
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. 1525-A

1944 July 20

**Radio Address to the Democratic National
Convention, accepting Its Nomination for a
Fourth Term**

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

JULY 19, 1944

Mr. Churchill, Mr. Lister, and Mr. MacArthur

~~Members~~ of the Convention, my friends:

I have already indicated to you why I accept the nomination which you have offered me -- in spite of my desire to retire to the quiet of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the nation, and you have asked me to continue.

It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, and that the world once more will be at peace -- under a system, we hope, which will prevent a new world war. In any event, new hands will then have full opportunity to realize the ideals which we seek.

In the last three elections the people of the United States have transcended party affiliation. Not only Democrats but also forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership -- a leadership which has sought consistently -- and with fair success -- to advance the lot of the average American citizen who had been so forgotten during the period after the last war. I am confident that they will continue to look to that same kind of liberalism to build our economy for the future.

I am sure that you will understand me when I say that my decision, expressed to you formally tonight, is based solely on a sense of obligation to serve if called upon to do so by the people of the United States.

I shall not campaign in the usual sense, for the office. In these days of tragic sorrow, I do not consider it fitting. Besides, in these days of global warfare, I shall not be able to find the time. I shall, however,

feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them and especially to correct any misrepresentations.

During the past few days I have been coming across the whole width of the continent, to a naval base where I am speaking to you now from my train.

As I was crossing the fertile lands and the wide plains and the great divide, I could not fail to think of the new relationship between the people of our farms and cities and villages and the people of the rest of the world overseas -- on the Islands of the Pacific, in the Far East, and in the other Americas, in Britain and Normandy and Germany and Poland and Russia itself.

For Oklahoma and California are becoming a part of all these distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of the European picture in 1776.

Today, Oklahoma and California are being defended in Normandy and Saipan; and they must be defended there -- for what happens in Normandy and Saipan vitally affects the security and well-being of Oklahoma and California.

Mankind changes the scope and breadth of its thought and vision slowly indeed. In the days of the Roman Empire eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area. The civilization in the Far East was barely known. The American continents were unheard of.

Even after the people of Europe began to spill over to other continents, the people of North America in colonial days knew only their Atlantic seaboard and a small portion of the other Americas, and they turned most of the time for trade and international relationship to Europe. Africa then was considered only as the provider of human chattels. Asia was essentially unknown to them.

During the nineteenth century era of development and expansion on this continent we felt a natural isolation -- geographic, economic and political -- from the vast world which lay overseas.

Not until this generation, have people here and elsewhere been compelled more and more to widen the orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. It has been a wrench perhaps -- but a necessary one.

It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are becoming slowly extinct. The American people now know that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force, and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

We all know how truly the world has become one -- that if Germany and Japan, for example, were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would again have to be fighting in their day for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure as greatly in our physical defense as they have in the past. For our own safety and for our own economic good, therefore -- if for no other reason -- we must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all the nations of the world.

That is why your Government for many months has been laying plans, and studying the problems of the near future -- preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States may not suffer hardships after the war,

may continue constantly to improve its standards, and may join with other nations in doing the same. There are even now working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation. I realize that planning is a word which in some places brings forth sneers. But, for example, before our entry into the war it was planning which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which are fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not have been a safe reliance in 1944. And if we are to progress in our civilization, improvement is necessary in other fields -- in the physical things which are part of our daily lives, and also in the concepts of social justice at home and abroad.

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties under the Constitution. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made -- plans must be laid -- strategy must be carried out. They do not concern merely a party or a group. They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations to come.

What is the job before us in 1944? First, to win the war -- to win it fast, to win it overpoweringly. Second, to form worldwide international organizations, and to arrange to use the armed force of the sovereign nations of the world to make another war impossible within the foreseeable future. Third, to build an economy for our returning veterans and for all Americans -- which will provide employment and decent standards of living.

The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn over this 1944 job -- this worldwide job -- to inexperienced and immature hands, to those who opposed lend-lease and international cooperation against the forces of aggression and tyranny, until they could read the polls of popular sentiment; or whether they wish to leave it to those who saw the danger from abroad, who met it head-on, and who now have seized the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success, to those who, by international conferences and united actions have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

They will also decide this fall whether they will entrust the task of post-war reconversion to those who offered the veterans of the last war breadlines and apple-selling and who finally led the American people down to the abyss of 1932; or whether they will leave it to those who rescued American business, agriculture, industry,

finance and labor in 1933, and who have already planned and put through legislation to help our veterans resume their normal occupations in a well-ordered reconversion process.

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They will decide on the record -- the record written on the seas, on the land, and in the skies.

They will decide on the record of our domestic accomplishments in recovery and reform since March 4, 1933.

They will decide on the record of our war production and food production -- unparalleled in all history, in spite of the doubts and sneers of those in high places who said it could not be done.

They will decide on the record of the International Food Conference, of UNRRA, of the International Labor Conference, of the International Education Conference, of the International Monetary Conference.

They will decide on the record written in the Atlantic Charter, at Casablanca, at Cairo, at Moscow and at Teheran.

We have made mistakes. Who has not?

Things have not always been perfect. Are they ever, in human affairs?

But the objective -- at home and abroad -- has always been clear before us. Constantly, we have made steady, sure progress toward that objective. The record is plain and unmistakeable as to that -- for everyone to read.

The greatest war-time President in our history, after a war-time election which he called "the most reliable indication of public purpose in this country" set the goal for the United States, in terms as applicable today as they were in 1865 -- terms which the human mind cannot improve:

...."With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations".

Franklin D. Roosevelt

*Original Reading by
in Paris*

15-75
ADDRESS Of The President
Broadcast Nationally From A Naval Base
On The Pacific Coast
To The Democratic National Convention
In Chicago, Illinois
July 20, 1944

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen (Members) of the
Convention -- My Friends:

I have already indicated to you why I accept the nomination that (which) you have offered me -- in spite of my desire to retire to the quiet of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the Nation, and you have asked me to continue.

It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, sooner or later, and that the world once more will be at peace -- under a system, we hope that (which) will prevent a new world war. In any event, whenever that time comes, new hands will then have full opportunity to realize the ideals which we seek.

In the last three elections the people of the United States have transcended party affiliation. Not only Democrats but also forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership -- a leadership which has sought consistently -- and with fair success -- to advance the (lot of the) average American citizen who had been so forgotten during the period after the last war. I am

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.

confident that they will continue to look to that same kind of liberalism to build our safer economy for the future.

I am sure that you will understand me when I say that my decision, expressed to you formally tonight, is based solely on a sense of obligation to serve if called upon to do so by the people of the United States.

I shall not campaign, in the usual sense, for the office. In these days of tragic sorrow, I do not consider it fitting. And besides, in these days of global warfare, I shall not be able to find the time. I shall, however, feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them and especially to correct any misrepresentations.

During the past few days I have been coming across the whole width of the continent, to a naval base where I am speaking to you now from the (my) train.

As I was crossing the fertile lands and the wide plains and the Great Divide, I could not fail to think of the new relationship between the people of our farms and cities and villages and the people of the rest of the world overseas -- on the islands of the Pacific, in the Far East, and in the other Americas, in Britain and Normandy and Germany and Poland and Russia itself.

For Oklahoma and California, for example, are becoming a part of all these distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of the European picture in 1778(6). Today, Oklahoma and California are being defended in Normandy and on Saipan; and they must be defended there -- for what

happens in Normandy and Saipan vitally affects the security and well-being of every human being in Oklahoma and California.

Mankind changes the scope and the breadth of its thought and vision slowly indeed. In the days of the Roman Empire eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area. The civilization in the Far East was barely known of. The American Continents were unheard of.

And even after the people of Europe began to spill over to other continents, the people of North America in Colonial days knew only their Atlantic Seaboard and the tiny (a small) portion of the other Americas, and they turned mostly (of the time) for trade and international relationship to Europe. Africa, at that time, (then) was considered only as the provider of human chattels. Asia was essentially unknown to our ancestors (them).

During the Nineteenth Century, during that era of development and expansion on this continent, we felt a natural isolation -- geographic, economic and political -- an isolation from the vast world which lay overseas.

Not until this generation -- roughly this century -- have people here and elsewhere been compelled more and more to widen the orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. Yes, it has been a wrench perhaps -- but a very necessary one.

It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and the ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are

becoming slowly extinct. The American people now know that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force, and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

We all know how truly the world has become one -- that if Germany and Japan, for example, were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would again have to be fighting in their day for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure as greatly in our physical defense as they have in the past. For our own safety and for our own economic good, therefore -- if for no other reason -- we must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all the nations of the world.

And that is why your Government for many, many months has been laying plans, and studying the problems of the near future -- preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States may not suffer hardships after the war, may continue constantly to improve its standards, and may join with other nations in doing the same. There are even now working toward that end, the best staff in all our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation. I realize that planning is a word which in some places brings forth sneers. But, for example, before our entry into the war it was planning which made possible the magnificent organization

and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which are fighting for us and for our civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs, things do not stand still. An army or a navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not have been a safe reliance in 1944. And if we are to progress in our civilization, improvement is necessary in other fields -- in the physical things that (which) are a part of our daily lives, and also in the concepts of social justice at home and abroad.

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties under the Constitution. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made -- plans must be laid -- strategy must be carried out. They do not concern merely a party or a group. They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations to come.

What is the job before us in 1944? First, to win the war -- to win the war (it) fast, to win it overpoweringly. Second, to form worldwide international organizations, and to arrange to use the armed forces of the sovereign nations of the world to make another war impossible within the foreseeable future. And third, to build an economy for our returning veterans and for all Americans -- which will provide employment and provide decent standards of living.

The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn over this 1944 job -- this worldwide job -- to inexperienced or (and) immature hands, to those

who opposed Lend-Lease and international cooperation against the forces of aggression and tyranny, until they could read the polls of popular sentiment; or whether they wish to leave it to those who saw the danger from abroad, who met it head-on, and who now have seized the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success, to those who, by international conferences and united actions have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

They will also decide, these people of ours (this fall), whether they will entrust the task of postwar reconversion to those who offered the veterans of the last war breadlines and apple-selling and who finally led the American people down to the abyss of 1932; or whether they will leave it to those who rescued American business, and agriculture, and industry, and finance and labor in 1933, and who have already planned and put through much legislation to help our veterans resume their normal occupations in a well-ordered reconversion process.

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have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, BROADCAST FROM
A NAVAL BASE ON THE PACIFIC COAST, TO THE
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION IN CHICAGO,
JULY 20, 1944

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION - MY FRIENDS:

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It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are becoming extinct. The American people now know that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force, and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

We all know how truly the world has become one -- that if Germany and Japan, for example, were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would again have to be fighting in their day for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure as greatly in our physical defense as they have in the past. For our own safety and for our own economic good, therefore -- if for no other reason -- we must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all the nations of the world.

That is why your Government for many months has been laying plans, and studying the problems of the near future -- preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States may not suffer hardships after the war, may continue constantly to improve its standards, and may join with other nations in doing the same. There are even now working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation. I realize that planning is a word which in some places brings forth sneers. But, for example, before our entry into the war it was planning which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which are fighting for us and for civilization today.

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they could read the polls of popular sentiment; or whether they wish to leave it to those who saw the danger from abroad, who met it head-on, and who now have seized the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success, to those who, by international conferences and united actions have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

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Mr. Romange
STATEMENTS FILE

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JULY 20, 1944

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen

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the Far East, and in the other Americas, in Britain and Normandy and
Germany and Poland and Russia itself.

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For Oklahoma and California, ~~are~~ ^{are} becoming a part of all these
distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of
the European picture in 1778. Today, Oklahoma and California are being
defended in Normandy and Saipan; and they must be defended there -- for
what happens in Normandy and Saipan vitally affects the security and well-
being of Oklahoma and California.

~~Many human beings~~
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an isolation⁻²⁻ during that

During the Nineteenth Century, era of development and expansion on this continent, we felt a natural isolation -- geographic, economic and political -- from the vast world which lay overseas.

Not until this generation, ~~roughly this century~~, have people here and elsewhere been compelled more and more to widen the orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. It has been a wrench perhaps -- but a necessary one.

It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are becoming extinct. The American people now know that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force, and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

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Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure as greatly in our physical defense as they have in the past. For our own safety and for our own economic good, therefore -- if for no other reason -- we must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all the nations of the world.

And that is why your Government for many months has been laying plans, and studying the problems of the near future -- preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States may not suffer hardships after the war, may continue constantly to improve its standards, and may join with other nations in doing the same. There are even now working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation. I realize that planning is a word which in some places brings forth sneers. But, for example, before our entry into the war it was planning which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which are fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs, things do not stand still. An army or a navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not have been a safe reliance in 1941. And if we are to progress in our civilization, improvement is necessary in other fields -- in the physical things which are part of our daily lives, and also in the concepts of social justice at home and abroad.

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties under the Constitution. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made -- plans must be laid -- strategy must be carried out. They do not concern merely a party or a group. They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations to come.

What is the job before us in 1941? First, to win the war -- to win it fast, to win it overpoweringly. Second, to form worldwide international organizations, and to arrange to use the armed forces of the sovereign nations of the world to make another war impossible within the foreseeable future. Third, to build an economy for our returning veterans and for all Americans -- which will provide employment and decent standards of living.

The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn over this 1941 job -- this worldwide job -- to inexperienced and immature hands, to those who opposed lend-lease and international cooperation against the forces of aggression and tyranny, until

they could read the polls of popular sentiment; or whether they wish to leave it to those who saw the danger from abroad, who met it head-on, and who now have seized the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success, to those who, by international conferences and united actions have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

these people of ours
They will also decide ~~whether~~ ^{the Fall} whether they will entrust the task of post-war reconversion to those who offered the veterans of the last war breadlines and apple-selling and who finally led the American people down to the abyss of 1932; or whether they will leave it to those who rescued American business, ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} agriculture, ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} industry, ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} finance and labor in 1933, and who have already planned and put through ^{much} legislation to help our veterans resume their normal occupations in a well-ordered reconversion process.

They will not decide these questions by reading glowing words or platforms pledges -- the mouthings of these who are willing to promise anything and everything -- contradictions, inconsistencies, impossibilities -- anything which might snare a few votes here and a few votes there.

They will decide on the record -- the record written on the seas, on the land, and in the skies.

They will decide on the record of our domestic accomplishments in recovery and reform since March 4, 1933.

~~And~~ They will decide on the record of our war production and food production -- unparalleled in all history, in spite of the doubts and snarls of those in high places who said it ~~could~~ ^{could} not be done.

the reorganization
They will decide on the record of the International Food Conference of UNRRA, ^{the} of the International Labor Conference, of the International Education Conference, of the International Monetary Conference.

~~And~~ They will decide on the record written in the Atlantic Charter, at Casablanca, at Cairo, at Moscow and ^{Teheran}.

We have made mistakes. Who has not?

Things ^{will} ~~have~~ not always been ^{be} perfect. Are they ever ^{perfect} in human affairs?

the objective
But the objective -- ^{at home and abroad} -- has always been clear before us. Constantly, we have made steady, sure progress toward that objective. The record is plain and unmistakable as to that -- ^{a record} for everyone to read.

The greatest war-time President in our history, after a war-time election which he called the "most reliable indication of public purpose in this country" set the goal for the United States, ^{in terms as applicable} today as they were in 1865 -- terms which the human mind cannot improve:

".... with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

to the Democratic Convention
(DATE)

radio address

CONFIDENTIAL: The following ~~_____~~ of the President to be delivered ~~_____~~.....MUST BE HELD IN STRICT CONFIDENCE and no portion, synopsis or intimation to be published or given out until delivery has begun.

NOTE: Release is when the President actually begins speaking — NOT BEFORE.

The same release conditions mentioned above also apply to the radio as well as to the press.

EXTREME CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO AVOID PREMATURE RELEASE.

EBT
(Signature)

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

JULY 19, 1944

Members of the Convention, my friends:

I have already indicated to you why I accept the nomination which you have offered me -- in spite of my desire to retire to the quiet of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the nation, and you have asked me to continue.

It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, and that the world once more will be at peace -- under a system, we hope, which will prevent a new world war. In any event, new hands will then have full opportunity to realize the ideals which we seek.

In the last three elections the people of the United States have transcended party affiliation. Not only Democrats but also forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership -- a leadership which has sought consistently -- and with fair success -- to advance the lot of the average American citizen who had been so forgotten during the period after the last war. I am confident that they will continue to look to that same kind of liberalism to build our economy for the future.

I am sure that you will understand me when I say that my decision, expressed to you formally tonight, is based solely on a sense of obligation to serve if called upon to do so by the people of the United States.

I shall not campaign in the usual sense, for the office. In these days of tragic sorrow, I do not consider it fitting. Besides, in these days of global warfare, I shall not be able to find the time. I shall, however,

feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them and especially to correct any misrepresentations.

During the past few days I have been coming across the whole width of the continent, to a naval base where I am speaking to you now from my train.

As I was crossing the fertile lands and the wide plains and the great divide, I could not fail to think of the new relationship between the people of our farms and cities and villages and the people of the rest of the world overseas -- on the Islands of the Pacific, in the Far East, and in the other Americas, in Britain and Normandy and Germany and Poland and Russia itself.

For Oklahoma and California are becoming a part of all these distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of the European picture in 1776.

Today, Oklahoma and California are being defended in Normandy and Saipan; and they must be defended there -- for what happens in Normandy and Saipan vitally affects the security and well-being of Oklahoma and California.

Mankind changes the scope and breadth of its thought and vision slowly indeed. In the days of the Roman Empire eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area. The civilization in the Far East was barely known. The American continents were unheard of.

Even after the people of Europe began to spill over to other continents, the people of North America in colonial days knew only their Atlantic seaboard and a small portion of the other Americas, and they turned most of the time for trade and international relationship to Europe. Africa then was considered only as the provider of human chattels. Asia was essentially unknown to them.

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During the nineteenth century era of development and expansion on this continent we felt a natural isolation -- geographic, economic and political -- from the vast world which lay overseas.

Not until this generation, have people here and elsewhere been compelled more and more to widen the orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. It has been a wrench perhaps -- but a necessary one.

It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are becoming slowly extinct. The American people now know that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force, and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

We all know how truly the world has become one -- that if Germany and Japan, for example, were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would again have to be fighting in their day for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure as greatly in our physical defense as they have in the past. For our own safety and for our own economic good, therefore -- if for no other reason -- we must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all the nations of the world.

That is why your Government for many months has been laying plans, and studying the problems of the near future -- preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States may not suffer hardships after the war,

may continue constantly to improve its standards, and may join with other nations in doing the same. There are even now working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation. I realize that planning is a word which in some places brings forth sneers. But, for example, before our entry into the war it was planning which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which are fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not have been a safe reliance in 1944. And if we are to progress in our civilization, improvement is necessary in other fields -- in the physical things which are part of our daily lives, and also in the concepts of social justice at home and abroad.

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They will also decide this fall whether they will entrust the task of post-war reconversion to those who offered the veterans of the last war breadlines and apple-selling and who finally led the American people down to the abyss of 1932; or whether they will leave it to those who rescued American business, agriculture, industry,

finance and labor in 1933, and who have already planned and put through legislation to help our veterans resume their normal occupations in a well-ordered reconversion process.

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But the objective -- at home and abroad -- has always been clear before us. Constantly, we have made steady, sure progress toward that objective. The record is plain and unmistakable as to that -- for everyone to read.

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...."With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations".

FOR THE NEWSREELS

Not until this generation, have people here and elsewhere been compelled more and more to widen the orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. ~~It has been a wrenching process -- but a necessary one.~~

It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are becoming slowly extinct. The American people now know that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force, and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

We all know how truly the world has become one -- that if Germany and Japan, for example, were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would again have to be fighting in their day for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure as greatly in our physical defense as they have in the past. For our own safety and for our own economic good, therefore, if for no other reason, we must take a leading

PAGE 2

part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade
among all the nations of the world.

DRAFT 2

Delegates to the Convention and friends:

I have already indicated to you why I have decided to accept the nomination which you have so generously tendered to me -- in spite of an almost overwhelming desire to retire to the quiet and rest of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the nation, and you have asked me to continue a little longer. It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, and that the world once more will be at peace, we hope, under a system for the prevention of a new world war. In any event, new hands will have full opportunity to carry through the ideal which we are all seeking.

In the last three elections the people of the United States have forgotten party affiliation for not Democrats alone, but forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership which sought to advance the lot of the average American citizen who had been so consistently neglected in the last post-war period. They will still look to that same kind of liberation to build our economy for the future.

I am sure that you will understand me when I say that my decision expressed to you formally tonight is based not on any partisan demand, but only on a willingness and a sense of obligation to serve if called upon to do so by the people of the United States. I shall not campaign for the office in the usual sense. In these days of tragic sorrow, I do not consider it fitting. Besides, in these days of global warfare, I shall not be able to find the time.

Mankind changes the scope of its thought slowly indeed. In the days of the Roman Empire eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area. The existence of another civilization in the Far East was unknown. The American continents were unheard of.

Even after Europe spilled over to other continents, our own eyes, in our colonial days, knew only our Atlantic seaboard and a small portion of the other Americas, and we turned most of the time to Europe and the colonizing powers. For us, Africa was considered only as the provider of human chattels.

Only within this and the preceding generation, have people here and elsewhere been compelled to widen the ~~orbit~~ orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. It has been a wrench perhaps -- but a necessary one.

During the past few days I have been coming across the whole width of the Continent to a place at a naval base where I am speaking to you from my train.

As I was crossing fertile lands east of the Mississippi ~~and~~ ^{east} the plains of the center of our nation, ~~and the great Western~~ ~~region~~, I could not fail to think of the fairly new relationship between the people of our farms and cities and villages and the rest of the world overseas -- the Islands of the Pacific, the teeming millions of the Far East, and the lives of other millions in the other Americas, in Britain and Normandy and Germany and Poland and Russia itself -- and the whole African continent.

For Kansas and California are becoming a part of all these distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of the European picture in 1776.

We all know that in a military sense how truly the world has become one -- for if Germany and Japan were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would have to be fighting

again for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure greatly in our physical defense -- as they have in the past.

For our own safety and for our own economic good -- if for no other more human reason -- we will be compelled to take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and the increase of trade with the whole world.

That is why your Government has been studying the problems of the near future and preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States of America may constantly improve its standards, and join with other nations in doing likewise.

There are now, working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation.

I realize that planning is in some places a word which brings forth sneers, but it was planning before our entry into the war and after Pearl Harbor which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which is fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. And in military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not be a safe reliance in 1944. And improvement extends, if we are to progress in our civilization, to many other things -- to physical things in our daily lives and to social justice at home and abroad.

DRAFT NO. 3

Delegates to the Convention, and friends:

I have already indicated to you why I ~~have decided to~~ accept the nomination which you have so generously tendered to me -- in spite of ^{my} ~~most overwhelming~~ desire to retire to the quiet and rest of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the nation, and you have asked me to continue a little longer.

It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, and that the world once more will be at peace -- under a system, we hope, which will prevent a new world war. In any event, new hands will then have full opportunity to carry through the ideal which we are all now seeking to accomplish.

In the last three elections the people of the United States have ^{transcended} ~~forgotten~~ party affiliation -- for not Democrats alone but forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership -- leadership which has sought to advance the lot of the average American citizen, who had been so consistently neglected in the entire period after the last war. I am confident that they will continue to look to that same kind of liberation ^{to} build our economy for the future.

I am sure that you will understand me when I say that my decision, expressed to you formally tonight, is based not on any partisan call, but only on a sense of obligation to serve if called upon to do so by the people of the United States.

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During the past few days I have been coming across the whole width of the Continent to a naval base where I am speaking to you now from my train.

As I was crossing the fertile lands east of the Mississippi, and the wide plains in the center of our nation, and the great Western region, I could not fail to think of the fairly new relationship between the people of our farms and cities and villages and the rest of the world overseas -- the Islands of the Pacific, the teeming millions of the Far East, and the lives of other millions in the other Americas, in Britain and Normandy and Germany and Poland and Russia itself -- and on the whole African continent.

For Kansas and California are becoming a part of all these distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of the European picture in 1776.

Mankind changes the scope and breadth of its thought and vision slowly indeed. In the days of the Roman Empire eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area. The existence of another civilization in the Far East was unknown. The American continents were unheard of.

Even after the people of Europe began to spill over to other continents, we knew in our colonial days only our Atlantic seaboard and a small portion of the other Americas, and we turned most of the time for trade and international relationship to Europe and particularly to the colonizing powers. Africa then was considered only as the provider of human chattels. Asia was ^{essentially} ~~wholly~~ unknown to us.

Not until this and the preceding generation, have people here and elsewhere been compelled to widen the orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. It has been a wrench perhaps -- but a necessary one.

It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are

becoming extinct. The American people know now that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

We all know in a military sense how truly the world has become one -- for if Germany and Japan were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would have to be fighting in their day again for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure ^{as} greatly in our physical defense ~~as~~ as they have in the past.

For our own safety and for our own economic good -- if for no other more human reason -- we will be compelled to take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and the increase of trade with the whole world.

That is why your Government has been studying the problems of the near future and preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States of America may constantly improve its standards, and join with other nations in doing likewise.

There are now working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation.

I realize that planning is in ~~many~~ some places a word which brings forth sneers. But it was planning before our entry into the war and after Pearl Harbor which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which ^{are} fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not be a safe reliance in 1944. And improvement extends, if we are to progress in our civilization, to many other things -- to physical things in our daily lives and to social justice at home and abroad.

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made -- plans must be laid -- strategy must be carried out -- and they are far more important than any party or any group.

They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations

to come. ^{PA} ~~The awful responsibility of ultimate decision belongs~~

~~to the Commander-in-Chief. No one else, and every day I pray~~

~~to God for guidance and truth. No President -- worthy of the~~

~~name -- has sought to divest himself of that responsibility~~

~~which has been laid upon him under our Constitution. No~~

~~President -- worthy of the name -- can.~~

What was the task before us in 1932? To restore order out of economic chaos, to start the dead wheels of industry and business and agriculture going, to prevent abuses and exploitation, and to bring about a better distribution of the wealth of our land. The people of the United States in 1936 said that that job was well done.

What was the task before us in 1936? To carry on recovery, to progress our reforms, to coordinate our social gains for the farmer, the laborer, the clerk, the small business man; to take our stand against the new tyranny and aggression from abroad. The people of the United States in 1940 said that that job was well done.

What was the task before us in 1940? To raise an Army and Navy, to equip them, to take our place with the decent nations of the world in behalf of Christian civilization against the barbarism of the Axis, to produce the weapons of

INSERT A - PAGE #6

People should really learn the difference between tactics and strategy. Trained military and naval officers are solely responsible for the tactics of battle or campaign. Strategy encompasses the whole plan of a war -- the broader aspects of offensive-defensive, including manpower and equipment, and partaking of necessity in many political and international decisions.

If officers disagree on strategy, it is necessary that there be some person vested with the duty of making a final decision. If the officers of two or more countries do not agree on major strategy in a world war, it falls upon the heads of governments to make final decisions. No President -- worthy of the name -- has sought to divest himself of that responsibility which has been laid upon him under our Constitution. This fact ought to be apparent to those who have studied history and government.

war for ourselves and for our Allies, to raise the food necessary to feed our vast armies, to keep a balanced economy at home, to prevent inflation, to carry the attack to our enemies and to begin to destroy their armies and navies.

The people of the United States in 1944 will say that this is a job which was well done.

What is the job before us in 1944? First, to win the war -- to win it fast, to win it overpoweringly. Second, to form world-wide organizations and to arrange to use the force of the sovereign nations of the world to make another war impossible within the foreseeable future. Third, to build an economy for our returning veterans and for all Americans which will provide employment and decent standards of living.

The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn this 1944 job -- this world-wide job -- to inexperienced ^{or immature} ~~and faltering~~ hands, or to leave it to those who ~~without for a moment seeking to avoid the civilian~~ ~~responsibility for it~~ have carried the war to its present ^{signature of the offensive} ~~misadventure~~, to those who, by international conferences of the heads of the four most powerful nations and by conferences of representatives of all the United Nations, have begun to build that kind of common understanding and

The greatest war time President in our history, after a war-time election which he called "the most reliable indication of the purpose in this country" set the goal for the United States in terms as applicable today as they were in 1865:

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations".

DRAFT NO. 4

Delegates to the Convention and friends:

I have already indicated to you why I accept the nomination which you have tendered to me -- in spite of my desire to retire to the quiet and rest of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the nation, and you have asked me to continue a little longer.

It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, and that the world once more will be at peace -- under a system, we hope, which will prevent a new world war. In any event, new hands will then have full opportunity to carry through the ideals which we are all now seeking to accomplish.

In the last three elections the people of the United States have transcended party affiliation. Not only Democrats but also forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership -- a leadership which has sought consistently -- and with fair success -- to advance the lot of the average American citizen who had been so neglected

during the period after the last war. I am confident that they will continue to look to that same kind of liberalism to build our economy for the future.

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During the past few days I have been coming across the whole width of the continent, to a naval base where I am speaking to you now from my train.

As I was crossing the fertile lands east of the Mississippi, and the wide plains in the center of our nation, and the great Western region, I could not fail to think of the fairly new relationship between the people of our farms and cities and villages and the people of the rest of the world

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Mankind changes the scope and breadth of its thought and vision slowly indeed. In the days of the Roman Empire and the early Middle Ages eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area. The existence of another civilization in the Far East was unknown. The American continents were unheard of.

Even after the people of Europe began to spill over to other continents, the people in North America in colonial days knew only their Atlantic seaboard and a small portion of the other Americas, and they turned most of the time for trade and international relationship to Europe and particularly to the colonizing powers. Africa then was considered only as the provider

of human chattels. Asia was essentially unknown to them.

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It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are becoming slowly extinct. The American people know now that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

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Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure as greatly in our physical defense as they have in the past.

For our own safety and for our own economic good -- if for no other more human reason -- we must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all the nations of the whole world.

That is why your Government for years has been laying plans and studying the problems of the near future, and preparing itself to act after the war so that the people of the United States of America may not suffer hardships, may constantly improve its standards, and may join with other nations in doing the same. There are even now working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation. I realize that planning is in some places a word which brings forth sneers. But, for example, before our entry into the war and after Pearl Harbor it was planning which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which are fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not have been a safe reliance in 1944. And if we are to progress in our civilization, improvement is necessary in other things -- physical things which are part of our daily lives, and also in the concepts of social justice at home and abroad.

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made -- plans must be laid -- strategy must be carried out. They do not concern merely a party or a group. They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations to come.

The awful responsibility of ultimate decision belongs to the Commander-in-Chief -- no one else.

There is a great difference between tactics and strategy. It is the trained military and naval officers who are solely responsible for the tactics of battle or campaign. But strategy encompasses the whole plan of a war, the broader

aspects of the offensive and the defensive, including manpower and equipment and transportation and food -- the making, by necessity, of many political and international decisions.

If our officers disagree on strategy, there must be some person vested with the ^{and power} duty of making a final decision. If the officers of two or more allied countries do not agree on major strategy in a world war, it falls upon the heads of their governments to make final decisions. No President -- worthy of the name -- has sought to divest himself of that responsibility which has been laid upon him by our Constitution. This fact ought to be apparent to those who have studied history and government.

The American people have not forgotten the history of these last twelve years.

What was the task before us in 1932? To restore order out of economic chaos, to start the dead wheels of industry and banking, of business and agriculture going again, to ~~exterminate~~ wipe out flagrant abuses and exploitation, and to bring about a fairer distribution of the wealth of our land. In 1936, the people of the United States said that that job had been well done.

What was the task before us in 1940? To raise the most powerful Army and Navy in the world, ^{to} equip them, to take our place with the decent nations of the world in behalf of Christian civilization against the barbarism of the Axis, to produce the weapons of war for ourselves and for our Allies, to raise the food necessary to feed our vast armed forces all over the world, to keep a balanced economy at home, to prevent inflation, to carry the attack to our enemies and to begin to destroy their armies and navies.

In 1944, the people of the United States will say that this is a job which has been well done.

What is the job before us in 1944? First, to win the war -- to win it fast, to win it overpoweringly. Second, to form worldwide international organizations, and to arrange to use the forces of the sovereign nations of the world to make another war impossible within the foreseeable future. Third, to build an economy for our returning veterans and for all Americans -- which will provide employment and decent standards of living.

The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn this 1944 job -- this worldwide job -- to inexperienced and immature hands, or to leave it to those who have seized the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success, to those who, by international conferences and united actions have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

They will also decide this fall whether they will entrust the task of reconversion to a prosperous civilian economy when the war is over, to those who offered the veterans of the last war breadlines and apple selling and who finally led the American people down to the abyss of 1932; or whether they will leave it to those who rescued American business, agriculture, industry, finance and labor in 1933.

They will not decide these things by reading glowing words or platform pledges -- the mouthings of politicians who are willing to promise anything and everything -- contradictions inconsistencies, impossibilities -- anything which might snare a few votes here and a few votes there.

They will decide it on the record -- the record written at Midway and the Coral Sea, in the Marshalls and in the

Marianas, in Alaska and in New Guinea, and in the air over Japan -- the record written in the skies over Germany, in the cold waters of the Atlantic, on the beaches of Africa, and Sicily, and Italy, in the glorious unparalleled assault across the English channel and the smashing of the so-called unbreakable walls of Hitler's fortress of Europe -- in the records of the International Food Conference, of UNRRA, of the International Labor Conference, of the International Education Conference, of the International Monetary Conference -- in the record written in the Atlantic Charter, at Casablanca, at Cairo, at Moscow and at Teheran.

We have made mistakes. Who has not? T

Things have not always been perfect. Are they ever, in human affairs?

But the objective was always clear before us. And constantly we have made steady, sure progress toward that objective. The record is clear and unmistakeable as to that -- for everyone to read.

The greatest war-time President in our history, after a war-time election which he called "the most reliable indication of the purpose of this country" set the goal for the United

States in terms as applicable today as they were in 1865:

"With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations".

DRAFT NO. 5

Members of
~~Delegates to the Convention, and~~ ^{my} friends:

I have already indicated to you why I accept the nomination which you have ^{official} ~~tendered~~ to me -- in spite of my desire to retire to the quiet ~~and rest~~ of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the nation, and you have asked me to continue ~~a little longer~~.

*possible
draft*

It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, and that the world once more will be at peace -- under a system, we hope, which will prevent a new world war. In any event, new hands will then have full opportunity to ^{realize} ~~carry through~~ the ideals which we ~~are all now seeking~~ ^{to accomplish}.

In the last three elections the people of the United States have transcended party affiliation. Not only Democrats but also forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership -- a leadership which has sought consistently -- and with fair success -- to advance the lot of the average American citizen who had been so

~~neglected~~ *forgot then* during the period after the last war. I am confident that they will continue to look to ~~that same~~ kind of liberalism to build our economy for the future.

I am sure that you will understand me when I say that my decision, expressed to you formally tonight, is based ~~not solely~~ *not solely* ~~on any partisan call, but only~~ on a sense of obligation to serve if called upon to do so by the people of the United States.

I shall not campaign in the usual sense, for the office. In these ~~ixxix~~ days of tragic sorrow, I do not consider it fitting. Besides, in these days of global warfare, I shall not be able to find the time. I shall, however, feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them and especially *to correct any* ~~if the opposition should attempt to say that~~ *to correct any* ~~misrepresent them.~~ *misrepresent them.*

During the past few days I have been coming across the whole width of the continent, to a naval base where I am speaking to you now from my train.

As I was crossing the fertile lands east of the ~~Divide~~ *divide*, and the wide plains in the center of our nation, and the great ~~Western region~~, I could not fail to think of the

~~city~~ new relationship between the people of our farms and cities and villages and the people of the rest of the world overseas -- on the Islands of the Pacific, in the Far East, and in the other Americas, in Britain and Normandy and Germany and Poland and Russia itself, ~~and on the whole African continent.~~

Alaska
For ~~Kansas~~ and California are becoming a part of all these distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of the European picture in 1776. Today, ~~Kansas~~ *Alaska* and California are being defended in Normandy and Saipan; and they must be defended there -- for what happens in Normandy and Saipan vitally affects the security and well-being of *Alaska* ~~Kansas~~ and California.

Mankind changes the scope and breadth of its thought and vision slowly indeed. In the days of the Roman Empire ~~and the early Middle Ages~~ eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area. The ~~existence of another~~ civilization in the Far East was ~~unknown~~ *barely known*. The American continents were unheard of.

Even after the people of Europe began to spill over to other continents, the people of North America in colonial days knew only their Atlantic seaboard and a small portion of the other Americas, and they turned most of the time for trade

and international relationship to Europe ~~and with respect to the~~
~~colonialist power~~. Africa then was considered only as the provider
of human chattels. Asia was essentially unknown to them.

During the nineteenth century era of development and
expansion on this continent we felt a natural isolation -- geo-
graphic, economic and political [^] from the vast world which lay
overseas.

Not until this ~~and the preceding~~ generation, have people
here and elsewhere been compelled more and more to widen the orbit
of their vision to include every part of the world. It has been
a wrench perhaps -- but a necessary one.

It is good that we are all getting that broader vision.
For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and ostriches
who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are becoming slowly
extinct. The American people know now that all nations of the
world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate
part in keeping the peace by force and in deciding peacefully the
disputes which might lead to war.

WKN We all know how truly the world has become one ⁵ that if
Germany and Japan, for example, were to come through this war with
their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own

grandchildren would again have to be fighting in their day for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure as greatly in our physical defense as they have in the past. For our own safety and for our own economic good, therefore, -- if for no other ~~mere-human~~ reason -- we must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all the nations of the ~~whole~~ world.

That is why your Government for many months has been laying plans, and studying the problems of the near future -- preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States may not suffer hardships after the war, may continue constantly to improve its standards, and may join with other nations in doing the same. There are even now working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation. I realize that planning is a word which in some places brings forth sneers. But, for example, before our entry into the war ~~and after Pearl Harbor~~ it was planning which made possible the magnificent organization and

equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which are fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not have been a safe reliance in 1944. And if we are to progress in our civilization, improvement is necessary in other ^{fields} things -- ⁱⁿ physical things which are part of our daily lives, and also in the concepts of social justice at home and abroad.

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties ^{under the Constitution} ~~as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United~~

~~States~~. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made -- plans must be laid -- strategy must be carried out. They do not concern merely a party or a group. They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations to come.

The ~~awful~~ responsibility of ultimate decision ~~belongs~~ to the Commander-in-Chief -- no one else.

There is a great difference between tactics and strategy. It is the trained military and naval officers who are solely responsible for the tactics of battle or campaign. But strategy encompasses the whole plan of a war, the broader aspects of the offensive and the defensive, including manpower and equipment and transportation and food -- the making, by necessity, of many political and international decisions.

Officers must be selected for the supreme command of the Army and the Navy -- as well as for command in the different theatres. Decision must be made between the heads of Allied Governments as to who will be in command of operations in an area, and who will be subordinate.

If our officers disagree on strategy, there must be some person vested with the duty and power of making a final decision. If the officers of two or more allied countries do not agree on major strategy in a world war, it falls upon the heads of their governments to make final decisions. ~~No President worthy of the name -- has enough to divest himself of that responsibility which has been laid upon him by our Constitution.~~

These facts ought to be apparent to those who have studied history and government.

The American people have not forgotten the history of these last twelve years.

What was the task before us in 1932? To restore order out of economic chaos, to save American homes and farms, to start ^{again the stalled} the dead wheels of industry and banking, of business and agriculture, ^{going again} to wipe out flagrant abuses and exploitation, and to bring about a fairer distribution of wealth in our land.

In 1936, the people of the United States ~~said that what~~ *approved the honesty and the effectiveness of the* ~~job had been well done.~~ *Effort.*

What was the task before us in 1936? To carry on recovery, to ^{continue to} progress ^{of} our reforms, to coordinate our social gains for the farmer; the laborer, the clerk, the small business man; to take our stand against the threat of new tyranny and aggression from abroad.

In 1940, the people of the United States ~~said that~~ *ditto* ~~that job had been well done.~~

What was the task before us in 1940? To raise the most powerful Army and Navy in the world, to equip them, to take our place with the decent nations of the world in behalf of Christian civilization against the barbarism of the Axis, to produce the weapons of war for ourselves and for our allies, to raise the food necessary to feed our vast armed forces all over the world, to keep a balanced economy at home, to prevent inflation, to carry the attack to our enemies and to begin to destroy their armies and navies.

In 1944, the people of the United States will say ~~that this is a job which has been well done.~~ *ditto*

What is the job before us in 1944? First, to win the war -- to win it fast, to win it overpoweringly. Second, to form worldwide international organizations, and to arrange to use the armed force of the sovereign nations of the world to make another war impossible within the foreseeable future. Third, to build an economy for our returning veterans and for all Americans -- which will provide employment and decent standards of living.

The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn ^{over} this 1944 job -- this worldwide job -- to inexperienced and immature hands, to those who opposed lend lease and international cooperation against the forces of aggression and tyranny, until they could read the polls of popular sentiment; or ^{whether they wish} to leave it to those who saw the danger from abroad, who met it head-on, and who now have seized the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success, to those who, by international conferences and united actions have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

They will also decide this fall whether they will entrust the task of ^{post-war} reconversion ~~[to a prosperous civilian economy when the war is over]~~ to those who offered the veterans of the last war breadlines and apple-selling and who finally led the American people down to the abyss of 1932; or whether they will leave it to those who rescued American business, agriculture, industry, finance and labor in 1933, and who have ^{planned and put through} ~~already made plans and adopted~~ legislation to help our veterans resume the ^r normal occupations in a well-ordered reconversion process.

They will not decide these ^{questions} things by reading glowing words or platform pledges -- the mouthings of ^{those} politicians who are willing to promise anything and everything -- contradictions, inconsistencies, impossibilities -- anything which might snare a few votes here and a few votes there.

They will decide ~~on~~ on the record -- the record ^{on the seas, on the land and in the skies} written at Midway and the Coral Sea, in the Marshalls and in the Marianas, in Alaska and in New Guinea, and in the air over Japan -- the record written in the skies over Germany, in the cold waters of the Atlantic, on the beaches of Africa, and Sicily, and Italy, in the glorious unparalleled assault across the English channel and the smashing of the so-called unbreakable wall of Hitler's fortress of Europe.

They will decide ~~on~~ on the record of ^{our} domestic accomplishments in recovery and reform since March 4, 1933.

They will decide ~~on~~ on the record of our war production and food production ^{unparalleled} unparalleled in all history, ^{for} in spite of the doubts and sneers of those in high places who said it could not be done.

They will decide ~~on~~ on the records of the International Food Conference, of UNRRA, of the International Labor Conference, of the International Education Conference, of the International Monetary Conference. ^P They will decide [it] on the record written in the Atlantic Charter, at Casablanca, at Cairo, at Moscow and at Teheran.

We have made mistakes. Who has not?

Things have not always been perfect. Are they ever, in human affairs?

But the objective -- at home and abroad -- has always been clear before us. Constantly, we have made steady, sure progress toward that objective. The record is ~~clear~~ ^{plain} and unmistakable as to that -- for everyone to read.

The greatest war-time President in our history, after a war-time election which he called "the most reliable indication of ^{public} ~~the~~ purpose in this country" set the goal for the United States in terms as applicable today as they were in 1865 ~~terms which the human mind cannot comprehend:~~
~~With~~ "With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations".