
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

Series 3: “The Four Freedoms” and FDR in World War II

File No. 1518

1944 June 5

Radio Address re "Fall of Rome"

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

JUNE 5, 1944

Yesterday, June fourth, 1944, Rome fell to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals is now in our hands. One up and two to go!

It is perhaps significant that the first of these capitals to fall should have the longest history of all of them. The story of Rome goes back to the time of the foundations of our civilization. We can still see there monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world. That, too, is significant, for the United Nations are determined that in the future no one city and no one race will be able to control the whole of the world.

In addition to the monuments of the older times, we also see in Rome the great symbol of Christianity, which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other churches in many places, but the churches and shrines of Rome are visible symbols of the faith and determination of the early saints and martyrs that Christianity should live and become universal. And now it will be a source of deep satisfaction that the freedom of the Pope and of Vatican City is assured by the armies of the United Nations.

It is also significant that Rome has been liberated by the armed forces of many nations. The American and British armies -- who bore the chief burdens of battle -- found at their sides our own North American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. The fighting New Zealanders from the far South Pacific, the courageous French and the French Moroccans, the South Africans, the Poles and the East Indians -- all of them fought with us on the bloody approaches to Rome.

The Italians, too, forswearing a partnership in the Axis which they never desired, have sent their troops to join us in our battles against the German trespassers on their soil.

The prospect of the liberation of Rome meant enough to Hitler and his generals to induce them to fight desperately at great cost of men and materials and with great sacrifice to their crumbling Eastern line and to their Western front. No thanks are due to them if Rome was spared the devastation which the Germans wreaked on Naples and other Italian cities. The Allied Generals maneuvered so skillfully that the Nazis could only have stayed long enough to damage Rome at the risk of losing their armies.

But Rome is, of course, more than a military objective.

Ever since before the days of the Caesars, Rome has stood as a symbol of authority. Rome was the Republic. Rome was the Empire. Rome was the Catholic Church, and Rome was the capital of a United Italy. Later, unfortunately, Rome became the seat of Fascism -- one of the three capitals of the Axis.

→ (835) ←

For a quarter century the Italian people were enslaved and degraded by the rule of Mussolini from Rome. They will mark its liberation with deep emotion. In the north of Italy, the people are still dominated and threatened by the Nazi overlords and their Fascist puppets.

Our victory comes at an excellent time, while our Allied forces are poised for another strike at Western Europe -- and while armies of other Nazi soldiers nervously await our assault. And our gallant Russian Allies continue to make their power felt more and more.

2

From a strictly military standpoint, we had long ago accomplished certain of the main objectives of our Italian campaign -- the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean to shorten our combat and supply lines, and the capture of the airports of Foggia from which we have struck telling blows on the continent.

It would be unwise to inflate in our own minds the military importance of the capture of Rome. We shall have to push through a long period of greater effort and fiercer fighting before we get into Germany itself. The Germans have retreated thousands of miles, all the way from the gates of Cairo, through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and Southern Italy. They have suffered heavy losses, but not great enough yet to cause collapse.

Germany has not yet been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point where she will be unable to recommence world conquest a generation hence. 2

Therefore, the victory still lies some distance ahead. That distance will be covered in due time -- have no fear of that. But it will be tough and it will be costly.

In Italy the people had lived so long under the corrupt rule of Mussolini that, in spite of the tinsel at the top, their economic condition had grown steadily worse. Our troops have found starvation, malnutrition, disease, a deteriorating education and lowered public health -- all by-products of the Fascist misrule.

The task of the Allies in occupation has been stupendous. We have had to start at the very bottom, assisting local governments to reform on democratic lines. We have had to give them bread to replace that which was stolen out of their mouths by the Germans. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to raise and use their own local crops. We have to help them cleanse their schools of Fascist trappings.

The American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, who are only now learning to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom. 2

Some of us may let our thoughts run to the financial cost of it. Essentially it is what we can call a form of relief. At the same time we hope that this relief will be an investment for the future -- an investment that will pay dividends by eliminating Fascism and ending any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in the future. They are dividends which justify such an investment, because they are additional supports for world peace.

→ (B40) ←

The Italian people are capable of self-government. We do not lose sight of their virtues as a peace-loving nation.

We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind.

We remember the great sons of the Italian people -- Galileo and Marconi, Michelangelo and Dante -- and that fearless discoverer who typifies the courage of Italy -- Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in stature by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overcrowded within their own territories, but they do not need to try to conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breath of life. Other peoples may not want to be conquered. 3

In the past, Italians have come by the millions to the United States. They have been welcomed, they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community and governmental leaders. They are not Italian-Americans. They are Americans -- Americans of Italian descent.

Italians have gone in great numbers to the other Americas, Brazil and the Argentine for example, and to many other nations in every continent of the world, giving of their industry and their talents, and achieving success and the comfort of good living.

Italy should go on as a great mother nation, contributing to the culture and progress and good will of all mankind -- and developing her special talents in the arts, crafts, and sciences, and preserving her historic and cultural heritage for the benefit of all peoples. 4

We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace. All the other nations opposed to Fascism and Nazism should help give Italy a chance.

The Germans, after years of domination in Rome, left the people in the Eternal City on the verge of starvation. We and the British will do everything we can to bring them relief. Anticipating the fall of Rome, we made preparations to ship food supplies to the city, but it should be borne in mind that the needs are so great and the transportation requirements of our armies so heavy that improvement must be gradual. We have already begun to save the lives of the men, women and children of Rome.

This is an example of the efficiency of your machinery of war. The magnificent ability and energy of the American people in growing the crops, building the merchant ships, making and collecting the cargoes, getting the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and thinking ahead to meet emergencies -- all this spells, I think, an amazing efficiency on the part of our armed forces, all the various agencies working with them, and American industry and labor as a whole.

No great effort like this can be a hundred per cent perfect, 5
but the batting average is very, very high.

I extend the congratulations and thanks of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to General Clark and General Leese of the Fifth and the Eighth Armies; to General Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theater, and General Devers his American Deputy; to ~~Stewart~~ General Eaker; to Admirals Cunningham and Hewitt; and to all their brave officers and men.

May God bless them and watch over them and over all of our gallant, fighting men.

Orig. reading copy

Franklin D. Roosevelt

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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JUNE 5, 1944

CAUTION: The following radio address of the President MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release for editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 8:30 P.M., E.W.T., Monday, June 5, 1944. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Yesterday, June fourth, 1944, Rome fell to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals is now in our hands. One up and two to go!

It is perhaps significant that the first of these capitals to fall should have the longest history of all of them. The story of Rome goes back to the time of the foundations of our civilization. We can still see there monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world. That, too, is significant, for the United Nations are determined that in the future no one city and no one race will be able to control the whole of the world.

In addition to the monuments of the older times, we also see in Rome the great symbol of Christianity, which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other churches in many places, but the churches and shrines of Rome are visible symbols of the faith and determination of the early saints and martyrs that Christianity should live and become universal. And now it will be a source of deep satisfaction that the freedom of the Pope and of Vatican City is assured by the armies of the United Nations.

It is also significant that Rome has been liberated by the armed forces of many nations. The American and British armies - who bore the chief burdens of battle - found at their sides our own North American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. The fighting New Zealanders from the far South Pacific, the courageous French and the French Moroccans, the South Africans, the Poles and the East Indians -- all of them fought with us on the bloody approaches to Rome.

The Italians, too, forswearing a partnership in the Axis which they never desired, have sent their troops to join us in our battles against the German trespassers on their soil.

The prospect of the liberation of Rome meant enough to Hitler and his generals to induce them to fight desperately at great cost of men and materials and with great sacrifice to their crumbling Eastern line and to their Western front. No thanks are due to them if Rome was spared the devastation which the Germans wreaked on Naples and other Italian cities. The Allied Generals maneuvered so skillfully that the Nazis could only have stayed long enough to damage Rome at the risk of losing their armies.

But Rome is of course more than a military objective.

Ever since before the days of the Caesars, Rome has stood as a symbol of authority. Rome was the Republic, Rome was the Empire. Rome was the Catholic Church, and Rome was the capital of a United Italy. Later, unfortunately, Rome became the seat of Fascism -- one of the three capitals of the Axis.

For a quarter century the Italian people were enslaved and degraded by the rule of Mussolini from Rome. They will mark its liberation with deep emotion. In the north of Italy, the people are still dominated and threatened by the Nazi overlords and their Fascist puppets.

Our victory comes at an excellent time, while our Allied forces are poised for another strike at Western Europe -- and while armies of other Nazi soldiers nervously await our assault. And our gallant Russian Allies continue to make their power felt more and more.

From a strictly military standpoint, we had long ago accomplished certain of the main objectives of our Italian campaign -- the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean to shorten our combat and supply lines, and the capture of the airports of Foggia from which we have struck telling blows on the continent.

It would be unwise to inflate in our own minds the military importance of the capture of Rome. We shall have to push through a long period of greater effort and fiercer fighting before we get into Germany itself. The Germans have retreated thousands of miles, all the way from the gates of Cairo, through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and Southern Italy. They have suffered heavy losses, but not great enough yet to cause collapse.

Germany has not yet been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point where she will be unable to recommence world conquest a generation hence.

Therefore, the victory still lies some distance ahead. That distance will be covered in due time -- have no fear of that. But it will be tough and it will be costly.

In Italy the people had lived so long under the corrupt rule of Mussolini that, in spite of the tinsel at the top, their economic condition had grown steadily worse. Our troops have found starvation, malnutrition, disease, a deteriorating education and lowered public health -- all by-products of the Fascist misrule.

The task of the Allies in occupation has been stupendous. We have had to start at the very bottom, assisting local governments to reform on democratic lines. We have had to give them bread to replace that which was stolen out of their mouths by the Germans. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to raise and use their own local crops. We have to help them cleanse their schools of Fascist trappings.

The American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, who are only now learning to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom.

Some of us may let our thoughts run to the financial cost of it. Essentially it is what we can call a form of relief. At the same time we hope that this relief will be an investment for the future -- an investment that will pay dividends by eliminating Fascism and ending any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in the future. They are dividends which justify such an investment, because they are additional supports for world peace.

The Italian people are capable of self-government. We do not lose sight of their virtues as a peace-loving nation.

We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind.

We remember the great sons of the Italian people -- Galileo and Marconi, Michelangelo and Dante -- and that fearless discoverer who typifies the courage of Italy -- Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in stature by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overcrowded within their own territories, but they do not need to try to conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breath of life. Other peoples may not want to be conquered.

In the past, Italians have come by the millions to the United States. They have been welcomed, they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community and governmental leaders. They are not Italian-Americans. They are Americans -- Americans of Italian descent.

Italians have gone in great numbers to the other Americas -- Brazil and the Argentine, for example -- and to many other nations in every continent of the world, giving of their industry and their talents, and achieving success and the comfort of good living.

Italy should go on as a great mother nation, contributing to the culture and progress and good will of all mankind -- and developing her special talents in the arts, crafts, and sciences, and preserving her historic and cultural heritage for the benefit of all peoples.

We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace. All the other nations opposed to Fascism and Nazism should help give Italy a chance.

The Germans, after years of domination in Rome, left the people in the Eternal City on the verge of starvation. We and the British will do everything we can to bring them relief. Anticipating the fall of Rome, we made preparations to ship food supplies to the city, but it should be borne in mind that the needs are so great and the transportation requirements of our armies so heavy that improvement must be gradual. We have already begun to save the lives of the men, women and children of Rome.

This is an example of the efficiency of your machinery of war. The magnificent ability and energy of the American people in growing the crops, building the merchant ships, making and collecting the cargoes, getting the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and thinking ahead to meet emergencies -- all this spells, I think, an amazing efficiency on the part of our armed forces, all the various agencies working with them, and American industry and labor as a whole.

No great effort like this can be a hundred per cent perfect, but the batting average is very, very high.

I extend the congratulations and thanks of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to General Clark and General Lease of the Fifth and the Eighth Armies; to General Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theater, and General Devers his American Deputy; to Lieutenant General Baker; to Admirals Cunningham and Hewitt; and to all their brave officers and men.

May God bless them and watch over them and over all of our gallant, fighting men.

#1518

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
On The Fall Of Rome

June 5, 1944, 8.30 p.m., e.w.t.
Radio Broadcast

My friends:

Yesterday, on June fourth, 1944, Rome fell to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals is now in our hands. One up and two to go!

It is perhaps significant that the first of these capitals to fall should have the longest history of all of them. The story of Rome goes back to the time of the foundations of our civilization. We can still see there monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world. That, too, is significant, for the United Nations are determined that in the future no one city and no one race will be able to control the whole of the world.

In addition to the monuments of the older times, we also see in Rome the great symbol of Christianity, which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other churches in many places, but the churches and shrines of Rome are visible symbols of the faith and determination of the early saints and martyrs that Christianity should live and become universal. And tonight (now) it will be a source of deep satisfaction that the freedom of the Pope and the (of) Vatican City is assured by the armies of the United Nations.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

RECEIVED BY THE
OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF STATE
JAN 11 1941
WASHINGTON

Mr. Tolson:

Yesterday, on June Fourth, 1941, I gave a talk to American

and Allied people. The first of the Axis struggle is now in

our hands. One up and two to go:

It is perhaps significant that the first of these was

made at Tallahassee, the largest city of all the States.

The story of Rome goes back to the time of the foundation of

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Nations.

It is also significant that Rome has been liberated by the armed forces of many nations. The American and British armies -- who bore the chief burdens of battle -- found at their sides our own North American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. The fighting New Zealanders from the far South Pacific, the courageous French and the French Moroccans, the South Africans, the Poles and the East Indians -- all of them fought with us on the bloody approaches to the city of Rome.

The Italians, too, forswearing a partnership in the Axis which they never desired, have sent their troops to join us in our battles against the German trespassers on their soil.

The prospect of the liberation of Rome meant enough to Hitler and his generals to induce them to fight desperately at great cost of men and materials and with great sacrifice to their crumbling Eastern line and to their Western front. No thanks are due to them if Rome was spared the devastation which the Germans wreaked on Naples and other Italian cities. The Allied Generals maneuvered so skillfully that the Nazis could only have stayed long enough to damage Rome at the risk of losing their armies.

But Rome is of course more than a military objective.

Ever since before the days of the Caesars, Rome has stood as a symbol of authority. Rome was the Republic. Rome was the Empire. Rome was and is in a sense the Catholic Church, and Rome was the capital of a United Italy. Later, unfortunately, a quarter of a century ago, Rome became the

seat of Fascism -- one of the three capitals of the Axis.

For this (a) quarter century the Italian people were enslaved. They were (and) degraded by the rule of Mussolini from Rome. They will mark its liberation with deep emotion. In the north of Italy, the people are still dominated and threatened by the Nazi overlords and their Fascist puppets. Somehow, in the back of my head, I still remember a name -- Mussolini.

Our victory comes at an excellent time, while our Allied forces are poised for another strike at Western Europe -- and while the armies of other Nazi soldiers nervously await our assault. And in the meantime our gallant Russian Allies continue to make their power felt more and more.

From a strictly military standpoint, we had long ago accomplished certain of the main objectives of our Italian campaign -- the control of the islands -- the major islands -- the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean to shorten our combat and supply lines, and the capture of the airports, such as the great airports of Foggia, south of Rome, from which we have struck telling blows on the continent -- the whole of the continent all the way up to the Russian front.

It would be unwise to inflate in our own minds the military importance of the capture of Rome. We shall have to push through a long period of greater effort and fiercer fighting before we get into Germany itself. The Germans have retreated thousands of miles, all the way from the gates of Cairo, through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and Southern

Italy. They have suffered heavy losses, but not great enough yet to cause collapse.

Germany has not yet been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point where she will be unable to recommence world conquest a generation hence.

Therefore, the victory still lies some distance ahead. That distance will be covered in due time -- have no fear of that. But it will be tough and it will be costly, as I have told you many, many times.

In Italy the people had lived so long under the corrupt rule of Mussolini that, in spite of the tinsel at the top -- you have seen the pictures of him -- their economic condition had grown steadily worse. Our troops have found starvation, malnutrition, disease, a deteriorating education and lowered public health -- all by-products of the Fascist misrule.

The task of the Allies in occupation has been stupendous. We have had to start at the very bottom, assisting local governments to reform on democratic lines. We have had to give them bread to replace that which was stolen out of their mouths by the Germans. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to raise and use their own local crops. We have to help them cleanse their schools of Fascist trappings.

I think the American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, who are only now learning to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom.

Some of us may let our thoughts run to the financial

cost of it. Essentially it is what we can call a form of relief. And at the same time, we hope that this relief will be an investment for the future -- an investment that will pay dividends by eliminating Fascism, by (and) ending any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in the future. And that means that they are dividends which justify such an investment, because they are additional supports for world peace.

The Italian people are capable of self-government. We do not lose sight of their virtues as a peace-loving nation.

We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind.

We remember the great sons of the Italian people -- Galileo and Marconi, Michelangelo and Dante -- and incidentally that fearless discoverer who typifies the courage of Italy -- Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in stature by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overcrowded within their own territories, but they do not need to try to conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breath of life. Other peoples may not want to be conquered.

In the past, Italians have come by the millions into (to) the United States. They have been welcomed, they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community and governmental leaders. They are not Italian-Americans. They

are Americans -- Americans of Italian descent.

The Italians have gone in great numbers to the other Americas -- Brazil and the Argentine, for example -- hundreds and hundreds of thousands of them. They have gone (and) to many other nations in every continent of the world, giving of their industry and their talents, and achieving success and the comfort of good living, and good citizenship.

Italy should go on as a great mother nation, contributing to the culture and the progress and the goodwill of all mankind -- (and) developing her special talents in the arts and crafts and sciences, and preserving her historic and cultural heritage for the benefit of all peoples.

We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace. All the other nations opposed to Fascism and Nazism ought to (should) help to give Italy a chance.

The Germans, after years of domination in Rome, left the people in the Eternal City on the verge of starvation. We and the British will do and are doing everything we can to bring them relief. Anticipating the fall of Rome, we made preparations to ship food supplies to the city, but, of course, it should be borne in mind that the needs are so great, (and) the transportation requirements of our armies so heavy that improvement must be gradual. But we have already begun to save the lives of the men, women and children of Rome.

This, I think, is an example of the efficiency of your machinery of war. The magnificent ability and energy of the American people in growing the crops, building the

merchant ships, in making and collecting the cargoes, in getting the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and thinking ahead to meet emergencies -- all this spells, I think, an amazing efficiency on the part of our armed forces, all the various agencies working with them, and American industry and labor as a whole.

No great effort like this can be a hundred percent perfect, but the batting average is very, very high.

And so I extend the congratulations and thanks tonight of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to our General Clark and General Leese of the Fifth and the Eighth Armies; to General Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theater, to (and) General Devers his American Deputy; to (Lieutenant) General Baker; to Admirals Cunningham and Hewitt; and to all their brave officers and men.

May God bless them and watch over them and over all of our gallant, fighting men.

JUNE 5, 1944

EXCERPTS FOR THE NEWSREELS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS:

Take I

The first of the Axis capitals is now in our hands. One up and two to go!

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And now it will be a source of deep satisfaction that the freedom of the Pope and of Vatican City is assured by the armies of the United Nations.

But Rome is of course more than a military objective.

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STOP

TAKE II

The Italian people are capable of self-government. We do not lose sight of their virtues as a peace-loving nation.

We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind.

We remember the great sons of the Italian people -- Galileo and Marconi, Michelangelo and Dante --- and that fearless discoverer who typifies the courage of Italy -- Christopher Columbus.

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In the past, Italians have come by the millions to the United States. They have been welcomed, they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community and governmental leaders. They are not Italian-Americans. They are Americans -- Americans of Italian descent.

STOP

TAKE III

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I extend the congratulations and thanks of the American people to all the brave officers and men in the armed forces of the United Nations. May God bless them and watch over them and over all of our gallant, fighting men.

STOP

First Draft

It is well worth while to make a special mark on the calendar to signify that on June ____ 1944 Rome has fallen to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals is in our hands. One up and two to go.

It is perhaps significant that the most historic of these capitals should fall first--for the known story of Rome goes back to the foundations of what we call our civilization. It is significant because we can see there today well preserved monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world.

Perhaps it will be a good thing if from now on no one city and no one race are able to control the whole of the present known world--which means all of us.

And in addition to the monuments of the older times we see in Rome the greatest symbol of the Christianity which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other Churches in many places, but the church founded by St. Peter himself is a living symbol which breathes throughout the world.

Finally it is significant that Rome has been captured by armies of many nations. The American and British Armies played the greater part in the heavy fighting which edged slowly forward, but they were ably assisted by troops from another country of North America--Canada--and from the distant New Zealand in the South Pacific, and by the Poles and by East Indians, by French and French Moroccans. (Include others)

We all know that Italy is not liberated yet; that we have freed from Italian controls in North Africa--Ethiopia, Somoliland,

2.

Eritrea, Tripolitania and Libya, all of Sicily and Sardinia and the boot of Italy. For good measure we have restored Corsica to the French.

But a glance at the ~~map~~ map shows that the major part of the Italian peninsula--both in population and ~~in~~ in acreage--is still in the hands of the Axis--primarily the Germans, though we have little information as to what operative role Senor Mussolini is now singing.

--and I am thinking in
What I want to emphasize especially//~~the~~ military ~~and~~ terms--
is the interdependence of every part of the ~~the~~ European theater with every other part. What happens in Italy today has a direct bearing on what will happen ^{tomorrow} in France and the Low Countries and Scandinavia and on the Russian front and in the Balkans.

I do not think that we should ~~not~~ paint fancy pictures about what the fall of Rome will bring to the people in Northern Italy and especially to the people in Germany itself. We cannot assume it will destroy the morale of their civilian populations. It still looks as if we shall have to go through a long period of further effort, further fighting and further mopping up before we get into Germany itself. We know by now that the Germans have retreated hundreds and hundreds of miles, all the way from the gates of Cairo, through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and back of Rome itself, with heavy losses to be sure, but not with losses in men and material great enough to cause their collapse.

Germany has not been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point of renouncing the right to recommence world conquest a generation hence.

Therefore the victory in a larger sense has not yet been won.

People sometimes wonder what the mopping up process to which I have referred actually means. It will vary in different nations. In Norway and the Netherlands and Belgium, for example, there has been, we hope, relatively little physical destruction of habitations and transportation. And most certainly the people, though starved and maltreated has retained its virile hatred of Nazism. In Poland, on the other hand, the destruction must have been unbelievable and the people have been shunted from one corner to another and hundreds and thousands of them have been massacred.

In Italy the people lived so long under Mussolini's rule that in spite of the tinsel at the top, their economic condition grew steadily worse, especially toward the end. We found starvation, malnutrition, disease, a deteriorating education and moral decay. (Work this out)

The task of the Allies on coming in was stupendous. We have had to build up simple local government on non-Fascist lines. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to raise their own local crops in peace and to prevent those crops from being stolen out of their mouths.

The American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, seeing them started in learning to walk in ~~an~~ an atmosphere of freedom. Some of us let our thoughts run to the cost of it. Essentially it is what we call relief. We at the same time hope that this relief is something that will pay dividends in the future--especially the dividends of the elimination of Fascism and the ending of the desire to start another war of aggression in twenty years. A dividend of peace ~~looks~~ looks to me like a good investment.

The Italian people are capable of self government. It seems wise for all the other nations opposed to Fascism and Nazism to give them a chance. I am deliberately intimating that this will help the United States from now on.

Rome for example has been on the verge of starvation under German domination, ~~hoping~~ Hoping for its fall we and the British have already shipped many thousands of tons of food to Rome and now, Thank God that we are there, we can soon begin to save the lives of men, women and children.

This is an example also of the machinery of war and its after effects. The magnificent response of ^{our own} ~~the~~ country in building the merchant ships, in making and collecting the cargoes, in getting the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and in thinking ahead to meet emergencies, spells, I think, an amazing efficiency ~~American workers~~ on the part of our armed forces and of the various agencies working with them. American ~~workers~~ farmers produced the food. American ^{merchant seamen} workers built the ships. American ~~workers~~ ^{merchant seamen} manned those ships and delivered the food to its destination. And all the while we were building munitions of war, building warships, and fighting ever more successful battles.

To use an old phrase of mine, no great effort like this can be a hundred percent perfect, but the batting average is very, very high.

I ~~am~~ know that I extend the congratulations and good wishes of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to General Clark and General ~~Lee~~ Leese of the ~~Fifth~~ Fifth and the Eighth Armies, and to General Wilson, the Supreme ^{Allied} Commander of the Mediterranean theater, and to all their gallant fighting men, for this striking climax in their continuing campaign.

The Italians are not best known for warlike qualities--thank God! In these days of ~~warlike~~ war heavy hearts, qualities of peace are all the more to be admired.

We remember the many centuries in which Italians were ~~the~~ leaders in the finer things of life. ~~Their paintings, sculptures and literature have~~ ~~enriched the lives of all mankind.~~ Their ~~inventions~~ science and invention has benefited all the world.

Gallileo, Marconi, Cellini

Gallileo/and Marconi, Cellini and Michel Angelo and Dante-- these are names among the greatest of the great. And there is that dauntless adventurer who typifies the courage of a ~~great~~ constructive race--Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in the stature of civilization by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overcrowded within their own territories in the past, but they do not need to conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breadth of life. It is worth thinking about that ~~as~~ the other peoples may not want to be conquered.

In the past Italians have found plenty of places to go to. They have gone, for example, by the millions to the United States. ^{been welcomed, they have} They have/prospered, they have made good, ~~and they have been~~ ~~welcomed~~ They are not Italian-Americans. They are Americans-- Americans of Italian descent.

Italians have gone in great numbers to Brazil. There they have been made welcome and have prospered. They have gone to the Argentine and become ~~great~~ leading citizens of that great country.

And they have gone to many other nations in every continent of the world, giving of their industry and their talents and ~~profiting~~ achieving ~~joyous and peaceful~~ success and the comfort of good living.

Their own land should go on as a great mother nation, contributing to the culture and progress and good will of all mankind--and sending forth ^{her} ~~the~~ sons and daughters to help in the upbuilding of other nations.

Aggression by a future Italy can be tolerated no more than aggression by future Germans or Japanese.

We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace.

Second Draft.

It is well worth while to make a special mark on the calendar to signify that on June ___ 1944 Rome has fallen to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals is in our hands. One up and two to go.

It is perhaps significant that the first of these capitals to fall should be the most historic one of all. The story of Rome goes back to the foundations of what we call our civilization. We can see there today well preserved monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world, and that, too, is significant.

It will be a good thing if from now on no one city and no one race are able to control the whole of the present known world--which means all of us.

And in addition to the monuments of the older times we see in Rome the greatest symbol of the Christianity which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other Churches in many places, but the church founded by St. Peter himself is a living symbol which breathes throughout the world.

Finally it is significant that Rome has been captured by armies of many nations. The American and British armies fought courageously as the battle edged slowly forward. They were ably assisted by our own North American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. And the fighting New Zealanders from the far off South Pacific, the courageous French and the French Moroccans, ^{the South Africans} the Poles and the East Indians--they also fought with us on the bloody approaches to Rome. (Chen for others)

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Page 2.

The Italians, forswearing their erstwhile Axis partnership, have sent their troops against the German trespassers, and have acquitted themselves well on our battlefronts. ³⁰⁰

We all know that Italy is not yet liberated. In North Africa we have freed from Italian controls Ethiopia, Somaliland, Kritrea, Tripolitania and Libya, and then all of Sicily and Sardinia and the South of Italy. For good measure we have restored Corsica to the French.

But a glance at the map shows that the major part of the Italian peninsula--in population and in acreage--is still in the hands of the Axis--primarily the Germans, though we have little information as to what operative role Senor Mussolini is now singing.

What I want to emphasize especially--and I am thinking in military terms--is the interrelationship of every part of the European war theater with every other part. What in Italy today has a direct bearing on what happens tomorrow in France and the Low Countries and Scandinavia and on the Russian front and in the Balkans.

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I do not think that we should paint fancy pictures about what the fall of Rome will mean to the ^{more} ~~people in Northern~~ ^{Axis populations} Italy and especially to the people in Germany itself. True, it meant enough in the minds of Hitler and his generals to ~~ax~~ induce them to fight desperately--and at great cost to their crumbling Eastern line and to the Western front--to hold some for themselves.

From a strictly military standpoint, we had long before captured the main objectives of our Italian campaign--the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean and the airports

Page 3.

of Foggia, from which we have struck telling blows on the continent.

But Rome is in a sense more than a military objective. Ever since the days of the Caesars Rome has stood as a symbol of authority. Rome was the Republic. Rome was the Empire. ^{Then} Rome was the seat of Fascism, and as I have said, one of the three capitals of the Axis.

The Italian people were enslaved and degraded for a quarter century ^{by rule from} ~~the~~ the Rome of Mussolini, and they will mark its fall with deep emotion. In the north of Italy, however, the people are still dominated and threatened by the Nazi overlords and their Fascist puppets. We will hope that the ~~fall~~ capture of Rome may encourage resistance groups in the north of Italy / to redouble their efforts and make our own further advances more swift.

The collapse of the German ring around Rome proves ^{the} ~~that~~ that our soldiers can outfight the vaunted Nazi legions--the so-called invincible Hitler line, the Herman Goering divisions and the rest of the ~~bloody~~ Nazi war machine.

Our victory comes at ^{an excellent} ~~a crucial~~ time, while other Allied forces are poised for a strike at Western Europe--and while lines of other Nazi soldiers nervously await our assault.

But it would be foolish to inflate in our own minds the ^{military} ~~importance~~ importance of the capture of Rome. ^{as well as} ~~(It is a~~ psychological ~~rather than~~ a military victory.) And we cannot assume that ~~this~~ this victory--the news of which will be distorted by the Nazi propagandists for home consumption--will destroy the morale of the German population. It still appears that we shall have to push through a long

Page 4.

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period of greater effort and fiercer fighting before we get into Germany itself. We know by now that the Germans have retreated hundreds and hundreds of miles ^{all the way} from the gates of Cairo through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and ~~Italy~~ ^{Italy} ~~of Rome itself~~, with heavy losses to be sure, but ^{not} with losses in men and material ^{full} great enough to cause ~~their~~ collapse.)

Germany has not yet been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point of renouncing the right to recommence world conquest a generation hence.

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Therefore the victory in a larger sense still ~~x~~ lies some distance ahead.

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The seizure of Rome will in a measure simplify the problems of the liberated areas. As I have said, Rome ~~was~~ ^{has been} the center of all ~~the~~ Italian authority and ^{as we came} when ~~we~~ came in the people ~~were~~ ^{will be naturally} confused by any effort to give them free and democratic local administration.

In Italy the people had lived so long under the corrupt rule of Mussolini that in spite of the tinsel at the top, and after a ~~show~~ first show of success, their economic condition had grown steadily worse. ^{have} We found starvation, malnutrition, disease, a deteriorating education and ^{political decay} ~~moral decay~~, all by-products of the Fascist misrule.

The occupational task of the Allies has been stupendous. We have had to start at the very bottom, building local governments on democratic lines. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to raise their own local crops, and meanwhile we have had to give them bread to replace that which was stolen out of their mouths by the Germans. We have had to help them cleanse their schools of Fascist trappings.

The American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, who are only ^{now} learning to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom. Some of us let our thoughts run to the cost of it. ~~But~~ Essentially it is what we call relief. We at the same time hope that this relief will be an investment for the future--an investment that will pay dividends in the form of the elimination of Fascism and the ending of any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in twenty years. ~~It is a good investment which will pay a dividend of peace.~~ ^{future} Dividends of peace ^{will} justify ^{the} investment.

The Italian people are capable of self government. They are not best known for warlike qualities--thank God! ~~In these days people who are so war-like~~ ^{We do} will not ~~lose~~ ^{lose} sight of the virtues of a peace loving race.

We remember the many centuries in which Italians were leaders in the ^{arts and sciences, enriching} ~~finer things of life.~~ Their paintings, sculptures and literature ^{have} ~~enriched~~ the lives of ^{all} mankind. ~~(Their science and invention have benefited all the world)~~

Gallileo and Marconi, ~~Gallini~~ and Michelangelo and Dante--these are names among the greatest of the great. And there is ^{a fearless} ~~that~~ discoverer who typifies the courage of a useful race--Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in the stature of civilization by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overcrowded within their own territories, but they do not need to conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breadth of life. It is worth ^{thinking about} ~~that~~ that the other peoples may not want to be conquered.

In the past Italians have found plenty of places to go. They have gone, ~~for example~~, by the millions to the United States. They have been ~~x~~ welcomed, they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community ~~leaders~~ and governmental ~~officials~~. ^{Readers} They are not Italian-Americans. They are Americans--Americans of Italian descent.

13
Italians have gone in great numbers to Brazil, ~~(There they have been made welcome and have prospered. They have gone to the Argentine and become leading citizens of that great country.)~~ ~~(And they have gone to many other nations in every~~ ~~continent of the world, giving of their industry and their talents, and achieving success and the comfort of good living.~~

Italy should go on as a great mother nation, contributing to the culture and progress and good will of all mankind--and sending forth her sons and daughters to help in the upbuilding of other nations.

Aggression by a future Italy can be tolerated no more than aggression by future Germans or Japanese.

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We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace. Therefore it seems wise for all the other nations opposed to Fascism and Nazism to help give them a chance. ~~As I am deliberately intimating that this will help the United States from now on.~~ ^{in the future}

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Let it not be forgotten that the Germans, after years of domination in Rome, left the ^{people in the} Eternal City ~~desolate and its people~~ on the verge of starvation. Anticipating its fall, we and the British have already shipped overseas many thousands of tons of food for Rome and now ~~THANK~~ ¹⁹⁴⁰ thank God that we are there, we can soon begin to save the lives of the men and women and children of Rome.

This is an example of the ^{efficiency of your} machinery of war and its by-products. The magnificent response of ^{the American people in} our ~~own~~ ^{country} in ^{planning} building the merchant ships, in making and collecting the cargoes, in getting the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and in thinking ahead to meet emergencies, spells, I think, an amazing efficiency on the part of our armed forces and of the various agencies working with them. ~~American farmers produced the food. American workers~~ ^{the ships.} ~~American merchant seamen~~ ^{man} ~~built~~ ^{and delivered the food to its destinations. And all the while} ~~we~~ ^{have been} ~~building munitions of war, building warships, and fighting~~ ^{for ourselves and our allies.} ~~ever more successful battles all over the world.~~

To use an old phrase of mine, no great effort like this can be a hundred per cent perfect, but the batting average is very, very high.

I know that I ^{can} extend the congratulations and good wishes of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to General ^{Mark} Clark and General Leese of the Fifth and ~~X~~ the Eighth Armies, and to General Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theater, and to all their brave soldiers. ^{They have captured} ~~this great citadel~~ ^{Rome. They, and we, will always remember that} ~~is in their continuing campaign.~~

May God bless them and watch over them and all of our gallant fighting men.

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Third Draft.

It is well worthwhile to make a ~~small~~ special mark on the calendar to signify that on June 4 1944 Rome has fallen to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals is in our hands. One up and two to go.

It is perhaps significant that the first of these capitals to fall should be the most historic one of all. The story of Rome goes back to the foundations of what we call our ~~old~~ civilization. We can see there today well preserved monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world, and that, too, is significant.

It will be a good thing if from now on no one city and no one race ~~are~~ ^{are} able to control the whole of the present known world - which means all of us.

And in addition to the monuments of the older times we see in Rome the greatest symbol of the Christianity which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other churches in many places, but the church founded by S^ct. Peter himself is a living symbol which breathes throughout the world.

Finally, it is significant that Rome has been captured by armies of many nations. The American and British armies fought courageously as the battle edged slowly forward. They were ably assisted by our own N^orth American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. And the fighting New Zealanders from the far South Pacific, the courageous French and the French M^oroccans, the South Africans, the Poles and the East Indians - they also fought with us on the bloody approaches to Rome. ^{The Italians, forswearing their erstwhile Axis partnership, have sent their troops against the German trespassers, and have acquitted themselves well on our battle front.}

I do not think that we should paint fancy pictures about what the fall of Rome will mean to the A^xis populations and, more especially, to the people in Germany itself. True, it meant enough in the ^{minds} ~~hearts~~ of Hitler and his generals to induce them to fight desperately and at great cost to their crumbling Eastern line and to the Western front, to hold Rome for themselves.

From a strictly military standpoint, we had long before captured the main objectives of our Italian campaign - the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean and the airports of Foggia, from which we have struck telling blows on the continent.

But Rome is in a sense more than a military objective. Ever since the days of the Caesars Rome has stood as a symbol of authority. Rome was the Republic. Rome was the Empire. Then, Rome was the seat of Fascism, and as I have said, one of the three capitals of the Axis.

The Italian people were enslaved and degraded for a quarter century by rule from the Rome of Mussolini, and they will mark its fall with deep emotion. In the north of Italy, however, the people are still dominated and threatened by the Nazi overlords and their ~~Fascist~~ Fascist puppets. We will hope that the capture of Rome may ~~encourage~~ encourage resistance groups in the north of Italy to redouble ^{their} ~~the~~ efforts and make our own further advances more swift.

Our victory comes at an excellent time, while our Allied forces are poised for a strike at Western Europe - and while lines of other Nazi soldiers nervously await our assault.

But it would be foolish to inflate in our own minds the military importance of the capture of Rome. And we cannot assume that this victory - the news of which will be distorted by the Nazi propagandists for home consumption - will destroy the morale of the German population. It still appears that we shall have to push through a long period of greater effort and fiercer fighting before we get into Germany itself. We know by now that the Germans have retreated hundreds and hundreds of miles, all the way from the gates of Cairo, through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and Southern Italy, with heavy losses to be sure, but not with losses in men and material great enough to cause full

collapse.

Germany has not yet been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point of renouncing the right to recommence world conquest a generation hence.

Therefore, the victory in a larger sense still lies some distance ahead.

In Italy the people had lived so long under the corrupt rule of Mussolini that in spite of the tinsel at the top, and after a first show of success, their economic condition had grown steadily ~~more~~ worse. We have found starvation, ^{malnutrition,} disease, ~~and deterioration~~ a deteriorating education and public health - all by-products of the Fascist misrule.

The occupational task of the Allies has been stupendous. We have had to start at the very bottom, building local governments on democratic lines. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to raise their own local crops, and meanwhile we have had to give them bread to replace that which was stolen out of their mouths by the Germans. We have to help them cleanse their schools of Fascist trappings.

The American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, who are only now learning to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom. Some of us let our thoughts run to the cost of it. Essentially it is what we call relief. We at the same time hope that this relief will be an investment for the future - an investment that will pay dividends in the form of the elimination of Fascism and the ending of any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in twenty years. Dividends of future peace justify such an investment.

The Italian people are capable of self-government. They are not best known for war-like qualities - thank God! We do not lose sight of the

virtues of a peace loving race.

We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind.

Galileo and Marconi, and Michelangelo and Dante - these are names among the greatest of the great. And there is a certain fearless discoverer who ~~is~~ typifies the courage of a useful race - Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in the stature of civilization by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overcrowded within their own territories, but they do not need to conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breadth of life. It is worth remembering that the other peoples may not want to be conquered.

In the past Italians have found plenty of places to go. They have gone by the millions to the United States. They have been welcomed, they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community and government ^{and} leaders. They are not Italian-Americans. They are Americans - Americans of Italian descent.

Italians have gone in great numbers to Brazil, to the Argentine, and to many other nations in every continent of the world, giving of their industry and their talents, and achieving success and the comfort of good living.

Italy should go on as a great mother nation, contributing to the culture and progress and good will of all mankind - and sending forth her sons and daughters to help in the upbuilding of other nations.

We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace. Therefore it seems wise for all the other nations opposed to Fascism and Nazism to help give them a chance.

Let it not be forgotten that the Germans, after years of domination in Rome, left the people in the ~~E~~ Eternal City on the verge of

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starvation. Anticipating its fall, we and the British have already shipped overseas many thousands of tons of food for Rome and now, thank God that we are there, we can soon begin to save the lives of the men and women and children of Rome.

This is an example of the efficiency of your machinery of war and its by-products. The magnificent response of the American ~~people~~ people-in growing the crops, building the merchant ships, making and collecting the cargoes, getting the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and thinking ahead to meet emergencies—all this spells, I think, an amazing efficiency on the part of our armed forces and ^{all} the various agencies working with them.

To use an old phrase of mine, no great effort like this can be a hundred per cent perfect, but the batting average is very, very high.

I know that I can extend the congratulations and good wishes of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to General Mark Clark and General Leese of the Fifth and the Eighth Armies, and to General Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theater, and to all their brave soldiers. They have captured Rome. They, and we, will always remember that.

May God bless them and watch over them and all of our gallant fighting men.



Yesterday, June fourth, 1944, Rome fell to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals is now in our hands. One up and two to go!

It is perhaps significant that the first of these capitals to fall should have the longest history of all of them. The story of Rome goes back to the time of the foundations of our civilisation. We can still see there monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world. That, too, is significant, for the United Nations are determined that in the future no one city and no one race will be able to control the whole of the world.

In addition to the monuments of the older times, we also see in Rome the great symbol of ~~the~~ Christianity, which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other churches in many places, but the churches and shrines of Rome are visible symbols of the faith and determination of the early saints and martyrs that Christianity should live and become universal. And now it will be a source of deep satisfaction that the freedom of the Pope and of Vatican City ^{is assured} ~~is guaranteed~~ by the armies of the United Nations.

It is also significant that Rome has been liberated by the armed forces of many nations. The American and British armies - who bore the chief burdens of battle - found at their sides

our own North American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. The fighting New Zealanders from the far South Pacific, the courageous French and the French Moroccans, the South Africans, the Poles and the East Indians — all of them fought with us on the bloody approaches to Rome.

The Italians, too, forswearing a partnership in the Axis which they never desired, have sent their troops to join us in our battles against the German trespassers on their soil, ~~and to some extent~~
~~against the~~

The prospect of the liberation of Rome meant enough to Hitler and his generals to induce them to fight desperately at great cost of men and materials and with great sacrifice to their crumbling Eastern line and to their Western front. No thanks are due to them if Rome was spared the devastation which the Germans wreaked on Naples and other Italian cities. The Allied Generals maneuvered so skillfully that the Nazis could only have stayed long enough to damage Rome at the risk of losing their armies. ~~We have seen the result of this. The Nazis have been driven out of Rome and the Allies have entered the city. The Nazis have been driven out of Rome and the Allies have entered the city. The Nazis have been driven out of Rome and the Allies have entered the city.~~

But Rome is of course more than a military objective.

Ever since before the days of the Caesars, Rome has stood as a symbol of authority. Rome was the Republic. Rome was the Empire. Rome was the *Catholic* Church, and Rome was the capital of a United Italy. Later, unfortunately, Rome became the seat of Fascism -- one of the three capitals of the Axis.

For a quarter century the Italian people were enslaved and degraded by the rule of Mussolini from Rome. They will mark its liberation with deep emotion. In the north of Italy, the people are still dominated and threatened by the Nazi overlords and their Fascist puppets. ~~the capture of Rome will encourage resistance groups in the north of Italy to resolute their efforts and accelerate our own further advance.~~

Our victory comes at an excellent time, while our Allied forces are poised for ~~a~~ *another* strike at Western Europe -- and while *hordes* of other Nazi soldiers nervously await our assault. *And* Our gallant Russian Allies continue to make their power felt more and more.

From a strictly military standpoint, we had long ago accomplished certain of the main objectives of our Italian campaign -- the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean to shorten our combat and supply lines, and the *capture of the* airports of Foggia / from which we have struck telling blows on the continent.

It would be unwise to inflate in our own minds the military importance of the capture of Rome. We shall have to push through a long period of greater effort and fiercer fighting before we get into Germany itself. The *Germans* have retreated thousands

of miles, all the way from the gates of Cairo, through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and Southern Italy. They have suffered heavy losses, but not great enough yet to cause collapse.

Germany has not yet been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point where she will be unable to recommence world conquest a generation hence.

Therefore, the victory still lies some distance ahead. That distance will be covered in due time -- have no fear of that. But it will be tough and it will be costly.

In Italy the people had lived so long under the corrupt rule of Mussolini that, in spite of the tinzel at the top, their economic condition had grown steadily worse. Our troops have found starvation, malnutrition, disease, a ~~deplorable~~ ^{deteriorating} education and lowered public health -- all by-products of the Fascist misrule.

The task of the Allies in occupation has been stupendous. We have had to start at the very bottom, assisting local governments to reform on democratic lines. We have had to give them bread to replace that which was stolen out of their mouths by the Germans. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to raise ^{and use} their own local crops. We have to help them cleanse

FOURTH DRAFT

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their schools of Fascist trappings.

The American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, who are only now learning to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom.

Some of us ^{may} ~~must~~ let our thoughts run to the financial cost of it. Essentially it is what we can call a form of relief. At the same time we hope that this relief will be an investment for the future — an investment that will pay dividends by eliminating Fascism and ending any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in the future. They are dividends which justify such an investment, because they are additional supports for world peace.

The Italian people are capable of self-government. We do not lose sight of their virtues as a peace-loving nation.

We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind.

We remember the great sons of the Italian people -- Galileo and Marconi, Michelangelo and Dante -- and that fearless discoverer who typifies the courage of Italy -- Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in stature by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overcrowded within their own territories, but they do not need to try to conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breath of life. Other peoples may not want to be conquered.

In the past, Italians have come by the millions to the United States. They have been welcomed, they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community and governmental leaders. They are not Italian-Americans. They are Americans -- Americans of Italian descent.

Italians have gone in great numbers to the other Americas, and to many other nations in every continent of

Brazil and the Argentine, for example --

the world, giving of their industry and their talents, and achieving success and the comfort of good living.

Italy should go on as a great mother nation, contributing to the culture and progress and good will of all mankind -- and developing her special talents in the arts, crafts, and sciences, and preserving her historic and cultural heritage for the benefit of all peoples.

We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace. All the other nations opposed to Fascism and Nazism should help give Italy a chance.

The Germans, after years of domination in Rome, left the people in the Eternal City on the verge of starvation. We and the British will do everything we can to bring them relief. Anticipating the fall of Rome, we made preparations to ship food supplies to the city, but it should be borne in mind that the needs are so great and the transportation requirements of our armies so heavy that improvement must be gradual. *Have already begun*
We ~~can~~ ^{are} ~~endeavouring~~ ^{beginning} to save the lives of the men, women and children of Rome.

This is an example of the efficiency of your machinery of war. The magnificent ability and energy of the American people in growing the crops, building the merchant ships, making and collecting the cargoes, getting the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and thinking ahead to meet

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and Hewitt; and to all their brave officers and men.

May God bless them and watch over them *and* *over* all of our gallant,
fighting men.

FOURTH DRAFT

Yesterday, June fourth, 1944, Rome fell to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals is now in our hands. One up and two to go!

It is perhaps significant that the first of these capitals to fall should have the longest history of all of them. The story of Rome goes back to the time of the foundations of our civilization. We can still see there monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world. That, too, is significant, for the United Nations are determined that in the future no one city and no one race will be able to control the whole of the world.

In addition to the monuments of the older times, we also see in Rome the great symbol of ~~the~~ Christianity, which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other churches in many places, but the churches and shrines of Rome are visible symbols of the faith and determination of the early saints and martyrs that Christianity should live and become universal. And now it will be a source of deep satisfaction that the freedom of the Pope and of Vatican City ^{is assured} ~~are guaranteed~~ by the armies of the United Nations.

It is also significant that Rome has been liberated by the armed forces of many nations. The American and British armies - who bore the chief burdens of battle - found at their sides

our own North American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. The fighting New Zealanders from the far South Pacific, the courageous French and the French Moroccans, the South Africans, the Poles and the East Indians -- all of them fought with us on the bloody approaches to Rome.

The Italians, too, forswearing a partnership in the Axis which they never desired, have sent their troops to join us in our battles against the German trespassers on their soil, ~~and have acquitted them-~~
 ~~selves well.~~

The prospect of the liberation of Rome meant enough to Hitler and his generals to induce them to fight desperately at great cost of men and materials and with great sacrifice to their crumbling Eastern line and to their Western front. No thanks are due to them if Rome was spared the devastation which the Germans wreaked on Naples and other Italian cities. The Allied Generals maneuvered so skillfully that the Nazis could only have stayed long enough to damage Rome at the risk of losing their armies. ~~We know and Hitler and I go know that the Nazis can be beaten whether they are on the offensive or the defensive; and the Nazis will learn that lesson again and again.~~

But Rome is of course more than a military objective.

Ever since before the days of the Caesars, Rome has stood as a symbol of authority. Rome was the Republic. Rome was the Empire. Rome was the *Catholic* Church, and Rome was the capital of a United Italy. Later, unfortunately, Rome became the seat of Fascism -- one of the three capitals of the Axis.

For a quarter century the Italian people were enslaved and degraded by the rule of Mussolini from Rome. They will mark its liberation with deep emotion. In the north of Italy, the people are still dominated and threatened by the Nazi overlords and their Fascist puppets. ~~The capture of Rome will encourage resistance groups in the north of Italy to redouble their efforts and accelerate our own further advances.~~

Our victory comes at an excellent time, while our Allied forces are poised for ~~the~~ ^{the other} strike at Western Europe -- and while ~~those~~ ^{armies} of other Nazi soldiers nervously await our assault. ^{and} Our gallant Russian Allies ^h continue to make their power felt more and more.

From a strictly military standpoint, we had long ago accomplished certain of the main objectives of our Italian campaign -- the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean to shorten our combat and supply lines, and the ^{capture of the} airports of Foggia, from which we have struck telling blows on the continent.

It would be unwise to inflate in our own minds the military importance of the capture of Rome. We shall have to push through a long period of greater effort and fiercer fighting before we get into Germany itself. The *g*ermans have retreated thousands

FOURTH DRAFT

- 4 -

of miles, all the way from the gates of Cairo, through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and Southern Italy. They have suffered heavy losses, but not great enough yet to cause collapse.

Germany has not yet been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point where she will be unable to recommence world conquest a generation hence.

Therefore, the victory still lies some distance ahead. That distance will be covered in due time -- have no fear of that. But it will be tough and it will be costly.

In Italy the people had lived so long under the corrupt rule of Mussolini that, in spite of the tinsel at the top, their economic condition had grown steadily worse. Our troops have found starvation, malnutrition, disease, a ^{deteriorating} ~~low~~ education and lowered public health -- all by-products of the Fascist misrule.

The task of the Allies in occupation has been stupendous. We have had to start at the very bottom, assisting local governments to reform on democratic lines. We have had to give them bread to replace that which was stolen out of their mouths by the Germans. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to raise ^{And use} their own local crops. We have to help them cleanse

FOURTH DRAFT

-5-

their schools of Fascist trappings.

The American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, who are only now learning to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom.

Some of us ^{may} ~~have~~ let our thoughts run to the financial cost of it.

Essentially it is what we can call a form of relief. At the same time we hope that this relief will be an investment for the future -- an investment that will pay dividends by eliminating Fascism and ending any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in the future. They are dividends which justify such an investment because they are additional supports for world peace.

The Italian people are capable of self-government. We do not lose sight of their virtues as a peace-loving nation.

We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind.

We remember the great sons of the Italian people -- Galileo and Marconi, Michelangelo and Dante -- and that fearless discoverer who typifies the courage of Italy -- Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in stature by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overcrowded within their own territories, but they do not need to try to conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breath of life. Other peoples may not want to be conquered.

In the past, Italians have come by the millions to the United States. They have been welcomed, they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community and governmental leaders. They are not Italian-Americans. They are Americans -- Americans of Italian descent.

Italians have gone in great numbers to the other Americas, and to many other nations in every continent of

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the world, giving of their industry and their talents, and achieving success and the comfort of good living.

Italy should go on as a great mother nation, contributing to the culture and progress and good will of all mankind -- and developing her special talents in the arts, crafts, and sciences, and preserving her historic and cultural heritage for the benefit of all peoples.

We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace. All the other nations opposed to Fascism and Nazism should help give Italy a chance.

The Germans, after years of domination in Rome, left the people in the Eternal City on the verge of starvation. We and the British will do everything we can to bring them relief. Anticipating the fall of Rome, we made preparations to ship food supplies to the city, but it should be borne in mind that the needs are so great and the transportation requirements of our armies so heavy that improvement must be gradual. ^{have already begun} ~~We can soon begin~~ to save the lives of the men, women and children of Rome.

This is an example of the efficiency of your machinery of war. The magnificent ability and energy of the American people in growing the crops, building the merchant ships, making and collecting the cargoes, getting the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and thinking ahead to meet

~~1/2~~
emergencies -- all this spells, I think, an amazing efficiency on the part of our armed forces, all the various agencies working with them, and American industry and labor as a whole.

~~What we have done to help the Italian people, we are determined to do for all enslaved people who have been under the yoke of the Nazis -- if they come to our side in time. The bold hearts of the men and women in the underground of Europe and Asia can take renewed faith and courage in the liberation of Rome. Their chains will come off too. And those peoples who have the misfortune to be in the satellite nations of Europe and Asia should take the liberation of Rome as an augury of what can happen to help them, if they will only help themselves by rising and striking against their captors when the time comes.~~

No great effort like this can be a hundred per cent perfect, but the batting average is very, very high.

I extend the congratulations and thanks of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to General Clark and General Leese of the Fifth and the Eighth Armies; to General Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theater, and General Devers his American Deputy; ^{to} Lieutenant General Baker; ^{to} ~~and~~ Admirals

Cunningham and

FOURTH DRAFT

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Hewitt; and to all their brave officers and men.

May God bless them and watch over them, ^{and} ^{all} of our gallant,
fighting men.

STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

JUNE 3, 1944

CAUTION: The following radio address of the President MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release for editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 8:30 P.M., E.W.T., Monday, June 3, 1944. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

from S.H.D.
note

My friends:

Yesterday, June fourth, 1944, Rome fell to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals is now in our hands. One up and two to go!

It is perhaps significant that the first of these capitals to fall should have the longest history of all of them. The story of Rome goes back to the time of the foundations of our civilization. We can still see there monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world. That, too, is significant, for the United Nations are determined that in the future no one city and no one race will be able to control the whole of the world.

taught

In addition to the monuments of the older times, we also see in Rome the great symbol of Christianity, which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other churches in many places, but the churches and shrines of Rome are visible symbols of the faith and determination of the early saints and martyrs that Christianity should live and become universal. And now it will be a source of deep satisfaction that the freedom of the Pope and of Vatican City is assured by the armies of the United Nations.

It is also significant that Rome has been liberated by the armed forces of many nations. The American and British armies - who bore the chief burdens of battle - found at their sides our own North American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. The fighting New Zealanders from the far South Pacific, the courageous French and the French Moroccans, the South Africans, the Poles and the East Indians -- all of them fought with us on the bloody approaches to Rome.

in the city of

The Italians, too, forswearing a partnership in the Axis which they never desired, have sent their troops to join us in our battles against the German trespassers on their soil.

The prospect of the liberation of Rome meant enough to Hitler and his generals to induce them to fight desperately at great cost of men and materials and with great sacrifice to their crumbling Eastern line and to their Western front. No thanks are due to them if Rome was spared the devastation which the Germans wreaked on Naples and other Italian cities. The Allied Generals maneuvered so skillfully that the Nazis could only have stayed long enough to damage Rome at the risk of losing their armies.

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But Rome is of course more than a military objective.

Ever since before the days of the Caesars, Rome has stood as a symbol of authority. Rome was the Republic, Rome was the Empire. Rome was the Catholic Church, and Rome was the capital of a United Italy. Later, unfortunately, Rome became the seat of Fascism -- one of the three capitals of the Axis.

For ^{this} quarter century the Italian people were enslaved. They were ~~and~~ degraded by the rule of Mussolini from Rome. They will mark its liberation with deep emotion. In the north of Italy, the people are still dominated and threatened by the Nazi overlords and their Fascist puppets. *Somehow, in the back of my head, I still remember a name -- Mussolini.*

Our victory comes at an excellent time, while our Allied forces are poised for another strike at Western Europe -- and while the armies of other Nazi soldiers nervously await our assault. And our gallant Russian Allies continue to make their power felt more and more. *(in the meantime)*

From a strictly military standpoint, we had long ago accomplished certain of the main objectives of our Italian campaign -- the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean to shorten our combat and supply lines, and the capture of the airports of Foggia from which we have struck telling blows on the continent. *such as the great airports -- the whole*

It would be unwise to inflate in our own minds the military importance of the capture of Rome. We shall have to push through a long period of greater effort and fiercer fighting before we get into Germany itself. The Germans have retreated thousands of miles, all the way from the gates of Cairo, through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and Southern Italy. They have suffered heavy losses, but not great enough yet to cause collapse. *for control of the island -- the major islands -- the major islands are the key to the Italian front.*

Germany has not yet been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point where she will be unable to recommence world conquest a generation hence.

Therefore, the victory still lies some distance ahead. That distance will be covered in due time -- have no fear of that. But it will be tough and it will be costly, *as I have told you many, many times!*

In Italy the people had lived so long under the corrupt rule of Mussolini that, in spite of the tinsel at the top, their economic condition had grown steadily worse. Our troops have found starvation, malnutrition, disease, a deteriorating education and lowered public health -- all by-products of the Fascist misrule. *you have seen the pictures of them --*

The task of the Allies in occupation has been stupendous. We have had to start at the very bottom, assisting local governments to reform on democratic lines. We have had to give them bread to replace that which was stolen out of their mouths by the Germans. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to raise and use their own local crops. We have to help them cleanse their schools of Fascist trappings.

which The American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, who are only now learning to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom. *and*

Some of us may let our thoughts run to the financial cost of it. Essentially it is what we can call a form of relief. *at the* same time we hope that this relief will be an investment for the future -- an investment that will pay dividends by eliminating Fascism ~~and~~ ending any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in the future. *they* are dividends which justify such an investment, because they are additional supports for world peace.

and that means that

The Italian people are capable of self-government. We do not lose sight of their virtues as a peace-loving nation.

We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind.

We remember the great sons of the Italian people — Galileo and Marconi, Michelangelo and Dante — and, ^{incidentally} that fearless discoverer who typifies the courage of Italy — Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in stature by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overcrowded within their own territories, but they do not need to try to conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breath of life. Other peoples may not want to be conquered.

In the past, Italians have come by the millions ^{into} the United States. They have been welcomed, they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community and governmental leaders. They are not Italian-Americans. They are Americans — Americans of Italian descent.

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The Italians have gone in great numbers to the other Americas — Brazil and the Argentine, for example, — ^{and} to many other nations in every continent of the world, giving of their industry and their talents, and achieving success and the comfort of good living ^{and good citizenship}.

Italy should go on as a great mother nation, contributing to the culture and progress and good will of all mankind — ~~and~~ developing her special talents in the arts, crafts, and sciences, and preserving her historic and cultural heritage for the benefit of all peoples.

We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace. All the other nations opposed to Fascism and Nazism ^{ought to} ~~should~~ help give Italy a chance. ^{and are doing}

The Germans, after years of domination in Rome, left the people in the Eternal City on the verge of starvation. We and the British will do everything we can to bring them relief. Anticipating the fall of Rome, we made preparations to ship food supplies to the city, ^{but} it should be borne in mind that the needs are so great, ^{and} the transportation requirements of our armies so heavy that improvement must be gradual. ^{I think} We have already begun to save the lives of the men, women and children of Rome.

^{of course} This, ^{I think} is an example of the efficiency of your machinery of war. The magnificent ability and energy of the American people in growing the crops, building the merchant ships, ^{making} ~~making~~ and collecting the cargoes, ^{getting} ~~getting~~ the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and thinking ahead to meet emergencies — all this spells, I think, an amazing efficiency on the part of our armed forces, all the various agencies working with them, and American industry and labor as a whole.

No great effort like this can be a hundred per cent perfect, but the betting average is very, very high.

^{Tonight}
And ^{tonight} I extend the congratulations and thanks of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to General Clark and General Leese of the Fifth and the Eighth Armies; to General Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theater, ^{the} ~~the~~ General Devers his American Deputy; to ~~Lieutenant~~ General Eaker; to Admirals Cunningham and Hewitt; and to all their brave officers and men.

May God bless them and watch over them and over all of our gallant, fighting men.

ROSENMAN GOLDMARK COLIN & KAYE
165 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 6, N. Y.

SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

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JUNE 5, 1944 - FALL OF ROME

Book OK S. M.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : White House
 FROM : State Department
 SUBJECT: Radio speech

DATE: June 5, 1944

The State Department suggests the following changes:

Page I

Paragraph 2, line 3: strike out "what we call."

Paragraph 2: rewrite to read --

"... Rome the great symbol of Christianity which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other churches in many places, but the churches and shrines of Rome are visible symbols of the faith and determination of the early saints and martyrs that Christianity should live and become universal."

Paragraph 6: rewrite to read --

"The Italian people, forswearing a partnership in the Axis which they never desired, have sent their troops against the German trespassers and have acquitted themselves well."

Paragraph 7, second line: strike out "fall" and substitute "liberation."

Page II

Paragraph 1: rewrite to read --

"We had long before accomplished certain of the main military objectives of our Italian campaign -- the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean and the airports of Foggia from which we have struck telling blows on the Continent."

Paragraph 2, first line: strike "in a sense" and substitute "of course." Strike the last sentence and make it read:

"Rome was the Republic, Rome was the Empire, Rome was the Church, and Rome was the capital of a united Italy. Later, unfortunately, Rome has been the seat of Fascism and one of the three capitals of the Axis."

Paragraph 3



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Paragraph 3, first sentence: rewrite to read --

"The Italian people were enslaved and degraded for a quarter of a century by the rule of Mussolini from Rome. They will mark its liberation with deep emotion."

Then pick up the rest of the paragraph beginning "in the north of Italy."

Paragraph 4: add the following -- "Our gallant Russian Allies continue to make their power felt more and more."

Page III

Paragraph 3, last line -- strike "by products" and substitute "results."

Paragraph 4, second line: strike "building" and substitute "assisting" and make it read:

"assisting local governments to reform on democratic lines."

Paragraph 5: change first sentence to read --

"The American people as a whole approve assistance to these fellow human beings who now have the opportunity to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom."

Paragraph 5, line 5: Period after "future." Strike

"an investment that will pay dividends in the form of elimination of Fascism and the ending of any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in 20 years."

Last paragraph: Strike "They are not best known for war-like qualities -- Thank God."

The reason for striking this is that there is nothing to be gained by calling the Italians poor soldiers because the Germans undoubtedly will be reflecting upon the courage and military valor of the Italians. We gain more by not doing so.

Page IV

Second paragraph: Transpose Marconi and Danti.

Paragraph 4: In first sentence, strike "found plenty of places to go. They have, etc." The sentence will then read: "In the past the Italians have come by the millions to the United States."



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Paragraph 5, first sentence: strike "Brazil, to the Argentine," and make it read:

"The Italians have gone in great numbers to the other Americas."

Paragraph 6, second line: strike "and sending forth her sons and daughters to help in the upbuilding of other nations." Substitute, "and developing her special talents in the arts, crafts and science, and preserve her historic and cultural heritage for the benefit of all peoples."

Page 7

Top of page: strike first sentence and substitute:

"We and the British have the food in Italy to feed the men, women and children of Rome in this emergency period."

Paragraph 3, line 5: strike "captured" and substitute "freed."

NOTE: In this connection it is suggested that there be woven into the speech at this point or elsewhere: "Rome was not evacuated by the enemy. Our armies had smashed the enemy forces before Rome and he had no alternative but to flee."

M. J. McDermott

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1701-11-11

FOURTH DRAFT

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Samuel I. Rosenman

FOURTH DRAFT

- 2 -

our own North American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. The fighting New Zealanders from the far South Pacific, the courageous French and the French Moroccans, the South Africans, the Poles and the East Indians — all of them fought with us on the bloody approaches to Rome.

The Italians, too, foregoing a partnership in the Axis which they never desired, have sent their troops to join us in our battles against the German trespassers on their soil, and have acquitted themselves well.

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But Rome is of course more than a military objective.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenzweig

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FOURTH DRAFT

- 4 -

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From the papers of
Samuel I. Rosenberg

FOURTH DRAFT

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We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind.

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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

FOURTH DRAFT

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Italy should go on as a great mother nation, contributing to the culture and progress and good will of all mankind — and developing her special talents in the arts, crafts, and sciences, and preserving her historic and cultural heritage for the benefit of all peoples.

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AND TOLSON, JR.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

FOURTH DRAFT

emergencies -- all this spells, I think, an amazing efficiency on the part of our armed forces, all the various agencies working with them, and American industry and labor as a whole.

What we have done to help the Italian people, we are determined to do for all enslaved people who have been under the yoke of the Nazis -- if they come to our side in time. The bold hearts of the men and women in the underground of Europe and Asia can take renewed faith and courage in the liberation of Rome. Their chains will come off too. And those peoples who have the misfortune to be in the satellite nations of Europe and Asia should take the liberation of Rome as an augury of what can happen to help them, if they will only help themselves by rising and striking against their captors when the time comes.

No great effort like this can be a hundred per cent perfect, but the betting average is very, very high.

I extend the congratulations and thanks of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to General Clark and General Leese of the Fifth and the Eighth Armies; to General Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theater, and General Dovers his American Deputy; Lieutenant General Baker; and Admiral



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Hewitt; and to all their brave officers and men.

May God bless them and watch over them, and all of our gallant,
fighting men.

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It is well worthwhile to make a special mark on the calendar to signify that on ^{April 29} June fourth, 1944, Rome ^{has fallen} ~~fell~~ to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals ^{now} is in our hands. One up and two to go.

It is perhaps significant that the first of these capitals to fall should ^{be the most historic one of all} ~~be~~ the most historic one of all. The story of Rome goes back to the ^{birth of the} foundations of what we call our civilization. We can ^{still} see there today well preserved monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world. ^{And that, too, is significant, for the barbaric hordes are determined that soon the picture} It will be a good thing if from now on no one city and no one race ^{will be} are able to control the whole of the present known world -- which means all of us.

And in addition to the monuments of the older times, we ^{also} see in Rome the greatest symbol of the Christianity which has reached into almost every part of the world -- There are other shrines and other churches in many places, but the church founded by St. Peter himself, is a living symbol which breathes throughout the world. ^{It's a living symbol of the cause of human justice and the desire of peace for which the barbaric hordes are fighting.}

Finally, it is significant that Rome has been ^{captured} ~~captured~~ ^{liberated} ~~liberated~~ by the armed forces of many nations. The American and British armies -- who ^{are the chief leaders of battle -- fought as their predecessors} fought courageously as the battle edged slowly forward. They



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were ably assisted by our own North American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. And the fighting New Zealanders from the far South Pacific, the courageous French and the French Moroccans, the South Africans, the Poles and the East Indians -- ^{gal - les -} they also fought with us on the bloody approaches to Rome.

The Italians, ^{too,} forswearing their erstwhile Axis
partnership, have sent their troops ^{to join us in our battle} against the German trespassers. ^{and}

[and have acquitted themselves well on our battlefronts.]

[I do not think that we should paint ^{to many mindless} fancy pictures about what the fall of Rome will mean to the Axis populations, and, more especially, to the people in Germany itself. True;

mean enough in the minds of Hitler and his generals to induce them to fight desperately, to hold Rome for themselves -- and then to use their own materials and with great sacrifice to fight at great cost to their crumbling Eastern line and to the Western front. The idea is that Hitler and the German high command are of the opinion that the Axis will be able to hold Rome for themselves and then use their own materials and with great sacrifice to fight at great cost to their crumbling Eastern line and to the Western front.

From a strictly military standpoint, we had long before captured the main objectives of our Italian campaign -- the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean, ^{to shorten our supply lines,} and the airports of Foggia, from which we have struck telling blows on the continent.

But Rome is in a sense more than a military objective.

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Ever since ^{before} the days of the Caesars, Rome has stood as a symbol of authority. Rome was the Republic. Rome was the Empire. Then, ^{later} Rome was the seat of Fascism, and as I have said, one of the three capitals of the Axis.

The Italian people were enslaved and degraded for a quarter century by rule from the Rome of Mussolini. and they will mark its fall with deep emotion. In the north of Italy, however, the people are still dominated and threatened by the Nazi overlords and their Fascist puppets. We will hope that the capture of Rome ^{will} encourage resistance groups in the north of Italy to redouble their efforts and ^{double} make our own further advances more swift.

Our victory comes at an excellent time, while our Allied forces are poised for a strike at Western Europe -- and while lines of other Nazi soldiers nervously await our assault.

But it would be foolish to inflate in our own minds the military importance of the capture of Rome. It still appears that we shall have to push through a long period of greater effort and fiercer fighting before we get into Germany itself. We know by now that the Germans have retreated ^{thousands} hundreds and



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hundreds of miles, all the way from the gates of Cairo, through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and Southern Italy, ^{the line} with ^{infused} heavy losses, to be sure, but not [with losses in men and material] great enough to cause ^{it} full collapse.

Germany has not yet been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point ^{where she would be unable} of renouncing the right to recommence world conquest a generation hence.

Therefore, the victory [in a larger sense] still lies some distance ahead. ^{that distance will be covered in due time -} ^{there is no fear of that. But it will be tough and it will be costly.}

In Italy the people had lived so long under the corrupt rule of Mussolini that, in spite of the tinsel at the top, [and after a first show of success,] their economic condition had grown steadily worse. ^{by leaps} We have found starvation, malnutrition, disease, a ^{lack of} deteriorating ^{lowest} education and public health -- all by-products of the Fascist misrule.

The ^{reconstruction} occupational task of the Allies has been stupendous. We have had to start at the very bottom, building local governments on democratic lines. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to raise their own local crops, and ^{meanwhile} we have had to give them bread to replace that which was stolen out of their mouths by the Germans. We have to help them cleanse



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their schools of Fascist trappings.

The American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, who are only now learning to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom. ^P Some of us ^{for} let our thoughts run to the ^{by initial} cost of it. Essentially it is what we ^{can} call ^{a form of} relief.

[We ^{at} the same time ^{we} hope that this relief will be an investment for the future -- an investment that will pay dividends ^{by} in the form of the elimination ^{eliminating} of Fascism and ^{the} ending ^{of} any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in ^{the future}. ^{Twenty years.} ^{The end} Dividends ^{which} of future peace justify such an investment ^{because they are additional supporters for world peace}.

The Italian people are capable of self-government.

We do not lose sight of the virtues of a peace-loving race. ^{that} ^{as} ^{nation}



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We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind. *We remember the great sons of the Italian people -*

Galileo and Marconi, Michelangelo and Dante -- and

*[*these are named among the greatest of the great. And there is a certain ^{type} fearless discoverer who typifies the courage of *the* [useful race] -- Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in *the* [the] stature [of civilization] by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overcrowded within their own territories, but they do not need to ^{try to} conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breath of life. *[*It is worth remembering that the *other* peoples may not want to be conquered.

In the past, Italians have found plenty of places to go. They have ^{and} ~~gone~~ by the millions to the United States. They have been welcomed, they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community and governmental leaders. They are not Italian-Americans. They are Americans -- Americans of Italian descent.

Italians have gone in great numbers to Brazil, to the Argentine, and to many other nations in every continent of



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the world, living of their industry and their talents, and achieving success and the comfort of good living.

Italy should go on as a great mother nation, contributing to the culture and progress and good will of all mankind -- and sending forth her sons and daughters to help in the upbuilding of other nations.

We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace. Therefore it seems wise for all the other nations opposed to Fascian and Nazian ^{should} ^{the} to help give them a chance.

~~Let it not be forgotten that~~ The Germans, after years of domination in Rome, left the people ⁱⁿ the Eternal City on the verge of starvation. Anticipating its fall, we and the British have already shipped overseas many thousands of tons of food for Rome; and now, thank God that we are there, we can soon begin to save the lives of the men and women and children of Rome.

This is an example of the efficiency of your machinery of war ^{which has energy} [and its by-products.] The magnificent ^{response} of the American people in growing the crops, building the merchant ships, making and collecting the cargoes, getting the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and thinking ahead to meet



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emergencies -- all this spells, I think, an amazing efficiency on the part of our armed forces, and all the various agencies working with them, and American industry and labor as a whole. (To use an old phrase of mine,) No great effort like this can be a hundred per cent perfect, but the batting average is very, very high.

I know that I can extend the congratulations and good wishes of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to General Mark Clark and General Lease of the Fifth and the Eighth Armies, and to General Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theater, and to all their brave soldiers. (but air our Navy?) They have captured Rome. They, and we, will always remember that.

May God bless them and watch over them, and all of our gallant, fighting men.



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