizens, they have had a full share in electing.

The American people have had every reason to know that this was going to be a tough, destructive war. On my trip abroad, I talked with many military men who had faced our enemies in the field. These hard-headed realists testify to the strength and skill and resourcefulness of the generals and the men whom we must beat before final victory is won. The war is now reaching the stage where we shall have to look forward to large casualty lists -- dead, wounded and missing.

War entails just that. There is no easy road to victory. And the end is not yet in sight.

I am sorry to say that some folks back here act as though the end were already here, as though our enemies are now on the run and all that our troops have to do is chase them back into Berlin and Tokyo.
I have only been back for a week. It is fair that I should tell you my impression. I think I see a tendency in some of our people here to assume a quick ending of the war — perhaps that we have already gained the victory. And as a result of this false thinking, I think I discern an effort to resume or even encourage an outbreak of partisan thinking and talking. I hope I am wrong. Winning the war, winning a peace that will last for generations is the first and foremost task of the United States.

For, surely, our first and foremost task is all concerned with
Massive offensives are in the making -- both in Europe and the Far East -- but they will require every ounce of energy and fortitude that we and our Allies can summon on the fighting fronts and in all the workshops at home. As I have said before you cannot order up a great attack on a Monday and demand that it be delivered on Saturday.

Less than a month ago I flew in a big Army transport plane over the little town of Bethlehem, in Palestine.

Tonight, on Christmas Eve, all men and women everywhere who love Christmas are thinking of that ancient town and of the star of faith that shone there more than nineteen centuries ago.

American boys are fighting today in snow-covered mountains, in malarial jungles, and on blazing deserts, they are fighting on the far stretches of the sea and above the clouds, and the thing for which they are fighting is best symbolized by the message that came out of Bethlehem.

On behalf of the American people -- your own people -- I send this Christmas message to you who are in our armed forces: In our hearts are prayers for you and for all your comrades in arms who fight to rid the world of evil.
We ask for God's blessing upon you -- upon your fathers and mothers, and wives and children -- all your loved ones at home.

We ask that the comfort of God's grace shall be granted to those who are sick and wounded, and to those who are prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy, waiting for the day when they will again be free.

And we ask -- and we feel that our prayers are not in vain -- we ask that God shall receive and shall cherish those who have given their lives, and that He shall keep them in honor and in the grateful memory of their countrymen forever.

God bless all of you who fight our battles on this Christmas Eve.

God bless us all. God keep us strong in our hope that we fight for a better day for human kind -- here and everywhere.
I have just returned from extensive journeys in the region of the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia. I have conferred with the leaders of Britain and Russia and China on military matters of the present — especially on plans for stepped-up our successful attack on our enemies as quickly as possible and from many different points of the compass.

On this Christmas Eve there are over ten million men in the armed forces of the United States alone. One year ago, 2,000,000 were serving overseas. Today 3,500,000 are on duty overseas, and next July that number will rise to over 5,000,000.

That this is truly a World War was demonstrated when arrangements were made with our overseas broadcasting agencies for time to speak to our soldiers, sailors, marines and merchant seamen in every part of the world. In fixing the time for the broadcast we took into consideration that at this moment here in the United States, and in the Caribbean and on the Northeast Coast of South America, it is afternoon. In Alaska and in Hawaii and the mid-Pacific, it is still morning. In Iceland, in Great Britain, in North Africa, in Italy and the Middle East, it is evening."
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In the Southwest Pacific, in Australia, in China and Burma and India, it is already Christmas Day. We can correctly say that at this moment in those far eastern parts where Americans are fighting, today is tomorrow.

But everywhere throughout the world — throughout this war which covers the world — there is a special spirit which has warmed out hearts since our earliest childhood — a spirit which brings us close to our homes, our families, our friends and neighbors — the Christmas spirit of "peace on earth, good will toward men."

During the past years of international gangsterism and brutal aggression in Europe and in Asia, our Christmas celebrations have been darkened with apprehension for the future. We have said, "Merry Christmas -- Happy New Year", but we have known in our hearts that the clouds which have hung over our world have prevented us from saying it with full sincerity and conviction.

And even this year, we still have much to face in the way of further suffering, and sacrifice, and personal tragedy. Our men, who have been through the fierce battles in the Solomons, the Gilberts, Tunisia and Italy know, from their experience and knowledge of modern war, that many bigger and costlier battles are still to be fought.

But -- on Christmas Eve this year -- I can say to you that at
SEVENTH DRAFT

last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that, however great the cost, "peace on earth, good will toward men" can be and will be realized and ensured. This year I can say that. Last year I could not do more than express a hope. Today I express a certainty -- though the cost may be high and the time may be long.

Within the past year -- within the past few weeks -- history has been made, and it is far better history for the whole human race than any that we have known, or even dared to hope for, in these tragic times through which we pass.

At Cairo and Tehran we devoted ourselves not only to military matters, we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future -- to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this war. And may I add that the representatives of the four greatest powers in this war made no national commitments in regard to post-war plans. I say this in ridicule of those picayune politicians who, even since my return a week ago, have tried to frighten my fellow-Americans by demanding to know what commitments were made in relation to future policies of the United States.
A great beginning was made in the Moscow conference in October by Mr. Molotov, Mr. Eden and our own Mr. Hull. There and then the way was paved for the meeting.
Of course, as you all know, Mr. Churchill and I have happily met many times before, and we know and understand each other very well. Indeed, Mr. Churchill has become known and beloved by many millions of Americans, and the heartfelt prayers of all of us have been with this great citizen of the world in his recent serious illness.

The Cairo and Teheran conferences, however, gave me my first opportunity to meet the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, and Marshal Stalin -- and to sit down at the table with these unconquerable men and talk with them face to face. We had planned to talk to each other across the table at Cairo and Teheran; but we soon found that we were all on the same side of the table. We came to the conferences with faith in each other. But we needed the personal contact. And now we have supplemented faith with definite knowledge.

It was well worth travelling thousands of miles over land and sea to bring about this personal meeting, and to gain the heartening assurance that we are absolutely agreed with one another on all the major objectives -- and on the military means of obtaining them.
SEVENTH DRAFT

At Cairo, Prime Minister Churchill and I spent four days with
the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek. It was the first time that we had
had an opportunity to go over the complex situation in the Far East with
him personally. We were able not only to settle upon definite military
strategy, but also to discuss certain long-range principles which we be-
lieve can assure peace in the Far East for many generations to come.

Those principles are as simple as they are fundamental. They
involve the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners, and
the recognition of the rights of millions of people in the Far East to
build up their own forms of self-government without molestation. Essen-
tial to all peace and security in the Pacific and in the rest of the
world is the permanent elimination of the Empire of Japan as a potential
force of aggression. Never again must our soldiers and sailors and
marines be compelled to fight from island to island as they are fighting
so gallantly and so successfully today.

Increasingly powerful forces are now hammering at the Japanese
at many points over an enormous arc which curves down through the Pacific
from the Aleutians to the jungles of Burma. Our own Army and Navy, our
Air Forces, the Australians and New Zealanders, the Dutch, and the British
land, air and sea forces are all forming a band of steel which is closing
in on Japan.
On the mainland of Asia, under the Generalissimo's leadership, the Chinese ground and air forces augmented by American air forces are playing a vital part in driving the invaders into the sea.

Following out the military decisions at Cairo, General Marshall has just flown around the world and has had conferences with General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz — conferences which spell plenty of bad news for the Japs in the not too far distant future.

I met in the Generalissimo a man of great vision and great courage, and remarkably keen understanding of the problems of today and tomorrow. We discussed all the manifold military plans for striking at Japan with decisive force from many directions, and I believe I can say that he returned to Chungking with the positive assurance of total victory over our common enemy. Today we and the Republic of China are closer together than ever before in deep friendship and in unity of purpose.

After the Cairo conference, Mr. Churchill and I went by airplane to Teheran. There we met with Marshal Stalin. We talked with complete frankness on every conceivable subject connected with the winning of the war and the establishment of a durable peace after the war.
Lt. Gen. Carl D. Spaatz

will command the entire American
strategic bombing force operating
against Germany.
Within three days of intense and consistently amicable discussions, we agreed on every point concerned with the launching of a gigantic attack upon Germany.

The Russian army will continue its stern offensives on Germany's Eastern front and the allied armies in Italy and Africa will bring relentless pressure on Germany from the south, and now the encirclement will be complete as great American and British forces attack from other points of the compass.

The Commander selected to lead the combined attack from these other points is General Dwight D. Eisenhower. His performances in Africa, Sicily and Italy have been brilliant. He knows by practical and successful experience the way to coordinate air, sea and land power. All these will be under his control.

We give up his command in the Mediterranean to a British officer whose name is being announced by Mr. Churchill. We now pledge that new Commander that our powerful ground, sea and air forces in the vital Mediterranean area will stand by his side until every objective in that bitter theatre is attained.

Both of these new Commanders will have American and British subordinate Commanders whose names will be announced in a few days.
During the last two days at Tehran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and I looked ahead to the days and months and years which will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that Germany must be stripped of her military might and be given no opportunity within the foreseeable future to regain that might.

The United Nations have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have a normal chance to develop, in peace, as useful and respectable members of the European family. But we most certainly emphasize that word "respectable" — for we intend to rid them once and for all of Nazism and Prussian militarism and the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute the "Master Race."

We did discuss international relationships from the point of view of big, broad objectives, rather than details. But on the basis of what we did discuss, I can say even today that I do not think any insoluble differences will arise among Russia, Great Britain and the United States.

In these conferences we were concerned with basic principles — principles which involve the security and the welfare and the standard of living of human beings in countries large and small.
To use an American and ungrammatical colloquialism, I may say that I "got along fine" with Marshal Stalin. He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a stalwart good humor. I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia; and I believe that we are going to get along well with him and the Russian people -- very well indeed.

Britain, Russia, China and the United States and their Allies represent more than three-quarters of the total population of the earth. As long as these four nations with great military power stick together in determination to keep the peace there will be no possibility of an aggressor nation arising to start another world war.

But those four powers must be united with and cooperate with all the freedom-loving peoples of Europe, and Asia, and Africa and the Americas. The rights of every nation, large or small, must be respected and guarded as jealously as are the rights of every individual within our own republic.
The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the doctrine of our enemies — and we reject it.

But, at the same time, we are agreed that if force is necessary to keep international peace, international force will be applied — for as long as it may be necessary.

It has been our steady policy — and it is certainly a common sense policy — that the right of each nation to freedom must be measured by the willingness of that nation to fight for freedom. And today we salute our unseen allies in occupied countries — the underground resistance groups and the armies of liberation. They will provide potent forces against our enemies, when the day of invasion comes.

Through the development of science the world has become so much smaller that we have had to discard the geographical yardsticks of the past. For instance, through our early history the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were believed to be walls of safety for the United States. Time and distance made it physically possible for us and for the other American Republics to obtain and maintain our independence against infinitely stronger powers. Until recently very few people,
even military experts, thought that the day could ever come when
we might have to defend our Pacific Coast against Japanese threats
of invasion.

At the outbreak of the first World War relatively few
people thought that our ships and shipping would be menaced by
German submarines on the high seas or that the German militarists
would ever attempt to dominate any nation outside of central Europe.

After the Armistice in 1918, we thought and hoped that the
militaristic philosophy of Germany had been crushed; and being full
of the milk of human kindness we spent the next fifteen years disarm-
ing, while the Germans whined so pathetically that the other nations
permitted them — and even helped them — to rearm.

For too many years we lived on pious hopes that aggressive
and warlike nations would learn and understand and carry out the
\textit{docile} doctrine of voluntary peace.

The well-intentioned but ill-fated experiments of
former years did not work. It is my hope that we will not try
them again. No — that is too weak — it is my intention to
do all that I humanly can as President and Commander-in-Chief to see
to it that these tragic mistakes shall not be made again.

There have always been cheerful idiots in this country who
believed that there would be no more war for us, if everybody in
America would only return into their homes and look their front doors
behind them. Assuming that their motives were of the highest, events
have shown how unwilling they were to face the facts.

The overwhelming majority of all the people in the world
want peace. Most of them are fighting for the attainment of peace —
not just a truce, not just an armistice — but peace that is as
strongly enforced and as durable as mortal man can make it. If we
are willing to fight for peace now, is it not good logic that we
should use force if necessary, in the future, to keep the peace?

I believe, and I think I can say, that the other
three great nations who are fighting so magnificently to gain
peace are in complete agreement that we must be prepared to
keep the peace by force. If the people of Germany and Japan
are made to realise thoroughly that the world is not going to
let them break out again, it is possible, and, I hope, probable,
that they will abandon the philosophy of aggression — the belief
that they can gain the whole world even at the risk of losing their
own souls. That is a goal worth trying for.

I shall have more to say about the Cairo and Teheran
conferences when I make my report to the Congress in about two
weeks' time. And, on that occasion, I shall also have a great
deal to say about certain conditions here at home.

But today I wish to say that in all my travels, at
home and abroad, it is the sight of our soldiers and sailors and
their magnificent achievements which has given me the greatest
inspiration and the greatest encouragement for the future.

To the members of our armed forces, to their wives, mothers
and fathers, I want to affirm the great faith and confidence we have
in General Marshall and Admiral King who direct all of our armed
might throughout the world. Upon them falls the great responsibility
of planning the strategy of determining when and where we shall fight.
Both of these men have already gained high places in American history,
which will record many evidences of their military genius that cannot
be published today.
Some of our men overseas are now spending their third Christmas far from home. To them and to all others overseas or soon to go overseas, I can give assurance that it is the purpose of their Government to win this war and to bring them home at the earliest possible date.

And we here in the United States had better be sure that when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an America in which they are given full opportunities for education, rehabilitation, social security, employment and business opportunities under the free American system — and that they will find a Government which, by their votes as American citizens, they have had a full share in electing.

The American people have had every reason to know that this is a tough, destructive war. On my trip abroad, I talked with many military men who had faced our enemies in the field. These hard-headed realists testify to the strength and skill and resourcefulness of the generals and the men whom we must beat before final victory is won.

The war is now reaching the stage where we shall have to look forward to large casualty lists — dead, wounded and missing.
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American boys are fighting today in snow-covered mountains, in malarial jungles, and on blazing deserts, they are fighting on the far stretches of the sea and above the clouds, and the thing for which they struggle is best symbolized by the message that came out of Bethlehem.

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And we ask that God receive and cherish those who have given their lives, and that He keep them in honor and in the grateful memory of their countrymen forever.
God bless all of you who fight our battles on this Christmas Eve.

God bless us all. God keep us strong in our faith that we fight for a better day for human kind — here and everywhere.
RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
HYDE PARK
DECEMBER 24, 1943

I have just returned from extensive journeyings in the region of the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia. I have conferred with the leaders of Britain and Russia and China on military matters of the present — especially on plans for stepping-up our successful attack on our enemies as quickly as possible and from many different points of the compass.

On this Christmas Eve there are over ten million men in the armed forces of the United States alone. One year ago 1,700,000 were serving overseas. Today, this figure has been more than doubled to 3,300,000 on duty overseas. By next July that number will rise to over 5,000,000.
That this is truly a World War was demonstrated when arrangements were made with our overseas broadcasting agencies for time to speak today to our soldiers, sailors, marines and merchant seamen in every part of the world. In fixing the time for the broadcast we took into consideration that at this moment here in the United States, and in the Caribbean and on the Northeast Coast of South America, it is afternoon. In Alaska and in Hawaii and the mid-Pacific, it is still morning. In Iceland, in Great Britain, in North Africa, in Italy and the Middle East, it is now evening.

In the Southwest Pacific, in Australia, in China and Burma and India, it is already Christmas Day. We can correctly say that at this moment, in those far eastern parts where Americans are fighting, today is tomorrow.

But everywhere throughout the world -- throughout this war which covers the world -- there is a special spirit which has warmed our hearts since our earliest childhood --
a spirit which brings us close to our homes, our families, our
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And even this year, we still have much to face in the
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Our men, who have been through the fierce battles in the
Solomons, the Gilberts, Tunisia and Italy know, from their
experience and knowledge of modern war, that many bigger and
costlier battles are still to be fought.
But -- on Christmas Eve this year -- I can say to you that at last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that, however great the cost, "peace on earth, good will toward men" can be and will be realized and ensured. This year I can say that. Last year I could not do more than express a hope. Today I express a certainty -- though the cost may be high and the time may be long.

Within the past year -- within the past few weeks -- history has been made, and it is far better history for the whole human race than any that we have known, or even dared to hope for, in these tragic times through which we pass.

A great beginning was made in the Moscow conference in October by Mr. Molotov, Mr. Eden and our own Mr. Hull. There and then the way was paved for the later meetings.

At Cairo and Teheran we devoted ourselves not only to military matters, we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future -- to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this war.
Of course, as you all know, Mr. Churchill and I have happily met many times before, and we know and understand each other very well. Indeed, Mr. Churchill has become known and beloved by many millions of Americans, and the heartfelt prayers of all of us have been with this great citizen of the world in his recent serious illness.

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in the Pacific and in the rest of the world is the permanent elimination of the Empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression. Never again must our soldiers and sailors and marines be compelled to fight from island to island as they are fighting so gallantly and so successfully today.

Increasingly powerful forces are now hammering at the Japanese at many points over an enormous arc which curves down through the Pacific from the Aleutians to the jungles of Burma. Our own Army and Navy, our Air Forces, the Australians and New Zealanders, the Dutch, and the British land, air and sea forces are all forming a band of steel which is closing in on Japan.

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The American people have had every reason to know that this is a tough, destructive war. On my trip abroad, I talked with many military men who had faced our enemies in the field. These hard-headed realists testify to the strength and skill and resourcefulness of the enemy generals and men whom we must beat before final victory is won. The war is now reaching the stage where we shall have to look forward to large casualty lists — dead, wounded and missing.

War entails just that. There is no easy road to victory. And the end is not yet in sight.
I have been back only for a week. It is fair that I should tell you my impression. I think I see a tendency in some of our people here to assume a quick ending of the war — that we have already gained the victory. And, perhaps as a result of this false reasoning, I think I discern an effort to resume or even encourage an outbreak of partisan thinking and talking. I hope I am wrong. For, surely, our first and foremost tasks are all concerned with winning the war and winning a just peace that will last for generations.

The massive offensives which are in the making — both in Europe and the Far East — will require every ounce of energy and fortitude that we and our Allies can summon on the fighting fronts and in all the workshops at home. As I have said before, you cannot order up a great attack on a Monday and demand that it be delivered on Saturday.
Less than a month ago I flew in a big Army transport plane over the little town of Bethlehem, in Palestine.

Tonight, on Christmas Eve, all men and women everywhere who love Christmas are thinking of that ancient town and of the star of faith that shone there more than nineteen centuries ago.

American boys are fighting today in snow-covered mountains, in malarial jungles, and on blazing deserts, they are fighting on the far stretches of the sea and above the clouds, and the thing for which they struggle is best symbolized by the message that came out of Bethlehem.

On behalf of the American people — your own people — I send this Christmas message to you who are in our armed forces:

In our hearts are prayers for you and for all your comrades in arms who fight to rid the world of evil.

We ask God's blessing upon you — upon your fathers and mothers, wives and children — all your loved ones at home.
We ask that the comfort of God's grace shall be granted
to those who are sick and wounded, and to those who are
prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy, waiting for the
day when they will again be free.

And we ask that God receive and cherish those who have
given their lives, and that He keep them in honor and in the
grateful memory of their countrymen forever.

God bless all of you who fight our battles on this
Christmas Eve.

God bless us all. God keep us strong in our faith that
we fight for a better day for human kind — here and everywhere.

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The following address of the President, to be broadcast from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York, is for release in all newspapers appearing on the streets not earlier than three o'clock P.M., E.W.T., Friday, December 24, 1943.

The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

WILLIAM D. HASSELT
RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
HYDE PARK
DECEMBER 24, 1943

I have just returned from extensive journeyings in the region of the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia. I have conferred with the leaders of Britain and Russia and China on military matters of the present — especially on plans for stepping-up our successful attack on our enemies as quickly as possible and from many different points of the compass.

On this Christmas Eve there are over ten million men in the armed forces of the United States alone. One year ago 1,700,000 were serving overseas. Today, this figure has been more than doubled to 3,800,000 on duty overseas. By next July that number will rise to over 5,000,000.
That this is truly a World War was demonstrated when arrangements were made with our overseas broadcasting agencies for time to speak today to our soldiers, sailors, marines and merchant seamen in every part of the world. In fixing the time for the broadcast we took into consideration that at this moment here in the United States, and in the Caribbean and on the Northeast Coast of South America, it is afternoon. In Alaska and in Hawaii and the mid-Pacific, it is still morning. In Iceland, in Great Britain, in North Africa, in Italy and the Middle East, it is now evening.

In the Southwest Pacific, in Australia, in China and Burma and India, it is already Christmas Day. We can correctly say that at this moment, in those far eastern parts where Americans are fighting, today is tomorrow.

But everywhere throughout the world -- throughout this war which covers the world -- there is a special spirit which has warmed our hearts since our earliest childhood --
a spirit which brings us close to our homes, our families, our
friends and neighbors — the Christmas spirit of "peace on
earth, good will toward men".

During the past years of international gangsterism and
brutal aggression in Europe and in Asia, our Christmas
celebrations have been darkened with apprehension for the
future. We have said, "Merry Christmas — Happy New Year",
but we have known in our hearts that the clouds which have
hung over our world have prevented us from saying it with full
sincerity and conviction.

And even this year, we still have much to face in the
way of further suffering, and sacrifice, and personal tragedy.
Our men, who have been through the fierce battles in the
Solomons, the Gilberts, Tunisia and Italy know, from their
experience and knowledge of modern war, that many bigger and
costlier battles are still to be fought.
But -- on Christmas Eve this year -- I can say to you that at last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that, however great the cost, "peace on earth, good will toward men" can be and will be realized and ensured. This year I can say that. Last year I could not do more than express a hope. Today I express a certainty -- though the cost may be high and the time may be long.

Within the past year -- within the past few weeks -- history has been made, and it is far better history for the whole human race than any that we have known, or even dared to hope for, in these tragic times through which we pass.

A great beginning was made in the Moscow conference in October by Mr. Molotov, Mr. Eden and our own Mr. Hull. There and then the way was paved for the later meetings.

At Cairo and Teheran we devoted ourselves not only to military matters, we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future -- to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this war.
Of course, as you all know, Mr. Churchill and I have happily met many times before, and we know and understand each other very well. Indeed, Mr. Churchill has become known and beloved by many millions of Americans, and the heartfelt prayers of all of us have been with this great citizen of the world in his recent serious illness.

The Cairo and Teheran conferences, however, gave me my first opportunity to meet the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, and Marshal Stalin -- and to sit down at the table with these unconquerable men and talk with them face to face. We had planned to talk to each other across the table at Cairo and Teheran; but we soon found that we were all on the same side of the table. We came to the conferences with faith in each other. But we needed the personal contact. And now we have supplemented faith with definite knowledge.
It was well worth travelling thousands of miles over land and sea to bring about this personal meeting, and to gain the heartening assurance that we are absolutely agreed with one another on all the major objectives — and on the military means of obtaining them.

At Cairo, Prime Minister Churchill and I spent four days with the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek. It was the first time that we had had an opportunity to go over the complex situation in the Far East with him personally. We were able not only to settle upon definite military strategy, but also to discuss certain long-range principles which we believe can assure peace in the Far East for many generations to come.

Those principles are as simple as they are fundamental. They involve the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners, and the recognition of the rights of millions of people in the Far East to build up their own forms of self-government without molestation. Essential to all peace and security
in the Pacific and in the rest of the world is the permanent elimination of the Empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression. Never again must our soldiers and sailors and marines be compelled to fight from island to island as they are fighting so gallantly and so successfully today.

Increasingly powerful forces are now hammering at the Japanese at many points over an enormous arc which curves down through the Pacific from the Aleutians to the jungles of Burma. Our own Army and Navy, our Air Forces, the Australians and New Zealanders, the Dutch, and the British land, air and sea forces are all forming a band of steel which is closing in on Japan.

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I met in the Generalissimo a man of great vision and great courage, and remarkably keen understanding of the problems of today and tomorrow. We discussed all the manifold military plans for striking at Japan with decisive force from many directions, and I believe I can say that he returned to Chungking with the positive assurance of total victory over our common enemy. Today we and the Republic of China are closer together than ever before in deep friendship and in unity of purpose.

After the Cairo conference, Mr. Churchill and I went by airplane to Teheran. There we met with Marshal Stalin.
We talked with complete frankness on every conceivable subject connected with the winning of the war and the establishment of a durable peace after the war.

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The Commander selected to lead the combined attack from these other points is General Dwight D. Eisenhower. His performances in Africa, Sicily and Italy have been brilliant. He knows by practical and successful experience the way to coordinate air, sea and land power. All these will be under his control. Lieutenant General Carl D. Spaatz
will command the entire American strategic bombing force operating against Germany.

General Eisenhower gives up his command in the Mediterranean to a British officer whose name is being announced by Mr. Churchill. We now pledge that new Commander that our powerful ground, sea and air forces in the vital Mediterranean area will stand by his side until every objective in that bitter theatre is attained.

Both of these new Commanders will have American and British subordinate Commanders whose names will be announced in a few days.

During the last two days at Teheran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and I looked ahead to the days and months and years which will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that Germany must be stripped of her military might and be given no opportunity within the foreseeable future to regain that might.
The United Nations have no intention to enslave the
German people. We wish them to have a normal chance to develop,
in peace, as useful and respectable members of the European
family. But we most certainly emphasize that word "respectable" --
for we intend to rid them once and for all of Nazism and
Prussian militarism and the fantastic and disastrous notion
that they constitute the "Master Race".

We did discuss international relationships from the
point of view of big, broad objectives, rather than details.
But on the basis of what we did discuss, I can say even today
that I do not think any insoluble differences will arise among
Russia, Great Britain and the United States.

In these conferences we were concerned with basic
principles -- principles which involve the security and the
welfare and the standard of living of human beings in countries
large and small.
To use an American and ungrammatical colloquialism, I may say that I "got along fine" with Marshal Stalin. He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a stalwart good humor. I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia; and I believe that we are going to get along well with him and the Russian people -- very well indeed.

Britain, Russia, China and the United States and their Allies represent more than three-quarters of the total population of the earth. As long as these four nations with great military power stick together in determination to keep the peace there will be no possibility of an aggressor nation arising to start another world war.

But those four powers must be united with and cooperate with all the freedom-loving peoples of Europe, and Asia, and Africa and the Americas. The rights of every nation, large or small, must be respected and guarded as jealously as are the rights of every individual within our own republic.
The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the doctrine of our enemies — and we reject it.

But, at the same time, we are agreed that if force is necessary to keep international peace, international force will be applied — for as long as it may be necessary.

It has been our steady policy — and it is certainly a common sense policy — that the right of each nation to freedom must be measured by the willingness of that nation to fight for freedom. And today we salute our unseen allies in occupied countries — the underground resistance groups and the armies of liberation. They will provide potent forces against our enemies, when the day of invasion comes.

Through the development of science the world has become so much smaller that we have had to discard the geographical yardsticks of the past. For instance, through our early history the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were believed to be walls of
safety for the United States. Time and distance made it physically possible for us and for the other American Republics to obtain and maintain our independence against infinitely stronger powers. Until recently very few people, even military experts, thought that the day could ever come when we might have to defend our Pacific Coast against Japanese threats of invasion.

At the outbreak of the first World War relatively few people thought that our ships and shipping would be menaced by German submarines on the high seas or that the German militarists would ever attempt to dominate any nation outside of central Europe.

After the Armistice in 1918, we thought and hoped that the militaristic philosophy of Germany had been crushed; and being full of the milk of human kindness we spent the next fifteen years disarming, while the Germans whined so pathetically that the other nations permitted them — and even helped them — to rearm.
For too many years we lived on pious hopes that aggressor
and warlike nations would learn and understand and carry out
the doctrine of purely voluntary peace.

The well-intentioned but ill-fated experiments of former
years did not work. It is my hope that we will not try them
again. No -- that is too weak -- it is my intention to do all
that I humanly can as President and Commander-in-Chief to see
to it that these tragic mistakes shall not be made again.

There have always been cheerful idiots in this country
who believed that there would be no more war for us, if everybody
in America would only return into their homes and lock their
front doors behind them. Assuming that their motives were of
the highest, events have shown how unwilling they were to face
the facts.

The overwhelming majority of all the people in the
world want peace. Most of them are fighting for the attainment
of peace -- not just a truce, not just an armistice --
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is it not good logic that we should use force if necessary,
in the future, to keep the peace?

I believe, and I think I can say, that the other three
great nations who are fighting so magnificently to gain peace
are in complete agreement that we must be prepared to keep
the peace by force. If the people of Germany and Japan are
made to realize thoroughly that the world is not going to
let them break out again, it is possible, and, I hope,
probably, that they will abandon the philosophy of aggression —
the belief that they can gain the whole world even at the
risk of losing their own souls.

I shall have more to say about the Cairo and Teheran
conferences when I make my report to the Congress in about
two weeks' time. And, on that occasion, I shall also have
a great deal to say about certain conditions here at home.
But today I wish to say that in all my travels, at home and abroad, it is the sight of our soldiers and sailors and their magnificent achievements which have given me the greatest inspiration and the greatest encouragement for the future.

To the members of our armed forces, to their wives, mothers and fathers, I want to affirm the great faith and confidence we have in General Marshall and Admiral King who direct all of our armed might throughout the world. Upon them falls the great responsibility of planning the strategy of determining when and where we shall fight. Both of these men have already gained high places in American history, which will record many evidences of their military genius that cannot be published today.

Some of our men overseas are now spending their third Christmas far from home. To them and to all others overseas or soon to go overseas, I can give assurance that it is the purpose of our Government to win this war and to bring them home at the earliest possible date.
And we here in the United States had better be sure that
when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an
America in which they are given full opportunities for
education, rehabilitation, social security, employment and
business enterprise under the free American system — and that
they will find a Government which, by their votes as American
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To the members of our armed forces, to their wives, mothers and fathers, I want to affirm the great faith and confidence we have in General Marshall and Admiral King who direct all of our armed might throughout the world. Upon them falls the great responsibility of planning the strategy of determining when and where we shall fight. Both of these men have already gained high places in American history, which will record many evidences of their military genius that cannot be published today.

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And we here in the United States had better be sure that when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an America in which they are given full opportunities for education, rehabilitation, social security, employment and business enterprise under the Free American system -- and that they will find a Government which, by their votes as American citizens, they have had a full share in electing.

The American people have had every reason to know that this is a tough, destructive war. On my trip abroad, I talked with many military men who had faced our enemies in the field. These hard-headed realists testify to the strength and skill and resourcefulness of the enemy generals and men whom we must beat before final victory is won. The war is now reaching the stage where we shall have to look forward to large casualty lists -- dead, wounded and missing.

War entails just that. There is no easy road to victory. And the end is not yet in sight.

I have been back only for a week. It is fair that I should tell you my impression. I think I see a tendency in some of our people here to assume a quick ending of the war -- that we have already gained the victory. And, perhaps as a result of this false reasoning, I think I discern an effort to resume or even encourage an outbreak of partisan thinking and talking. For, surely, our first and foremost task is all concerned with winning the war and winning a just peace that will last for generations.

The massive offensives which are in the making -- both in Europe and the Far East -- will require every ounce of energy and fortitude that we and our Allies can summon on the fighting fronts and in all the workshops at home. As I have said before, you cannot order up a great attack on a Monday and demand that it be delivered on Saturday.

Less than a month ago I flew in a big Army transport plane over the little town of Bethlehem, in Palestine.

Tonight, on Christmas Eve, all men and women everywhere who love Christmas are thinking of that ancient town and of the star of faith that shone there more than nineteen centuries ago.

American boys are fighting today in snow-covered mountains, in malarial jungles, and on blazing deserts, they are fighting on the far stretches of the sea and above the clouds, and the thing for which they struggle is best symbolized by the message that came out of Bethlehem.

On behalf of the American people -- your own people -- I send this Christmas message to you who are in our armed forces:

In our hearts are prayers for you and for all your comrades in arms who fight to rid the world of evil.

We ask God's blessing upon you — upon your fathers and mothers, wives and children — all your loved ones at home.

We ask that the comfort of God's grace shall be granted to those who are sick and wounded, and to those who are prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy, waiting for the day when they will again be free.

And we ask that God receive and cherish those who have given their lives, and that He keep them in honor and in the grateful memory of their countrymen forever.

God bless all of you who fight our battles on this Christmas Eve.

God bless us all. God keep us strong in our faith that we fight for a better day for human kind — here and everywhere.
My Friends:

I have just returned from extensive journeyings in the
region of the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia.
I have conferred with the leaders of Britain and Russia and China
on military matters of the present — especially on plans for
stepping-up our successful attack on our enemies as quickly as
possible and from many different points of the compass.

On this Christmas Eve there are over ten million men
in the armed forces of the United States alone. One year ago
1,700,000 were serving overseas. Today, this figure has been
more than doubled to 3,000,000 on duty overseas. By next July
that number will rise to over 5,000,000 men and women.

That this is truly a World War was demonstrated when
arrangements were made with our overseas broadcasting agencies
for time to speak today to our soldiers, sailors, marines and
merchant seamen in every part of the world. In fixing the time
for this broadcast we took into consideration that at this moment
here in the United States and in the Caribbean and on the Northeast
Coast of South America, it is afternoon. In Alaska and in Hawaii
and the mid-Pacific, it is still morning. In Iceland, in Great
Britain, in North Africa, in Italy and the Middle East, it is now
evening.

In the Southwest Pacific, in Australia, in China and
Burma and India, it is already Christmas Day. We can correctly
say that at this moment, in those far eastern parts where Americans
are fighting, today is tomorrow.

But everywhere throughout the world — throughout this
war which covers the world — there is a special spirit which has
warmed our hearts since our earliest childhood — a spirit which
brings us close to our homes, our families, our friends and
neighbors — the Christmas spirit of "peace on earth, good will
toward men." It is an impossible spirit.

During the past years of international gangsterism and
brutal aggression in Europe and in Asia, our Christmas celebra-
tions have been darkened with apprehension for the future. We
have said, "Merry Christmas and Happy New Year," but we have known
in our hearts that the clouds which have hung over our world have
prevented us from saying it with full sincerity and conviction.
And even this year, we still have much to face in the way of further suffering, and sacrifice, and personal tragedy. Our men, who have been through the fierce battles in the Solomons, the Gilberts, Tunisia and Italy know, from their own experience and knowledge of modern war, that many bigger and costlier battles are still to be fought.

But -- on Christmas Eve this year -- I can say to you that at last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that, however great the cost, "peace on earth, good will toward men" can be and will be realized and ensured. This year I can say that. Last year I could not do more than express a hope. Today I express a certainty -- though the cost may be high and the time may be long.

Within the past year -- within the past few weeks -- history has been made, and it is far better history for the whole human race than any that we have known, or even dared to hope for, in these tragic times through which we pass.

A great beginning was made in the Moscow conference in October by Mr. Molotov, Mr. Eden and our own Mr. Hull. There and then the way was paved for the later meetings.

At Cairo and Teheran we devoted ourselves not only to military matters, we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future -- to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this war.

Of course, as you all know, Mr. Churchill and I have happily at many times before, and we know and understand each other very well. Indeed, Mr. Churchill has become known and beloved by many millions of Americans, and the heartfelt prayers of all of us have been with this great citizen of the world in his recent serious illness.

The Cairo and Teheran conferences, however, gave me my first opportunity to meet the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, and Marshal Stalin -- and to sit down at the table with these unconquerable men and talk with them face to face. We had planned to talk to each other across the table at Cairo and Teheran; but we soon found that we were all on the same side of the table. We came to the conferences with faith in each other. But we needed the personal contact. And now we have supplemented faith with definite knowledge.

It was well worth travelling thousands of miles over land and sea to bring about this personal meeting, and to gain the heartening assurance that we are absolutely agreed with one another on all the major objectives -- and on the military means of obtaining them.

At Cairo, Prime Minister Churchill and I spent four days with the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek. It was the first time that we had had an opportunity to go over the complex situation in the Far East with him personally. We were able not only to settle upon definite military strategy, but also to discuss certain long-range principles which we believe can assure peace in the Far East for many generations to come.

Those principles are as simple as they are fundamental. They involve the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners, and the recognition of the rights of millions of people in the Far East to build up their own form of self-government without molestation. Essential to all peace and security in the Pacific and in the rest of the world is the permanent elimination of the Empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression. Never again must our soldiers and sailors and marines be compelled to fight from island to island as they are fighting so gallantly and so successfully today.

(And other soldiers, sailors, and marines)
Increasingly powerful forces are now hammering at the Japanese at many points over an enormous arc which curves down through the Pacific from the Aleutians to the jungles of Burma. Our own Army and Navy, our Air Forces, the Australians and New Zealanders, the Dutch, and the British land, air and sea forces are all forming a band of steel which is closing in on Japan.

And on the mainland of Asia, under the Generalissimo's leadership, the Chinese ground and air forces augmented by American air forces are playing a vital part in starting the drive which will push the invaders into the sea.

Following out the military decisions at Cairo, General Marshall has just flown around the world and has had conferences with General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz -- conferences which will spell plenty of bad news for the Japs in the not too far distant future.

I met in the Generalissimo a man of great vision, and great courage, and remarkably keen understanding of the problems of today and tomorrow. We discussed all the manifold military plans for striking at Japan with decisive force from many directions, and believe I can say that he returned to Chungking with the positive assurance of total victory over our common enemy. Today we and the Republic of China are closer together than ever before in deep friendship and in unity of purpose.

After the Cairo conference, Mr. Churchill and I went by airplane to Teheran. There we met with Marshal Stalin. We talked with complete frankness on every conceivable subject connected with the winning of the war and the establishment of a durable peace after the war.

Within three days of intense and consistently amicable discussions, we agreed on every point concerned with the launching of a gigantic attack upon Germany.

The Russian army will continue its stern offensives on Germany's Eastern Front, the allied armies in Italy and Africa will bring relentless pressure on Germany from the south, and now the encirclement will be complete as great American and British forces attack from other points of the compass.

The Commander selected to lead the combined attack from these other points is General Dwight D. Eisenhower. His performances in Africa, Sicily and Italy have been brilliant. He knows by practical and successful experience the way to coordinate air, sea and land power. All these will be under his control. Lieutenant General Carl-Lo Spatz will command the entire American strategic bombing force operating against Germany.

General Eisenhower gives up his command in the Mediterranean to a British officer whose name is being announced by Mr. Churchill. We now pledge that new Commander that our powerful ground, sea and air forces in the vital Mediterranean area will stand by his side until every objective in that bitter theatre is attained.

Both of these new Commanders will have American and British subordinate Commanders whose names will be announced in a few days.

During the last two days at Teheran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and I looked ahead to the days and months and years which will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that Germany must be stripped of her military might and be given no opportunity within the foreseeable future to regain that might.
The United Nations have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have a normal chance to develop, in peace, as useful and respectable members of the European family. But we most certainly emphasize that word "respectable" — for we intend to rid them once and for all of Nazism and Prussian militarism and the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute the "Master Race."

We did discuss international relationships from the point of view of big, broad objectives, rather than details. But on the basis of what we did discuss, I can say even today that I do not think any insoluble differences will arise among Russia, Great Britain and the United States.

In these conferences we were concerned with basic principles — principles which involve the security and the welfare and the standard of living of human beings in countries large and small.

To use an American and ungrammatical colloquialism, I may say that I "got along fine" with Marshal Stalin. He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a stalwart good humor. I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia; and I believe that we are going to get along well with him and the Russian people — very well indeed.

Britain, Russia, China and the United States and their Allies represent more than three-quarters of the total population of the earth. As long as these four nations with great military power stick together in determination to keep the peace there will be no possibility of an aggressor nation arising to start another world war.

But those four powers must be united with and cooperate with each the freedom-loving peoples of Europe, and Asia, and Africa and the Americas. The rights of every nation, large or small, must be respected and guarded as jealously as are the rights of every individual within our own republic.

The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the doctrine of our enemies — and we reject it.

But, at the same time, we are agreed that if force is necessary to keep international peace, international force will be applied — for as long as it may be necessary.

It has been our steady policy — and it is certainly a common sense policy — that the right of each nation to freedom must be measured by the willingness of that nation to fight for freedom. And today we salute our unseen allies in occupied countries — the underground resistance groups and the armies of liberation. They will provide potent forces against our enemies, when the day of invasion comes.

Through the development of science the world has become so much smaller that we have had to discard the geographical yardsticks of the past. For instance, through our early history the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were believed to be walls of safety for the United States. Time and distance made it physically possible for us and for the other American Republics to obtain and maintain our independence against infinitely stronger powers. Until recently very few people, even military experts, thought that the day would ever come when we might have to defend our Pacific Coast against Japanese threats of invasion.

At the outbreak of the First World War relatively few people thought that our ships and shipping would be menaced by German submarines on the high seas or that the German militarists would ever attempt to dominate any nation outside of central Europe.
After the Armistice in 1918, we thought and hoped that the militaristic philosophy of Germany had been crushed; and being full of the milk of human kindness, we spent the next 20 years dreaming, while the Germans whined so pathetically that the other nations permitted them -- and even helped them -- to roam.

For too many years we lived on pious hopes that aggressor and warlike nations would learn and understand and carry out the doctrine of purely voluntary peace.

The well-intentioned but ill-fated experiments of former years did not work. It is my hope that we will not try them again. No -- that is too weakly -- it is my intention to do all that I humanly can as President and Commander-in-Chief to see to it that these tragic mistakes shall not be made again.

There have always been cheerful idiots in this country who believed that there would be no more war for us, if everybody in America would only return into their homes and look their front doors behind them. Assuming that their motives were of the highest, events have shown how unwilling they were to face the facts.

The overwhelming majority of all the people in the world want peace. Most of them are fighting for the attainment of peace -- not just a truce, not just an armistice -- but peace that is as strongly enforced and as durable as mortal man can make it. If we are willing to fight for peace now, is it not good logic that we should use force if necessary, in the future, to keep the peace?

I believe, and I think I can say, that the other three great nations who are fighting so magnificently to gain peace are in complete agreement that we must be prepared to keep the peace by force. If the people of Germany and Japan are made to realize thoroughly that the world is not going to let them break out again, it is possible, and, I hope, probable, that they will abandon the philosophy of aggression -- the belief that they can gain the whole world even at the risk of losing their own souls.

I shall have more to say about the Cairo and Teheran conferences when I make my report to the Congress in about two weeks time. And, on that occasion, I shall also have a great deal to say about certain conditions here at home.

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I shall have more to say about the Cairo and Teheran conferences when I make my report to the Congress in about two weeks' time. And, on that occasion, I shall also have a great deal to say about certain conditions here at home.

But today I wish to say that in all my travels, at home and abroad, it is the sight of our soldiers and sailors and their magnificent achievements which have given me the greatest inspiration and the greatest encouragement for the future.

To the members of our armed forces, to their wives, mothers and fathers, I want to affirm the great faith and confidence we have in General Marshall and Admiral King who direct all of our armed might throughout the world. Upon them falls the greatest responsibility of planning the strategy and determining where we shall fight. Both of these men have already gained high places in American history, which will record many evidences of their military genius that cannot be published today.

Some of our men overseas are now spending their third Christmas far from home. To them and to all others overseas or soon to go overseas, I can give assurance that it is the purpose of their Government to win this war and to bring them home at the earliest possible date.
We are here in the United States had better be sure that when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an America in which they are given full opportunities for education, rehabilitation, social security, employment and business enterprise under the free American system — and that they will find a Government which, by their votes as American citizens, they have had a full share in electing.

The American people have had every reason to know that this is a tough, destructive war. On my trip abroad, I talked with many military men who had faced our enemies in the field. These hard-headed realists testify to the strength and skill and resourcefulness of the enemy generals and men whom we must beat before final victory is won. The war is now reaching the stage where we shall have to look forward to large casualty lists — dead, wounded and missing.

War entails just that. There is no easy road to victory. And the end is not yet in sight.

I have been back only a week. It is fair that I should tell you my impression. I think I see a tendency in some of our people here to assume a quick ending of the war — that we have already gained the victory. And, perhaps as a result of this false reasoning, I think I discern an effort to resume or even encourage an outbreak of partisan thinking and talking. I hope I am wrong. For, surely, our first and foremost tasks are all concerned with winning the war and winning a just peace that will last for generations.

The massive offensives which are in the making — both in Europe and the Far East — will require every ounce of energy and fortitude that we and our Allies can summon on the fighting fronts and in all the workshops at home. As I have said before, you cannot order up a great attack on a Monday and demand that it be delivered on Saturday.

Less than a month ago I flew in a big Army transport plane over the little town of Bethlehem, in Palestine.

Tonight, on Christmas Eve, all men and women everywhere who love Christmas are thinking of that ancient town and of the star of faith that shone there more than nineteen centuries ago.

American boys are fighting today in snow-covered mountains, in malarial jungles, and on blazing deserts, they are fighting on the far stretches of the sea and above the clouds, and the thing which they struggle's best symbolized by the message that came out of Bethlehem.

On behalf of the American people — your own people — I send this Christmas message to you who are in our armed forces:

In our hearts are prayers for you and for all your comrades in arms who fight to rid the world of evil.

We ask God's blessing upon you — upon your fathers and mothers, upon your wives and children — all your loved ones at home.

We ask that the comfort of God's grace shall be granted to those who are sick and wounded, and to those who are prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy, waiting for the day when they will again be free.

And we ask that God receive and cherish those who have given their lives, and that He keep them in honor and in the grateful memory of their countrymen forever.

God bless all of you who fight our battles on this Christmas Eve.

God bless us all. God keep us strong in our faith that we fight for a better day for human kind — here and everywhere.
CHRISTMAS MESSAGE
December 24, 1943
Teheran Report - Christmas Message - Dec. 24, 1943

First Draft - 13 page carbon - no corrections  
Second Draft - 2 carbon copies - (1) 8 pages - (2) 5 pages - no corrections (8-page is a second draft of a preparatory 2nd draft)  
Third Draft - 10 carbon pages - S.I.R. corrections  
Fourth Draft - 13 carbon pages - S.I.R. corrections and doodles  
Fifth Draft - 17 carbon pages - no corrections  
Sixth Draft - 10 carbon pages - corrections ? (probably Dorothy Brady conforming)  
Seventh Draft - 17 carbon pages - S.I.R. corrections  


Suggestion for the speech from Wilson Brown, President’s Naval Aid  

Important memo for Judge Rosenman - 4 pages - on back of Western Union Message Blanks - marked with an insert (A) but no other notations - given to Judge Rosenman by Charles Duran who had accompanied the President to Teheran and Cairo  

2-page memo from Oscar Cox