

December 24, 1943

[Christmas Message]

FDR Speech File

FIRST DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

WILLY PARK

DECEMBER 24, 1943

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.



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WILLY PARK, N. Y.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenberg

FIRST DRAFT

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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.



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FIRST DRAFT

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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. So 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. Nothink 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,



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FIRST DRAFT

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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 since 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



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PILOT DRAFT

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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



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FINAL DRAFT

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crosses 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 news 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 accepted 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.



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FIRST DRAFT

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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



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FINAL LEAF

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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 objective 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.



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First Draft

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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 conquerer 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 man 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.



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From the Papers of
SERIAL T. ROOSEVELT

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".



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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.



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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 magnifiers 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



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FIRST DRAFT

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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.



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SECOND DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

HYDE PARK

DECEMBER 24, 1943

I have returned from extensive journeyings in the regions around the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia. 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 as many points of the compass as we can.

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 whose individual success is as important in the total winning of the war as the success of Britain and America.

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 our hopes and prayers have been with him in his recent serious illness.

The Cairo and Tehran conferences, however, gave me my first opportunity to meet the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Marshal Stalin —



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SECOND DRAFT

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and to sit down at the table with these great fighting 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 all the travelling over thousands of miles to bring about this personal meeting and continuous conference and planning. 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 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 self-government. Essential to all peace and security in the Pacific is the elimination of the Empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression to the rest of the world -- clipping Japan and its militaristic leaders of its power to grab territory or to enslave other people in the years to come.

Then Mr. Churchill and I went by airplane to Tientsin. There



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SECOND DRAFT

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we had a very fruitful four days with Marshal Stalin, who was accompanied by Mr. Molotov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Marshal Voroshilov, a great leader in the Soviet Army. We spent many hours surveying the total military picture — all over the world — and we came to decisions about future operations which were satisfactory to everybody — except, I am sure, to our enemies. We are, of course, not announcing these decisions to our enemies — as yet. In the meantime I advise you not to pay too much attention to the so-called military experts who write for the papers or whom you hear over the radio. Not one of them has knowledge of the actual decisions. You will have to take my official word for it that the plans unanimously adopted at Teheran will be carried forward with all the united strength and power and military skill which all the United Nations possess.

Today, on Christmas Eve, I believe that we can look forward to the New Year /with far more confidence than on any Christmas Eve within the past ten years. I believe we now look forward to a world in which the forces of evil aggression are receding — a world which is now moving surely toward the attainment of a just, enduring peace.

The conferences in Cairo and Teheran were satisfactory — extremely so. To me, and I believe to all others who participated, they were immensely heartening.



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SECOND DEPT

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Real accord was reached, and that accord is of inestimable historic significance. After all, the Russians, the Chinese, the British and ourselves collectively represent and are fighting for nearly three quarters of all the people of this world.

The united strength and determination thus represented means that we are going to win this war and that we are going to keep the peace even though, for a while after the war ends, we have to keep the peace by force.

This time when we clean out the enemy we are going to clean them out thoroughly so that they cannot start another war.

Such was our purpose in the conference at Cairo as regards our Japanese enemies.

Such was our purpose in the conference at Teheran as regards our German enemies.

These two war-breeding nations, Japan and Germany, must cease to be constant menaces to the security and well being of the rest of mankind. At Cairo and Teheran there was solemn agreement that these purposes must be and will be fulfilled.

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 cer-



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SECOND DRAFT

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tain conditions here at home.

But today, on Christmas Eve, the thoughts and the hopes of the American people are with the gallant men and women in our armed forces. And 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.



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SECOND DRAFT

This is 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."

For many 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.



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SECOND DRAFT

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And this year, we will 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 now at last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that "peace on earth, good will to 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 stopping up of our relentless attacks on our enemies with constantly increasing force and from as many points of the compass as we can. 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



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SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

SECOND DRAFT

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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 fighting 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 all 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



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SECOND DRAFT

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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 elimination 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 stature, great vision, 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.

The Chinese people who were the first to feel the brunt of international gangsterism and who were compelled to resist at first almost with their bare hands, will under his leadership, play their full part in driving



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SECOND DRAFT

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the invaders into the sea. There will be no let-down in China. 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 Tcheran. 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 forces from the Russian front, on 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



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SECOND DRAFT

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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.

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," and to strip them of all their power ever again to try to show that they are.

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.



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From the Papers of
General I. Dorneman

SECOND DRAFT

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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 necessary to keep the peace, force will be applied, for as long as may be necessary.



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From the Papers of
SAMUEL I. ROOSEVELT

SECOND DRAFT

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

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 com-
rades 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 who are prisoners of war in the
hands of the enemy and 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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

THIRD DRAFT

War is not
over -

Jim *

Cheerful
ideals

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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

THIRD DRAFT

- 2 -

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 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 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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

THIRD DRAFT

- 3 -

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 ^{millions} ~~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 — ^{in general} and on the means of obtaining them. *Insert - see above*

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

See the
intro -
the date of
the note



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THIRD DRAFT

- 4 -

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 their own forms of self-government without molestation. Essential to all peace and security in the Pacific is the permanent elimination 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

THIRD DRAFT

- 5 -

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.

many thanks look up to
To



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THIRD DRAFT

- 6 -

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} 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 ^{may have been duped into believing} 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 insoluble differences will arise among the United Nations. We were concerned in these conferences with basic principles — principles



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THIRD DRAFT

- 7 -

which involve the security and the welfare and the standard of living of human beings in countries large and small.

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 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 these 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

*Written in my hand
10/1/45
Franklin*



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THIRD DRAFT

- 6 -

necessary to keep the paces, force will be applied, for as long as
may be necessary.

I shall have more to say about the Cairo and Tehran 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 Fifth 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 perfectly 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



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THIRD DRAFT

- 9 -

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 — both 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 what)

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

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 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.

THIRD DRAFT

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mother

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.



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FOURTH DRAFT

→ A See *Gene*
On this Christmas Eve, there are more than *million* men in the armed forces of the United States, of whom 3,600,000 are now on duty overseas.

For 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 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.



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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 Can Pietro, know that many bigger and costlier battles are still to be fought. (F)

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, however great the cost, "peace of earth, good will toward man" 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 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.

11/17
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 -- to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this war.

FOURTH DRAFT

- 3 -

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 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.

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 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



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SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL



- 4 -

FOURTH DRAFT

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.

These principles were as simple as they were fundamental -- to restore stolen property 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 is the permanent elimination 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.

Under the Generalissimo's leadership, 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. Tokyo itself will feel the result.

I met in the Generalissimo a man of great vision and great courage, and remarkably keen understanding of the problems of today and tomorrow. 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, and that today we and the Republic of



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 5 -

China are closer together than ever before in ^{new} 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 exorable 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 ^{ST-} from the East, from the Italian front, and from various other places in the north, south and in the west of the European continent.

There was complete satisfaction and agreement on all sides with these plans, and complete confidence that they will produce the necessary blows leading up to the ^{entire} knockout for Hitler and the Nazis and the whole Prussian military system which has caused so much death and destruction ^{and pain} 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 a normal chance to develop, in peace, as useful, 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 the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute the "Master Race."

may have been designed into
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 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 insoluble differences will arise among the United Nations. We were concerned in these conferences with basic principles — principles



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 7 -

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 approved.]

I may say that I got along ~~down~~ with Marshal Staling. 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 ^{very much better} 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 four 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-



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 8 -

trine of our enemies, and we reject it.

But — at the same time — we are agreed that if force is necessary to keep the 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 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 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



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 2 -

that the other nations let them — and even helped them — to re-arm.

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 well-intentioned but ill-fated experiment of former years did not work. It is my hope that we will ^{not try} ~~not try~~ 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 those 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 in the world 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



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 10 -

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 takes a generation or more.

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 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



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 11 -

war and to bring them home at the earliest possible date.

We all knew -- and the American people were 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 military strategy and actual combat. ^{These} 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.

Mr. Churchill, Marshal Stalin, and I and the Combined Chiefs of Staff -- have agreed that the Supreme Commander of the Anglo-American



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 12 -

forces in the impending invasion of Europe shall be _____.

(Guess who?)

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

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
salarial 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 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 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.

FOURTH DRAFT

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These are our prayers for those who fight our battles on this

Christmas Eve.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

FIFTH DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

HYDE PARK

DECEMBER 24, 1943

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. They 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.



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HYDE PARK, N. Y.

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FIFTH DRAFT

- 2 -

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 such fierce battles as Tientsin and San Pietro, know that many bigger and costlier battles are still to be fought -- far 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 that at last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that, however great the cost, "peace on



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FIFTH DRAFT

- 3 -

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 these 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 too much on faith -- faith that we were, all of us, seeking "the same ideals," but a faith which greatly lacked a knowledge of each other -- a meeting of the 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.



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FIFTH DRAFT

- 4 -

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 picaresque 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



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FIFTH DRAFT

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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 -- to restore stolen property to its rightful owners, and to guarantee to millions of people in the Far East the sovereign right to build



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FIFTH DRAFT

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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 positive part -- 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 ~~vixim~~ 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



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FIFTH DRAFT

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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. 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 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.



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FIFTH DRAFT

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It would be like telling a radio audience ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ 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, 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 the fantastic and disastrous notions that they constitute the "Master Race".



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FIFTH DRAFT

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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.

For 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.



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FIFTH DRAFT

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To use an ungrammatical 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.



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FIFTH DRAFT

- 11 -

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.



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FIFTH DRAFT

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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.



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FIFTH DRAFT

- 13 -

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.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

FIFTH DRAFT

- 14 -

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.



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Samuel I. Roseman

FIFTH DRAFT

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And we here in the United States had better be sure
that when our soldiers and sailors and
that when our sailors and do come home they will find an America
in which they are given full opportunities for education, re-
habilitation, employment, and social security and that they will
find a Government which they have shared fully in electing.

The American people have been frankly told by me 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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

FIFTH DRAFT

- 16 -

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.



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FIFTH DRAFT

- 17 -

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 who are prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy, waiting for the day when they will again be free.

(MOTHERS)

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.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

SIXTH DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

HYDE PARK

BOGEYER 24, 1945

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, ~~we are~~.

~~and~~ ^{we} ~~are~~ 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 ^{alone. 2 m will serve overseas. Total} ~~of whom~~ 3,800,000 are now on duty ~~overseas~~ ^{next July that number will rise to 5 million.}

That this is truly a World War was proved to me when I asked 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 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.



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 2 -

In the Southwest Pacific, in Australia, in China and India,^{Burma}
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 such fierce battles as Tarawa and Iwo Jima, 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



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 8 -

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. ~~47~~

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 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



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 4 -

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 great powers in this war made no national commitments in regard to post-war plans. I say this in ^{reliance} ~~disclosure~~ of those picaresque 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



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 54

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.

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 guarantee to millions of people in the Far East of the sovereign right to build



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 6 -

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 forces are playing a vital part in driving the invaders 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 and his valiant wife returned to Chungking with the positive



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 7 -

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 Tchernom. 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 storm offensives on Germany's eastern front — the allied armies in Italy ^{Germany} 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 attack is fixed.~~



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SILENCE DRAFT

- 8 -

the print

The Commander selected to lead the combined attack from

~~is~~ 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 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 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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SIXTH DRAFT

- 9 -

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, Prussian militarism and the fantastic and disastrous notions 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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SIXTH DRAFT

- 10 -

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 ^{understanding} ~~humor~~ 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 ^{a few} ~~these~~ 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 these 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.



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STUDY DRAFT

- 11 -

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.

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 Yugoslavia, 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 the other American Republics to obtain and maintain our independence against infinitely stronger powers. Until recently very few people,



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From the Papers of
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SIXTH DRAFT

- 12 -

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 then that with 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 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 it again. No -- that is too weak -- it is my intention to



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From the Papers of
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SIXTH DRAFT

- 13 -

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 return into their homes and lock the ^{if hat} 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



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Samuel I. Rosenberg

SIXTH DRAFT

- 14 -

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 at the risk of losing 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



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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.

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.

General Marshall's recent conferences with General MacArthur in the Southwest Pacific may be interpreted as indicating some bad news for Japan in the not too distant future.

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 end this war and to bring them home at the earliest possible date.



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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 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.



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From the Papers of
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SIXTH DRAFT

- 17 -

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 *where they struggled*

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.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

SIXTH DRAFT

- 18 -

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 will receive and cherish those
who have given their lives, and that He ~~will~~ 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} ~~hope~~ that
we fight for a better day for human kind -- here and everywhere.

- - - -



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From the Papers of
SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

SEVENTH DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

HYD. PARK

DECEMBER 24, 1943

DR.

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, 2,000,000 were serving overseas. Today 3,800,000 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 day} 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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SEVENTH DRAFT

- 2 -

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



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REVISED DRAFT

- 3 -

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 Teheran we devoted ourselves not only to military matters, we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future ~~to~~ 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 pious 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.]



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From the Papers of
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SEVENTH DRAFT

- 4 -

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.



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Seward, I. Roseman

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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From the Papers of
Samuel T. Rosenman

On the mainland of Asia, under the Generalissimo's leadership, the Chinese ground and air forces augmented by American air forces *start in the drive which will push* 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 air-planes 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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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

SEVENTH DRAFT

- 7 -

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.

He gives up his command in the Mediterranean to a British officer whose name is being announced by Mr. Churchill. We now pledge that now 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.



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SEVENTH DRAFT

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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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SEVENTH DRAFT

- 2 -

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 these 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.



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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 commonsense 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,



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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 voluntary peace.

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SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

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?

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SEVENTH DRAFT

- 13 -

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. That is a goal worth trying for.

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SEVENTH DRAFT

- 14 -

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 ^{entirely} 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 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 Germans and ~~the~~ ^{we} 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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SEVENTH DRAFT

- 15 -

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} thinking, 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 task is all concerned with winning the war and winning a just peace that will last for generations.

Massive offensives ^{have} 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



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SEVENTH DRAFT

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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 ~~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 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.



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SEVEN DI DRAFT

- 17 -

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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Samuel I. Rosenman

This is the first Christmas in ten years when we can view the coming of real peace with hope and assurance.

Ten years ago, Hitler and his evil henchmen came to power. War and world domination were their first aim.

The defeat of Hitler and Nazi Germany — and of Fascist Japan — are now certain and inevitable. Hard and tough fighting are still ahead of us, but the complete annihilation of our enemies — and the enemies of mankind and peace — are sure.

While abroad, I had some opportunity to see and talk with our troops who are now on foreign soil. I am thus able tonight to bring a message from our fighting men to their families as well as to broadcast on behalf of the American people to all our service personnel away from home.

The message I bring back with me is one of optimism and confidence. It is one of unselfish sacrifice and unheralded bravery. The boys at the front want you to know that the war goes well. They are on the march. Together with our gallant Russian, British and other Allies, they are striking at the heart of the hated Nazi power from the air, on land and on sea. Our full strength is yet to be thrown into the fight and that will come soon. The Nazis will be assaulted from all directions. There will be not only a second front on the West but many fronts from all sides of the compass. The days of Hitler are numbered. The armies of the United Nations are headed for Berlin. There is no power on earth that can stop them. I am sure that I can say the same for our troops in the Pacific Theatre. Our goal is Tokyo and we are on our way.

Our boys have the spirit of victory. Their morale is high. War is no mere romance to them. It is grim, serious business. It is a tough job which they are impatient to finish and get over with. They

have no illusions about the meaning of war. They know its hardships first hand. They do not talk about what they have been through or what is immediately ahead. They are anxious to have news of their families and are keenly interested in what goes on at home. I spoke to many of them and learned what they have on their minds. They are concerned mainly with three things: They want to win the war as effectively and as quickly as possible, an opportunity to resume their education and to obtain regular employment at decent wages when they return, and they want to have their families, their children and themselves able to live in peace, security and freedom, once this terrible war is over.

From the American people I want to convey some messages to our armed forces on this Christmas Eve. The American people are thinking many things about you which neither they nor I can adequately express. They want you to know that you come first in all the plans that are being made for the future. They want you to know that we all regard ourselves as trustees of our country and its institutions in your absence and that we are endeavoring to preserve and protect them to the best of our ability. Having been away from this country for more than a month and having seen the news items about conditions at home that are published abroad, I can well understand your anxiety about your homes and your families. I know that the American people want me to assure you that you must not take too seriously the gloomy predictions that are made of the imminent collapse of the home front.

The true sense and sure instinct of the people of America is not expressed by the small minority that indulges in war-profiteering, that engages in strikes, that evades price and rationing regulations, that places its own selfish interests above those of the country, or that creates dissention and disunity at home and abroad. We back home have our shoulders to the wheel. We are working as a team to produce the weapons you will need to finish the job ahead. The American people



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Samuel I. Rosenberg

will not deny you the right to vote while you are away. They will not throw away at home the fruits of victory won at such heavy cost on the field of battle. They will not pass on to you the burden of paying for this war. They do not want to profit from the war. They are determined to support their Government in fighting inflation. They will take all necessary steps to ease your transition during demobilization from military to civilian life. They are pledged to provide you with decent jobs or the chance to continue your education when you return.

Tonight, as I talk to our armed forces and to the American people, I believe that I can truly say that never in our lifetime has the prospect been brighter for a lasting and secure peace.

The foundations of peace are not easily laid. It is easy to make paper plans. It is more difficult to carry them out. International collaboration cannot be legislated into existence. It must be practiced to be real. It is born out of the will and needs of mankind.

International collaboration is a fact and a reality today. The policy of the good neighbor has succeeded in our relations with the other nations of the Western Hemisphere. It will equally succeed in our relations with the rest of the world.

We have today a joint strategy for winning the war. We have a unified command in every important theatre. The foreign ministers of the major belligerent powers have met to consider diplomatic questions of far-reaching importance. There have been numerous meetings between myself and the Prime Minister of England—now happily recovered from a serious illness. At Cairo, I realized the hope of knowing Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-shek. At Teheran, I had the pleasure of meeting Marshal Stalin. One of the purposes of the Cairo and Teheran conferences was for the Prime Minister, Marshal Stalin, The Generalissimo and myself to meet face to face and to get to know one another personally. Nations are no different from human beings. In personal relationships and discussions complete understanding is reached.



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I found in my talks with the Marshal Stalin and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, as I had previously in the case of Prime Minister Churchill, that they are as determined as I know the people of this country are that what happened after the last war must not happen again. There must be no more wars in this century. The Marshal, the Generalissimo, the Prime Minister and myself all have one quality in common. We are realists. We are realists who know that the deep-felt need and wants and spiritual drive of our peoples for peace are more significant facts than the lust of the Nazis and Japanese for destruction, torture and persecution. We are making plans not for eternity but for as far ahead as mortals can see. If, in this and the next generation, there evolve the true habits of international cooperation—if the organization which we are pledged to establish functions as we have every reason to hope it will—the foundations will have been laid for a secure peace in succeeding generations.

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have our share of disappointments. It will require patience, good will and mutual trust on the part of all sovereign states. I would not minimize the importance of details, but I would rather emphasize the basic and broad principles upon which all the United Nations are agreed.

You will recall that a series of conferences were held at Moscow during the latter part of October which our Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, attended for the United States. At those conferences, representatives of China, England, Russia and the United States signed a joint declaration which stated, among other things, that all four of these great countries recognized the necessity of establishing, at the earliest practicable date, a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security. The declaration also repeated the common determination that our joint action, pledged for the prosecution of the war, would be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security.

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by overwhelming votes, of resolutions recognizing the necessity of an international organization to insure against international aggression and warfare.

We have not, of course, reached the point where all the organizational details of such an international organization can be written down in specific language. But the unanimous agreement of all peace-loving countries that such an organization must exist as an instrumentality for achieving world peace is the surest indication that we can succeed in our endeavors.

But peace cannot be won by agreements alone, by organizations alone, it cannot be had merely as the results of conferences or mutual understandings. These are merely the necessary preliminaries. Peace, like liberty, can only be had by people who are intensely aware that constant vigilance and strenuous effort is the price that is to be exacted of every individual in the community. I think that the people of all the United Nations are ready and willing to pay that price.

I know that our fighting forces and the people at home are unanimous in thinking that the sacrifice and cost of victory will have been worth while if we are able to achieve our high purposes. Our men are anxious to see the war finished and to be able to be home again as soon as possible. In this, we all join in wishing them God-speed. But they do not expect to come home after having won the war, only to see their children compelled to fight against aggression again twenty years from now. Our soldiers and sailors and airmen -- as well as you -- want to see the roots of warfare dug up and destroyed so that they may never grow again. They know that there cannot be peace in a world where Nazism and Fascism exist or while their principles of hatred and intolerance flourish.

Our fighting men expect to return to a decent world to live in. They expect that their country, which is capable of producing the greatest



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quantity of the finest war material, will also be able to produce the greatest quantity of civilian goods when the war is over. They expect that the United States will be a country where all who are willing and able to work will have jobs — where there will be security against unemployment, old age, sickness and accident — where one may live among his neighbors in happiness and tranquility, free to speak his mind, free to exercise his religion, and secure in the knowledge that hatred, intolerance, bigotry, tyranny and slavery have been stamped out. They have every right to have their expectations realized.

To our fighting men all over the world I send this Christmas message -- I send it on behalf of your parents, your brothers and sisters, your wives and your children: You are on the threshold of the greatest of achievements — you will be victorious in your fight against the enemy. Your victory will be more than the determination of whose will be the army defeated on the field of battle. Your victory shall be the securing of the world as a place where mankind may claim its rightful inheritance of the opportunity to live in peace and justice. That is the Christmas ^{it} gift which will be your honor to present to your families.

And to all Americans at home may I say that, although this Christmas more of us than ever before find our loved ones absent, we are more closely bound together, firm in our determination that the spirit of Christmas may again find itself welcomed everywhere in the world. In the Christmases to come, I have the high hope that we may be able to say truthfully: Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men.



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 21, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Judge Rosenman.

The attached message from the British Admiralty to the merchant seamen of all nationalities who serve the Allied cause suggests that perhaps the President would like to include in his Christmas Eve message a message to the seamen of all nations who help against the Axis.

W. G. R.
- 1 -



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Samuel I. Rosenman

VIA NAVCOM

FROM: ADMIRALTY

ACTION:

DATE: 21 DECEMBER 1943

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TOR CR: 6115

DECODED: PLAIN LANGUAGE

PARAPHRASED: REASINCR-2

BATS

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BATS

THE FOLLOWING IS A CHRISTMAS MESSAGE IN FRENCH FROM THE BRITISH MINISTER OF WAR TRANSPORT. BEGINS: MESSAGE DU MINISTRE BRITANNIQUE DE WAR TRANSPORT, NOEL 1943 A NOUVEAU, AU RETOUR DE LA MER, J'ENVOIE MON PLUS CORDIAL SALUT, AU NOM DU PEUPLE BRITANNIQUE, A TOUS LES MARINS DE LA MARINE MARCHANDE AU SERVICE DES NATIONS UNIES. VOUS AVEZ CONTINUE A NOUS OFFRIR UN SPLENDIDE EXEMPLE ET NOUS NOUS REJOUISSONS AVEC VOUS DE SAVOIR QUE L'ANNEE ECULEE NOUS A FAIT FAIRE UN GRAND PAS SUR LE CHEMIN DE LA VICTOIRE. JE VOUS SOUHAITE A TOUS BONNE CHANCE. ENDS. BT 271227Z

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MEMO FOR JUDGE ROSENMAN:

On December 6, the day before he finally left Cairo, the President reviewed and informally addressed the M.P.s who had been guarding his villa. He said to them, in part:

(A) "These conferences here and up in Iran have been very satisfactory--- extremely so. Real accord has been reached. After all, the Russians, the British, the Chinese and ourselves collectively represent and are fighting for nearly three-quarters of all the people in the world. That is something for us to realize. It means without doubt that even if we have to keep the peace by force for a while, we are going to do it.

"But that does not mean you are going to have to stay overseas all your lives. X X X

"This time when we clean out the enemy we are going to clean them out thoroughly so that they can't start another war."

I whipped this into a dispatch to be sent to Steve Early for release, emphasizing the "peace by force" angle, but when the President saw it he decided that such an important utterance might better be made to a bigger and more important audience. The dispatch was never filed. Possibly this general angle could be whipped into the Xmas Eve radio speech.

The President left Washington on Nov. 11. He sailed from Hampton Roads aboard the Iowa at 0001 Nov. 13 and arrived at Oran early in the morning of Nov. 20 where he was met by General Eisenhower. Two days before the President's arrival, Nazi dive bombers attacked a convoy 53 miles off Oran and sank two vessels. The Presidential party motored direct to the airfield and took off for Tunis, arriving at 1:35 p.m. The President remained there (actually in Carthage) until 10:45 p.m. Nov. 21 as General Eisenhower's guest, then flew into Cairo where he arrived at 7:05 a.m. Nov. 22.



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2.

Perhaps the President would want to disclose in his radio address that he made the Atlantic crossings aboard a battle ship. No security would be involved if the battleship's name is withheld.

While in North Africa and the Middle East, all of the Presidential traveling was done in a C-54 of the Air Transport Command, piloted by Major Otis Bryan. He flew a total of 9,478 miles in the elapsed flying time of 49 hours, 19 minutes.

On Nov. 22, the President met for the first time with the Prime Minister and Generalissimo Chang Kai-shek. He had as dinner guests that evening the Prime Minister, Lord Mountbatten, Admiral Leahy and Harry Hopkins. At 9 p.m., the three principals and the American, British and Chinese staffs met for the first time. Thereafter, through the evening of Nov. 26 the principals and staffs were in daily and nightly conference, reaching an accord as outlined in the communique.

On Nov. 23, the Prime Minister and his daughter, Sara (Mrs. Oliver) called for the President and took him on a tour of the Pyramids and the Sphinx.

The President departed Cairo early on the morning of Nov. 27, arriving at Teheran at 2:50 p.m. after a flight that took him over the Holy Land---Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jericho, the River Jordan and the Dead Sea. He was motored immediately to the American Legation. It was somewhere between one and two a.m. of the following morning that Molotov called Harriman and advised him the OGPU had uncovered a plot on the lives of the Big Three. Harriman in turn got in touch with Mike Reilly and it was decided to accept Stalin's invitation and move into the Russian Embassy. The move was made after lunch Sunday, Nov. 28, and at 3:15 that afternoon the President met with Stalin for the first time. At 4 p.m., the American, British and Russian principals and their staffs went into their first conference. They dined together



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3.

that evening.

On the 29th, the three powers met again at 10 a.m., with a second plenary session at 4:15 p.m. Prior to the second session, all members of the three delegations assembled to witness the presentation of the Sword of Stalingrad to Stalin by the Prime Minister and later to pose for pictures. That night Stalin was host at dinner to the President and the Prime Minister, Eden, Molotov, Harriman and Hopkins.

On Nov. 30, at noon the President received Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi, the Shah-in-Shah of Iran and Prime Minister Seheily. There was a plenary session of the British, Americans and Russians at 4:30. This day was Churchill's 69th birthday and he tendered a birthday dinner at the British Legation with the President, Stalin and others in attendance. Agreement was reached at the plenary session this day on future war strategy.

On December 1, the President, Stalin and Churchill met at noon. They and their staffs lunched and dined together, conferring steadily from noon until 10:30 that night. This long conference was on post-war plans and policies and wound up with an agreement on basic principles.

On Dec. 2, the President left Teheran at 9:50 a.m., arriving back in Cairo at 2:35 p.m. British-American conferences promptly resumed. Meanwhile, the President dispatched his plane and Major Boettiger to Turkey to pick up President Ismet Inonu, who arrived and first met with Mr. Roosevelt at 12:30 p.m. on Saturday, Dec. 4. That evening, the President entertained at dinner for the Turkish President and the Prime Minister and others.

President Roosevelt directed me to tell the newspaper correspondents on the evening of December 6, "that on this, his first meeting with General Inonu, he was most deeply impressed with the forceful character and the forthrightness of the Turkish President. In President Inonu he feels he has made a new and firm friend."



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4.

The Turks conferred with the President and the Prime Minister daily on Dec. 4, 5 and 6, reaching an accord outlined in a communique. Meanwhile, the British and American staffs were in steady conference ironing out details of the previously agreed-on strategy.

On the evening of Dec. 6, the President had General Smuts as his dinner guest.

On Dec. 7, second anniversary of our entry into the war, the President left Cairo at 8:20 a.m. and flew back to Tunis where he again put up at "The White House" villa of General Eisenhower.

On Dec. 8, the President flew to Malta where he presented the people, through Lord Gort, the Governor General, the scroll of ~~xx~~ appreciation he had had prepared before he left Washington. Then, following a 90 minute tour of the Island, in the course of which he got a graphic picture of the tremendous bomb damage, the President flew on to Castelvetro, Sicily. In Sicily he reviewed some troops who had participated in the invasion and pinned a D.S.C. on General Mark Clark and five other officers of the 5th Army. He then flew back to Tunis and spent the night.

On December 9, the President took off at 6:45 a.m. and flew non-stop to Dakar by way of Sfax, arriving at Dakar at 6:10 p.m. He went immediately to the dock and was ferried out to Iowa, which promptly weighed anchor and started for home. He arrived in Washington the morning of Friday, Dec. ~~12~~ 17.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

171-M

TO:

JUDGE SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

December 23, 1943

I'm sorry this is so bad and
so late.

asc

Message file

as in ten years when we can view
hope and assurance.

his evil henchmen came to power.
our first aim.

Nazi Germany -- and of Fascist Japan --
Hard and tough fighting are still
annihilation of our enemies -- and the
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opportunity to see and talk with our

MR. COX

~~... the way we always will.~~ I am thus able tonight to bring
a message from our fighting men to their families as well as to broad-
cast on behalf of the American people to all our service personnel
away from home.

The message I bring back with me is one of optimism and confidence.
It is one of unselfish sacrifice and unheralded bravery. The boys at
the front want you to know that the war goes well. They are on the
march. Together with our gallant Russian, British and other Allies,
they are striking at the heart of the hated Nazi power from the air, on
land and on sea. Our full strength is yet to be thrown into the fight
and that will come soon. The Nazis will be assaulted from all directions.
There will be not only a second front on the West but many fronts from
all sides of the compass. The days of Hitler are numbered. The armies
of the United Nations are headed for Berlin. There is no power on earth
that can stop them. I am sure that I can say the same for our troops
in the Pacific Theatre. Our goal is Tokyo and we are on our way.

Our boys have the spirit of victory. Their morale is high. War
is no mere romance to them. It is grim, serious business. It is a
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*Message
file*

This is the first Christmas in ten years when we can view the coming of real peace with hope and assurance.

Ten years ago, Hitler and his evil henchmen came to power. War and world domination were their first aim.

The defeat of Hitler and Nazi Germany — and of Fascist Japan — are now certain and inevitable. Hard and tough fighting are still ahead of us, but the complete annihilation of our enemies — and the enemies of mankind and peace — are sure.

While abroad, I had some opportunity to see and talk with our troops who are now on foreign soil. I am thus able tonight to bring a message from our fighting men to their families as well as to broadcast on behalf of the American people to all our service personnel away from home.

The message I bring back with me is one of optimism and confidence. It is one of unselfish sacrifice and unheralded bravery. The boys at the front want you to know that the war goes well. They are on the march. Together with our gallant Russian, British and other Allies, they are striking at the heart of the hated Nazi power from the air, on land and on sea. Our full strength is yet to be thrown into the fight and that will come soon. The Nazis will be assaulted from all directions. There will be not only a second front on the West but many fronts from all sides of the compass. The days of Hitler are numbered. The armies of the United Nations are headed for Berlin. There is no power on earth that can stop them. I am sure that I can say the same for our troops in the Pacific Theatre. Our goal is Tokyo and we are on our way.

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by overwhelming votes, of resolutions recognising the necessity of an international organization to insure against international aggression and warfare.

We have not, of course, reached the point where all the organizational details of such an international organization can be written down in specific language. But the unanimous agreement of all peace-loving countries that such an organization must exist as an instrumentality for achieving world peace is the surest indication that we can succeed in our endeavors.

But peace cannot be won by agreements alone, by organizations alone, it cannot be had merely as the results of conferences or mutual understandings. Those are merely the necessary preliminaries. Peace, like liberty, can only be had by people who are intensely aware that constant vigilance and strenuous effort is the price that is to be exacted of every individual in the community. I think that the people of all the United Nations are ready and willing to pay that price.

I know that our fighting forces and the people at home are unanimous in thinking that the sacrifice and cost of victory will have been worth while if we are able to achieve our high purposes. Our men are anxious to see the war finished and to be able to be home again as soon as possible. In this, we all join in wishing them God-speed. But they do not expect to come home after having won the war, only to see their children compelled to fight against aggression again twenty years from now. Our soldiers and sailors and airmen -- as well as you -- want to see the roots of warfare dug up and destroyed so that they may never grow again. They know that there cannot be peace in a world where Nazism and Facism exist or while their principles of hatred and intolerance flourish.

Our fighting men expect to return to a decent world to live in. They expect that their country, which is capable of producing the greatest



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quantity of the finest war material, will also be able to produce the greatest quantity of civilian goods when the war is over. They expect that the United States will be a country where all who are willing and able to work will have jobs -- where there will be security against unemployment, old age, sickness and accident -- where one may live among his neighbors in happiness and tranquility, free to speak his mind, free to exercise his religion, and secure in the knowledge that hatred, intolerance, bigotry, tyranny and slavery have been stamped out. They have every right to have their expectations realized.

To our fighting men all over the world I send this Christmas message -- I send it on behalf of your parents, your brothers and sisters, your wives and your children: You are on the threshold of the greatest of achievements -- you will be victorious in your fight against the enemy. Your victory will be more than the determination of whose will be the army defeated on the field of battle. Your victory shall be the securing of the world as a place where mankind may claim its rightful inheritance of the opportunity to live in peace and justice. That is the Christmas gift which ^{it} will be your honor to present to your families.

And to all Americans at home may I say that, although this Christmas more of us than ever before find our loved ones absent, we are more closely bound together, firm in our determination that the spirit of Christmas may again find itself welcomed everywhere in the world. In the Christmases to come, I have the high hope that we may be able to say truthfully: Peace on Earth, Good Will to Man.

SIXTH DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

HIDE 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 almost every point of the compass as we can.

And now we have 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 of whom 5,800,000 are now on duty overseas.

That this is truly a World War was proved to me when I asked 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 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.



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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 Christ-
mas — 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 such 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



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 3 -

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.

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 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



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SLAVE DRAFT

- 4 -

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 deference to those picaresque 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



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SIXTH DRAFT

- 5 -

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.

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 guarantee to millions of people in the Far East of the sovereign right to build



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From the Papers of
JIMMY L. HOPKINS

SIXTH DRAFT

- 6 -

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 forces are playing a vital part in driving the invaders 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 and his valiant wife returned to Chungking with the positive



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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 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.



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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 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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SIXTH DRAFT

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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, Prussian militarism and the fantastic and disastrous notions 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 colloquialism I may say that I "get 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 these 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.



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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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SIXTH DRAFT

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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.

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 Yugoslavia, 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 the other American Republics to obtain and maintain our independence against infinitely stronger powers. Until recently very few people,



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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 then that with 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 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 it again. No -- that is too weak -- it is my intention to



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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 return 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



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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 at the risk of losing 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



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SIXTH DRAFT

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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.

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.

General Marshall's recent conferences with General MacArthur in the Southwest Pacific may be interpreted as indicating some bad news for Japan in the not too distant future.

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 end this war and to bring them home at the earliest possible date.



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From the Papers of
BARRY L. DOPKINS

SIXTH DRAFT

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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 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.



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From the Papers of
Dwight D. Eisenhower
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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.



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From the Papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

SIXTH DRAFT

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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.

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From the signature of
Henry L. Hopkins

SEVENEN DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

WHITE PAPER

DECEMBER 24, 1945

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, 2,000,000 were serving overseas. Today 5,800,000 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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Harry L. Hopkins

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



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last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that, however great the cost, "peace on earth, good will toward man" 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 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.

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 pious 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.



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JERRY L. BISHOP

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.



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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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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. He 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. He 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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HARRY L. JOPLING

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.

He gives up his command in the Mediterranean to a British officer whose name is being announced by Mr. Churchill. We now pledge that now 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.



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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

To use an American and ungrammatical colloquialism, I may say that I "get 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 these 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.



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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 sound 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,



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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 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



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do all that I humbly ask 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



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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 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.

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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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 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 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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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 thinking, 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 tastes are all concerned with winning the war and winning a just peace that will last for generations.

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



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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 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 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.



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BARRY L. HOPKINS

SEVEN IN DRAFT

- 17 -

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 WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Christmas, 1943.

TO OUR ILL OR WOUNDED FIGHTERS:

On behalf of a grateful nation, I welcome the privilege of sending you Christmas good wishes. The uncomplaining gallantry of our American soldier and sailor in his quiet, patient battle against illness and aching wound, is no less epic than his uncompromising gallantry in his more widely heralded fight against the Axis.

We cannot wish you a Merry Christmas. We can salute you -- and we do. We can pray -- and we do: May God speed your recovery.



Commander in Chief

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