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

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

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**File No. 1501-A**

**1944 January 11**

**Annual Message to Congress - State of the Union**

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TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

This Nation in the past two years has become an active partner in the world's greatest war against human slavery.

We have joined with like-minded people in order to defend ourselves in a world that has been gravely threatened with gangster rule.

But I do not think that any of us Americans can be content with mere survival. Sacrifices that we and our allies are making impose upon us all a sacred obligation to see to it that out of this war we and our children will gain something better than mere survival.

[The words of Gettysburg are engraved in the hearts of all of us: "We here highly resolve that these honored dead shall not have died in vain."]

It is our determination to gain total victory in this war against Germany and Japan as quickly as we can and at the smallest possible loss of the lives of our men. Every sacrifice that we here at home can make toward that end must be and will be made.

Every needful sacrifice is not being made today.]

It is ~~the~~ our determination to see to it that this war will not be followed by another era which leads to new disaster -- that we shall not repeat the tragic errors of ostrich isolationism -- that we shall not repeat the excesses of the wild twenties when this Nation went for a

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joy-ride on a roller coaster which ended in a tragic crash. [And the fulfillment of this determination requires that special or group interests must be subordinated to the interests of the Nation as a whole.]

[Today, the representatives of these selfish interests are flouting the national interest. In an orgy of exhibitionism, they are pushing their claims.

This I consider the most serious factor in our home situation as we face our biggest task in this bitter war.]

When Mr. Hull went to Moscow in October, and when I went to Cairo and Teheran in November, we knew that we were in agreement with our Allies in our common determination to fight and win this war. But there were many vital questions concerning the future peace, and they were discussed in an atmosphere of complete candor and harmony.

In the last war such discussions, such meetings, did not even begin until the shooting had stopped and the delegates began to assemble at the peace table. There had been no previous opportunities for man-to-man

discussions which lead to meetings of minds. The result was a peace which was not a peace.

That was a mistake which we are not repeating in this war.

And right here I want to address a word or two to some suspicious souls who are fearful that Mr. Hull or I have made "commitments" for the future which might pledge this Nation to secret treaties, or to enacting the role of Santa Claus.

To such suspicious souls -- and picayune politicians -- I wish to say that Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek are all thoroughly conversant with the provisions of our Constitution. And so is Mr. Hull. And so am I.

Of course we made some commitments. We most certainly committed ourselves to very large and very specific military plans which require the use of all allied forces to bring about the defeat of our enemies at the earliest possible time. [We committed ourselves also, for example, to recognition of the rights of China to regain the territories stolen from her by Japan. That is as obvious as our own right to regain Wake Island and Guam and to eject the Japanese from the Philippines.]

But there were no secret treaties or political or financial commitments.

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The one supreme objective for the future, which we discussed for each nation individually, and for all four nations together, can be summed up in one word: Security.

And that means not only physical security which provides safety from attacks by aggressors. It means also economic security, social security, moral security -- in a family of nations.

We know that for the future peace, as for the present war, the interests of Great Britain, and Russia, and China, and the United States, in the broad sense of that term, do not conflict -- they complement each other.

In the plain down-to-earth talks that I had with the Generalissimo and Marshal Stalin, it was abundantly clear that they are most deeply interested in the resumption of peaceful progress by their own peoples -- *Russia and China want freedom* progress toward a better life. *They want to develop their own resources,* build up industry, and reclaim the land as did our own pioneers.

[ In fact, both China and Russia today face problems and opportunities very similar to those faced by our own country in the past century. Both nations have They have both emerged, within living memory, from the darkness of ancient tyrannies. Both nations have been struggling to increase education and individual opportunity, and to raise the standards of living of their own peoples. ]

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The peoples of Russia and China have the courage and the skill and the enterprise which will be required for the development of their great countries. Both ~~nations~~ <sup>They</sup> have learned by bitter experience that real development will not be possible if they are to be diverted from their purpose by repeated wars -- or even threats of war.

Therefore, China and Russia are truly united with Britain and America in recognition of this essential fact;

The best interests of each nation, large and small, demand that all freedom-loving nations shall join together in a just and durable system of peace. And, in addition to unquestioned military control [<sup>as</sup> ~~over~~] protection against any and all thugs, a basic essential of that peace is a decent standard of living for all individual men and women and children in all nations. Freedom from fear is eternally linked with freedom from want.

There are people who burrow through our nation like unseeing males, <sup>and</sup> ~~they~~ attempt to spread the suspicion that if other nations are encouraged to raise their standards of living, our own American standard of living must of necessity be depressed.

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The fact is the very contrary. It has been shown time and again that if the standard of living of any country goes up, so does its purchasing power -- and that such a rise encourages a better standard of living in neighboring countries with whom it trades. That is just plain common sense -- and it is the kind of plain common sense that provided the basis for our discussions at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran.

[All over the earth today our men are fighting and suffering to bring about a world in which peace may prevail -- a world secure for their loved ones and for themselves. I have talked with many of these men -- enlisted men and officers -- on my recent journeys.]

[I wish that many more of our people could see them and get the same inspiration that I did from visiting the scenes of their recent triumphs, from talking to them about what they had done to the enemy -- and were expecting to do.]

*Returning from my journeys,*  
[It would give those people the same sense of "let-down", of disappointment, almost of shame, that everyone feels who leaves the battlefield and returns to Washington.

[Today, I am afraid, some of our politicians, columnists, and commentators still think that this war can be won with overwhelming supplies of hot air and no casualties.]

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Within the last few months there have descended upon the Nation's Capital City hordes of predatory animals in more or less human form. /Promoters, lobbyists, high pressure boys, profit grabbers,-- augmented by those quadrennial political foxes who "lay low and say nothin'" in times of real national crisis but who become very active in each campaign year. All of them are now swarming through the corridors of the Congress and all the cocktail bars of Washington. Their sole intent is plunder.

They are obsessed with only one interest -- their own interest. Their last and their least concern is their Nation's interest. They have come to look upon the war primarily as a chance to make profits for themselves at the expense of their neighbors -- profits in money or in terms of political or social advancement.

What are they after? They want to do away with price ceilings and inflation-controls and renegotiation of contracts -- all of which place proper wartime limits on prices and profits; they are looking for higher food prices and higher oil and coal prices, and for higher wages for particular groups; they seek to prevent taxation [levied in accordance with ability to pay and] designed to tax high war profits -- industrial and corporate; they want to abolish rationing and the fair distribution of

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goods among our citizens; they are urging strikes aimed at the very heart of a nation at war. And above all, in the grave crisis which faces our Nation, they seek to make political capital in this election year out of every incident in our national life, even at the risk of dividing us from our Allies and prolonging the war.

[ To listen to the arguments of the politicians and lobbyists, one would think that the people of this Nation were poverty-stricken and starving. The facts hardly support this contention.

The national income of the United States was about seventy billion dollars in 1939. In 1943 it was about one hundred and fifty billion dollars — an increase of ~~more than~~ over 100%. During the same time, the cost of living, including the rent and food and clothing, went up only 25%.

In that same time the income of American corporations increased from \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_.

The net income of farm operators rose in those years from \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_. The average earnings of Americans who were engaged as industrial workers went up from \_\_\_\_\_ in 1939 to \_\_\_\_\_ in 1943.]

Whenever crisis has come to the American people they have been able and willing to forget individual and selfish and partisan interest and to unite in a national unity of purpose and direction.

They have learned time and again how interdependent upon each other are all groups and sections of the population of America. Increased food costs, for example, will bring new demands for wage increases from all war workers, which will in turn raise all prices of all things including those things which the farmers themselves have to buy. Increased wages or prices will each in turn produce the same ~~same~~ results. They all have <sup>furthermore,</sup> disastrous result on all fixed income groups.

And I hope you will remember that all of us in this Government represent the fixed income group just as much as we represent business owners, workers and farmers. This group of fixed-income people include: teachers, clergy, clerks, employees in small stores, workers in hospitals, policemen, firemen, stenographers, domestic servants, widows and minors on fixed incomes, wives and dependents of our soldiers and sailors, and old age pensioners. They and their families add up to nearly a third of our one hundred and thirty million people. They have few or no high pressure representatives at the Capitol. In a period of gross inflation they would be the worst sufferers in a generally bankrupt nation. [That has been the history in every country that has had the misfortune to go through a period of inflation.]

If ever there was a time to subordinate individual or group

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selfishness to the national good, that time is now. [ In all theatres of war there are now being prepared offensives which will require everything we can give in trained manpower, fighting equipment, courage, stamina and morale.] Dissunity at home — bickerings, self-seeking partisanship, business as usual, politics as usual, luxury as usual stoppages of work, inflation — these are the influences which <sup>can</sup> undermine <sup>the morale of the</sup> the brave men ready to die at the front for us here.

[ I can assure you that the boys on our fighting fronts who expect us all here at home to be laying solid bricks for the foundations of the future are dismayed and disheartened at the spectacle of Americans throwing those bricks at each other.

All of us who have sons in the service, particularly overseas service, know from the letters we receive that our boys are deeply troubled by reports that come to them of strikes and political bickerings and other evidences of dissension and dissunity and greed here at home. They do not like to hear of a prevailing attitude of business as usual, politics as usual, luxury as usual.

For is it easy for us to give them real reassurance. We can only tell them the truth — that many of the conditions which worry them are due to stupidity rather than to downright disloyalty.]

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[they are outraged by the display of luxury amongst vacationers and infuriated by the war profiteering.]

~~In reality~~ is that The predatory hawks of whom I have spoken are not deliberately striving to sabotage the national war effort. They are laboring under the delusion that the time is past when we must make prodigious sacrifices — that the war is already won and we can begin to slacken off. But the dangerous folly of that point of view can be measured by the distance that separates our troops from their ultimate objectives in Berlin and Tokyo — and by the sum of all the perils that lie along the way.

~~In the meantime,~~ Over-confidence and complacency are among our deadliest enemies. Last Spring — after notable victories at Stalingrad and in Tunisia and against the U-boats on the high seas — over-confidence became so pronounced that war production fell off. In two months, June and July, 1943, more than a thousand airplanes that could have been made and should have been made were not made. Those who failed to make them were not on strike. They were merely saying, "The war's in the bag — so let's relax".

That attitude on the part of anyone — Government or management or labor — can lengthen this war. It can kill American boys.

Let us remember the lessons of 1918. In the summer of that year the tide turned in favor of the Allies. But this Government did not relax. In fact, our national effort was stepped up. In August, 1918, the draft age limits were enlarged from 21-31 to 18-45. The President called for "force to the utmost" and his call was heeded. And in November, only three months later, Germany surrendered.

That is the way to fight and win a war — all-out — and not with half-an-eye on the battlefronts abroad and the other eye-and-a-half on personal, selfish, or political interests here at home.

(Here would come Project Q38 if you decide to use it).

Partisanship and prejudices have prevented the enactment of legislation which would preserve for our soldiers and sailors and marines the fundamental prerogative of citizenship — the right to vote. No amount of legalistic argument can cloud this issue in the eyes of these ten million American citizens. *Insert A* ~~they~~ know that the overwhelming majority of them will be deprived of the opportunity to vote, if the voting machinery is left exclusively to the States under existing state laws --

INSERT A PAGE ~~is~~ 12

Surely the signers of the Constitution did  
not intend a document which even in wartime would be  
construed to take away the franchise of those of <sup>any of</sup> ~~voting~~  
~~age~~ who are fighting to preserve the Constitution itself.

H Our soldiers and Sailors and Marines

and that there is no likelihood of these laws being changed in time to enable them to vote at the next election. [They know that unless a Federal Statute is passed, the next President and the Members of the next Congress are going to be elected without giving the ten million a fair voice in the selection.] The Army and Navy have reported that it will be impossible effectively to administer forty-eight different soldier-voting laws. It is the duty of the Congress to remove this unjustifiable discrimination against the men and women in our armed forces — and to do it as quickly as possible.

[Our first energies and our first thoughts must be devoted to winning the war. But we should not forget that it was last year that we laid the plans, and determined the strategy, which will this year win important victories in this war. Therefore in this year <sup>TP</sup> we must begin to lay the plans and determine the strategy for the winning of a lasting peace and the establishment of an American standard of living higher than ever before known. We cannot be content, no matter how high that standard of living may be in general, if some fraction of our people -- whether it be one-third or one-fifth or one-tenth -- is ill fed, ill clothed, ill housed, and insecure.

This Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present

strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights — among them the right of free speech, of free press, of free worship, of trial by jury, of freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

*As we grew* [in size and stature, however, — as our industrial economy expanded — these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness. [Economic inequalities began to replace the old political tyranny. Through the last century our internal history has been largely an evolution of the economic rights of men in a free economy of private enterprise and initiative.]

We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. "Necessitous man are not free men". People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all— regardless of station, race or creed.

*Among these are:*

- The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries,  
or shops or farms <sup>of</sup> ~~of~~ the nation;
- The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing  
and recreation;
- The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at  
a return which will give him and his family a decent living;
- The right of every business man to flourish in an atmosphere  
of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at  
home or abroad;
- The right of every family to a decent home in accordance with  
American standards of living;
- The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to  
achieve and enjoy good health;
- The right of every American to adequate protection from the  
economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;
- The right to a good education.
- All of these rights spell security. And after this war is  
won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these  
rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

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America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for our citizens. For unless there is security at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

One of the great American industrialists of our day -- a man who has rendered ~~profound~~ service to his country in this crisis -- recently emphasised the grave dangers of "rightist reaction" in this Nation. All clear-thinking ~~business men~~ share his concern. Indeed, if such reaction should develop ~~now~~ -- if history were to repeat itself and we were to return to the so-called "normalcy" ~~national and international~~ of the 1920's -- then it is certain ~~we shall have won a far-reaching victory, an ultimate victory,~~ even though ~~we have conquered our enemies abroad,~~ ~~temporarily defeated on the battlefield,~~ ~~will have won a far-reaching victory, an ultimate victory,~~ ~~we shall have yielded to the spirit of fascism at home.~~

[ To implement this economic will of rights in the future will call upon the best thinking of all our citizens and their representatives here in the halls of the Congress -- regardless of party or politics. There may be disagreements as to details; I am sure there can be none as to objectives. These are the objectives which should engage our attention and time and thought in these desperate days -- rather than the whining demands of selfish pressure groups who beseech us to help them to feather their nests while young Americans are dying.]

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I ask the Congress <sup>the means for implementing the economic bill of rights</sup> to explore <sup>these problems and to develop</sup> a program for meeting them -- for it is definitely the responsibility of the Congress so to do. Many of <sup>these franchises</sup> them, in the form of proposed legislation, <sup>are already before committees of the Congress.</sup> I shall from time to time communicate with the Congress with respect to these and further proposals. In the event that no adequate progressive program is evolved, I am certain that the nation will be conscious of the fact.

Our fighting men abroad -- and their families at home -- expect such a program and have the right to insist upon it. It is to their demands that the government should pay heed rather than to the whining <sup>of</sup> the foreign policy that we have been following -- the policy that guided us at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran -- is based on the common sense principle which was best expressed by old Ben Franklin: if we don't hang together, we'll all hang separately.

And even in the normal American conflicts of our election year, this is also a good policy to follow at home. We have our political differences, and will always have them, and I for one am glad of it. Having spent most of my life in public service, I have relished an occasional good old-fashioned knock-down-drag-out fight on local political issues.

But ~~if~~ there can be no major issues <sup>concerning</sup> in this war and ~~in~~ the peace that is to follow between American patriots, -- whether Republican or

demands of selfish pressure groups who seek to feather their nests while young Americans are dying.

Democratic, -- for their major objectives are the same.

I have often said that there are no two fronts for America in this war. There is only one front. There is one line of unity which extends from the hearts of the people at home to the men of our attacking forces in our farthest outposts. When we speak of our total effort, we speak of the factory and the field and the mine as well as of the battleground -- we speak of the soldier and the civilian, of the citizen and his government.

Each and every one of us has a solemn obligation under God to serve this Nation in its most critical hour -- to keep this Nation great -- to make this Nation greater in a better world.

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TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

This Nation in the past two years has become an active partner in the world's greatest war against human slavery.

We have joined with like-minded people in order to defend ourselves in a world that has been gravely threatened with gangster rule.

But I do not think that any of us Americans can be content with mere survival. Sacrifices that we and our allies are making impose upon us all a sacred obligation to see to it that out of this war we and our children will gain something better than mere survival.

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not be followed by another one which leads to new disaster — that we shall not repeat the tragic errors of ostrich isolationism — that we shall not repeat the excesses of the wild twenties when this Nation went for a joy-ride on a roller coaster which ended in a tragic crash.

When Mr. Hull went to Moscow in October, and when I went to Cairo and Teheran in November, we knew that we were in agreement with our Allies in our common determination to fight and win this war. But there were many vital questions concerning the future peace, and they were discussed in an atmosphere of complete candor and harmony.

In the last war such discussions, such meetings, did not even begin until the shooting had stopped and the delegates began to assemble at the peace table. There had been no previous opportunities for man-to-man discussions which lead to meetings of minds. The result was a peace which was not a peace.

That was a mistake which we are not repeating in this war.

And right here I want to address a word or two to some suspicious souls who are fearful that Mr. Hull or I have made "commitments" for the future which might pledge this Nation to secret treaties, or to enacting the role of Santa Claus.

*Lifting a public Teaser*  
To such suspicious souls -- ~~and please go back~~ -- I wish to say that Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek are all thoroughly conversant with the provisions of our Constitution. And so is Mr. Hull. And so am I.

Of course we made some commitments. We most certainly committed ourselves to very large and very specific military plans which require the use of all allied forces to bring about the defeat of our enemies at the earliest possible time.

But there were no secret treaties or political or financial commitments.

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The one supreme objective for the future, which we discussed  
and the United Nations  
 for each nation individually, and for all ~~members together~~, can be  
 summed up in one word: Security.

And that means not only physical security which provides  
 safety from attacks by aggressors. It means also economic security,  
 social security, moral security -- in a family of nations.

We know that for the future ~~policy~~, as for the present war,  
the interests of Great Britain, and Russia, and China, and the United  
States, in the broad sense of that term, do not conflict -- they  
complement each other.

In the plain down-to-earth talks that I had with the  
and Prime Minister Churchill,  
 Generalissimo and Marshal Stalin, it was abundantly clear that they are  
 all most deeply interested in the resumption of peaceful progress by their  
All our allies  
 own peoples -- progress toward a better life. ~~England and France~~ want  
lands and  
freedom to develop their own resources, build up industry, and ~~and~~ develop  
the lands [we did our own pioneering].

We agreed that many  
such nations have emerged, within living memory, from the dark-  
ness of ancient tyrannies. [Russia] such nations have been struggling to in-  
crease education and individual opportunity, and to raise the standards  
of living [of their own peoples.]

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Whole nations

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 spirit and the enterprise which will be required for the development [ ]  
All our allies  
their great countries. — they have learned by bitter experience that  
 real development will not be possible if they are to be diverted  
 from their purpose by repeated wars -- or even threats of war.

~~Germany~~ China and Russia are truly united with Britain  
 and America in recognition of this essential fact:

The best interests of each nation, large and small, demand  
 that all freedom-loving nations shall join together in a just and durable  
 system of peace. *In the present world situation, induced by the actions*  
*of Germany, unquestioned military control of Germany,*  
*disturbance of the peace is necessary among nations, e.g. Italy and*  
*over my country, [is] now [is] now [is] now [is] now [is] now [is] now [is]*  
*that peace is a decent* *of Japan, India, Australia, Canada, U.S.A.,*  
 standard of living for all individual men and women and children in  
 all nations. Freedom from fear is eternally linked with freedom from  
 want.

There are people who burrow through our Nation like unseeing  
 moles, and attempt to spread the suspicion that if other nations are  
 encouraged to raise their standards of living, our own American standard  
 of living must of necessity be depressed.

The fact is the very contrary. It has been shown time and  
 again that if the standard of living of any country goes up, so does its

purchasing power -- and that such a rise encourages a better standard of living in neighboring countries with whom it trades. That is just plain common sense -- and it is the kind of plain common sense that provided the basis for our discussions at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran.

*Inset A*

*I felt*  
 Returning from my journeyings, the same sense of "let-down,"  
 of disappointment, almost of shame, that everyone feels who leaves the  
 battlefield and returns to Washington.

Within the last few months there have descended upon the Nation's Capital City hordes of predatory animals in more or less human form. They are promoters, lobbyists, high pressure boys, profit grabbers -- augmented by those quadrennial political foxes who "lay low and say nothin'" in times of real national crisis but who become very active in each campaign year. All of them are now swarming through the corridors of the Congress and all the cocktail bars of Washington. Their sole intent is plunder.

They are obsessed with only one interest -- their own interest. Their last and their least concern is their Nation's interest. They have come to look upon the war primarily as a chance to make profits for themselves at the expense of their neighbors -- profits in money or in terms of political or social advancement.

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Returning from my journeyings, I must confess to a sense of "let-down" when I found many evidences of faulty perspectives here in Washington. The faulty perspective consists in over-emphasizing lesser problems — especially the details of them — and under-emphasizing thereby the first and greatest problem.

The overwhelming majority of our people have met the demands of this war with magnificent courage and understanding. They have accepted inconveniences; they have accepted hardships; they have accepted tragic sacrifices. And they are ready and eager to make whatever further contributions are needed to win the war as

quickly as possible. ~~and~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~only~~ <sup>they</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>is</sup> given the chance to understand the truth know what is required of them.

However, while the majority goes on about its

great work without complaint, a noisy minority maintains an uproar of demands for special favors for special groups.

There are ~~powerful~~ <sup>best</sup> ~~lobbyists~~ who swarm through the ~~offices~~ of the Congress and ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> cocktail bars of Washington, representing these special groups as opposed to the basic interests of the nation as a whole. They have come to look upon the war primarily as a chance to make profits for themselves at the expense of their

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neighbors -- profits in money or in terms of political  
or social preferment.

Such selfish agitation can be highly dangerous  
in wartime. It creates confusion. It damages morale.

It hampers our national effort. It ~~muddles~~ <sup>now</sup> the waters and  
therefore prolongs  
~~lengthens~~ the war.

.....

imperialistically, we can not

If we analyze American history and do not unthinkingly accept the false teaching of those who would ~~fill the lily and~~  
~~concede no ill in ought that~~ <sup>deny that</sup> ~~but cannot find~~  
~~do throughout its history~~ <sup>then,</sup> and then only, can we ~~realize~~  
~~escape the fact~~ <sup>not</sup> that in our past we have ~~always~~ forgotten individual and selfish  
and partisan interests in time of war <sup>not</sup> ~~that~~ we have ~~always~~ been united in purpose and direction. ~~but if we do that we will~~ <sup>can not</sup>  
~~serious~~ overlook the dissensions and the lack of unity in our war of or the Revolution, in our War of 1812, in our War Between the States, ~~when the survival of the Union itself was at stake.~~  
~~and in our conflict with Spain.~~

In the first World War we came closer to national unity than <sup>in</sup> any previous ~~war~~. But that war lasted only a year and a half, and there were many signs of disunity <sup>tendencies to appear during</sup> ~~disunity~~ <sup>the final months of</sup> ~~about~~ the conflict, ~~especially~~.

In this war, ~~I~~ <sup>we have learned in this</sup> ~~we have learned completely, if it has~~ <sup>before</sup> ~~we have been compelled to learn that~~ how interdependent upon each other are all groups and sections of the population of America.

What are they after? They want to do many with price ceilings and inflation-controls and renegotiation of contracts -- all of which place proper wartime limits on prices and profits; they are looking for higher food prices and higher oil and coal prices, and for higher wages for particular groups; they seek to prevent taxation designed to tax high war profits -- industrial and corporate; they want to abolish rationing and the fair distribution of goods among our citizens, they are urging strikes aimed at the very heart of a nation at war. And above all, in the grave crisis which faces our Nation, they seek to make political capital in this election year out of every incident in our national life, even at the risk of dividing us from our Allies and prolonging the war.

Whenever crisis has come to the American people they have been able and willing to forget individual and selfish and partisan interest and to unite in a national unity of purpose and direction. They have learned time and again how interdependent upon each other are all groups and sections of the population of America. Increased food costs, for example, will bring new demands for wage increases from all war workers, which will in turn raise all prices of all things including those things which the farmers themselves have to buy. Increased wages

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or prices will each in turn produce the same results. They all have a particularly disastrous result on all fixed income groups.

And I hope you will remember that all of us in this Government represent the fixed income group just as much as we represent business owners, workers and farmers. This group of fixed-income people include: teachers, clergy, [clerks, employees in small stores, workers in hospitals,] policemen, firemen, [stevedores, longshoremen, porters,] widows and minors on fixed incomes, wives and dependents of our soldiers and sailors, and old age pensioners. They and their families add up to ~~one-fifth~~ <sup>one-fifth</sup> of our one hundred and thirty million people. They have few or no high pressure representatives at the Capitol. In a period of gross inflation they would be the worst sufferers, ~~in-a-generally-bankrupt-section~~.

If ever there was a time to subordinate individual or group selfishness to the national good, that time is now. Disunity at home -- bickerings, self-seeking partisanship, stoppages of work, inflation, business as usual, politics as usual, luxury as usual -- these are the influences which can undermine the morale of the brave men ready to die at the front for us here.

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*Those who are doing most of the complaining  
The predatory clique of whom I spoke are not delib-*  
erately striving to sabotage the national war effort. They are  
laboring under the delusion that the time is past when we must make  
prodigious sacrifices -- that the war is already won and we can begin  
to slacken off. But the dangerous folly of that point of view can be  
measured by the distance that separates our troops from their ultimate  
objectives in Berlin and Tokyo -- and by the sum of all the perils that  
lie along the way.

Over-confidence and complacency are among our deadliest  
enemies. Last Spring -- after notable victories at Stalingrad and in  
Tunisia and against the U-boats on the high seas -- over-confidence  
became so pronounced that war production fell off. In two months,  
June and July, 1943, more than a thousand airplanes that could have  
been made and should have been made were not made. Those who failed  
to make them were not on strike. They were merely saying, "The war's  
in the bag -- so let's relax".

That attitude on the part of anyone -- Government or manage-  
ment or labor -- can lengthen this war. It can kill American boys.

Let us remember the lessons of 1918. In the summer of that  
year the tide turned in favor of the Allies. But this Government did

## SIXTH DRAFT

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not relax. In fact, our national effort was stepped up. In August,  
1918, the draft age limits were ~~enlarged~~ from 21-31 to 18-45. The  
President called for "force to the utmost", and his call was heeded.  
And in November, only three months later, Germany surrendered.

That is the way to fight and win a war -- all-out -- and not  
with half-an-eye on the battlefronts abroad and the other eye-and-a-half  
on personal, selfish, or political interests here at home.

(Here would come Project Q38 if you decide to use it).

Here would be Q38

1047

FIFTH DRAFT

PROJECT 4 38

- 10

Therefore, in order to concentrate all our energies and resources on winning the war, and to maintain a fair and stable economy at home, I recommend that the Congress adopt:

(1) A realistic tax law -- which will tax all unreasonable profits, both individual and corporate, and reduce the ultimate cost of the war to our sons and daughters. The tax bill <sup>now under</sup> ~~submitted~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~the House~~ <sup>by the Senate</sup> ~~passed~~ <sup>passed</sup> the House does not begin to meet this test.

(2) A continuation of the law for the renegotiation of war contracts -- which will prevent exorbitant profits and

assure fair prices to the government. ~~For two long years I have  
struggled with the long and the short term and the profits we got were~~  
(3) A cost of food law -- which will enable the govern-

ment (a) to place a reasonable floor under the prices the farmer may expect for his production; and (b) to place a ceiling on the prices a consumer will have to pay for the food he buys. This should apply to necessities only; and will require public funds

to carry out. It will cost in appropriations about one percent

of the present annual

~~Allen T. Dulles~~ (4) Early reenactment of the stabilization statute of

October 1942. This expires June 30th, 1944; and if it is not extended well in advance, the country might just as well expect

Front A p. 10.

EDITION OF PAGE 1

P We

You cannot have stabilization by wishful thinking.

#E

\* ~~What we live up to~~ ~~action with~~ ~~an American dollar~~

~~which becomes~~ ~~inaction of the past.~~

We must take positive action to maintain  
the integrity of the American dollar.

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FIFTH DRAFT  
PROJECT 4 38

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I have received a joint recommendation for this law from the heads of the War Department, the Navy Department and ~~the~~ Maritime Commission. These are the men who bear responsibility for the procurement of the necessary arms and equipment, and for the successful prosecution of the war in the field. They say:

"When the very life of the nation is in peril the responsibility for service is common to all men and women. In such a time there can be no discrimination between the men and women who are assigned by the government to its defense at the battlefield and the men and women assigned to producing the vital materials essential to successful military operations. A prompt enactment of a National Service Law would be merely an expression of the universality of this responsibility."

I believe the country will agree that those statements are the solemn truth.

~~These are the main objectives of a National Service~~

First, to make certain that workers in war production continue on their jobs, under proper safeguards, unless they can be used to greater advantage in other war jobs.

Second, to make certain that every worker is fully utilized.

Third, to make certain that workers who are more needed in war jobs than in the job they are now holding, transfer to jobs where they are most needed.

And finally, to make certain that new workers who are needed to maintain production schedules, are drawn into the labor market and placed where most needed.

National service is the most democratic way to wage a war. Like selective service for the armed forces, it rests on the obligation of each citizen ~~man and woman~~ to serve his nation to his utmost where he is best qualified. It does not mean reduction in wages. It does not mean loss of traveling expenses. It does not mean loss of retirement, unemployment and seniority rights and benefits. It does not mean that any substantial numbers of war workers will be disturbed in their present jobs. Let these facts be wholly clear.

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~~The compulsory powers under such a statute would be used only when and where needed -- and only to the extent needed.~~ P Experience in other democratic nations at war -- Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand -- has shown that the very existence of ~~compulsory powers~~ makes unnecessary ~~the widespread use of~~ national service. National service has proven to be a unifying moral force -- based on an equal and comprehensive legal obligation of all people in ~~the~~ nation at war.

There are millions of American men and women who are not in this war at all. It is not because they do not want to be in it. [They are willing, even anxious, to help defeat the enemy.] But they want to ~~do~~ where they can best do their share. National service provides that direction. It will be a means by which every man and woman can find that inner satisfaction which comes from making ~~a patriotic~~ contribution to <sup>the fullest possible</sup> victory.

(C) >

It is argued that we have passed the stage in the war where ~~National Service~~ is necessary. But our soldiers and sailors know that is not true. ~~We have traveled a long way,~~ <sup>we are going forward on a long</sup>

too

I know that all civilian war workers will be glad  
~~If I were a civilian worker, I should like to be able~~  
~~many years hence to say to <sup>this</sup> grandchildren: "Yes, I was in the~~  
great war. ~~in the position.~~ I was ~~engaged in~~  
an airplane factory, and I helped make hundreds of ~~the~~ <sup>airplane</sup>. The  
government told me that in doing that I was performing ~~my~~ my  
most useful work ~~for the preservation of the~~  
~~United States~~ in the service of my country."

FIFTH DRAFT  
PROJECT Q 38

~~15~~ program

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~~one~~ rough road-- and, in all journeys, the last miles ~~are~~ are the hardest. And it is for that final effort -- for the total defeat of our enemies -- that we must mobilize our total resources. ~~The nation's war~~ calls for the replacement of ~~more~~ people in 1944 than in 1943

It is my conviction that the American people will welcome this win-the-war measure which is based on the eternally just principle of "fair for one, fair for all".

It will give our people at home the assurance that they are standing four-square behind our soldiers and sailors. And it will give our enemies demoralizing assurance that we mean business -- that we, 135 ~~million~~<sup>000,000</sup> Americans, are on the march ~~and our destinations~~ <sup>T</sup> Rome, Berlin and Tokyo.

I hope that the Congress will recognize that, although this is a political year, ~~National Service~~ is an issue which transcends politics. Great power must be used for great purposes.

As to the machinery for this measure, the Congress itself should determine its nature -- but it should be wholly non-partisan in its make-up.

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~~16~~

Our armed forces are valiantly fulfilling their responsibilities to our country and our people. Now the Congress faces the responsibility for taking those measures which [redacted] are essential to national security in this the most decisive phase of the nation's greatest war.

(17)

*General welfare of a land*  
~~Partisanship and prejudices~~ have prevented the enactment of

7  
7

legislation which would preserve for our soldiers and sailors and marines the fundamental prerogative of citizenship — the right to vote. No amount of legalistic argument can cloud this issue in the eyes of these ten million American citizens. Surely the signers of the Constitution did not intend a document which, even in wartime, would be construed to take away the franchise of any of those who are fighting to preserve the Constitution itself.

Our soldiers and sailors and marines know that the overwhelming majority of them will be deprived of the opportunity to vote, if the voting machinery is left exclusively to the States under existing state laws — and that there is no likelihood of these laws being changed in time to enable them to vote at the next election. The Army and Navy

SIXTH DRAFT

have reported that it will be impossible effectively to administer forty-eight different soldier-voting laws. It is the duty of the Congress to remove this unjustifiable discrimination against the men and women in our armed forces -- and to do it as quickly as possible.

*It is our duty now to begin  
to begin*  
the winning of a lasting peace and the establishment of an American standard of living higher than ever before known. We cannot be content, no matter how high that standard of living may be ~~in general~~, if some fraction of our people -- whether it be one-third or one-fifth or one-tenth -- is ill fed, ill clothed, ill housed, and insecure.

This Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights -- among them the right of free speech, of free press, of free worship, of trial by jury, of freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

*Our nation has*  
As ~~we~~ grown in size and stature, however, -- as our industrial economy expanded -- these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness.

We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. "Necessitous men are not free men." People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all -- regardless of station, race or creed.

Among these are:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

*fair and equal to Trade*  
The right of every business man <sup>to establish</sup> ~~to establish~~ in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home ~~in accordance with~~ <sup>and</sup> American standards of living;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right of every American to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;

SIXTH DRAFT

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The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for our citizens. For unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

✓ One of the great American industrialists of our day -- a man who has rendered yeoman service to his country in this crisis -- recently emphasized the grave dangers of "rightist reaction" in this Nation. All clear-thinking business men share his concern. Indeed, if such reaction should develop -- if history were to repeat itself and we were to return to the so-called "normalcy" of the 1920's -- then it is certain that even though we have conquered our enemies on the battlefields abroad, we shall have yielded to the spirit of fascism here at home.

## SIXTH DRAFT

- 2 -

I ask the Congress to explore the means for implementing this economic bill of rights — for it is definitely the responsibility of the Congress so to do. Many of these problems are already before committees of the Congress in the form of proposed legislation. I shall from time to time communicate with the Congress with respect to these and further proposals. In the event that no adequate ~~program~~ program is evolved, I am certain that the Nation will be conscious of the fact.

Our fighting men abroad — and their families at home — expect such a program and have the right to insist upon it. It is to their demands that this government should pay heed rather than to the whining demands of selfish pressure groups who seek to feather their nests while young Americans are dying.

The foreign policy that we have been following — the policy that guided us at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran — is based on the common sense principle which was best expressed by ~~the man from the hill~~ ~~the man~~ ~~don't hang together, will all hang separately.~~

*(D)*  
And even in the normal American conflicts of our election year, this is also a good policy to follow at home. We have our political differences, and will always have them, and I for one am glad of it.

INSERT D PAGE 21

by Benjamin Franklin on July 4, 1776; "We must  
all hang together or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

## SIXTH DRAFT

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Having spent many years in public service, I have relished an occasional good old-fashioned knock-down-drag-out fight on local political issues.

But there can be no major issues concerning this war and the peace that is to follow, between American patriots, — whether Republican or Democratic, — for their major objectives are the same.

I have often said that there are no two fronts for America in this war. There is only one front. There is one line of unity which extends from the hearts of the people at home to the men of our attacking forces in our farthest outposts. When we speak of our total effort, we speak of the factory and the field and the mine as well as of the battleground — we speak of the soldier and the civilian, the citizen and his government.

Each and every one of us has a solemn obligation under God to serve this Nation in its most critical hour — to keep this Nation great — to make this Nation greater in a better world.

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SEVENTH DRAFT

- 1 -

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

This Nation in the past two years has become an active partner in the world's greatest war against human slavery.

We have joined with like-minded people in order to defend ourselves in a world that has been gravely threatened with gangster rule.

But I do not think that any of us Americans can be content with mere survival. Sacrifices that we and our Allies are making impose upon us all a sacred obligation to see to it that out of this war we and our children will gain something better than mere survival.

We are united in determination that this war shall not be followed by another interim which leads to new disaster -- that we shall not repeat the tragic errors of ostrich isolationism -- that we shall not repeat the excesses of the wild twenties when this Nation went for a joy-ride on a roller coaster which ended in a tragic crash.

When Mr. Hull went to Moscow in October, and when I went to Cairo and Teheran in November, we knew that we were in agreement with our Allies in our common determination to fight and win this war. But there were many vital questions concerning the future peace, and they were discussed in an atmosphere of complete candor and harmony.

In the last war such discussions, such meetings, did not even begin until the shooting had stopped and the delegates began to assemble at the peace table. There had been no previous opportunities for man-to-man discussions which lead to meetings of minds. The result was a peace which was not a peace.

That was a mistake which we are not repeating in this war.

And right here I want to address a word or two to some suspicious souls who are fearful that Mr. Hull or I have made "commitments" for the future which might pledge this Nation to secret treaties, or to enacting the role of Santa Claus.

To such suspicious souls -- using a polite terminology -- I wish to say that Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek are all thoroughly conversant with the provisions of our Constitution. And so is Mr. Hull. And so am I.

Of course we made some commitments. We most certainly committed ourselves to very large and very specific military plans which require the use of all allied forces to bring about the defeat of our enemies at the earliest possible time.

But there were no secret treaties or political or financial commitments.

The one supreme objective for the future, which we discussed for each nation individually, and for all the United Nations, can be summed up in one word: Security.

And that means not only physical security which provides safety from attacks by aggressors. It means also economic security, social security, moral security -- in a family of nations.

In the plain down-to-earth talks that I had with the Generalissimo and Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, it was abundantly clear that they are all most deeply interested in the resumption of peaceful progress by their own peoples -- progress toward a better life. All our Allies want freedom to develop their lands and resources, ~~and~~ build up industry, ~~and~~ increase education and individual opportunity, ~~and~~ raise standards of living.

All our Allies have learned by bitter experience that real development will not be possible if they are to be diverted from their purpose by repeated wars -- or even threats of war.

China and Russia are truly united with Britain and America in recognition of this essential fact:

The best interests of each nation, large and small, demand that all freedom-loving nations shall join together in a just and durable system of peace. In the present world situation, evidenced by the actions of Germany, Italy and Japan, unquestioned military control over disturbers of the peace is as necessary among nations as it is among citizens in a community. And an equally basic essential to peace is a decent standard of living for all individual men and women and children in all nations. Freedom from fear is eternally linked with freedom from want.

There are people who burrow through our Nation like unseeing moles, and attempt to spread the suspicion that if other nations are encouraged to raise their standards of living, our own American standard of living must of necessity be depressed.

The fact is the very contrary. It has been shown time and again that if the standard of living of any country goes up, so does its purchasing power -- and that such a rise encourages a better standard of living in neighboring countries with whom it trades. That is just plain common sense -- and it is the kind of plain common sense that provided the basis for our discussions at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran.

Returning from my journeyings, I must confess to a sense of "let-down" when I found many evidences of faulty perspectives here in Washington. The faulty perspective consists in over-emphasizing lesser problems and thereby under-emphasizing the first and greatest problem.

The overwhelming majority of our people have met the demands of this war with magnificent courage and understanding. They have accepted inconveniences; they have accepted hardships; they have accepted tragic sacrifices. And they are ready and eager to make whatever further contributions are needed to win the war as quickly as possible -- if only they are given the chance to know what is required of them.

However, while the majority goes on about its great work without complaint, a noisy minority maintains an uproar of demands for special favors for special groups. There are pests who swarm through the lobbies of the Congress and the cocktail bars of Washington, representing these special groups as opposed to the basic interests of the nation as a whole. They have come to look upon the war primarily as a chance to make profits for themselves at the expense of their neighbors -- profits in money or in terms of political or social preferment.

Such selfish agitation can be highly dangerous in wartime. It creates confusion. It damages morale. It hampers our national effort. It muddies the waters and therefore prolongs the war.

If we analyze American history impartially, we cannot escape the fact that in our past we have not always forgotten individual and selfish and partisan interests in time of war -- we have not always been united in purpose and direction. We cannot overlook the serious dissensions and the lack of unity in our War of the Revolution, in our War of 1812, or in our War between the States, when the survival of the Union itself was at stake.

In the first World War we came closer to national unity than in any previous war. But that war lasted only a year and a half, and increasing signs of disunity began to appear during the final months of the conflict.

In this war, we have been compelled to learn how interdependent upon each other are all groups and sections of the population of America.

Increased food costs, for example, will bring new demands for wage increases from all war workers, which will in turn raise all prices of all things including those things which the farmers themselves have to buy. Increased wages or prices will each in turn produce the same results. They all have a particularly disastrous result on all fixed income groups.

And I hope you will remember that all of us in this Government represent the fixed income group just as much as we represent business owners, workers and farmers. This group of fixed-income people include: teachers, clergy, policemen, firemen, widows and minors on fixed incomes, wives and dependents of our soldiers and sailors, and old age pensioners. They and their families add up to one quarter of our one hundred and thirty million people. They have few or no high pressure representatives at the Capitol. In a period of gross inflation they would be the worst sufferers,

If ever there was a time to subordinate individual or group selfishness to the national good, that time is now. Disunity at home -- bickerings, self-seeking partisanship, stoppages of work, inflation, business as usual, politics as usual, luxury as usual -- these are the influences which can undermine the morale of the brave men ready to die at the front for us here.

Those who are doing most of the complaining are not deliberately striving to sabotage the national war effort . They are laboring under the delusion that the time is past when we must make prodigious sacrifices -- that the war is already won and we can begin to slacken off. But the dangerous folly of that point of view can be measured by the distance that separates our troops from their ultimate objectives in Berlin and Tokyo -- and by the sum of all the perils that lie along the way.

Over-confidence and complacency are among our deadliest enemies. Last Spring -- after notable victories at Stalingrad and in Tunisia and against the U-boats on the high seas -- over-confidence became so pronounced that war production fell off. In two months, June and July, 1943, more than a thousand airplanes that could have been made and should have been made were not made. Those who failed to make them were not on strike. They were merely saying, "The war's in the bag -- so let's relax".

That attitude on the part of anyone -- Government or management or labor -- can lengthen this war. It can kill American boys.

Let us remember the lessons of 1918. In the Summer of that year the tide turned in favor of the Allies. But this Government did not relax. In fact, our national effort was stepped up. In August, 1918, the draft age limits were broadened from 21-31 to 18-45. The President called for "force to the utmost", and his call was heeded. And in November, only three months later, Germany surrendered.

That is the way to fight and win a war -- all out -- and not with half-an-eye on the battlefronts abroad and the other eye-and-a-half on personal, selfish, or political interests here at home.

Therefore, in order to concentrate all our energies and resources on winning the war, and to maintain a fair and stable economy at home, I recommend that the Congress adopt:

(1) A realistic tax law -- which will tax all unreasonable profits, both individual and corporate, and reduce the ultimate cost of the war to our sons and daughters. The tax bill now under consideration by the Congress does not begin to meet this test.

(2) A continuation of the law for the renegotiation of war contracts -- which will prevent exorbitant profits and assure fair prices to the Government. For two long years I have pleaded with the Congress to take undue profits out of war.

(3) A cost of food law -- which will enable the Government (a) to place a reasonable floor under the prices the farmer may expect for his production; and (b) to place a ceiling on the prices a consumer will have to pay for the food he buys. This should apply to necessities only; and will require public funds to carry out. It will cost in appropriations about one per cent of the present annual cost of the war.

(4) Early reenactment of the stabilization statute of October 1942. This expires June 30th, 1944, and if it is not extended well in advance, the country might just as well expect price chaos by Summer.

We cannot have stabilization by wishful thinking. We must take positive action to maintain the integrity of the American dollar.

(5) A national service law -- which, for the duration of the war, will prevent strikes, and, with certain appropriate exceptions, will make available for war production or for any other essential services every able-bodied adult in this nation.

These five measures together form a just and equitable whole. I would not recommend a national service law ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ unless the other laws were passed to keep down the cost of living, to share equitably the burdens of taxation, to hold the stabilization line, and to prevent undue profits.

The Federal Government already has the basic power to draft capital and property of all kinds for war purposes on a basis of just compensation.

As you know, I have for three years hesitated to recommend a national service act. Today, however, I am convinced of its necessity. Although I believe that we and our Allies can win the war without such a measure, I am certain that nothing less than total mobilization of all our resources of manpower and capital will guarantee an earlier victory, and reduce the toll of suffering and sorrow and blood.

I have received a joint recommendation for this law from the heads of the War Department, the Navy Department and the Maritime Commission. These are the men who bear responsibility for the procurement of the necessary arms and equipment, and for the successful prosecution of the war in the field. They say:

"When the very life of the nation is in peril the responsibility for service is common to all men and women. In such a time there can be no discrimination between the men and women who are assigned by the Government to its defense at the battlefield and the men and women assigned to producing the vital materials essential to successful military operations. A prompt enactment of a National Service Law would be merely an expression of the universality of this responsibility".

I believe the country will agree that those statements are the solemn truth.

National service is the most democratic way to wage a war. Like selective service for the armed forces, it rests on the obligation of each citizen to serve his nation to his utmost where he is best qualified.

It does not mean reduction in wages. It does not mean loss of retirement and seniority rights and benefits. It does not mean that any substantial numbers of war workers will be disturbed in their present jobs. Let these facts be wholly clear.

Experience in other democratic nations at war -- Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand -- has shown that the very existence of national service makes unnecessary the widespread use of compulsory power. National service has proven to be a unifying moral force -- based on an equal and comprehensive legal obligation of all people in a nation at war.

There are millions of American men and women who are not in this war at all. It is not because they do not want to be in it. But they want to know where they can best do their share. National service provides that direction. It will be a means by which every man and woman can find that inner satisfaction which comes from making the fullest possible contribution to victory.

I know that all civilian war workers will be glad to be able to say many years hence to their grandchildren: "Yes, I, too, was in service in the great war. I was on duty in an airplane factory, and I helped make hundreds of fighting planes. The Government told me that in doing that I was performing my most useful work in the service of my country."

It is argued that we have passed the stage in the war where national service is necessary. But our soldiers and sailors know that this is not true. We are going forward on a long, rough road -- and, in all journeys, the last miles are the hardest. And it is for that final effort -- for the total defeat of our enemies -- that we must mobilize our total resources. The national war program calls for the employment of more people in 1944 than in 1943.

It is my conviction that the American people will welcome this win-the-war measure which is based on the eternally just principle of "fair for one, fair for all".

It will give our people at home the assurance that they are standing four-square behind our soldiers and sailors. And it will give our enemies demoralizing assurance that we mean business -- that we, 135,000,000 Americans, are on the march to Rome, Berlin and Tokyo.

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I hope that the Congress will recognize that, although this is a political year, national service is an issue which transcends politics. Great power must be used for great purposes.

As to the machinery for this measure, the Congress itself should determine its nature -- but it should be wholly non-partisan in its make-up.

Our armed forces are valiantly fulfilling their responsibilities to our country and our people. Now the Congress faces the responsibility for taking those measures which are essential to national security in this the most decisive phase of the nation's greatest war.

Several alleged reasons have prevented the enactment of legislation which would preserve for our soldiers and sailors and marines the fundamental prerogative of citizenship -- the right to vote. No amount of legalistic argument can cloud this issue in the eyes of these ten million American citizens. Surely the signers of the Constitution did not intend a document which, even in wartime, would be construed to take away the franchise of any of those who are fighting to preserve the Constitution itself.

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Our soldiers and sailors and marines know that the overwhelming majority of them will be deprived of the opportunity to vote, if the voting machinery is left exclusively to the States under existing state laws -- and that there is no likelihood of these laws being changed in time to enable them to vote at the next election. The Army and Navy have reported that it will be impossible effectively to administer forty-eight different soldier-voting laws. It is the duty of the Congress to remove this unjustifiable discrimination against the men and women in our armed forces -- and to do it as quickly as possible.

It is our duty now to begin to lay the plans and determine the strategy for the winning of a lasting peace and the establishment of an American standard of living higher than ever before known. We cannot be content, no matter how high that general standard of living may be, if some fraction of our people -- whether it be one-third or one-fifth or one-tenth -- is ill-fed, ill clothed, ill housed, and insecure.

This Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights -- among them the right of free speech, free

press, free worship, trial by jury, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

As our nation has grown in size and stature, however -- as our industrial economy expanded -- these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness.

We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. "Necessitous men are not free men." People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all -- regardless of station, race or creed.

Among these are:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right [redacted] to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for our citizens. For unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

One of the great American industrialists of our day -- a man who has rendered yeoman service to his country in this crisis -- recently emphasized the grave dangers of "rightist reaction" in this Nation. All clear-thinking business men share his concern. Indeed, if such reaction should develop -- if history were to repeat itself and we were to return to the so-called "normalcy" of the 1920's -- then it is certain that even though we shall have conquered our enemies on the battlefields abroad, we shall have yielded to the spirit of fascism here at home.

I ask the Congress to explore the means for implementing this economic bill of rights -- for it is definitely the responsibility of the Congress so to do. Many of these problems are already before committees of the Congress in the form of proposed legislation. I shall from time to time communicate with the Congress with respect to these and further proposals. In the event that no adequate program of progress is evolved, I am certain that the Nation will be conscious of the fact.

Our fighting men abroad -- and their families at home -- expect such a program and have the right to insist upon it. It is to their demands that this Government should pay heed rather than to the whining demands of selfish pressure groups who seek to feather their nests while young Americans are dying.

The foreign policy that we have been following -- the policy that guided us at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran -- is based on the common sense principle which was best expressed by Benjamin Franklin on July 4, 1776: "We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately".

I have often said that there are no two fronts for America in this war. There is only one front. There is one line of unity which extends from the hearts of the people at home to the men of our attacking forces in our farthest outposts. When we speak of our total effort, we speak of the factory and the field and the mine as well as<sup>of</sup> the battleground -- we speak of the soldier and the civilian, the citizen and his Government.

Each and every one of us has a solemn obligation under God to serve this Nation in its most critical hour -- to keep this Nation great -- to make this Nation greater in a better world.

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