
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. 1550

1944 October 27

Philadelphia, PA –
Shibe Park - Campaign Address

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

SHIBE PARK

PHILADELPHIA

OCTOBER 27, 1944

Today is the anniversary of the birth of a great fighting American -- Theodore Roosevelt.

This day is celebrated every year as Navy Day -- and I think Theodore Roosevelt would be happy and proud to know that our American fleet now is greater than all the navies of the world put together.

And when I say all the navies, I am including what was -- until three days ago -- the Japanese fleet.

Since Navy Day a year ago our armed forces -- Army, Navy and Air Forces -- have participated in no fewer than twenty-seven different D-Days -- twenty-seven different landings in force on enemy-held shores.

Every one of these landings has been an incredibly complicated and hazardous undertaking, requiring months of most careful planning, flawless coordination, and split-second timing in execution. The larger operations have required hundreds of warships, thousands of smaller craft, thousands of airplanes and hundreds of thousands of men.

And every one of these twenty-seven D-Days has been a triumphant success.

It is a remarkable achievement that within less than five months we have been able to carry out major offensive operations in both Europe and the Philippines -- thirteen thousand miles apart from each other.

And speaking of the glorious operations in the Philippines -- I wonder -- whatever became of the suggestion made a few weeks ago, that I had failed for political reasons to send enough forces or supplies to General MacArthur?

I realize that, in this political campaign, it is considered by some to be very impolite to mention the fact that there is a war on.

But the war is still on and eleven million American fighting men know it -- and so do their families. And in that war I bear a responsibility which I can never shirk and never, for one instant, forget.

For the Constitution of the United States says -- and I hope you will pardon me if I quote it correctly -- "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States".

I am not supposed to mention that, either.

But somehow or other, it seems to me that this is a matter of considerable importance to the American people.

It was due to no accident and no oversight that the framers of our Constitution put the command of our armed forces under civilian authority.

It is the duty of the Commander in Chief to appoint the Secretaries of War and Navy and the Chiefs of Staff -- and I feel called upon to offer no apologies for my selection of Henry Stimson, the late Frank Knox and James Forrestal, or of Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold.

Furthermore, the Commander in Chief has final responsibility for determining how our resources shall be distributed as between our land forces, sea forces and air forces, and as among the different theatres of operations, and also what portion shall be turned over to our Allies.

Our teamwork with our Allies in this war has involved innumerable intricate problems which could be settled only around the conference table by those who had final authority.

The other day, I am told, a prominent Republican orator stated that "there are not five civilians in the entire national government who have the confidence and respect of the American people".

In fact, he described your present Administration as "the most spectacular collection of incompetent people who ever held public office".

Well, now -- that is pretty serious. The only conclusion to be drawn from that is that we are losing this war. If so, that will be news to most of us -- and it will certainly be news to the Nazis and the Japs.

The record will show that from almost the first minute of my Administration I started to rebuild the United States Navy which had been whittled down during previous Administrations. What the Navy suffered from conspicuously during these Republican Administrations was a drastic false economy which not only scrapped ships but even prevented adequate target practice, adequate maneuvers and adequate supplies. It had reached the point that on some vessels the crews "chipped in" to buy their own brass polish to keep the bright work shining.

The record will show that -- when we were attacked at Pearl Harbor -- we had already made tremendous progress toward building the greatest war machine the world has ever known.

Take, for example, the ships of Admiral Halsey's powerful Third Fleet which has just given the Japanese Navy the worst licking in its history.

Every battleship in that Fleet was authorized between nineteen hundred and thirty-three and nineteen hundred and thirty-eight. Construction had begun on all of those battleships by September, nineteen hundred and forty -- well over a year before Pearl Harbor.

All but two of the great force of cruisers in Admiral Halsey's Fleet were authorized between nineteen hundred and thirty-three and nineteen hundred and forty; and construction on all but one of them had begun before Pearl Harbor.

All of the aircraft carriers in that Fleet had been authorized by the present Administration before Pearl Harbor, and half of them were actually under construction before Pearl Harbor.

There is the answer -- once and for all -- to a Republican candidate who said that this Administration had made "absolutely no military preparation for the events it now claims it foresaw".

Less than three months before Hitler launched his murderous assault against Poland, the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted one hundred and forty-four to eight in favor of cutting the appropriations for the Army Air Corps.

I often think how Hitler and Hirohito must have laughed in those days.

They are not laughing now.

In the spring of nineteen hundred and forty, as you well remember, I called for a production of fifty thousand airplanes -- and that same Republican candidate spoke scornfully of such a proposal, calling it a "publicity stunt", and saying it would take four years to reach such a goal.

Nevertheless, we have since then produced more than two hundred and forty thousand warplanes. We have attained a production rate of more than nine thousand per month -- more than one hundred thousand per year.

We have trained more than eight hundred and fifty thousand pilots, navigators, bombardiers, aerial gunners and other aerial crew members.

I admit these figures seem fantastic -- but such results were not impossible for those who had real faith in America.

In nineteen hundred and forty, we had a regular Army of approximately two hundred and fifty thousand, and a reserve, including the National Guard, of three hundred and fifty thousand.

Today, we have eight million in our Army, including one hundred and twenty six thousand women. More than half of our Army is overseas.

Our Navy in nineteen hundred and forty had three hundred and sixty-nine combat ships and one hundred and eighty-nine thousand men.

Today, we have more than fifteen hundred combat vessels, supported by an armada of fifty thousand other ships, including landing craft. We have more than three and a half million men in our Navy and over one hundred thousand women.

Never before in history have the soldiers and sailors of any nation gone into battle so thoroughly trained, so thoroughly equipped, so well fed, and so thoroughly supported as the American soldiers and sailors fighting today in Europe, Asia and the Pacific.

In his report to the Secretary of War, in nineteen hundred and forty-three, General Marshall wrote: "In matters of personnel, military intelligence, training, supply and preparation of war plans, sound principles and policies had been established in the preparation for just such an emergency as arose".

After we were attacked by the Japanese, and Hitler and Mussolini declared war on us, some people urged that we go on the defensive -- that we pull in our fleet to guard this continent -- that we send no forces overseas.

That policy was rejected. In my first war message to the Congress, a month after Pearl Harbor, I said:

"We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. As our power and our resources are fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy -- we shall hit him and hit him again wherever and whenever we can reach him. We must keep him far from our shores, for we intend to bring this battle to him on his own home grounds".

And that is the policy we have successfully followed.

In our over-all strategy, we planned our war effort in three phases:

The first phase could be called "plugging the line" -- which meant stopping the Germans and Japs from expanding their conquests to such key points as Australia and the British Isles -- for England then was still very vulnerable to invasion.

Within a month after Pearl Harbor, American expeditionary forces were moving across the Pacific to Australia and across the Atlantic to Northern Ireland. Our air forces went to the Southwest Pacific, to India, China, the Middle East and Great Britain.

In this first phase we furnished arms to the British which helped them to stop the Germans in Egypt -- and arms to the Russians which helped them to stop the Germans at Stalingrad.

And our own growing forces stopped the Japanese in the Coral Sea and at Midway.

The second phase was the shattering of the enemy's outer defenses -- establishing bases from which to launch our major attacks.

This phase began with the operations in New Guinea, the Solomons and North Africa. It continued through all of the operations in the Marshalls, Gilberts, Aleutians, Marianas, Carolines and now the Philippines -- and in Europe with the landings in Sicily and Italy and finally in France.

The war in Europe has reached the final, decisive phase -- the attack on Germany itself.

But we have much longer and much farther to go in the war against Japan.

All of these operations had to be planned far in advance -- and that does not mean merely drawing arrows on maps. It has meant planning in terms of precisely how many men will be needed, and how many ships -- warships, cargo ships, landing craft -- how many bombers and how many fighter planes -- and how much equipment and what types of equipment down to the last cartridge. And it has meant getting all of them to the right place at the right moment.

It has meant establishing for our Army and Navy supply lines extending over fifty-six thousand miles -- more than twice the circumference of this earth. It has meant establishing the lines of the Air Transport Command -- one hundred and fifty thousand miles of air supply systems running regularly.

It has meant moving supplies along these lines at the rate of almost three million long tons a month, requiring five hundred and seventy-seven cargo ships to leave our ports with supplies every month. It has meant moving more

than fourteen million barrels of gasoline and oil a month, requiring one hundred and fifty-six tanker sailings a month. And those ships and those tankers were all built in American shipyards..

The production necessary to equip and maintain our vast force of fighting men on global battlefronts is without parallel.

I need not repeat the figures. The facts speak for themselves. They speak with the thunder of tens of thousands of guns on battlefields all over the world. They speak with the roar of more than one million tons of bombs dropped by our air forces.

The whole story of our vast effort in this war has been a story of incredible achievement -- the story of the job that has been done by an Administration which, I am told, is "old and tired and quarrelsome".

And while we have been doing that job we have constantly investigated and publicized our whole management of the war effort. I call particular attention to the thorough and painstaking and completely non-partisan work of that committee of the Senate which was organized and presided over by Harry Truman.

The Truman Committee has done a job which will live in history as an example of honest, efficient government at work.

There is one thing I want to say -- and it cannot be told in figures.

I want to express the conviction that the greatest of our past American heroes -- the heroes of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg and San Juan Hill and Manila Bay and the Argonne -- would consider themselves honored to be associated with our fighting men of today.

Those boys hate war.

The average American citizen is not a soldier by choice.

But our boys have proved they can take on the best that our militaristic enemies can put forward -- they can take them on and beat them. And we must never forget that our Allies, by resisting the aggressors to the last ditch, gave us time to train our men and prepare their equipment before they went into battle.

The quality of our American fighting men is not all a matter of training or of equipment or of organization. It is essentially a matter of spirit. That spirit is expressive of their faith in America.

The most important fact in our national life today is the essential fact of eleven million young Americans in our Armed forces -- more than half of them overseas.

When you multiply that eleven million by their families and their friends, you have the whole American people personally involved in this war -- a war which was forced upon us, a war which we did our utmost to avoid, a war which came upon us as inevitably as an earthquake.

I think particularly of the mothers and wives and sisters and sweethearts of the men in service. There are great numbers of these gallant women who do not have the satisfaction and distraction of jobs in war plants. They have the quiet, essential job of keeping the homes going, caring for the children or the old folks.

Mrs. Roosevelt and I hear from a great many of these women who live in loneliness and anxiety while their men are far away.

I can speak as one who knows something of the feelings of a parent with sons who are in the line of battle overseas. I know that, regardless of the outcome of this election, our sons must go on fighting for whatever length of time is necessary for victory.

When this great job in winning this war is done, the men of our armed forces will be demobilized and returned to their homes just as rapidly as possible. The War and Navy Departments are pledged to that. I am pledged to that. The very law of this land, enacted by the Congress, is pledged to that. And there are no strings attached to this pledge.

While the agony of war lasts, the families of our fighting men can be certain that their boys are being given and always will be given the best equipment, the best arms, the best food, the best medical care that the resources of this nation and the genius of this nation can provide. And I am not indulging in undue boasting when I say that that is the best in the world.

The health of our Army and Navy, Marines and Coast Guard is now better than it was in peace time. Although our forces have been fighting in all climates and exposed to all diseases, the death rate from disease has shrunk to one twentieth of one per cent -- less than one seventh of the death rate from disease for men in the same age group

in civilian life. The mortality rate among the wounded is less than three per cent as compared with over eight per cent in the last world war.

I have chosen Navy Day -- today -- to talk about the eleven million Americans in uniform who with all their strength are engaged in giving us a chance to achieve peace through victory in war.

Those men could not have been armed and equipped as they are had it not been for the miracle of our production here at home.

The production which has flowed from this country to all the battle fronts of the world has been due to the efforts of American business, American labor, and American farmers -- working together as a patriotic team.

The businessmen of America have had a vital part in this war. They have displayed the highest type of patriotism by their devotion, their industry, their ingenuity, their cooperation with their Government.

I am proud of the fact that in this Administration today there are a great many Republican business men who have placed patriotism above party.

But unfortunately there are some Republican politicians -- in and out of the Congress -- who are introducing a very ugly implication into this campaign -- an implication of profound concern to all Americans who believe that this war must be followed by a just and lasting peace.

These politicians are stating that the Republicans in the Congress would cooperate with a Republican President in establishing a world organization for peace -- clearly intimating that they would not cooperate toward the same end in the event of a Democratic victory.

That, it seems to me, is a deliberate and indefensible effort to place political advantage not only above devotion to country but also above our very deep desire to avoid the death and destruction which would be caused by future wars.

I do not think that the American people will take kindly to this policy of "Vote my way or I won't play".

May this country never forget that its power in this war has come from the efforts of its citizens, living in freedom and equality.

May this country hold in piety and steadfast faith those who have battled and died to give it new opportunities for service and growth.

May it reserve its contempt for those who see in it only an instrument for their own selfish interests.

May it marshal its righteous wrath against those who would divide it by racial struggles.

May it lavish its scorn upon the faint-hearted.

And may this country always give its support to those who have engaged with us in the war against oppression and who will continue with us in the struggle for a vital, creative peace.

God Bless the United States of America.

Aug. 10, 1945

See also 16 pages

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This is a transcript made by the White
House stenographer from the broadcast of
notes taken at the time of the
October 27, 1944, at 9.00 p.m., e.w.t.
Radio Broadcast

ADDRESS Of The President
At Shibe Park, Philadelphia, Pa.
October 27, 1944, at 9.00 p.m., e.w.t.
Radio Broadcast

My Friends -- My Friends, I am glad to come back to

Philadelphia. And today is the anniversary -- the anniversary
(of the birth) of a great fighting American -- Theodore Roose-
velt.

This day -- his birthday -- is celebrated every year
as Navy Day -- and I think that Theodore Roosevelt would be
happy and proud to know that our American fleet today (now) is
greater than all the navies of the world put together. (cheers
and applause)

And when I say all the navies, I am including what
was -- until three days ago -- the Japanese fleet. (laughter,
cheers and applause)

Since Navy Day a year ago, our armed forces -- Army,
Navy and Air (Forces) -- have participated in no fewer than
twenty-seven different D-Days -- twenty-seven different landings
in force on enemy-held soil (shores).

Every one of those (these) landings has been an
incredibly complicated, (and) hazardous undertaking, as you
realize, requiring months of most careful planning, flawless
coordination, and literally split-second timing in execution.
The larger operations have required hundreds of warships, thou-
sands of smaller craft, thousands of airplanes, and hundreds
of thousands of men.

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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.

And every one of these twenty-seven D-Days has been a triumphant success. (cheers and applause)

I think it's (It is) a remarkable achievement that within less than five months we have been able to carry out major offensive operations in both Europe and the Philippines -- thirteen thousand miles apart from each other.

And speaking of the glorious operations in the Philippines -- I wonder -- whatever became of the suggestion made a few weeks ago, that I had failed for political reasons to send enough forces or supplies to General MacArthur? (cheers and applause)

Now of course, I realize that in this political campaign it is considered by some to be very impolite to mention the fact that there's (is) a war on. (laughter)

But, the war is still on and eleven million American fighting men know it -- and so do their families. And in that war I bear a responsibility that (which) I can never shirk and never, for one instant, forget.

For the Constitution of the United States says -- and I hope you will pardon me if I quote it correctly -- (laughter) -- the Constitution says, "The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States." (cheers and applause)

And I am not supposed to mention that, either. (laughter)

But somehow or other, it seems to me that this is a matter of considerable importance to the (American) people

of the United States. (laughter)

You know, it was due to no accident, (and) no oversight, that the framers of our Constitution -- in this City -- put the command of our armed forces under civilian authority.

And as a result, it's (It is) the duty of the Commander-in-Chief to appoint the Secretaries of War and Navy and the Chiefs of Staff -- and I feel called upon to offer no apologies for my selection of Henry Stimson, the late Frank Knox and Jim (James) Forrestal, or of Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. (cheers and applause)

Furthermore, the Commander-in-Chief has final responsibility for determining how our resources shall be distributed as between our land forces, our sea forces and our air forces, and as among the different theatres of operation(s), and also what portion of these great resources of ours shall be turned over to our Allies.

Our teamwork with our Allies in this war has involved innumerable intricate problems that (which) could be settled only around the conference table by those who had final authority.

The other day, I am told, a prominent Republican orator stated -- (laughter, and boos) -- stated that, and I am quoting -- (more boos) -- he said, quote, (that): "There are not five civilians in the entire national government who have the confidence and respect of the American people." (more boos)

In fact, he went on to describe(d) your present

Administration as "the most spectacular collection of incompetent people who ever held public office." (more boos)

Well, you know (now), that's (is) pretty serious -- (laughter) -- because the only conclusion to be drawn from that is that we are losing this (the) war. (cries of No, and laughter) If so, that will be news to most of us -- and it will certainly be news to the Nazis and the Japs. (laughter and applause)

Now, I like a thing called the record, and the record will show that from almost the first minute of this (my) Administration -- twelve years ago, nearly -- I started to rebuild the United States Navy which had been whittled down (during previous Administrations). (applause) What the Navy suffered from conspicuously during three (these) Republican Administrations was a drastic false economy, which not only scrapped ships but even prevented adequate target practice, adequate maneuvers, enough oil (and) or adequate supplies. Indeed, it (had) reached the point that on some vessels the crews -- who at least were patriotic -- those crews chipped in out of their own pockets to buy their own brass polish to keep the bright work shining. (laughter)

The record will show that (--) when we were attacked in December '41 (at Pearl Harbor), we had already made tremendous progress toward building the greatest war machine the world has ever known.

Take, for example, just the other day, the ships of Admiral Halsey's powerful Third Fleet that helped to give

(which has just given) the Japanese Navy the worst licking in its history. (applause)

Every battleship in his (that) Fleet was authorized between nineteen hundred and thirty-three and nineteen hundred and thirty-eight. (applause) Construction had begun on all of those ships -- battleships -- by September, nineteen (hundred and) forty -- well over a year before Pearl Harbor.

All but two of the great force of cruisers in Admiral Halsey's Fleet were authorized between nineteen hundred and thirty-three and nineteen (hundred and) forty; and construction on all but one of them had begun before Pearl Harbor.

All (of) the aircraft carriers in that Fleet had been authorized by the present Administration before Pearl Harbor, and half of them were actually under construction before Pearl Harbor.

There's (is) the answer -- just a little part of it -- once and for all -- to a Republican candidate who said that this Administration had made, quote, "absolutely no military preparation for the events that it now claims it foresaw." (applause)

Why, less than three months before Hitler launched his murderous assault against Poland, the Republicans in the House of Representatives -- your House, my House -- voted one hundred and forty-four to eight in favor of cutting the appropriations for the Army Air Corps. (boos)

You know, I often think how Hitler and Hirohito must have laughed in those days.

But they're (are) not laughing now. (laughter and applause)

And in the spring of nineteen (hundred and) forty, before we were attacked (as you well remember), I called for the (a) production of fifty thousand airplanes -- and that same Republican candidate spoke scornfully of such a proposition (proposal), calling it a "publicity stunt," and saying it would take four years to reach such a goal.

But (Nevertheless), we have since (then) produced more than two hundred and forty thousand air (war)planes. (applause) Fifty thousand, and laughed at! But today we have attained a production rate of more than nine thousand per month -- more than a (one) hundred thousand a (per) year. (applause)

And we have trained (more than) eight hundred and fifty thousand American boys to be the pilots, the navigators, the bombardiers, aerial gunners and other (aerial crew) members of their crews.

I -- I admit that the (these) figures seem fantastic -- but the (such) results were not impossible to (for) those who had real faith in America. (applause)

I won't go on very long with these figures, but they ought to be known. In nineteen hundred and forty, we had a regular Army of approximately two hundred and fifty thousand, and a reserve, including the National Guard, of three hundred and fifty thousand.

Today, there's a bit of a difference. We have

eight million in our Army, including a (one) hundred and twenty six thousand women. (applause) And here's a piece of news: More than half of our Army is overseas.

Now the (our) Navy. In nineteen (hundred and) forty we had three hundred and sixty-nine thousand combat ships. (and) We had one hundred and eighty-nine thousand men.

Today, we have more than fifteen hundred combat vessels, supported by an armada of fifty thousand other ships, including landing craft. (applause) As you know, a lot of those landing craft have been built not very far away from here, on the Delaware River. (applause) And we have more than three and a half million men in our Navy, and over one hundred thousand women. (applause)

Never before in history -- at least, in our history -- have the soldiers and sailors of any nation gone into battle so thoroughly trained, so thoroughly equipped, so well fed, (and) so thoroughly supported as the American soldiers and sailors fighting today in Europe, Asia and the Pacific. (applause)

Why, in his report to the Secretary of War, in nineteen (hundred and) forty-three -- over a year ago -- General Marshall wrote, "In matters of personnel, military intelligence, training, supply and preparation of war plans, sound principles, good (and) policies had been established in the preparation for just such an emergency as arose."

After we were attacked by the Japanese, and Hitler and Mussolini had declared war on us, some people in this country urged that we go on the defensive -- that we pull in

our fleet to guard this continent -- that we send no forces overseas.

That policy was rejected. (applause) In -- in my first war message to the Congress, less than a month after Pearl Harbor, I said this:

"We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. As our power and our resources are fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy -- we shall hit him and hit him again wherever -- (applause) -- wherever and whenever we can reach him. We must keep him far from our shores, for we intend to bring this battle to him on his own home grounds."
(applause)

And that, my friends, is the policy that we have successfully followed.

In our over-all strategy, we planned our war effort in three phases:

The first phase could be called "plugging the line" -- that (which) meant stopping the Germans, (and) stopping the Japs from expanding their conquests to such (key) points as Australia and the British Isles -- for England then was still very vulnerable to invasion.

Within a month after Pearl Harbor, American expeditionary forces were moving across the Pacific many thousands of miles to Australia, and across the Atlantic more thousands of miles to Northern Ireland and England. Our air forces went to the Southwest Pacific, to India, to China, the Middle East and Great Britain.

In this first phase we furnished arms to the British that (which) helped them to stop the Germans in Egypt -- and arms to the Russians that (which) helped them to stop the Germans at Stalingrad. (applause)

Our own -- and our own growing forces stopped the Japanese in the Coral Sea and at Midway. (applause)

The second phase was the shattering of the enemy's outer defenses -- establishing bases from which to launch our major attacks.

That (This) phase began with the operations in New Guinea, in the Solomons and in North Africa. It continued through all (of) the operations -- places with funny names -- (in) the Marshalls, the Gilberts, (Aleutians), the Marianas, the Carolines, the Aleutians, and now the Philippines. (--)(applause) And it went on in Europe with (the) landings in Sicily and Italy and finally in France itself. (applause)

And so the war in Europe has reached the final, decisive phase, the attack on Germany itself. (cheers and applause)

Well, it's true (But) we will have (have) much longer and much farther to go in the war against Japan. But every day that goes by speeds it up.

All of these operations had to be planned far in advance (--and). You can't imagine how tired I sometimes get when I am told that something that looks simple is going to take three months -- six months to do. Well, that is part of the job of a Commander-in-Chief. Sometimes I have to be disappointed, sometimes I have to go along with the estimates of

the professionals. That does not mean merely drawing arrows on maps -- planning. It has meant planning in terms of precisely how many men will be needed, and how many ships -- warships, cargo ships, landing craft -- how many bombers, (and) how many fighter planes -- (and) how much equipment -- food -- (and) what types of equipment down to the last cartridge. And, incidentally, it has meant getting them -- getting all of them to the right place at the right time (moment). (applause)

It has meant establishing for our Army and Navy supply lines extending over fifty-six thousand miles -- more than twice the circumference of this earth. It has meant establishing the lines of the Air Transport Command -- a (one) hundred and fifty thousand miles of air -- air supply systems running on the clock (regularly).

It has meant moving supplies along these lines at the rate of almost three million long tons a month -- well, I don't grasp it but lately, but I am beginning to understand what that means -- requiring five hundred and seventy-six (seven) cargo ships to leave our ports with supplies every month. It has meant moving more than fourteen million barrels of gasoline and oil a month, requiring a (one) hundred and fifty-six tanker sailings a month. And all those ships and all those tankers were (all) built in American shipyards. (applause)

So, to sum it up, I think we can say that the production necessary to equip and maintain our vast force of fighting men on global battlefronts is without parallel.

I need not repeat the figures. The facts speak

for themselves. They speak with the thunder of tens of thousands of guns on battlefields all over the world. They speak with the roar of more than a (one) million tons of bombs dropped by our air forces.

The whole story of our vast effort in this war has been the (a) story of incredible achievement -- the story of the job that has been done by an Administration which, I am told, is "old, (and) tired and quarrelsome." (laughter)

And while we have been doing that job, we have constantly investigated and publicized our whole management of the war effort. I call particular attention to the thorough and painstaking and completely non-partisan work of that committee of the Senate that (which) was organized and presided over by Harry Truman. (applause)

I am very certain that the Truman Committee has done a job that (which) will live in history as an example of honest, efficient government at work. (applause)

But there is one thing I want to say, (--) and it can't (cannot) be told in figures.

I want to express the conviction that the greatest of our past American heroes -- the heroes of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg -- in this State -- and San Juan Hill and Manila Bay and the Argonne -- would consider themselves honored to be associated with our fighting men of today. (cheers and applause)

Those boys hated and these boys hate war.

The average American citizen is not a soldier by choice.

But our boys have proved that they can take on the best of (that) our militaristic enemies, the best that they can put forward -- they can take them on and beat them to it. (cheers and applause) And we must never forget that our Allies, by resisting the aggressors to the last ditch, gave us time to train our men and prepare their equipment before they went into battle.

The quality of our American fighting men is not all a matter of training or (of) equipment, or (of) organization. It is essentially a matter of spirit. That spirit is expressive of their faith in America. (applause)

The most important fact in our national life today is the essential fact of eleven million young Americans in our Armed forces -- more than half of them overseas.

When you multiply that eleven million by their families and their friends, you have the whole American people personally involved in this war -- a war that (which) was forced upon us, a war which we did our utmost to avoid, a war that (which) came upon us as inevitably as an earthquake.

I think particularly of the mothers and wives and sisters and sweethearts of the men in service. There are great numbers of these gallant women who do not have the satisfaction or the (and) distraction of jobs in war plants. But they have the quiet, essential job of keeping the homes going, caring for the children or the old folks.

Mrs. Roosevelt and I hear very often from a great many of these women who live in loneliness and anxiety while

their men are far away.

I can speak as one who knows something of the feelings of a parent with sons who are in the (line of) battle-line overseas. I know that, regardless of the outcome -- (applause) -- I know that regardless of the outcome of this election, our sons must and will go on fighting for whatever length of time is necessary for victory. (applause)

And when this great job in winning the (this) war is done, the men of our armed forces will be demobilized, they will be (and) returned to their homes just as rapidly as possible. (applause) The War Department and the Navy Department(s) are pledged to that. I am pledged to that. The very law of the (this) land, enacted by the Congress, is pledged to that. And there are no strings attached to the (this) pledge. (applause)

While this (the) agony of the war lasts, the families of our fighting men can be certain that their boys are being given and always will be given, if it's possible, the best equipment, the best arms, the best food, the best medical care that the resources of the (this) nation and the genius of the (this) nation can provide. (applause) And I am not engaging (indulging) in undue boasting when I say that that is the best in the world. (cheers and applause)

Take health, as an example. The health of our Army and Navy and Marines and Coast Guard is now better than it was in peace time. Although our forces have been fighting in all kinds of climates, (and) exposed to all the diseases, the death rate from disease has shrunk -- shrunk to one twentieth

of one percent -- in other words, one -- in other words, less than one seventh of the death rate from disease for men in the same age group in civilian life. (applause) That is something to think over and repeat to your neighbor. And the mortality rate among the people who have been wounded is less than three percent, as compared with over eight percent in the last world war.

I have chosen Navy Day (--) today (--) to talk about the eleven million Americans in uniform, who with all their strength are engaged in giving us a chance to achieve peace through victory in war. (applause)

These (Those) men could not have been armed, (and) they could not be equipped as they are, had it not been for the miracle of our production here back (at) home. (applause)

I think that the production that (which) has flowed from this country to all the battlefronts of the world has been due to the efforts of American business, and American labor, and American farmers -- working together as a patriotic team. (applause)

And the businessmen -- and this meeting is under their auspices -- the businessmen of America have had a vital part in this war. They have displayed the highest type -- type of patriotism by their devotion, their industry, their ingenuity, and their cooperation with their Government.

I am proud of the fact that in this Administration today there are a great many Republican businessmen who have placed patriotism above party. (applause)

But, unfortunately, there are some Republican politicians -- in and out of the Congress -- who are introducing a very ugly implication into this campaign -- an implication of profound concern to all Americans, regardless of party, who believe that this war must be followed by a just and lasting peace.

These politicians are stating that the Republicans in the Congress would cooperate with a Republican President in establishing a world organization for peace -- (boos) -- while at the same time they are clearly intimating that they would not cooperate toward the same end in the event of a Democratic victory. (more boos)

That, coming on the closing days of the campaign, it seems to me, is a deliberate and indefensible effort to place political advantage not only above devotion to country but also above our very deep desire to avoid the death and destruction that (which) would be caused by future wars. (applause)

I -- I do not think that the American people will take kindly to this policy of "Vote my way or I won't play." (laughter and applause)

May this country never forget that its power in this war has come from the efforts of its citizens, living in freedom and equality. (applause)

May this country hold in piety and steadfast faith those who have battled and died to give it new opportunities for service and growth.

May it reserve its contempt for those who see in it only an instrument for their own selfish interests.

May it marshal its righteous wrath against those who would divide it by racial struggles. (applause)

And may it lavish its scorn upon the faint-hearted.

Finally, (And) may this country always give its support to those who have engaged with us in the war against oppression and who will continue with us in the struggle for a vital, creative peace.

And so I say, God Bless the United States of America.

(prolonged cheers and applause)

STATEMENTS FILE

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CAUTION: The following address of the President, prepared for delivery in Shibe Park, Philadelphia, on the evening of October 27, 1944, is released for all regular editions of SATURDAY MORNING (OCTOBER 28, 1944) NEWSPAPERS.

RELEASE FOR RADIO is simultaneous with delivery of the address by the President, NOT EARLIER THAN 9:00 o'clock, P.M., E.W.T., Friday, October 27, 1944.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Today is the anniversary of the birth of a great fighting American -- Theodore Roosevelt.

This day is celebrated every year as Navy Day -- and I think that Theodore Roosevelt would be happy and proud to know that our American fleet today now is greater than all the navies of the world put together. (cheers and applause)

And when I say all the navies, I am including what was -- until three days ago -- the Japanese fleet. (laughter, cheers and applause)

Since Navy Day a year ago our armed forces -- Army, Navy and Air Forces -- have participated in no fewer than twenty-seven different D-Days -- twenty-seven different landings in force on enemy-held shores. ~~shore~~ soil.

Every one of these landings has been an incredibly complicated, and hazardous undertaking, requiring months of most careful planning, flawless coordination, and split-second timing in execution. The larger operations have required hundreds of warships, thousands of smaller craft, thousands of airplanes, and hundreds of thousands of men.

And every one of these twenty-seven D-Days has been a triumphant success. (cheers and applause)

I think it is a remarkable achievement that within less than five months we have been able to carry out major offensive operations in both Europe and the Philippines -- thirteen thousand miles apart from each other.

And speaking of the glorious operations in the Philippines -- I wonder -- whatever because of the suggestion made a few weeks ago, that I had failed for political reasons to send enough forces or supplies to General MacArthur? (cheers and applause)

Of course, I realize that, in this political campaign, it is considered by some to be very impolitic to mention the fact that there is a war on. (laughter)

But the war is still on and eleven million American fighting men know it -- and so do their families. And in that war I bear a responsibility which I can never shirk and never, for one instant, forget.

For the Constitution of the United States says -- and I hope you will pardon me if I quote it correctly -- "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States." (cheers and applause)

-- (laughter) -- the Constitution says:

And I am not supposed to mention that, either. (laughter)

But somehow or other, it seems to me that this is a matter of considerable importance to the American people of the United States. (laughter)

You know, it was due to no accident, and no oversight, that the framers of our Constitution put the command of our armed forces under civilian authority.

Jim: ^{in this City} And ^{as a result,} it is the duty of the Commander in Chief to appoint the Secretaries of War and Navy and the Chiefs of Staff — and I feel called upon to offer no apologies for my selection of Henry Stimson, the late Frank Knox and ~~James~~ Forrestal, or of Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. (cheers and applause)

Furthermore, the Commander in Chief has final responsibility for determining how our resources shall be distributed as between our land forces, ^{our} sea forces and air forces, and as among the different theatres of operations, and also what portion ~~shall~~ ^{of these great resources of ours} be turned over to our Allies.

Our teamwork with our Allies in this war has involved innumerable intricate problems ~~which~~ could be settled only around the conference table by those who had final authority.

The other day, I am told, a prominent Republican orator stated -- that "there are not five civilians in the entire national government who have the confidence and respect of the American people." (noise from crowd)

In fact, ^{went a bit} he describes your present Administration as "the most spectacular collection of incompetent people who ever held public office." (noise from crowd)

Well, ^{in this} that is pretty serious. ^{-- (laughter) -- because} the only conclusion to be drawn from that is that we are losing the war. If so, that will be news to most of us — and it will certainly be news to the Nazis and the Japs. (laughter)

12 years ago nearly, P. Now, I like a thing called the record, and the record will show that from almost the first minute of this Administration ^(Cries of "No" & laughter) I started to rebuild the United States Navy which had been whittled down during previous Administrations. What the Navy suffered from conspicuously during these Republican Administrations was a drastic false economy, which not only scrapped ships but even prevented adequate target practice, adequate maneuvers, and adequate supplies. It ~~had~~ ^{reached} the point that on some vessels the crews ^{had to buy their own brass} polished to keep the bright work shining. (laughter)

12 years ago nearly, The record will show that ^{enough oil,} when we were attacked at Pearl Harbor we had already made tremendous progress toward building the greatest war machine the world has ever known.

Take, for example, the ships of Admiral Halsey's powerful Third Fleet ^{just the other day,} which ~~has just given~~ the Japanese Navy the worst licking in its history. (applause)

Every battleship in ^{his} that Fleet was authorized between nineteen hundred and thirty-three and nineteen hundred and thirty-eight. Construction had begun on all of those battleships by September, nineteen hundred and forty — well over a year before Pearl Harbor. (applause)

All but two of the great force of cruisers in Admiral Halsey's Fleet were authorized between nineteen hundred and thirty-three and nineteen hundred and forty; and construction on all but one of them had begun before Pearl Harbor.

that helped to give the Japanese navy the worst licking in its history
Who at least were patriotic -- these crews out of their own pockets would buy Halsey

(laughter from crowd) -- started from same starting -- (noise from crowd) -- he said, quite

All of the aircraft carriers in that Fleet had been authorized by the present Administration before Pearl Harbor, and half of them were actually under construction before Pearl Harbor.

--just a little part of it (Note:)

There's the answer -- once and for all -- to a Republican candidate who said that this Administration had made "absolutely no military preparation for the events it now claims it foresaw." (Applause)

Why, less than three months before Hitler launched his murderous assault against Poland, the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted one hundred and forty-four to eight in favor of cutting the appropriations for the Army Air Corps. (Boos)

You know, I often think how Hitler and Hirohito must have laughed in these days.

But they were not laughing now. (Laughter and applause) Before we were attacked,

And in the spring of nineteen hundred and forty, as you will remember, I called for production of fifty thousand airplanes -- and that same Republican candidate spoke scornfully of such a proposal, calling it a "publicity stunt", and saying it would take four years to reach such a goal.

Nevertheless, we have since then produced more than two hundred and forty thousand airplanes. We have attained a production rate of more than nine thousand per month -- more than one hundred thousand per year. (Applause) Mr. Speaker

And we have trained more than eight hundred and fifty thousand pilots, navigators, bombardiers, aerial gunners and other aerial crew members of our crews.

I-I admit these figures seem fantastic -- but the results were not impossible for those who had real faith in America. (Applause) I should go on very long with these figures, but they must be known.

In nineteen hundred and forty, we had a regular Army of approximately two hundred and fifty thousand, and a reserve, including the National Guard, of three hundred and fifty thousand.

There's a little difference. Today, we have eight million in our Army, including one hundred and twenty six thousand women. More than half of our Army is overseas.

And the our Navy. In nineteen hundred and forty, we had three hundred and sixty-nine combat ships, and one hundred and eighty-nine thousand men.

Today, we have more than fifteen hundred combat vessels, supported by an armada of fifty thousand other ships, including landing craft. We have more than three and a half million men in our Navy and over one hundred thousand women. (Applause)

Never before in history have the soldiers and sailors of any nation gone into battle so thoroughly trained, so thoroughly equipped, so well fed, and so thoroughly supported as the American soldiers and sailors fighting today in Europe, Asia and the Pacific. (Applause)

Why? In his report to the Secretary of War, in nineteen hundred and forty-three, General Marshall wrote: "In matters of personnel, military intelligence, training, supply and preparation of war plans, sound principles and policies had been established in the preparation for just such an emergency as arose in this country."

After we were attacked by the Japanese, and Hitler and Mussolini had declared war on us, some people urged that we go on the defensive -- that we pull in our fleet to guard this continent -- that we send no forces overseas.

That policy was rejected. In my first war message to the Congress, less than a month after Pearl Harbor, I said this:

sailors,

a lot of the leading craft and equipment built not many years ago
you know, in the Baltimore River (Applause) Well

The whole story of our vast effort in this war has been ^{the} story of incredible achievement — the story of the job that has been done by an Administration which, I am told, is "old, ~~and~~ tired and quarrelsome". (laughter)

And while we have been doing that job, we have constantly investigated and publicized our whole management of the war effort. I call particular attention to the thorough, ~~and~~ painstaking and completely non-partisan work of that committee of the Senate which was organized and presided over by Harry Truman. (applause)

P. 3 am very certain that
The Truman Committee has done a job ^{that} which will live in history as an example of honest, efficient government at work. (applause)

It's there is one thing I want to say, ~~it~~ and it ^{can't} cannot be told in figures.

I want to express the conviction that the greatest of our past American ~~heroes~~ ^{in this State} — the heroes of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg, and San Juan Hill and Manila Bay and the Argonne — would consider themselves honored to be associated with our fighting men of today. (cheers and applause)

Those boys ^{hated and these boys} hate war.

The average American citizen is not a soldier by choice.

the best that they
But our boys have proved ^{that} they can take on the best ~~and~~ our militaristic enemies, can put forward — they can take them on and beat them. ^{Test} And we must never forget that our Allies, by resisting the aggressors to the last ditch, gave us time to train our men and prepare their equipment before they went into battle. (cheers and applause)

The quality of our American fighting men is not all a matter of training or of equipment, ~~or~~ of organization. It is essentially a matter of spirit. That spirit is expressive of their faith in America. (applause)

The most important fact in our national life today is the essential fact of eleven million young Americans in our armed forces — more than half of them overseas.

that
When you multiply that eleven million by their families and their friends, you have the whole American people personally involved in this war — a war ^{which} was forced upon us, a war which we did our utmost to avoid, a war which came upon us as inevitably as an earthquake.

I think particularly of the mothers ^{or the} and wives and sisters and sweethearts of the men in service. There are great numbers of those gallant women who do not have the satisfaction ~~and~~ distraction of jobs in war plants. But they have the quiet, essential job of keeping the homes going, caring for the children or the old folks.

very often
Mrs. Roosevelt and I hear ^{from} from a great many of these women who live in loneliness and anxiety while their men are far away.

like
I can speak as one who knows something of the feelings of a parent with sons who are in the ~~line of~~ battle overseas. I know that, regardless of the outcome of this election, our sons must go on fighting for whatever length of time is necessary for victory. (applause) and will

They will be the
And when this great job in winning ^{the} this war is done, the men of our armed forces will be demobilized ~~and~~ returned to their homes just as rapidly as possible. The War and Navy Departments are pledged to that. I am pledged to that. The very law of this land, enacted by the Congress, is pledged to that. And there are no strings attached to ~~this~~ pledge. (applause)

(applause)
(applause) — regardless of the outcome
Department

DRAFT 1

- 1 -

Today is the anniversary of the birth of a great fighting American — Theodore Roosevelt.

This day is celebrated every year as Navy Day — and I think Theodore Roosevelt would be happy and proud to know that our American fleet now is greater than all the navies of the world put together.

P And when I say all the navies, I am including what was — until three days ago the Japanese fleet.

I want to tell you about one ship of that fleet — a heavy cruiser which bears the name — "Philadelphia."

She was born right here, seven years ago, in the Philadelphia shipyards.

She spent the first four years of her life learning her way about the seven seas. When war came, the "Philadelphia" was ready for it.

She helped to guard the sea lanes across the Atlantic, protecting life lines of supplies to Britain and the Mediterranean.

The "Philadelphia" was in the fighting line in the landings in North Africa in November, 1942. Her blazing guns protected our troops during the landings in Sicily, and at Salerno, and at Anzio, and in Southern France.

In all of these operations, she was attacked time and again by shore batteries, dive bombers, submarines. But she's still as strong and healthy as the day she was born. When shore batteries opened up, the "Philadelphia" — to use naval language — "neutralized them."

[She is a great neutralizer.

It would, I think, be very difficult to convince the Germans that the word "Philadelphia" means "brotherly love".

And -- while I can't give away any secret plans -- I should be very much surprised if the Japanese do not feel the unwelcome presence of the "Philadelphia" before this war is over.]

Since Navy Day a year ago our armed forces -- Army, Navy and Air Forces -- have participated in no fewer than 26 different D-Days -- *26 different landings in force on enemy held shores.*

Three of those D-Days were in Europe -- the Anzio beachhead last January, the landings in Normandy last June, the landings in Southern France last August.

The other twenty-three D-Days were all in the far Pacific.

As-you-know, Every one of these landings has been an incredibly complicated and hazardous undertaking, requiring months of most careful planning, flawless coordination, and split-second timing in execution. The larger operations have required hundreds of warships, thousands of smaller craft, thousands of airplanes and hundreds of thousands of men.

And every one of these twenty-six D-Days has been a triumphant success.

DRAFT 1

- 3 -

It is a remarkable achievement that within less than five months we have been able to carry out major offensive operations in both Europe and the Philippines -- 13 thousand miles apart from each other.

And speaking of that glorious operation in the Philippines -- I wonder - whatever became of the suggestion made a few weeks ago, that I had failed for political reasons to send enough forces or supplies to General MacArthur?

I realize that, in this political campaign, it is considered by some to be very impolite to mention the fact that there is a war on.

In fact, it sometimes seems that we must all pretend that the war is over and that we are back again in the days of "normalcy." But the war is still on and 11 million American fighting men know it -- and so do their families. And in that war I bear a responsibility which I can never shirk and never, for one instant, forget.

For the Constitution of the United States says -- and I hope you will pardon me if I quote it correctly -- "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States."

I am not supposed to mention that, either.

But somehow or other, it seems to me that this is a matter of considerable importance to the American people.

It was due to no accident and no oversight that the framers of our Constitution put the command of our armed forces under civilian authority.

It is definitely part of our democratic system that the military establishment be under civilian control -- the President and the Secretaries of War and Navy.

~~(Have insert duties of Commander in Chief).~~

[In a war in which the lives of our sons are at stake -- in which the whole future of our country and our civilization is at stake -- it is not improper for the American people to want to know just how this war is being run.]

The other day, I am told, a prominent Republican orator stated that "there are not five civilians in the entire national government who have the confidence and respect of the American people."

It is the duty of the Commander in Chief to appoint the Chiefs of Staff -- and I feel called upon to offer no apologies for my selection of ^{Admiral King} General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold.

Furthermore, the Commander in Chief has final responsibility for determining how our total available resources shall be distributed as between our land forces, sea forces and air forces, and ^{also} what portion shall be turned over to our Allies.

Our team-work with our Allies in this war has been without precedent in all history. It has involved innumerable intricate problems which could be settled only around the conference table by those who had final authority.

4 For example, in the spring of 1942 we and the British were planning to take offensive operations against the Germans in the coming fall. The Combined Chiefs of Staff produced plans for landings at some forty different points, all the way from Northern Norway to the Eastern Mediterranean -- *and there was considerable disagreement as to which one was best.*

It had to be for Mr. Churchill and me to decide on the best possible point, ~~and~~ ^{we} agreed on North Africa, ~~and~~ ^{we also} agreed that the expedition should be led by General Eisenhower who, a year before, had been a Lieutenant Colonel.

In deciding on North Africa, Mr. Churchill and I had to take

INSERT A - p. 4

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into account what this operation would mean in international political terms as well as in terms of military strategy. We had to consider what would be the effect of it in France - Spain - Italy - China - South America - and in many other countries.

The effect everywhere was good.

In fact, he described your present administration as "the most spectacular collection of incompetent people who ever held public office."

Well, now -- that is pretty serious. The only conclusion to be drawn from that is that we are losing this war. If so, that will be news to most of us -- and it will certainly be news to the Nazis and the Japs.

However -- as an old friend of mine loved to say -- "let's look at the record."

The
That record will show that from almost the first minute of my administration I started to rebuild the United States Navy which had been scuttled *during* previous administrations.

~~*The*
That record will show that -- very often against isolationist opposition -- I continued to build up our national defense against the storms coming from abroad.~~

The record will show that --
When we were attacked at Pearl Harbor, we had already made tremendous progress toward building the greatest war machine the world has ever known.

DRAFT 1

- 6 -

One of the first things I did, after taking office in 1933, was to allocate 238 million dollars of PWA funds for naval construction. That was the first naval construction program undertaken by this country in fifteen years.

We built two aircraft carriers and a number of cruisers, destroyers and submarines. Incidentally, those two aircraft carriers were the Yorktown and the Enterprise, which covered themselves with glory in this war. They were the beginning of our modern combined air and sea power which is now driving the Japanese back to Tokio.

I devoted more PWA funds — up to a billion dollars — to all manner of military preparations principally for Army and Navy airfields, air training stations, aeronautical research institutions and other projects which provided the basis for the development of our magnificent air forces.

In 1935, the isolationists in Congress took action to prevent me from expending any more PWA funds for these defense purposes. In 1938, the Navy couldn't even get 5 million dollars to dredge the harbor of Guam.

[The isolationist theory was that if we never expended a nickel on national defense, the Japanese and Nazis would behave like little gentlemen and never attack us.]

I often think how Hitler and Hirohito must have laughed in those days.

They are not laughing now.

Less than three months before Hitler launched his murderous assault against Poland, the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted 114 to 8 in favor of cutting the appropriations for the Army Air Corps.

In the spring of 1940, as you well remember, I called for a production of 50 thousand airplanes -- and one of the principal Republican mouthpieces of today then spoke scornfully of such a proposal, saying it would take four years to reach such a goal.

7 Nevertheless, we have since then produced more than _____ warplanes. Our average, ever since Pearl Harbor, has been 5 thousand warplanes a month, or 60 thousand a year. And we are now producing them at the rate of over 100,000 per year.

We have trained close to half a million pilots, navigators, bombardiers, aerial gunners and other aerial crew members.

[Our Air Transport Command, with an operating personnel of 110,000 men, has more than 150 thousand miles of air supply systems, running regularly.

Our Air Forces -- Army and Navy -- have destroyed more than 35 thousand enemy airplanes in combat and on the ground.]

I admit these figures seem fantastic -- but such results were not impossible for those who had real faith in America.

In 1940, we had a regular Army of approximately 250,000, and a reserve, including the National Guard, of 350,000.

Today, we have 8 million men in our Army. Half of them are overseas.

Our Navy in 1940 had _____ ships.

Today, we have 1,155 combat vessels supported by an armada of 50 thousand ships ^{other} ~~of lesser size~~, including landing craft.

Never before in history have the soldiers and sailors of any nation gone into battle so thoroughly trained, so thoroughly equipped, so well fed, and so thoroughly supported as the American soldiers and sailors fighting today in Europe, Asia and the Pacific.

8 All of that had to be planned and prepared -- the right men had to be put in the right jobs -- and it was done long before Pearl Harbor.

In his report to the Secretary of War, in 1945, General Marshall wrote: "In matters of personnel, military intelligence, training, supply and preparation of war plans, sound principles and policies had been established in the preparation for just such an emergency as arose."

The production necessary to equip and maintain ^{our} ~~this~~ vast force of fighting men on global battlefronts is without parallel.

Since December 7, 1941, American industry has turned over to the American soldier and to his Allies approximately 45,000 medium tanks, 22,000 light tanks, 54,000 scout cars and personnel carriers, 499,000 Jeeps, 5,500 landing vehicles, 39,000 selfpropelled artillery carriages, 155,000 aircraft guns, 44,000 antiaircraft guns, 94,000 tank guns and howitzers, 4,350,000 rifles, 4,800,000 carbines, 91,000 mortars, 2,000,000 machineguns.

These are but a few of the weapons. The list is long.

Since July 1, 1940, the cost of clothing to outfit the Army has amounted to more than four and one-half billion dollars.

I need not repeat the figures. ~~They can be found in any reference library. This is the effort of this war production has, but I feel they are evidence of the world - on land, ^{that} under the sea, and in the air. The facts speak for themselves. They speak with the thunder of tens of thousands of guns on battlefields all over the world. They speak with the roar of more than one million tons of bombs dropped by our air forces.~~

After we were attacked by the Japanese, and Hitler and Mussolini declared war on us, some people urged that we go on the defensive - that we pull in our fleet to guard this continent -- that we send no forces overseas.

That was a policy that I rejected. In my first war message to the Congress, ~~xx~~ a month after Pearl Harbor, I said:

"We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. As our power and our resources are fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy -- we shall hit him and hit him again wherever and whenever we can reach him. We must keep him far from our shores, for we intend to bring this battle to him on his own home grounds".

9 long range
And that is the policy we have successfully followed.

In our over-all strategy, we planned our war effort in three phases:

The first phase could be called "plugging the line" -- which meant stopping the Germans and Japs from expanding their conquests to such key points as Australia and the British Isles -- for England then was still very vulnerable to invasion.

Within a month after Pearl Harbor, American expeditionary forces were moving across the Pacific to Australia and across the Atlantic to Northern Ireland. Our air forces went to the Southwest

Pacific, to India, China, the Middle East and Great Britain.

In this first phase we furnished arms to the British which helped them to stop the Germans in Egypt -- and arms to the Russians which helped them to stop the Germans at Stalingrad.

And our own growing forces stopped the Japanese at Midway.

The second phase was the shattering of the enemy's outer defenses - establishing bases from which to launch our major attacks.

This phase began with the operations in New Guinea, the Solomons and North Africa. It continued through all of the operations in the Marshalls, Gilberts, Aleutians, Marianas, Carolines and now the Philippines -- and in Europe with the landings in Sicily and Italy and finally in France.

10 days ago
The war in Europe has reached the final, decisive phase. *The situation*
But
We have much longer and much farther to go in the war against Japan.

All of these operations had to be planned far in advance -- and that does not mean merely drawing arrows on maps. It has meant planning in terms of precisely how many men will be needed, and how many ships - warships, cargo ships, landing craft -- and how much equipment and what types of equipment down to the last cartridge.

And it has meant getting all of them to the right place at the right moment.
It has meant establishing for our Army supply lines extending

over 56 thousand miles -- more than twice the circumference of this

It has meant establishing the lines of the Air Transport Command with 150,000 miles of air supply systems running regularly

It has meant moving supplies along these lines at the rate of 4,750,000 tons a month.

~~We gave ourselves a very large order to fill -- an order requiring nothing less than the total effort of this nation. And we are filling it -- and we shall not quit the enormous job until it is finished.~~

DRAFT 1

- 10 -

More than 78,000,000 pair of shoes have been supplied to our fighting men.

Our Army and Navy today has ___ general hospitals in the United States, with a bed capacity of _____ and ___ general hospitals abroad with a bed capacity of _____. This is in addition to ___ field and evacuation hospitals all over the world. The combined Medical Departments of the Army and Navy have more than _____ medical officers; _____ dental officers; and _____ nurses. They have approximately _____ enlisted men. With the best of personnel and facilities, the health of our wartime Army and Navy has been better than it was at any time during peace. We have had no epidemics.

The overall death rate from disease is $1/20$ of one per cent per annum, despite the fact that our Army is fighting on all fronts in the world, in all climates and exposed to all diseases.

In the Navy and the Marine Corps, medical care has progressed so far that the mortality rate among the wounded is ^{less than 3} 2% per cent, as compared with more than 8 per cent in the last world war.

DRAFT 1

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[There has been recently introduced in the Pacific Theatre a plywood field hospital, which can be assembled on a hostile beachhead in thirty minutes. This has resulted in the saving of many lives which might have been lost without these facilities immediately available.

Among the finest and bravest and most useful men in our Navy are the Seabees.

The Seabees are the engineers of the Navy. Their work is often extremely hazardous; it is always tough. It is they who move in and almost overnight convert those little Pacific islands into major naval and air bases.

The Seabees have grown in this war from one regiment of about 3,000 men to nearly 230,000 men, officered by nearly 9,000 Civil Engineer Corps officers.

In each Seabee battalion, there are 59 different construction trades, enough to enable the battalion to undertake successfully any type of advance base construction.

The Seabees were of vital importance in the difficult job of assembling and building the great artificial ports built by the British and ourselves off the beaches of Normandy last June. It was those artificial ports which enabled us to land the forces and the supplies needed to open the second front in Europe.]

DRAFT 1

- 12 -

A large majority of the Seabee personnel was drawn from the ranks of union labor, and the unions gave full cooperation to the Navy in solving procurement problems.

Our labor-baiting citizens ought to take notice of that.

The whole story of our vast effort in this war has been a story of incredible achievement - ~~I could go on all night reciting off facts and figures to demonstrate the magnitude of our effort in this war -~~ *The story of* the job that has been done by "the most spectacular collection of incompetent people who ever held public office".

~~But~~ There is one thing I want to say -- and it cannot be told in figures.

I want to express the conviction that the greatest of our past American heroes -- the heroes of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg and San Juan Hill and the Argonne -- could be proud to be associated with our fighting men of today.

Those boys hate war.

The average American citizen is not a soldier by choice.

12

But our boys have proved they can take on the best that our

militaristic enemies can put forward -- they can take them on and beat

them. *And we must remember that our Allies, having by resisting the aggressors to the last ditch, have given us time to train the men and prepare the equipment before they go into battle.*

And that is not all a matter of training or of equipment or of organization. It is essentially a matter of spirit.

DRAFT 1

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Somehow or other, I do not think those boys would be fighting with that much spirit if they agreed that their American government is as incompetent -- or as old and tired -- as some politicians like to say it is.

~~(Here insert some paragraphs as to present position in war.)~~

FIRST DRAFT

- 14 -

The production which flowed from the assembly lines all over the nation was the product of American labor and American business — working together as a patriotic team.

It was the strong, independent American labor of 1939 and the powerful and sound American business of 1939.

[It was not the American labor of 1932, it was not the American business of 1932. The American labor and the American business of those days could never have done the job which faced them seven years later.

You remember the plight of the American working man and woman when this Administration came to office in March 1933. No jobs. Breadlines and soup kitchens. Child labor rampant. Sweatshop conditions all over the nation. Weak and bankrupt labor unions. No collective bargaining. No relief from government for the unemployed. Starvation and Hoovervilles.

Insert F

By 1939 however when the test of war came — there was a different story. Twelve million more jobs had been provided in private industry. Soup kitchens, breadlines, hunger, Hoovervilles, apple peddlers, bonus marchers — were all things of the past. Child labor had been abolished. Collective bargaining had become a matter of right. Minimum wages and maximum hours — unemployment insurance and old age insurance — here was

]

FIRST DRAFT

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[a revitalized labor -- confident in its government, secure against the hazards of the future, ready to meet with management in an unbeatable partnership. It was fit for the job which faced it in 1939. And it did that job.

And tonight business men -- gathered at meetings in Detroit, New York, (mention others) and other cities -- business men all over the nation, have a very clear recollection of the condition of American business on March 4, 1933. That was a balance sheet which no one will soon forget -- for it was written entirely in red ink.

13 The vast business of the lives of 130 million people had come to a standstill. It happened on the farms and the railroads, in the factories and the banks and the power houses, and in the homes throughout America. About the only thing that did not come to a standstill was the flood of young people; young men -- yes, and in some cases young women -- *in the seemingly hopeless quest of a job,* who were flooding the highways and bunning their way on the occasional freight trains.

P Business was ground between two mill stones. On the one hand, customers had no money with which to buy its products. On the other hand monopolies and special privilege *had* had through elimination of fair competition *worn* down the strength and fibre of small American business.

FIRST DRAFT

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The disaster which resulted can be measured in cold statistics of the national income, business failures, bank failures, production and price indices, dividend payments and stock exchange prices.

Do not just take my word for it. Read the cold statistics which you can get from any bank or any business house. Compare the figures of the national income, and the business failures, and the bank failures, and the production and price indices, and the dividend payments and the stock exchange prices as of 1932 — compare them with the same items in 1939. Then, on November seventh you tell us when the great depression really occurred. But these figures are not necessary, for the ~~and~~ story of disaster is written eloquently in terms of human misery and degradation.

This disaster of 1929-1933 had to be met as a disaster — not with a magic formula nor an overnight solution. It had to be met by bold government action — mobilizing the courage and genius of the American people. The essence of that genius was to figure out and try new methods adapted to the problems — and not to go on making the same mistakes which

FIRST DRAFT

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had brought the tragedy down upon us.

Government in 1930 and '31 and '32 had gone on a sit-down strike and had done nothing to help business.

Government from 1933 on, took bold, decisive, and drastic action:

[Our banks were opened, made sound, and covered by deposit insurance.

Direct loans kept going hundreds of railroads and factories and thousands of businesses -- and, by the way, in nearly every case those loans were repaid. By 1939 these borrowers were going under their own steam and making their own profits in addition. That is the kind of record which, in this campaign, has been called "the result of incompetency".

Fraudulent stock practices and wild stock speculation was stopped by law.

Farm credit agencies, Triple A, and soil conservation policies saved the American farmer.

The homes of America were saved from foreclosure -- and hundreds of thousands of new homes were built with government credit assistance.

[Foreign trade was encouraged by reciprocal trade agreements
and by tearing down tariff walls.

Monopolies which stifled competition and free business enterprise were broken up.

By a series of measures to protect labor and provide jobs and social security, purchasing power was created with which to buy the products of industry and business.]

You all know the rest of the record of ^{accomplishments of this Administration} the years from 1933

on.

And you began to feel it ^{immediately} in your bank accounts and inventories and balance sheets. The red ink ^{turned} gradually changed to black. *your own books can tell you the story.*

[If we take a broad view of the result, it looks pretty much as though the common interest of all the people was pretty well served.]

[We have heard it said in this campaign that, in 1940, America was in a state of chaos from which it was saved only because we went to war.

That dismal statement is not in agreement with the facts. From 1932 through 1940, which was one year before Pearl Harbor:

National income rose from 40 to 78 billion - almost double.

Employment rose from 25 million to 37 million.

Bank failures dropped from 4,000 a year to as low as none.]

Bank stockholders in banks of the Federal Reserve System
went from a loss of 255 million to a profit of _____
million.

Soundest, most ~~The American dollar was re-established as the~~
~~bought, after, currency in the world.~~
Business failures were cut to less than half.

Utility companies - which incidentally this Administration
was supposed to be destroying - did pretty well. Their earn-
ings during that period trebled.

Remember I am speaking of a year before Pearl Harbor.

Take small business -- not corporations -- and the independent
professional people. Their net income during that period
trebled.

How about corporations? In 1933 they showed a loss of ~~one~~ $3\frac{1}{2}$
billions. In 1940 they showed not a loss but a net profit
of six billions, after taxes.

Payrolls increased 63%.

Imports were doubled. Exports were more than doubled.

Average price of industrial stocks more than doubled.

Savings deposits in banks and life insurance went up

enormously.

Farm income trebled.

13 ~~I could go on with this all night. But~~ *JE* every one of you knows

it from your own personal experience. You know the steady growth in the

DRAFT I

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strength and prosperity of this nation since 1933. You know that there is not a group or section of the country which has not shared in the advance. ~~Insert A~~

~~(Paragraph on small business.)~~

~~Now that was done by this bungling, quarrelsome, and confused~~
Administration. ~~Insert B~~

And when politicians, in the heat of a campaign, apply these adjectives to this Administration, remember that they are fouling their own nest. For if you take the roster of the personnel of this Administration you will find that the overwhelming majority of Federal employees are taken into the Government through the non-partisan Civil Service Commission where their political beliefs are not questioned or even asked.

At the top of the Civil Service are many appointments to many boards and commissions. Nearly all of them have to be confirmed by the Senate of the United States. Read that list. You will be amazed to find the number of Republicans -- yes, Republican business men who are serving the Government of the United States in responsible positions. The War Production Board, for instance, is very largely Republican in its affiliations. Republicans have sat in the Cabinet. There are Republicans among the Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries.

The record of successfully overcoming the crisis of a great depression in 1933 and successfully overcoming the crisis of a great war seven years later -- that is the record of this Administration --

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PAGE ²⁰~~187~~ - INSERT A - ~~AFTER THE SECOND~~
~~PARAGRAPH~~

Go out on any street or in any town and ask the first ten people you meet when the great depression occurred. ^{Was it}
~~A~~ from 1929 to 1933 or, ^{was it,} as claimed by ~~the~~ certain people who got the brilliant idea of ^{re-}writing history -- ^{from 1933 to} around 1939.

Of course, the real reason ^{these} fairy-tales are told ~~for this and other~~ in this election year is not the bankruptcy ^{that there was} of banks and businesses ^{since 1933.} large and

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PAGE ~~20~~ - INSERT A

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~~small~~ -- The real problem of these ~~campaign~~
~~gratious arises~~
~~people lies~~ from their own bankruptcy
of political issues. *That is why they say*
~~Hence, the~~

~~of their ideas and the use of the only~~
~~new idea they have had that of~~
~~trying a couple of centuries too~~

~~early~~ to re-write American history

which ^{our} people -- ^{still} ~~now~~ very much alive --
very clearly.

can remember ~~without the use of their~~

fictional
~~history books stories, many making~~
~~fantastic~~ *as history*

The backbone of American business is small business. Small business was saved from destruction in 1933. It has since then helped by government by protecting it from monopoly and by making available government credit where necessary.

When war came, and there was the first great rush to get the weapons of war, this Administration took steps to see to it that the smaller plants of the nation got a fair share of the contracts. For the vast majority of our manufacturers -- over 90% of them -- employ under 100 people. We could not afford to let them shut down.

As a result the smaller plants have been mobilized into war production. Money has been loaned to them for machinery. Technical advice has been furnished. Over 60,000 prime and subcontracts have been distributed among 28,000 smaller plants of the nation. At times, the government bought machinery and equipment and leased them to small plants on modest terms. We shall see that these small businesses are given every facility to buy or

In addition some 45,000 enemy patents and patent applications, which the Alien Property Custodian has taken over, have been placed within the reach of small companies for their use. Building up these small businesses not only saved their lives, but strengthened them for the future to enable them to resist the encroachments and assaults of monopolies and cartels.

Next government owned surplus war plants and equipment and inventories

INSERT

A 620

-4-

~~Insert B 620~~

One thing of which this Administration is very proud is its

determined efforts to provide economic and political opportunity

for all regardless of race or creed or color.

Permanent to this general
~~That is why~~

policy - six months before Pearl Harbor - I appointed a Fair Employment

Practices Committee to prevent discrimination in war industries

and in government employment. The work of the Committee and the

results obtained more than justify its creation. I believe that

the Congress should by law make the Committee permanent -- not

only for the war emergency, but for the peace as well.

There are now over 800,000 Negroes in the armed forces.

Their contribution has been *whole-hearted* ~~conspicuous~~ - and heroic.

~~These men are~~ *living and* ~~entitled to~~ *and should have* the same opportunity for ~~education~~ *education*

~~as other veterans. This should not remain merely a theoretical~~

~~should be made the law of the land~~

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WASHINGTON

(Insert B) p20
Since ~~certain~~ Republican leaders believe
there are only five citizens in this Administration
~~connected to~~ "who have the confidence and
respect of the American people" it is to be
assumed that, in the event of Republican
victory, there will be a wholesale ~~removal~~
elimination of those who have been
running this war. And that housecleaning
~~would~~ sweep out a large number of
Republicans.

and the production for it

FIRST DRAFT

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~~I do not hesitate to tell you that I have tried to get the best man for the job in every case — no matter what party he belonged to — and I have tried to get, insofar as I could, men whose records proved them to have not only a good business record and administrative experience but a record of human sympathy, broad outlook and progressive tendencies.~~

PP There are thousands of Republican business men in the various bureaus and agencies of this Administration who
ship.

18. But what of those Republican leaders in the Congress who have publicly stated that they would cooperate with a Republican President in establishing a world organization for peace — clearly intimating that they would not in the event of a Democratic victory. We have heard that ugly implication several times in this campaign. It is a deliberate effort to place political advantage not only above devotion to country but also above our very deep desire to avoid the death and destruction of future wars. *P* The American people will resent this policy of "Vote my way or I won't play".

[Of course there have been some disputes and quarrels among people in this Administration. This happens to be a democracy and when men are doing a very big job, and bearing a very heavy responsibility, they are inclined to blow off steam.]

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[I've heard of some highly successful business enterprises in which there were sometimes disputes between partners. I have even heard of occasional arguments in the happiest families.]

[The main difference is that everything that happens in your Government is subject to the widest publicity — and normal disagreements between normal men are sometimes so magnified and exaggerated in the press that they are made to appear to be civil wars.]

On the whole, I think I can report that the members of this Administration have worked well together and done a good job.

That has been proved by the record of recovery, the record of war production, and the record of the war itself.

[Yes, a new Alice-in-Wonderland has been written during the past few weeks. Alice has gone to school again and she has learned two new and startling facts. One, that the great depression of 1929-1933 never happened at all. And, two, that there was a horrible depression from 1933 to 1939.]

[(Price Control and Inflation)]

[The figures and statistics I have given you as of 1940 were before we got into the war, before Pearl Harbor.]

After we were attacked all the figures of 1940 and indeed all the figures of 1929 — the height of the false Republican boom — were surpassed.]

FIRST DRAFT

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We are now in an economy where our national income is 170 billion dollars. We have shown in war time that if we have the market, the business men, the farmers and the workers, we can out-produce any country in the world. *I state it as my deep faith that,*

[1] *We can do the same in peacetime.* We can have the same kind of full production and the same kind of full employment *in peacetime.*

19 Private industry can provide the jobs if only they have the customers with enough money to buy the products of industry.

To provide these customers, the American workers must have high wages in their pockets and *must have* protection against the hazards of old age and unemployment. There will be no place in our economy for wage rates which spell poverty or want. *A foreign market must be developed for American goods* ~~for the same way~~ *The American farmer must be assured fair prices and a high enough cash income to buy the products of American business.* *to become good customers -*

~~Taxes must be geared to act as an incentive to new risk capital.~~
They must be fixed after the war at a level which will promote the profit motive and encourage investments which give employment. 

~~Corporate taxes must be modified to avoid duplication and allow profits high enough to encourage risks.~~

~~Excise taxes must be reduced. Exemptions on income taxes must be high enough and the bottom rates low enough to give mass consumers enough purchasing power.~~

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WASHINGTON

PAGE #23 - INSERT E

After words "give employment"

It seems to me sheer bombast --
utter piffle -- for any candidate
to announce, solemnly and at ^{great} length,
that he is in favor of lower taxes.
I have yet to meet any**[**body, who is
today a **]**taxpayer, who wants to see
higher taxes. It goes without saying
that after this war, ^{and if this war is} ~~it~~ thoroughly
won, [^] American taxes will go down.
Quite frankly, I do not see much
political kudos to be gained by

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PAGE #23 - INSERT E

-2-

trying to make this a campaign issue.

No matter which Party is in power,

we will all strive, ~~bearing in mind~~

the security of the world and of

our own country especially; to reduce

taxes just as fast as we possibly

can -- with due consideration to

20

So endeth that great issue.

156
In other words, our tax system should be so devised and so integrated with the tax systems of state and local governments as to encourage consumption of goods on the one hand and investment of capital on the other.

The importance of encouraging business men to expand their plants and to replace their obsolete or worn out equipment with new equipment is far greater than appears at first sight. By substantially accelerating the rate of depreciation on new production plants and facilities for tax purposes, we provide business men with additional incentives to expand their plants, replace old and obsolete machinery with modern equipment. That means more jobs for the worker, increased profits for the business man, and lower cost to the consumer.

By strengthening and expanding and broadening our social security law for the aged, the unemployed, the disabled and the sick, we can keep uninterrupted the purchasing power of every worker — and thus maintain markets for our products.

In fact the very foundation of business prosperity is to have jobs and purchasing power for all. And I shall have considerably more to say on that subject in my speech in Chicago tomorrow night.

~~_____~~

FIRST DRAFT

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[There are too many who take it for granted that our national income this year of \$_____ billions is the peak which America can obtain.

I reject that notion.

So do the business men of this nation.]

This war has taught American business and American industry how to raise its sights -- how to shoot for higher goals than we thought possible even in 1929 -- not in terms of stock market booms but in terms of sound full production in industry and agriculture and in terms of full employment.

21 The most important fact in our national life today is the fact of eleven million young Americans in our armed forces -- more than half of them overseas.

When you multiply that eleven million by their families and their friends, you have the whole American people personally involved in this war -- a war which was forced upon us, a war which we did our utmost to avoid, but a war which came upon us as inevitably as an earthquake.

I think particularly of the mothers and wives and sweethearts of men in the service. There are great numbers of them who do not have the satisfaction and distraction of jobs in war plants. They have the quiet, essential job to do of keeping the homes going, caring for the children or the old folks.

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Mrs. Roosevelt and I hear from a great many of these women who live in loneliness and anxiety while their men are far away. This, I believe, is the most severe sacrifice that any of our people are making.

I can speak as one who knows something of the feelings of a parent with sons who are in the line of battle overseas. I know that, regardless of the outcome of this election, our sons must go on fighting for whatever length of time is necessary for the complete and final defeat of our enemies, Germany and Japan.

22
1

After that, the men will be demobilized and returned to their homes just as rapidly as possible. The War and Navy Departments are pledged to that. I am pledged to that. The very law of this land, enacted by the Congress, is pledged to that. And there are no strings attached to this pledge.

While the agony of war lasts, the families of our fighting men can be certain that their boys are being given and always will be given the best equipment, the best arms, the best food, the best medical care that the resources of this nation and the genius of this nation can provide. And I am not indulging in undue boasting when I say that that is the best in the world.

The veterans of this war will be taken care of -- all the veterans: the wounded in body; the wounded in mind or in spirit; those

FIRST DRAFT

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safely returned and the families of those who have given their lives
that we of this nation and this world may live in freedom and in peace.

Tomorrow night in Chicago I shall discuss the future of our
nation, as I see it, in terms of opportunity — opportunity for jobs,
opportunity for achievement, opportunity for progress, social, political
and economic.

2-3 Tonight — here in the "City of Brotherly Love", I wish to
read you one quotation from the greatest of all of the many great citizens
of Philadelphia — Benjamin Franklin. (Quote to come).

Heur (A)

Insert (A) p. 27

"God grant that not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set foot anywhere on its surface and say: 'This is my country.'"

Thus spoke an early American internationalist, one of the founding fathers of our nation.

The world has not yet attained Benjamin Franklin's practical ideal. But - when we consider our own fighting men - our own "G-1's" - going all over the world, carrying with them the spirit of freedom and of friendliness - we can ~~be sure~~ ^{know} that ~~us~~ ^{we} of this generation ~~the great dream of Benjamin Franklin~~ ^{are working and fighting to} bring the dream of Benjamin Franklin to fulfillment.

This not used. Carbon of 27 used
instead, with insert "A".
on draft 2 of Philadelphia speech.

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- 27 -

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DRAFT NO. 3

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
PHILADELPHIA

Oct. 27, 1944
- - -

Today is the anniversary of the birth of a great fighting American -- Theodore Roosevelt.

This day is celebrated every year as Navy Day -- and I think Theodore Roosevelt would be happy and proud to know that our American fleet now is greater than all the navies of the world put together.

And when I say all the navies, I am including what was -- until three days ago -- the Japanese fleet.

Since Navy Day a year ago our armed forces -- Army, Navy and Air Forces -- have participated in no fewer than 27 different D-Days -- twenty-seven different landings in force on enemy-held shores.

Every one of these landings has been an incredibly complicated and hazardous undertaking, requiring months of most careful planning, flawless coordination, and split-second timing in execution. The larger operations have required hundreds of warships, thousands of smaller craft, thousands of airplanes and hundreds of thousands of men.

And every one of these twenty-seven D-Days has been a triumphant success.

It is a remarkable achievement that within less than five months we have been able to carry out major offensive operations in both Europe and the Philippines -- 13 thousand miles apart from each other.

And speaking of that glorious operation in the Philippines -- I wonder -- whatever became of the suggestion made a few weeks ago, that I had failed for political reasons to send enough forces or supplies to General MacArthur?

I realize that, in this political campaign, it is considered by some to be very impolite to mention the fact that there is a war on.

But the war is still on and eleven million American fighting men know it -- and so do their families. And in that war I bear a responsibility which I can never shirk and never, for one instant, forget.

For the Constitution of the United States says -- and I hope you will pardon me if I quote it correctly -- "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States."

I am not supposed to mention that, either.

But somehow or other, it seems to me that this is a matter of considerable importance to the American people.

It was due to no accident and no oversight that the framers of our Constitution put the command of our armed forces under civilian authority -- the President and the Secretaries of War and Navy.

It is the duty of the Commander in Chief to appoint the Chiefs of Staff -- and I feel called upon to offer no apologies for my selection of Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold.

Furthermore, the Commander in Chief has final responsibility for determining how our resources shall be distributed as between our land forces, sea forces and air forces, and as among the different theatres of operations, and also what portion shall be turned over to our Allies.

Our team-work with our Allies in this war has involved innumerable intricate problems which could be settled only around the conference table by ^{those} ~~decision~~ makers who had final authority.

For just one example, in the spring of 1942 we and the British were planning to take offensive operations against the Germans in the coming fall. The Combined Chiefs of Staff produced plans for landings at some forty different points, all the way from Northern Norway to the Eastern Mediterranean and there was considerable disagreement as to which one was best.

It had to be for Mr. Churchill and me to decide on the best possible point. We agreed on North Africa, and we also agreed that the expedition should be led by a man who, a year and a half before, had been a Lieutenant Colonel now General Ike Eisenhower.

In deciding on North Africa, Mr. Churchill and I had to take into account what this operation would mean in terms of international policy as well as in terms of military strategy. We had to consider what would be the effect of it in France - Spain - Italy - China - South America - and in many other countries.

The effect everywhere was good.

The other day, I am told, a prominent Republican orator stated that "there are not five civilians in the entire national government who have the confidence and respect of the American people."

In fact, he described your present administration as "the most spectacular collection of incompetent people who ever held public office."

Well, now -- that is pretty serious. The only conclusion to be drawn from that is that we are losing this war. If so, that will be news to most of us -- and it will certainly be news to the Nazis and the Japs.

The record will show that from almost the first minute of my administration I started to rebuild the United States Navy which had been ~~maintained~~ ^{totally disintegrated} during previous administrations. What the Navy suffered from conspicuously during these Republican Administrations was a drastic false economy which ^{not only scrapped ships but even} prevented adequate target practice, adequate maneuvers and adequate supplies. It had reached the point that on some vessels the crews "chipped in" to buy their own brass polish to keep the bright work shining.

The record will show that - when we were attacked at Pearl Harbor, we had already made tremendous progress toward building the greatest war machine the world has ever known.

Take the ships of Admiral Halsey's powerful Third Fleet which has just given the Japanese Navy the worst licking ^{its} in history.

Every battleship in that Fleet was authorized between 1933 and 1938. Construction had begun on all of those battleships by September 1940 -- well over a year before Pearl Harbor.

All but two of the great force of cruisers in Admiral Halsey's Fleet were authorized between 1933 and 1940; and construction on all of them but one had begun before Pearl Harbor.

All of the aircraft carriers in that Fleet had been authorized by the present administration a year and a half before Pearl Harbor, and half of them were actually under construction before Pearl Harbor.

There is the answer - once and for all - to a Republican candidate who said that this Administration had ^{made} "absolutely no military preparation for the events it now claims it foresaw."

Less than three months before Hitler launched his murderous assault against Poland, the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted 144 to 8 in favor of cutting the appropriations for the Army Air Corps.

I often think how Hitler and Hirohito must have laughed in those days.

They are not laughing now.

In the spring of 1940, as you well remember, I called for a production of 50 thousand airplanes -- and ^{that same Republican candidate} ~~one of the principal Republican~~ ~~mouthpieces of today then~~ spoke scornfully of such a proposal, calling it a "publicity stunt", saying it would take four years to reach such a goal.

Nevertheless, we have since then produced more than 240,000 warplanes. We have produced them at a rate of more than 9000 per month -- over 100,000 per year.

We have trained ^{more than 850,000} ~~close to half a million~~ pilots, navigators, bombardiers, aerial gunners and other aerial crew members.

I admit these figures seem fantastic -- but such results were not impossible for those who had real faith in America.

In 1940, we had a regular Army of approximately 250,000, and a reserve, including the National Guard, of 350,000.

Today, we have 6 million in our Army, including 125,000 women. More than half of the Army is overseas.

Our Navy in 1940 had 369 combat ships and 159,000 men.

Today, we have 1,155 combat vessels, supported by an armada of 50 thousand other ships, including landing craft. ^{more than 3 1/2 million} We have 4 men and now 100,000 women.

Never before in history have the soldiers and sailors of any nation gone into battle so thoroughly trained, so thoroughly equipped, so well fed, and so thoroughly supported as the American soldiers and sailors fighting today in Europe, Asia and the Pacific.

[All of that had to be planned and prepared -- the right men had to be put in the right jobs -- and it was done long before Pearl Harbor.]

In his report to the Secretary of War, in 1943, General Marshall wrote: "In matters of personnel, military intelligence, training, supply and preparation of war plans, sound principles and policies had been established in the preparation for just such an emergency as arose."

After we were attacked by the Japanese, and Hitler and Mussolini declared war on us, some people urged that we go on the defensive -- that we pull in our fleet to guard this continent -- that we send no forces overseas.

That policy was rejected.
~~That was a policy that I rejected.~~ In my first war message to the Congress, a month after Pearl Harbor, I said:

"We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. As our power and our resources are fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy -- we shall hit him and hit him again wherever and whenever we can reach him. We must keep him far from our shores, for we intend to bring this battle to him on his own home grounds".

And that is the policy we have successfully followed.

In our over-all strategy, we planned our war effort in three phases:

Insert A

[The first phase could be called "plugging the leaks" -- which meant stopping the Germans and Japs from expanding their conquests to such key points as Australia and the British Isles.

Within a month after Pearl Harbor, American expeditionary forces were moving across the Pacific to Australia and across the Atlantic to Northern Ireland.

The second phase was the shattering of the enemy's outer defenses - establishing bases from which to launch our major attacks.]

The war in Europe has reached the final, decisive phase -- the attack on Germany itself.

But we have much longer and much farther to go in the war against Japan.

All of these operations had to be planned far in advance -- and that does not mean merely drawing arrows on maps. It has meant planning in terms of precisely how many men will be needed, and how many ships -- *how many bombers and how many fighters planes,* warships, cargo ships, landing craft -- and how much equipment and what types of equipment down to the last cartridge. And it has meant getting all of them to the right place at the right moment.

(A) ~~And that is the policy we have successfully followed.~~

~~In our over-all strategy, we planned our war effort in three phases:~~

The first phase could be called "plugging the line" -- which meant stopping the Germans and Japs from expanding their conquests to such key points as Australia and the British Isles -- for England then was still very vulnerable to invasion.

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And our own growing forces stopped the Japanese ^{The Coral Sea and} at Midway.

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It has meant establishing for our Army and Navy supply lines extending over 56 thousand miles -- more than twice the circumference of this earth. It has meant establishing the lines of the Air Transport Command with 150,000 miles of air supply systems running regularly.

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The whole story of our vast effort in this war has been a story of incredible achievement -- the story of the job that has been done by "the most spectacular collection of incompetent people who ever held public office."

And while we have been doing that job we have constantly investigated and publicized our whole management of the war effort. I call

airships at 100 ft.

particular attention to the thorough and painstaking and completely nonpartisan work of that committee of the Senate which was organized and presided over by Harry Truman.

The Truman Committee has done a job which will live in history as an example of honest, efficient government at work.

There is one thing I want to say -- and it cannot be told in figures.

I want to express the conviction that the greatest of our past American heroes -- the heroes of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg and San Juan Hill and Manila Bay and the Argonne -- could be proud to be associated with our fighting men of today.

Those boys hate war.

The average American citizen is not a soldier by choice.

But our boys have proved they can take on the best that our militaristic enemies can put forward -- they can take them on and beat them. And we must remember that our Allies, by resisting the aggressors to the last ditch, have given us time to train ^{our} ~~the~~ men and prepare ~~the~~ ^{their} equipment before they go into battle.

But it is not all a matter of training or of equipment or of organization. It is essentially a matter of spirit. *That spirit is expressive of their faith in America.*

[Signature]

[Somehow or other, I do not think these boys would be fighting with that much spirit if they agreed that their American government is as incompetent -- or as old and tired -- as some politicians like to say it is.]

The production which flowed from the assembly lines all over the nation was the product of American labor and American business -- working together as a patriotic team.

It was the strong, independent American labor of 1939 and the powerful and sound American business of 1939.

[Tonight business men -- gathered at meetings in Detroit, New York, (mention others) and other cities -- business men all over the nation, have a very clear recollection of the condition of American business on March 4, 1933. That was a balance sheet which no one will soon forget-- for it was written entirely in red ink.

The vast business of the lives of 130 million people had come to a standstill. This was true on the farms and the railroads, in the factories and the banks and the power houses, and in the homes throughout America. About the only thing that did not come to a standstill was the flood of young people; young men -- yes, and in some cases young women -- who in the seemingly hopeless quest of a job, were flooding the highways and bumping their way on the occasional freight trains.]

The disaster which resulted can be measured in cold statistics which you can get from any bank or any business house. Compare the figures of the national income, and the business failures, and the bank failures, and farm income and industrial wages and the production and price indexes, and the dividend payments and the stock exchange prices as of 1932 — compare them with the same items in 1939. *P* Then, on November seventh you tell us when the great depression really occurred.

This disaster of 1929-1933 had to be met as a disaster — not with a magic formula nor an overnight solution. It had to be met by bold government action — mobilising the courage and genius of the American people. The essence of that courage was to figure out and try new methods adapted to the problems — and not to go on making the same mistakes which had brought the tragedy down upon us.

You began to feel the results of government action in your bank accounts and inventories and balance sheets -- immediately. Your own books can tell you the story. The red ink turned to black.

Every one of you knows it from your own personal experience. You know the steady growth in the strength and prosperity of this Nation since 1933. You know that there is not a group or section of the country which has not shared in the advance.

[Of course, the real reason these fairy-tales are told in this election year is not because of the bankruptcy of banks and businesses since 1933. The real problem of these campaign orators arises from their own bankruptcy of political issues. That is why they try to rewrite American history which our people -- still very much alive -- can remember very clearly.

The backbone of American business is small business. Small business was saved from destruction in 1933. It has since then been helped by the government by protecting it from monopoly and by making available government credit where necessary. And these small businesses, in turn, have played a substantial part in producing thousands of items needed by our armed forces.

They have been mobilized into war production. Money has been loaned to them for machinery. [Technical advice has been furnished.] Over one million prime and subcontracts have been distributed among 60,000 smaller plants of the Nation. In addition some 45,000 enemy patents and patent applications, which the Alien Property Custodian has taken over, have been placed within the reach of small companies for their use. We shall see that these small businesses are given every facility to buy or rent government owned surplus war plants and equipment and inventories -- and that they ^{will continue to} are protected from monopolies and cartels.]

One thing of which this Administration is very proud is its determined efforts to provide economic and political opportunity for all -- regardless of race or creed or color. Pursuant to that general policy -- six months before Pearl Harbor -- I appointed a Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent discrimination in war industries and in government employment. The work of the Committee and the results obtained more than justify its creation. There are now nearly 900,000 Negroes in the armed forces. Their contribution has been wholehearted -- and heroic. They are, of course, entitled to -- and must receive -- equal treatment with all veterans. I believe that the Congress should by law make the Committee permanent -- not only for the war emergency, but for the peace as well.

The record of successfully overcoming the crisis of a great depression in 1933 and successfully overcoming the crisis of a great war seven years later -- that is the record of this Administration -- this "bungling, quarrelsome, and confused" Administration.

[And now I hear that this Administration is "dishonest".

I am entirely content to leave the answer to that one to the American people.]

Since certain Republican leaders believe there are only five civilians in this Administration "who have the confidence and respect of the American people", it is to be assumed that, in the event of Republican victory, there will be a wholesale elimination of those who have been running this war and the production for it and that housecleaning would sweep out a large number of Republicans.]

[There are thousands of Republican business men in the various bureaus and agencies of this Administration who have placed their patriotism above partisanship.

But what of those Republican leaders in the Congress who have publicly stated that they would cooperate with a Republican President in establishing a world organization for peace -- clearly intimating that they would not in the event of a Democratic victory. We have heard that ugly implication several times in this campaign. It is a deliberate effort to place political advantage not only above devotion to country but also above our very deep desire to avoid the death and destruction ^{that would be caused by} of future wars.

I do not think that the American people will approve this policy of "Vote my way or I won't play".

Our national income is now 170 billion dollars. We have shown in war time that when we have the market, our business men, our farmers and our workers, we can out-produce any country in the world.

I state it as my deep conviction that we can have the same kind ^{under our system of free enterprise,} of full production and the same kind of full employment in peace time. [I believe and I have always believed in the system of free enterprise for American business -- and I know what such a system of free enterprise can do.]

Private industry can provide the jobs if only they have the customers with enough money to buy the products of industry.]

[To provide these customers, the American workers must have high wages in their pockets and must have protection against the hazards of old age and unemployment. There will be no place in our economy for wage rates which spell poverty or want.

Foreign markets must be developed for American goods.

The American farmer must be assured fair prices and a high enough cash income to become good customers -- to buy the products of American business.

Taxes must be geared to act as an incentive to new risk capital. They must be fixed after the war at a level which will promote the profit motive, encourage investments which give employment, and give just reward innovation, skill, and risk-taking.

It seems to me sheer bombast -- for any candidate to announce, solemnly and at great length, that he is in favor of lower taxes. I have yet to meet any taxpayer, who wants to see higher taxes. It goes without saying that after this war -- and if this war is thoroughly won -- American taxes will go down. Quite frankly, I do not see much political kudos to be gained by trying to make this a campaign issue. No matter which Party is in power, we will all strive to reduce taxes just as fast as we possibly can with due consideration to the security of the world and of our own country especially.]

[So andeth that great issue.]

[The importance of encouraging business men to expand their plants and to replace their obsolete or worn out equipment with new equipment is far greater than appears at first sight. By substantially accelerating the rate of depreciation on new plants and facilities for tax purposes, we will provide business men with additional incentives to expand their plants, replace old and obsolete machinery with modern equipment. That means more jobs for the worker, increased profits for the business man, and lower cost to the consumer.]

Start here from p. 11

The most important fact in our national life today is the fact of eleven million young Americans in our Armed forces -- more than half of them overseas.

When you multiply that eleven million by their families and their friends, you have the whole American people personally involved in this war -- a war which was forced upon us, a war which we did our utmost to avoid, a war which came upon us as inevitably as an earthquake.

I think particularly of the mothers and wives and sisters and sweethearts of men in the service. There are great numbers of them who do not have the satisfaction and distraction of jobs in war plants. They have the quiet, essential job of keeping the homes going, caring for the children or the old folks.

Mrs. Roosevelt and I hear from a great many of these women who live in loneliness and anxiety while their men are far away.

I can speak as one who knows something of the feelings of a parent with sons who are in the line of battle overseas. I know that, regardless of the outcome of this election, our sons must go on fighting for whatever length of time is necessary for victory.

As rapidly as they are no longer needed, the men will be demobilized and returned to their homes. The War and Navy Departments are pledged to that. I am pledged to that. The very law of this land, enacted by the Congress, is pledged to that. And there are no strings attached to this pledge.

While the agony of war lasts, the families of our fighting men can be certain that their boys are being given and always will be given the best equipment, the best arms, the best food, the best medical care that the resources of this nation and the genius of this nation can provide. And I am not indulging in undue boasting when I say that that is the best in the world.

The health of our Army and Navy, Marines and Coast Guard is now better than it was in peace time. The mortality rate among the wounded is less than 3% as compared with over 8% in the last world war. Although our forces have been fighting in all climates and exposed to all diseases, the death rate from disease has shrunk to 1/20 of one per cent - less than

1/7th of the death rate from disease for men in the same age group in civilian life.

Tomorrow night in Chicago I shall discuss the future of our nation, to which our veterans will return. I shall discuss this future in terms of opportunity -- opportunity for jobs, opportunity for achievement, opportunity for progress.

Tonight -- here in the "City of Brotherly Love", I wish to read you one quotation from the greatest of all of the many great citizens of Philadelphia -- Benjamin Franklin:

"God grant that not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may get foot anywhere on its surface and say:

"This is my country."

Thus spoke an early American international statesman, one of the founding fathers of our Nation.

The world has not yet attained Benjamin Franklin's practical ideal. But -- when we consider our own fighting men -- our own "G-I's" -- going all over the world, carrying with them the spirit of freedom and of friendliness -- we can know that we of this generation are working and fighting to bring to fulfillment Benjamin Franklin's dream of a free world.

~~INSERT A TO FOLLOW PAGE #11~~

[There are some people in the United States today who are selling their country short. They are talking out loud about all the terrible things we have done. They are talking about grandpas and great-grandpas and people with one foot in the grave. They are ordering tombstones for a lot of people who, with a little luck, might even survive them themselves. They are bears on the future of America.]

Personally I have no fear for the future of America except at the remote possibility that America might be turned over to people who seem to have no faith, little experience, and no inward desire to tell the whole truth -- people who lift sentences and even half sentences from the record.]

I have chosen Navy Day -- today -- to talk about the eleven [or twelve] million Americans in uniform who are engaged *in giving us a chance to achieve peace* with their strength *in bringing back peace* through victory in war.

~~I have chosen this gathering and similar gatherings of business men to dramatize that epic story, and I have done~~

~~20~~

(21)

Those men could not have been armed and equipped as they are, had it not been for the miracle of ^{our} production here at home.

The production which flows from the assembly lines all over the nation was the product of American Labor and American business - working together as a patriotic team.

so ~~because~~ ^T the business men of America ^E deserve to be told where they come into the picture. ^{I have had,}

~~There has been~~ a vital part of this war. ^{The} ~~Their~~ ^{have displayed}
^{the highest type of} ~~by their devotion, their industry,~~
^A patriotism, ~~their long hours of work,~~ their ingenuity, their
cooperation with their Government, ~~has been good.~~ That goes
for their management and it goes equally for their labor -- the
men and women who work for them in the war plants. ~~from the~~ ^{Together}
~~with the~~ ^{with the farmers they have formed our unbreakable}
~~highest to the lowest.~~ ^{American team.}

^{Two}
The armed forces ~~have constituted a patriotic team and,~~
thank God, ~~the two teams have worked in patriotic unity against~~
~~the common foe.~~ ^I ~~I am not a bear on the country. I am a bull.~~
~~I am not a pessimist. I am an optimist.~~ Because of the
experience of these two teams we can sleep quietly tonight,
with the assurance that we are going to win this war and when
that is over that we have enough will and leadership to bring
us all to a period of peace which will transcend more happiness
for our people -- a better life for our people -- than ~~we have had~~
anything we have had before in all our long history.

(23)
May this country never forget that ~~the source~~ of its
power ^{has} ~~must~~ come wholly from the efforts of its citizens, living in
^{freedom and} equality, ~~and striving to overcome the handicaps of nature, without~~
~~them and within themselves.~~ May it hold in piety and steadfast
faith those who have battled and died to give it new opportunities
for service and growth. May it reserve its contempt for those who
see in it only an instrument for their own ^{selfish} interests. May it marshal
its righteous wrath against those who would divide it by racial
struggles. May it lavish its scorn upon the feeble-hearted. And
may it reserve its affections for those who have engaged with it in
the war against oppression and will re-engage with it, in the battle
for a vital, creative Peace.

The United States of
God Bless America.

~~God bless the United Nations of the World.~~

DRAFT NO. 4

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
PHILADELPHIA

October 27, 1944

- - - -

Today is the anniversary of the birth of a great fighting American — Theodore Roosevelt.

This day is celebrated every year as Navy Day — and I think Theodore Roosevelt would be happy and proud to know that our American fleet now is greater than all the navies of the world put together.

And when I say all the navies, I am including what was — until three days ago — the Japanese fleet.

Since Navy Day a year ago our armed forces — Army, Navy and Air Forces — have participated in no fewer than 27 different D-Days — twenty-seven different landings in force on enemy-held shores.

Every one of these landings has been an incredibly complicated and hazardous undertaking, requiring months of most careful planning, flawless coordination, and split-second timing in execution. The larger operations have required hundreds of warships, thousands of smaller craft, thousands of airplanes and hundreds of thousands of men.

And every one of these twenty-seven D-Days has been a triumphant success.

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It is a remarkable achievement that within less than five months we have been able to carry out major offensive operations in both Europe and the Philippines -- 15 thousand miles apart from each other.

And speaking of ^{The} ~~these~~ glorious operations in the Philippines -- I wonder -- whatever because of the suggestion made a few weeks ago, that I had failed for political reasons to send enough forces or supplies to General MacArthur?

I realize that, in this political campaign, it is considered by some to be very impolite to mention the fact that there is a war on.

But the war is still on and eleven million American fighting men know it -- and so do their families. And in that war I bear a responsibility which I can never shirk and never, for one instant, forget.

For the Constitution of the United States says -- and I hope you will pardon me if I quote it correctly -- "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States."

I am not supposed to mention that, either.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~It~~
It is the duty of the Commander in Chief to appoint the Secretaries of War and Navy and the Chiefs of Staff -- and I feel called upon to offer no apologies for my selection of Henry Stimson, the late Frank ^{and} Knox, James Forrestal, or of Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold.

But somehow or other, it seems to me that this is a matter of considerable importance to the American people.

It was due to no accident and no oversight that the framers of our Constitution put the command of our armed forces under civilian authority — ~~the President and the Secretaries of War and Navy.~~

It is the duty of the Commander in Chief to appoint the *The Secretaries of War and Navy and their* Chiefs of Staff — and I feel called upon to offer no apologies for *of Mr. Stimson and Mr. Forrestal, or* my selection of Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold.

Furthermore, the Commander in Chief has final responsibility for determining how our resources shall be distributed as between our land forces, sea forces and air forces, and as among the different theatres of operations, and also what portion shall be turned over to our Allies.

Our teamwork with our Allies in this war has involved innumerable intricate problems which could be settled only around the conference table by those who had final authority.

The other day, I am told, a prominent Republican orator stated that "there are not five civilians in the entire national government who have the confidence and respect of the American people."

In fact, he described your present administration as "the most spectacular collection of incompetent people who ever held public office."

Well, now — that is pretty serious. The only conclusion to be drawn from that is that we are losing this war. If so, that will be news to most of us — and it will certainly be news to the Nazis and the Japs.

The record will show that from almost the first minute of my administration I started to rebuild the United States Navy which had been whittled down during previous administrations. What the Navy suffered from conspicuously during these Republican Administrations was a drastic false economy which not only scrapped ships but even prevented adequate target practice, adequate maneuvers and adequate supplies. It had reached the point that on some vessels the crews "chipped in" to buy their own brass polish to keep the bright work shining.

The record will show that — when we were attacked at Pearl Harbor, we had already made tremendous progress toward building the greatest war machine the world has ever known.

for example,
Take the ships of Admiral Halsey's powerful Third Fleet which has just given the Japanese Navy the worst licking in its history.

Every battleship in that Fleet was authorized between 1933 and 1938. Construction had begun on all of those battleships by September 1940 -- well over a year before Pearl Harbor.

All but two of the great force of cruisers in Admiral Halsey's Fleet were authorized between 1933 and 1940; and construction on all ~~of~~ ^{of them} ~~the~~ but one had begun before Pearl Harbor.

All of the aircraft carriers in that Fleet had been authorized by the present administration ~~a year and a half~~ before Pearl Harbor, and half of them were actually under construction before Pearl Harbor.

There is the answer -- once and for all -- to a Republican candidate who said that this Administration had made "absolutely no military preparation for the events it now claims it foresaw."

Less than three months before Hitler launched his murderous assault against Poland, the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted 144 to 8 in favor of cutting the appropriations for the Army Air Corps.

I often think how Hitler and Hirohito must have laughed in those days.

They are not laughing now.

In the spring of 1940, as you well remember, I called for a production of 50 thousand airplanes — ~~at that time~~ and that same Republican candidate spoke scornfully of such a proposal, calling it a "publicity stunt", ^{and} saying it would take four years to reach such a goal.
^

Nevertheless, we have since then produced more than 240,000 warplanes. ^{attained a production} We have ~~produced them at a~~ rate of more than 9000 ^{per} month — ^{more than} ~~over~~ 100,000 per year.
^

We have trained more than 850,000 pilots, navigators, bombardiers, serial gunners and other serial crew members.

I admit these figures seem fantastic — but such results were not impossible for those who had real faith in America.

In 1940, we had a regular Army of approximately 250,000, and a reserve, including the National Guard, of 350,000.

Today, we have 8 million in our Army, including 126,000 women. ^{our} More than half of ~~the~~ Army is overseas.
^

Our Navy in 1940 had 569 combat ships and 189,000 men.

^{more than 1500} Today, we have ~~more than 1500~~ combat vessels, supported by an armada of 50 thousand other ships, including landing craft. We have more than 5 ^{in our Navy} million men and over 100,000 women.
^

Never before in history have the soldiers and sailors of any nation gone into battle so thoroughly trained, so thoroughly equipped, so well fed, and so thoroughly supported as the American soldiers and sailors fighting today in Europe, Asia and the Pacific.

In his report to the Secretary of War, in 1945, General Marshall wrote: "In matters of personnel, military intelligence, training, supply and preparation of war plans, sound principles and policies had been established in the preparation for just such an emergency as arose."

After we were attacked by the Japanese, and Hitler and Mussolini declared war on us, some people urged that we go on the defensive -- that we pull in our fleet to guard this continent -- that we send no forces overseas.

That policy was rejected. In my first war message to the Congress, a month after Pearl Harbor, I said:

"We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. As our power and our resources are fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy -- we shall hit him and hit him again wherever and whenever we can reach him. We must keep him far from our shores, for we intend to bring this battle to him on his own home grounds."

And that is the policy we have successfully followed.

In our over-all strategy, we planned our war effort in three phases:

The first phase could be called "plugging the line" — which meant stopping the Germans and Japs from expanding their conquests to such key points as Australia and the British Isles — for England then was still very vulnerable to invasion.

Within a month after Pearl Harbor, American expeditionary forces were moving across the Pacific to Australia and across the Atlantic to Northern Ireland. Our air forces went to the Southwest Pacific, to India, China, the Middle East and Great Britain.

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And our own growing forces stopped the Japanese ⁱⁿ at the Coral Sea [^] and Midway.

The second phase was the shattering of the enemy's outer defenses — establishing bases from which to launch our major attacks.

This phase began with the operations in New Guinea, the Solomons and North Africa. It continued through all of the operations in the Marshalls, Gilberts, Aleutians, Marianas, Carolines and now the Philippines -- and in Europe with the landings in Sicily and Italy and finally in France.

The war in Europe has reached the final, decisive phase -- the attack on Germany itself.

But we have much longer and much farther to go in the war against Japan.

All of these operations had to be planned far in advance -- and that does not mean merely drawing arrows on maps. It has meant planning in terms of precisely how many men will be needed, and how many ships -- warships, cargo ships, landing craft -- how many bombers and how many fighter planes, and how much equipment and what types of equipment down to the last cartridge. And it has meant getting all of them to the right place at the right moment.

It has meant establishing for our Army and Navy supply lines extending over 56 thousand miles -- more than twice the circumference of this earth. It has meant establishing the lines of the Air Transport Command ~~which~~ 150,000 miles of air supply systems running regularly.

It has meant moving supplies along these lines at the rate of almost 3 million long tons a month, requiring 577 cargo ships to leave our ports with supplies every month. It has meant moving more than 14 million barrels of gasoline and oil a month, requiring 156 tanker sailings a month. And those ships and those tankers were all built in American shipyards.

The production necessary to equip and maintain our vast force of fighting men on global battlefronts is without parallel.

I need not repeat the figures. The facts speak for themselves. They speak with the thunder of tens of thousands of guns on battlefields all over the world. They speak with the roar of more than one million tons of bombs dropped by our air forces.

The whole story of our vast effort in this war has been a story of incredible achievement -- the story of the job that has been done by ~~them~~

an Administration which, I am told, is "old and most spectacular collection of incompetent people who ever held public office" tired and quarrelsome."

And while we have been doing that job we have constantly investigated and publicised our whole management of the war effort. I call

particular attention to the thorough and painstaking and completely nonpartisan work of that committee of the Senate which was organized and presided over by Harry Truman.

The Truman Committee has done a job which will live in history as an example of honest, efficient government at work.

There is one thing I want to say -- and it cannot be told in figures.

I want to express the conviction that the greatest of our past American heroes -- the heroes of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg and San Juan Hill and Manila Bay and the Argonne -- ^{consider themselves honored} would ~~be~~ to be associated with our fighting men of today.

Those boys hate war.

The average American citizen is not a soldier by choice.

But our boys have proved they can take on the best that our militaristic enemies can put forward -- they can take them on and beat them. And we must ^{never forget} that our Allies, by resisting the aggressors to the last ditch, ^{gave} ~~have given~~ us time to train our men and prepare their equipment before they ^{went} ~~are~~ into battle.

^{The quality of our American fighting men} ~~is~~ is not all a matter of training or of equipment or of organization. It is essentially a matter of spirit. That spirit is expressive of their faith in America.

The most important fact in our national life today is the fact^{essential} of eleven million young Americans in our Armed forces — more than half of them overseas.

When you multiply that eleven million by their families and their friends, you have the whole American people personally involved in this war — a war which was forced upon us, a war which we did our utmost to avoid, a war which came upon us as inevitably as an earthquake.

I think particularly of the mothers and wives and sisters and sweethearts of men in the service. There are great numbers of ~~these~~^{These gallant women} who do not have the satisfaction and distraction of jobs in war plants. They have the quiet, essential job of keeping the homes going, caring for the children or the old folks.

Mrs. Roosevelt and I hear from a great many of these women who live in loneliness and anxiety while their men are far away.

I can speak as one who knows something of the feelings of a parent with sons who are in the line of battle overseas. I know that, regardless of the outcome of this election, our sons must go on fighting for whatever length of time is necessary for victory.

DRAFT NO. 4

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When their great job in winning this war is done,

As rapidly as they are no longer needed, the men will be de-

just as rapidly as possible.

mobilized and returned to their homes. The War and Navy Departments are

pledged to that. I am pledged to that. The very law of this land, enacted by the Congress, is pledged to that. And there are no strings attached to this pledge.

For our own peace

While the agony of war lasts, the families of our fighting men can be certain that their boys are being given and always will be given the best equipment, the best arms, the best food, the best medical care that the resources of this nation and the genius of this nation can provide. And I am not indulging in undue boasting when I say that that is the best in the world.

The health of our Army and Navy, Marines and Coast Guard is now better than it was in peace time. The mortality rate among the wounded is less than 3% as compared with over 8% in the last world war. Although our forces have been fighting in all climates and exposed to all diseases, the death rate from disease has shrunk to 1/20 of one per cent - less than 1/7th of the death rate from disease for men in the same age group in civilian life.

I have chosen Navy Day -- today -- to talk about the 11 million Americans in uniform who with all their strength are engaged in giving us a chance to achieve peace through victory in war.

Those men could not have been armed and equipped as they are had it not been for the miracle of our production here at home.

The production which flowed from ^{has} ~~the assembly lines all~~ ^{this country to all} the battle fronts of the world has been due to the efforts of ~~over the Nation was the product of American labor and American~~ American business, American labor, and American farmers — ~~businessmen~~ working together as a patriotic team.

The businessmen of America have had a vital part ⁱⁿ of this war. They have displayed the highest type of patriotism by their devotion, their industry, their ingenuity, their cooperation with their Government. ~~That goes for their management and it goes equally~~ for their labor — the men and women who work for them in the war plants. Together with the farmers they have formed our unbeatable ~~American team.~~ ^{Insert A}

May this country never forget that its power, ^{in this war} has come wholly from the efforts of its citizens, living in freedom and equality.

^{this country} May ~~we~~ hold in piety and steadfast faith those who have battled and died to give it new opportunities for service and growth.

INSERT

A P 14

~~2~~ 130

I am proud of the fact that in this Administration today there are a great many Republican business men who have placed patriotism above party.

Since certain Republican leaders believe there are ^{not as many as} ~~are~~ five civilians in this Administration "who have the confidence and respect of the American people", it is to be assumed that, in the event of Republican victory, there will be a wholesale elimination of those who have been running this war and the production for it -- and that housecleaning would sweep out a large number of Republicans.

But unfortunately *-- in and out of the Congress --*
There are some Republican politicians who are introducing a very ugly implication into this campaign -- an implication of profound concern to all Americans who believe that this war must be followed by a just and lasting peace.

These politicians are stating that the Republicans in the Congress would cooperate with a Republican President in establishing a world organization for peace -- clearly inti-

INSERT

-2-

inating that they would not cooperate toward the same end in the event of a Democratic victory.

That, it seems to me, is a deliberate and indefensible effort to place political advantage not only above devotion to country but also above our very deep desire to avoid the death and destruction which would be caused by future wars.

I do not think that the American people will take kindly to this policy of "Vote my way or I won't play".

May it reserve its contempt for those who see in it
only an instrument for their own selfish interests.

May it marshal its righteous wrath against those who
would divide it by racial struggles.

May it lavish its scorn upon the ^{faint} ~~weak~~-hearted.
this country always give its support
And may ~~it reserve its contempt for~~ those who have
^{us} engaged with ~~us~~ in the war against oppression and will ~~continue~~ ^{who continue}
^{us} with ~~us~~ in the ^{struggle} ~~struggle~~ for a vital, creative peace.

God Bless the United States of America.

Oct. 27, 1944

THIS IS WHAT LUDWIG SENT TO
JUDITH ROSEMAN

W. J. L. L. L.
Phil. C. 27
1944



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~~paragraph~~

their wartime levels.

d, we shall abolish the ex-

cess profits tax. Excess profits taxes are the product of the war emergency. It was never the intention of my administration or of the Congress that they be continued as part of our peacetime tax policy. ^{Then} Excess taxes, which fall most heavily upon the lower income groups, must be eliminated. ^{It} We must exempt from the income tax sufficient earnings to permit a basic, decent standard of living for everyone. And the rate at the top must not be too high to discourage the assumption of risk by investors.

We always have and always will follow the policy of greater rewards for greater efforts. Our taxes after the war must be fixed at a level which will encourage investment that gives employment. They must be fixed on a basis which gives just rewards for innovation, skill and risk-taking. We must have a postwar tax program that will expand free enterprise.

Tape

V. ar L. French
Phil. Oct 27
1948

- 8 -

(Substitute the following ~~for the first two paragraphs~~.)

Our taxes can and will be cut below their wartime levels.

¶ As soon as the danger of inflation has passed, we shall abolish the excess profits tax. Excess profits taxes are the product of the war emergency. It was never the intention of my administration or of the Congress that they be continued as part of our peacetime tax policy. ^{¶ There} Excise taxes, which fall most heavily upon the lower income groups, must be eliminated. [¶] We must exempt from the income tax sufficient earnings to permit a basic, decent standard of living for everyone. And the rate at the top must not be too high to discourage the assumption of risk by investors.

We always have and always will follow the policy of greater rewards for greater efforts. Our taxes after the war must be fixed at a level which will encourage investment that gives employment. They must be fixed on a basis which gives just rewards for innovation, skill and risk-taking. We must have a postwar tax program that will expand free enterprise.



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Social Security - 28 -

In January of this year I told the Congress that every American man, woman and child has a "right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accidents and unemployment".

The United States, with full employment, will easily be able to afford its people the necessary security against these risks over which the individual citizen has little or no control.

We must expand our social security system. We must provide unemployment benefits in every state adequate to maintain our families in health and decency. Obviously there must be incentives to work rather than to remain unemployed. But this added incentive must be high wages rather than starvation wages, fortified by mere pittance during periods of unemployment.

We must extend the period of unemployment benefits.

We must raise our present inadequate old-age and survivor benefits to a level which will permit our older men and women to live in comfortable homes and have adequate food, clothing and medical care and the other necessities of life. This much, at least, they are entitled to for the years of service they have contributed toward making a better America.

And let me tell you a secret. Some folks are trying to make you believe that this program is new and originated with me. The



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facts are that this program, together with a recommendation for universal coverage of social security, was presented by this Administration to the Congress many months ago. Indeed, most of it is embodied in a bill that was introduced last year by three liberal Democrats.

In the fields of health and education, we will insure the means to acquire adequate medical care and education to every ^{one} ~~individual~~ ~~child~~ in America. No one in our democracy of plenty will be denied these basic necessities. Within the frame work of the present organization of medical practice, we can provide the means of acquiring adequate medical care.

To these things I insist all Americans are entitled.

With full employment it will be easy to guarantee ^{them} ~~these things~~ to the American people.

Moreover, they are essential merely as a good business proposition. They are necessary to fortify the continued flow of purchasing power. They are needed to help maintain continuously the markets for the goods and services our nation must produce.

In our post-war America, we will not tolerate slums and congested living conditions for large numbers of our people.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

October 26, 1944 ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR JUDGE SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

Subject: Pennsylvania Coal and Iron Police

As I mentioned to you the other day, I should think it might be a good idea to consider including in the President's Philadelphia speech a paragraph or two reference to the coal and iron police.

This police was allowed to develop to its most brutal point under years of Republican administration. Virtually every working man in Pennsylvania knows it from bad first-hand experience. The coal miners and the steel workers still have some strong and correct emotional reactions against it.

It wasn't until 1937, under a Democratic government, that a Democratic legislature at the first reasonable opportunity effectively did something about abolishing the coal and iron police. When Clifford Pinchot was governor, the first major attempt was made to curb the power of the coal and iron police, but it was blocked by a Republican legislature.

Attached is some more detailed information about the coal and iron police.

Dean G.

Attachment

cc: Mr. Harry L. Hopkins



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Harry L. Hopkins

For over half a century the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania sold its police power to the coal and steel barons. The "Bill of Rights" and the Constitution of the United States were merely props to the politically influential.

Existence in the average coal company town was virtually peonage. Behind 12 foot board fences the miners lived in slavery. Often they were not allowed to leave the premises. The only persons from the outside admitted to their homes were the doctor and the undertaker. The store, the school, the church, and even the post office were dominated by the company. The symbol of authority was the burly coal and iron police licensed by the State and hired, paid and supervised by the corporation. Uniformed, armed to the teeth with guns and black jack, they knew no law except the law of force. The barbaric and inhuman cruelty visited upon some of the miners and their families, often recent immigrants, is a matter of record.

Miners who dared to join a union were promptly evicted from company houses or arrested and put in jail on paltry charges. Their families - fathers, mothers and little children - were put out in the road in the dead of winter to find shelter as best they could.

During the winter of 1928 when the promise of "a car in every garage and a chicken in every pot" was dangled before the American people, evicted coal miners and their families were living in tents,



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HARRY L. HOPKINS

stables, shacks, and chicken coops. Even the private charities were dominated by the industrialists, so that relief for starving children was denied.

In time of strike the coal and iron police broke up picket lines and meetings with tear gas and guns. In the rioting it was not uncommon for workers to be injured and even killed. The abuse of power in these coal mining areas led to numerous investigations by Federal and other authorities. Abolition of the coal and iron police was recommended, yet all attempts at control or abolition were blocked in the legislature.

The whole State and Nation were aroused when, on February 10, 1929, John Paricoski of Tyre in Allegheny County was beaten by drunken coal and iron policemen so cruelly that he died. But still the legislature refused to control the evil.

It was not until 1937 that a Democratic legislature effectively guaranteed civil liberties to the workers in Pennsylvania. The terror of the coal and iron police became a thing of the past and the miners and steel workers were protected in their rights to organize and to live as free men.

REPORT TO GOVERNOR GIFFORD PINCHOT
BY THE COMMISSION ON SPECIAL POLICING IN INDUSTRY

Francis Eddle, John J. Kane, Paul S. Lehman, J. W. Madden, and Shippen
Lewis, Chairman

Special Bulletin No. 38 - Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Labor
and Industry

Coal and Iron Police. (Industrial Police).

The Industrial Police, generally called the coal and iron police, have three attributes which especially distinguish them from watchmen guarding their employers' property. They have the power to arrest on a warrant; their employers are not liable for their unlawful acts unless done in pursuance of direct orders; and, above all, they have the title and the uniform of a police officer and an authority which springs from the Commonwealth itself.

Beginning with 1865, statutes have been enacted permitting private persons and corporations to pay and direct their own police, who hold commissions from the governor. The first act in 1865 related to railroads. In 1866 the system was extended to the operators of any "colliery, furnace or rolling mill," and later it was further extended to certain utility companies. In 1929 the various statutes, except those dealing with railroad police, were assembled in a single statute providing for "Industrial Police." (Act of April 18, 1929, P. L. 546). All coal and iron police commissions were revoked by Governor Pinchot in 1931, but the act is still in force and commissions can be issued under it at any time.



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Like the company deputy sheriffs, the coal and iron police were, for the most part, simply armed men employed by certain companies to protect their interests. The fact that the law gave these police powers and that their commissions were issued by the Governor, added to their effectiveness as a kind of private militia. And if they abused their authority, their employer was not liable in damages, unless he had directed them to do something unlawful (Fagan v. Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corp., 299, Pa. 109; 1930).

Labor, and especially the soft coal miners, have always bitterly resented the coal and iron police. In times of strike, the police of course obeyed their employers if they were ordered to break up picket lines, meetings or marches. In times of peace, the police in the soft coal company towns were always present with uniform and gun or riot stick and were a constant reminder of the employer's power. Their duties were to patrol the company towns, to do ordinary police work there and to guard the company property both in the town and at the mine. Often two or more men were on duty together. It must be remembered that every square foot of land in a company town is owned by the company and that under the terms of many of the leases the workers may be and are evicted at any time. The fact that the coal and iron police were in company pay and under company orders, that some of them were guilty of brutality, and above all that they were compelled to side with their employers in case of strike, led the workers to regard them generally as enemies. The only worker who spoke to us in favor



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BARRY L. DODD

of the coal and iron police was the president of the Miners Independent Brotherhood, a company union in the Prick mines. Every member of the United Mine Workers to whom we talked, spoke of the coal and iron police with active hatred.

On February 10, 1929, John Barkoske of Tyre in Allegheny County was beaten by drunken coal and iron policemen so cruelly that he died. Immediately the long impending storm broke. Representative Michael A. Buswanno, now a Common Pleas judge in Allegheny County, promptly introduced a bill to curb the powers of the coal and iron police. This bill was backed by organized labor and was intended to deprive the coal and iron police of all powers except the power to guard property. However, the bill was so amended in committee as to make it unsatisfactory to labor, and the same fate befell a similar bill introduced by Senator William D. Mansfield of Allegheny County.

The Mansfield bill as amended was finally enacted on April 16, 1929 to provide for "industrial police," superseding all the former acts dealing with coal and iron police.

.

This act improved the law in only two important respects: It required every industrial policeman to have been a bona fide resident of the Commonwealth for one year and it required a surety bond for each appointee.

.

WE RECOMMEND that the Industrial Police Act of April 16, 1929, shall be repealed.



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From the papers of
HARRY L. HOPKINS

Oct. 1944 ✓

By Quentin Reynolds.

I want to thank the Business Men's League of Philadelphia for asking me to speak here tonight. You know, it seems rather hard to believe that your city took its name from the Greek word meaning "brotherly love". The word Philadelphia means something quite different to our enemies. When they think of Philadelphia, they think of a huge 20,000 ton steel demon that was born in the Philadelphia shipyards in 1937, that spent the next four years learning her way around the seven seas and since has written a glorious chapter in naval warfare. Our enemies know the cruiser Philadelphia well and very unfavorably. They first met her in North Africa when she was given the difficult assignment of covering our landing troops. Two well camouflaged enemy batteries opened fire upon the landing barges but the Philadelphia, to use naval language, quickly neutralized them. A few days later, the Philadelphia, conveniently forgetting what her name stood for, neutralized an enemy submarine. During the invasion of Sicily, the Philadelphia again was given the job of neutralizing enemy shore batteries and she did it so well that our landing forces were able to get ashore with ^{few} ~~relatively~~ no casualties at all. Three weeks later, the Philadelphia, while neutralizing German batteries on the northeastern coast of Sicily, was attacked by enemy aircraft. Two bombs landed within fifty yards of her but they never even missed her hair. Later the Philadelphia played a leading role neutralizing enemy artillery at Salerno. At a very critical stage of the Salerno operation, before we had been able to get our heavy artillery ashore, our infantry was attacked by 35 German tanks. The Philadelphia skillfully threaded her way through the mine fields off shore and got close enough to neutralize seven of the tanks completely and send the others limping back inland. While she was in the Bay of Salerno, this gallant lady who was born in the Philadelphia shipyard was attacked twenty times by German planes. One bomb landed five yards off her port bow and dozens landed within a hundred feet of her. But she never lost one of her 800 men. She played a star role in



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HARRY L. JOPLIN

the invasion of southern France, with her old job of unrelenting enemy batteries. By now she had become quite a nationalist. And today, somewhere on one of the seven seas, the Philadelphia, as strong, as proud, as beautiful as she was that day in 1907 when she slid off the ways of the shipyard only a short distance from here, is still looking for trouble. It would, I think, be very difficult to convince the Germans that the word Philadelphia means "brotherly love."

I think that every business man in the country will agree with me that today we are engaged in the most important business ever to confront our nation - the business of winning the war and then securing the only dividends which any of us must out of that business - the dividends of permanent peace in our life time and for the life time of our sons. Recently some poorly informed gentlemen have been criticizing the way we Americans are running the business of winning the war. They say again and again that we were not prepared for war when it came. I would like to present a brief report on that subject to the 150,000,000 stockholders of America.

In fact, it is my duty to make such a report because under our constitution, it is mandatory that the President be the captain of the team which has charge of our war plans and the execution of them. It is his duty to select the members of his team and I can say honestly and abnormally that if I had to make the selections over again, I would not change one member of our war team. I think the American people, regardless of party affiliations, will share my pride in playing on the same team with Churchill and King, Eisenhower and MacArthur, Arnold, Huxley and Halsey. I think that again, regardless of party affiliation, they must share my pride in working with such strong sixty minute players as Gilson and Forrestal, those indomitable men who never ask for time out. I think that the American people share my belief that this team which I have the responsibility and honor to captain, is the best possible team that could have been selected for a successful prosecution of the war.

We were all shocked on that day of infamy when the Japs attacked us at Pearl Harbor. Perhaps you recall the broadcasts from Tokyo during the succeeding days,

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They claimed to have completely destroyed our Navy. They boasted that they had control of the Pacific Ocean. And yet, within one month after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, two expeditionary forces were on the way to combat - one bound for Ireland, the other for Australia. Within two months after the Japs claimed they had destroyed our Navy, Admiral Halsey was sending Carrier Task Forces against the Gilbert and Marshall islands. They said that our Navy had been destroyed. They forgot that no American Navy can be destroyed while we have shipyards and industrial genius to run them, and American labor to create new ships. No American Navy can be destroyed while we have industrial glads abroad in the land.

A naval ship is a dream that comes true. It is a dream put on blue prints and then transformed into steel by the sweat of American labor. Then a trained crew breathes life into the steel and the ship becomes a vibrant living thing. Within six months after Pearl Harbor, brand new naval combat ships, ranging from submarines up to major battleships, were in action. The dream that made these ships possible came long before Pearl Harbor. As far back as 1933 we realized that our then existing Navy was pitifully inadequate. We allotted 239,000,000 dollars of the first National Industrial Recovery Act for the construction of naval vessels. We began to prepare for this war then. We were not living in any blissful nether-nether world of complacency. We knew that the sleeping menace that was always Germany was awakening. We knew that the Japanese were beginning to eye our Pacific possessions covetously. When the life of anything so precious as that of our country is at stake, we prepare, not for the best that can happen, but for the worst. We began experimenting with new designs, new naval weapons, new types of ships. Any time that a Navy has to fight a war in its own waters it means that that Navy has its back to the wall. We wanted and planned a navy that if necessary could carry the fight to any sea on earth. Our technical men worked on the problems of making war ships as self sustaining as possible. We learned how to transform sea water into pure drinking water. We learned how to conserve fuel and how to increase the armor of a ship while decreasing its weight. In short, as the Navy men say, we dreamed of ships with long legs able to go anywhere even if existing bases



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From the Papers of
HARRY L. JOPLIN

were by some chance taken from us.

It was difficult to transform some of these dreams into reality. We realized that we needed a bridge of bases across the Pacific to properly protect the Philippines. Unfortunately, national inertia and the fact that a great many of our representatives in the Congress displayed a lamentable lack of knowledge concerning geography, sabotaged these plans. "It couldn't happen to us", they said complacently. "The Japs? Oh, they're those funny little people who wear thick eye glasses. Why waste the tax payers money on fortifying islands thousands of miles away." The Congressional Record has permanently recorded their objections.

But we did make progress. They call our Navy, "The Silent Service." It was very silent during the late 1930's - silent because it had no time to talk. Then came the tragic days of 1940 when the burning fires of Nazi ideology swept over Europe. The consuming flames devoured one democracy after another until only England was left. Little England, a country only the size of Alabama. England alone stood between Germany and ourselves. We knew by now that the Atlantic Ocean would be no barrier to Hitler's dream of destroying Democracy in this world. We had to prepare for the worst again. Sadly, regretfully, even while we prayed that we were wrong, we had to assume that England would be beaten and that Germany would then have the combined fleets of Italy, Great Britain and France - a very formidable array. In 1940 we embarked on a defense program that would give us the greatest sea and air power on earth. That program was well under way. The dream was coming true when December 7th came and that other comfortable world we once knew came to an end.

We were hurt by Pearl Harbor but the greatness of a champion in the ring is measured by his ability to recover from a smashing punch and then go on to take the offensive. We were hurt but that blow awakened millions who until then had believed those who said, "It can't happen to us." No Democracy is ever entirely prepared for war because the business of a Democracy is peace, and we think in terms of peace and production, not in terms of death and destruction. But I say to you from my heart, that we were prepared as it was possible to be prepared, in the face of the opposition



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and PEARL H. H.
From the papers of
HARRY L. Hopkins

we encountered among some Congressmen who seemed quite willing to spend millions for tribute - but not one cent for defense.

Today we have the greatest Navy the world has ever known. You cannot create such a Navy by the mere waving of a magic wand. It took the whole hearted cooperation of American industry to bring such a Navy out of the blue prints and into the water. But what good is a Navy without men to run it? We were prepared for that problem. That preparation began generations ago when courage and adaptability and intelligence were bred into the bones and sinew of the youth of our land. Our sons came from their classrooms, their jobs; they gave up their dreams of a normal youth. The blood of men who fought and died for this country coursed hotly in their veins. This was their destiny, to save their country, and they were equal to it. I promise you that they will return better citizens, better men, for having served on the ships that their fathers and brothers built; those ships that even today are pounding the Japanese fortresses in the Pacific to smithereens; the ships that today are carrying the American flag closer and closer to Tokio. I don't know how good Hirohito's eyesight is, but I promise you he will soon not only be seeing stars - but stripes as well. And he will be seeing ghosts too. Among other ghosts, he will ^{see} ~~see~~ a very substantial one, a ghost that weighs something like 45,000 tons - the ghost of the battleship West Virginia which Japan fondly thinks of as lying fathoms deep in Pearl Harbor. The West Virginia, the battleship that died, lives again and today it is creating havoc among those who thought that her death was permanent. Sometimes the dead do rise, to live again and fight again in a holy cause.

Our naval leaders have in truth performed a miracle of training with these sons of ours. By now, the accuracy of gunfire from American ships has become almost a legend. In the assault at Salerno, our destroyers and cruisers were hitting and destroying German tanks and gun batteries several miles inland; targets which they could not see. At a Press Conference with Admiral Sir Andrew Cunningham, Supreme Commander of the Combined Allied Fleets in the Mediterranean, one of the correspondents asked, "Admiral, were you surprised at the accuracy of the gunfire of the American naval vessels



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JERRY L. HOPLING

at Salerno?" The Admiral shook his head and said softly, "No, I wasn't surprised but I think your Army was."

Now, actually, I don't think our Army was surprised. For has our Army been surprised at the magnificent way our men in haki are beating the greatest professional army in the world, and beating them on their own home grounds. Hitler laughed at our Army in 1941. It was Dr. Goebbels who said sincerely that it would take a miracle to give America an Army. In their contempt for the divine God whom we worship, in their disbelief in the tenets of Christianity, the Germans forgot one thing. They forgot that the nicest thing about miracles is - they sometimes happen. Was our army entirely prepared to fight on two fronts on December 7, 1941? Of course not. We do not bring our sons up in the belief that killing is their ultimate aim; that they live only for the state; that their only duty is to die for the state. But we don't have to do that. We know when the time comes our sons are always ready. Perhaps it was a miracle that turned our peace loving sons into a hard bitten tough army almost overnight, but for some years we had been considering the possibility that they would have to go to war as their fathers did before them. We did plead with Congress to pass the Selective Service Act in 1940, and it was passed - by one vote. The Congressional Record will tell you the names of those who resisted our pleas, that we think of the world in realistic terms. Happily enough, men of both parties had the vision to see that preparedness then meant less sorrow later on.

Meanwhile our Army leaders were busy. They were not so hampered by the political paratroopers or the Congressional commandos whose only aim seemed to be sabotage the ship of state. Our Army Ordnance Department was busy at Aberdeen in Maryland designing new weapons, testing new weapons, intent, if the need arose, upon giving our sons the greatest protection from the enemy, and the greatest offensive weapons that human ingenuity could devise.

There are thousands and thousands of American mothers who don't sleep very well these nights. They are tortured by thoughts of what is happening to their sons. They think of the German and the Jap as professional murderers trained since childhood



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to the business of killing. And then they think of their own sons, normal, healthy youngsters who a few short years ago had no thoughts of war. I cannot say to these mothers, "Don't worry about your sons." That would be presumptuous. But I can say to them, "Don't worry too much about your sons. Remember that their weapons are better than the weapons carried by the enemy. For years our Army has been forging these weapons and today we are superior in every department - from the small seven pound M1 carbine to the devastating 8 inch gun which weighs nearly 50,000 pounds and which fires a 250 pound shell nearly twenty miles." I cannot say to those worried mothers, "The Germans and the Japs live in deathly fear of the weapons your sons have."

Now we were not sleeping in the 1930's, as some poorly informed citizens tell us. We weren't saying much about the new rocket guns we were designing and testing, and producing. We weren't saying much about the fighter planes which have proven to be so much superior than those of the enemy; we didn't talk about the improved Flying Fortress, or the Liberator, or the B-29. To talk then would have been to talk into the long ears of those whom we rightly felt might soon be our enemies. But we were not sleeping. And American industry was not sleeping while it worked hand in hand with our Ordnance Department in producing these new weapons. American labor was not sleeping when its sweat dropped upon the molten steel that was being transferred into mighty weapons that today are ~~creating~~ forging the victory.

Your sons write you letters from the combat battle field. So do mine. During the past two years, has any American soldier complained that we do not give him the greatest weapons ever designed by man? Have you heard, in your letters, of one American life having been lost because of inferior or insufficient weapons? We did not begin to think of these weapons on December 7th. We'd been thinking of them and planning them for a long time. No, we didn't have enough of them then to properly defend the Philippines or Wake. We were fighting desperately, for time and time worked against us. Time is always on the side of him who uses it and during the late 1930's there were many in this country who refused to allow us to use it, who called us war



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monsters because we pleaded for defense appropriations. On them, and on them alone, I directly place the responsibility for the fall of the Philippines. History, MacArthur and Winright will bear me out.

War is at best a horrible thing to have to face. Yet I say to you that our team of war leaders has done, and is doing, every ^{thing} humanly possible ~~thing~~ to surround your sons abroad with every possible protection. To us, men are not expendable. Sometimes we have to face criticism that is hard to accept. "Why didn't we take Brest sooner?", one voice will cry. "We could have taken it two weeks before it eventually fell." That's right. We could have taken it three weeks before it eventually fell if we were satisfied to send wave after wave of American flesh against the French port. That isn't Eisenhower's way. Eisenhower, your sons will tell you in their letters, never risks unnecessary casualties. "Why hasn't Antwerp fallen?", another voice will cry. Antwerp is a mighty important port to us. It's important that we take it and we will take it - but we will take it the American way without undue risks to American lives. Sometimes we have to take fearful risks. When this is absolutely necessary, we take them. Our invasion of the continent was a big risk but it had to be done and I think that military leaders a hundred years from now will still be marvelling at how we managed to invade a hostile continent - waiting and well prepared - with such comparatively small losses. "Why don't we stop this long tedious process of crawling island by island toward Tokio?" another cries. "Why don't we smash right into the mainland of Japan?"

There are strong ^{military} reasons, believe me. Many of you have sons who have returned from the Pacific. Ask them. Ask them if they don't have the same complete confidence in MacArthur, Kenney, Eimits and Halsey that I have. Believe me, they know what they are doing. Tokio ~~Japan~~ need not become impatient. At the moment, for purely military reasons, Berlin has a higher priority. But Tokio's turn will come, and when it does come, I think that no one will complain that we neglected her. We have plans for Tokio.

Any man in public office should build an armour around himself that will make him immune from ill founded, vicious and lying criticism. ^{Political criticism} That I do not mind. But there are two subjects which are not political at all - the war and the peace. My opponents



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have chosen to make them so. The one criticism which I will admit completely pierced my armor and filled me with rage was the assertion that the present administration would take its time about demobilizing our army once the victory has been won. It has been asserted that we would rather do this than risk large scale unemployment. Even my Republican friends - believe it or not, I do have some Republican friends - were disgusted with such a distortion of the administration's aims. I promise you that when the final victory is won we will get your sons out of uniforms and into jobs as soon as it is humanly possible to do so. I need not add that no government can guarantee jobs for every citizen but I have every confidence that industry, so magnificent and resourceful in war time will be equally magnificent and resourceful in peace time.

Government and industry will work hand in hand with just one aim in view - that this time no one will have to stand in line; this time it will be the apples that ~~will be~~ ^{are} unemployed.

I would be creating a false impression if I were to tell you that our armies are rolling on easily toward victory. They are not. Both of our enemies are battling stubbornly. They are not giving ground - we have to take ground and that isn't easy. The enemy is fighting with ^{the} ~~desperation~~ ^{conviction} of a ~~desperate~~ rat. I cannot promise you that the anguish, the suffering, and the uncertainty will soon be over. We are driving for the final touchdown and the enemy is making a goal line stand. You football fans know that it's always hard to score once you're inside your opponents twenty yard line. That's when the defense tightens. Yes, we are entering the fourth quarter, strong and confident in the outcome, but we are taking no chances.

But even in the heat of this bitter last period, this team which I have the honor to captain is making plans and has been making plans for some time, concerning the post war world. We must plan for the future for we must live in the future. I can sum up the fundamental aims of our post war planning in a sentence or two. We owe these sons of ours a great debt when they return. We asked them to do an almost impossible job and they are doing it. But they should never have to be asked to do that job again. We shall take whatever measures necessary against our enemies to insure that they will



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never again be in a position where they can jeopardize the peace of the world. We will be stern in our treatment of the enemy, not in any spirit of revenge, but merely because we believe our sons and their sons have earned the right to live in a world at peace. We do not seek revenge - we seek security. This we owe to the men who will come back. This we owe to the families of the men who will not come back. This on our part has not been a war of aggression or of conquest. This is a war for peace. And all of our post war plans are based on that premise. We ~~have been~~ ^{are} fighting for peace, not for ten or twenty years, but for a peace that will be permanent. We want to outlaw war as the doctors have outlawed yellow fever. To this task I solemnly pledge myself and every member of my administration. Give us your confidence and we will give you a world in which war has no part.



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