

---

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

**Series 2: “ You have nothing to fear but fear itself:” FDR  
and the New Deal**

---

**File No. 1282**

**1940 May 16**

**Message to Congress re Defense Appropriations**

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT

MAY 16, 1940

---

These are ominous days — days whose swift and shocking developments force every neutral nation to look to its defenses in the light of new factors. The brutal force of modern offensive war has been loosed in all its horror. New powers of destruction, incredibly swift and deadly, have been developed; and those who wield them are ruthless and daring. No old defense is so strong that it requires no further strengthening — and no attack is so unlikely or impossible that it may be ignored.

Let us examine, without self-deception, the dangers which confront us. Let us measure our strength and our defense without self-delusion.

The clear fact is that the American people must recast their thinking about national protection.

<sup>COR</sup>  
Motorized armies now sweep through enemy territories

at the rate of two hundred miles a day. Parachute troops are dropped from airplanes in large numbers behind enemy lines. Troops are landed from planes in open fields, on wide highways, and at local civil airports.

We have seen the treacherous use of the "fifth column" by which persons supposed to be peaceful visitors were actually a part of an enemy unit of occupation. Lightning attacks, capable of destroying airplane factories and munition works hundreds of miles behind the lines are part of the new technique of modern war~~fare~~.

The element of surprise which has ever been an important tactic in warfare has become the more dangerous because of the amazing speed with which modern equipment can reach and attack the enemy's country.

Our own vital interests are widespread. More than ever the protection of the whole American Hemisphere against invasion or control or domination by non-American nations has the united

support of the twenty-one American Republics, including the United States. More than ever this protection calls for ready-at-hand weapons capable of great mobility because of the potential speed of modern attack.

The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were reasonably adequate defensive barriers when fleets under sail could move at an average speed of five miles an hour. Even then by a sudden foray it was possible for an opponent actually to burn our national Capitol. Later, the oceans gave strength to our defense when fleets and convoys propelled by steam could sail the oceans at fifteen or twenty miles an hour.

But the new element -- air navigation -- steps up the speed of possible attack to two hundred, to three hundred miles an hour.

Furthermore, it brings the new possibilities of the use of nearer bases from which an attack or attacks on the American Continents could be made. From the fiords of Greenland it is 4 hours by air to Newfoundland; 5 hours to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec; and only 6 hours to New England.

The Azores are only 2,000 miles from parts of our eastern seaboard and if Bermuda fell into hostile hands it is a matter of less than 3 hours for modern bombers to reach our shores.

From a base in the outer West Indies, the coast of Florida could be reached in 200 minutes.

The islands off the west coast of Africa are only 1,500 miles from Brazil. Modern planes starting from the Cape Verde Islands can be over Brazil in 7 hours.

And Para, Brazil, is but 4 flying hours to Caracas, Venezuela; and Venezuela but  $3\frac{1}{2}$  hours to Cuba and the Canal Zone; and Cuba and the Canal Zone are  $2\frac{1}{4}$  hours to Tampico, Mexico; and Tampico is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  hours to St. Louis, Kansas City and Omaha.

On the other side of the continent, Alaska, with a white population of only 30,000 people, is within 4 or 5 hours of flying distance to Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma and Portland. The islands of the southern Pacific are not too far removed from the west coast of South America to prevent them from becoming bases of enormous strategic advantage to attacking forces.

Surely, the developments of the past few weeks have made it clear to all of our citizens that the possibility of attack on vital American zones ought to make it essential that we have the physical, the ready ability to meet those attacks and to prevent them from reaching their objectives.

This means military implements -- not on paper -- which are ready and available to meet any lightning offensive against our American interest. It means also that facilities for production must be ready to turn out munitions and equipment at top speed.

We have had the lesson before us over and over again -- nations that were not ready and were unable to get ready found themselves overrun by the enemy. So-called impregnable fortifications no longer exist. A defense which allows an enemy to consolidate his approach without hindrance will lose. A defense which makes no effective effort to destroy the lines of supplies and communications of the enemy ~~in their rear~~ will lose.

An effective defense by its very nature requires the equipment to attack an aggressor on his route before he can establish strong bases within the territory of American vital interests.

---

Loose talking and thinking on the part of some may give the false impression that our own Army and Navy are not first-rate, or that money has been wasted on them.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

In recent years the defensive power of our Army, Navy and Marine Corps has been very greatly improved.

The Navy is stronger today than at any time in the nation's history. Today also a large program of new construction is well under way. Ship for ship, ours are equal to, or better than, the vessels of any foreign power.

The Army likewise is at its greatest peace-time strength. Its equipment in quality and quantity has been greatly increased and improved.

The National Guard and the reserve strength of the two Services are better equipped and better prepared than during any other peace-time period.

On the other side of the picture we must visualize the outstanding fact that since the first day of September, 1939, every week that has passed has brought new lessons learned from actual combat on land and sea.

I cite examples. Where naval ships have operated ~~elsewhere~~ without adequate protection by defending aircraft, their vulnerability to air attack has increased. All nations are hard at work studying the need of additional anti-aircraft protection.

Several months ago the use of a new type of magnetic mine made many unthinking people believe that all surface ships were doomed. Within a few weeks a successful defensive device against these mines was placed in operation; and it is a fact that the sinkings of merchant ships by torpedo, by mine or by airplane are definitely much lower than during the similar period in 1915.

Combat conditions have changed even more rapidly in the air. With the amazing progress in the design of planes and engines, the airplane of a year ago is out-of-date now. It is too slow, it is improperly protected, it is too weak in gun power.

In types of planes, we are not behind the other nations of the world. Many of the planes of the belligerent powers are at this moment not of the latest models. But one belligerent power not only has many more planes than all their opponents combined, but also appears to have a weekly production capacity at the moment that is far greater than that of their opponents.

From the point of view of our own defense, therefore,  
*2/1*  
great additional production capacity is our principal requisite.

For the permanent record, I ask the Congress not to take any action which would in any way hamper or delay the delivery of American-made planes to foreign nations which have ordered them, or seek to purchase more planes. That, from the point of view of our own national defense, would be extremely shortsighted.

During the past year American production capacity for war planes, including engines, has risen from approximately 6,000 planes a year to more than double that number, due in greater part to the placing of foreign orders.

Our immediate problem is to superimpose on this production capacity a greatly increased additional production capacity. I should like to see this nation geared up to the ability to turn out at least 50,000 planes a year. Furthermore, I believe that this nation should plan at this time a program that would provide us with 50,000 military and naval planes.

~~On~~ <sup>for</sup> The ground ~~A~~ the Army requires the immediate speeding up of last winter's program to procure equipment of all kinds, including motor transport and artillery, ~~and also~~ including anti-aircraft guns and full ammunition supplies. It had been ~~planned~~ <sup>to</sup> spread these requirements over the next three or four years. We should fill them at once.

At this time I am asking the immediate appropriation by the Congress of a large sum of money for four primary purposes:

First, to procure the essential equipment of all kinds for a larger and thoroughly rounded-out Army;

Second, to replace or modernize all old Army and Navy equipment with the latest type of equipment;

Third, to increase production facilities for everything ~~absolutely~~ needed for the Army and Navy for national defense, ~~because~~ we require the ability to turn out quickly infinitely greater supplies;

Fourth, to speed up to a twenty-four hour basis all existing Army and Navy contracts, and all new contracts to be awarded.

~~means~~ It will, I know, be recognized by the Congress that estimates of the cost of additional defense are difficult at this time to break down into detailed allocations, ~~even though~~ continuing studies have been in process since last September by several Departments of the Government.

While my request may sound extremely large to many of our citizens, it is fair for me to tell you that I have scaled the total of it down to a figure below that asked for by many of the officials and officers of the Government. I have done this because I do not believe that any much greater sum could be actually expended out of the Treasury within the coming year.

I ask for an immediate appropriation of \$896,000,000, divided approximately as follows:

1. For the Army.....\$548,000,000
2. For the Navy and Marine Corps..... 350,000,000
3. To the President to provide for emergencies affecting the national security and defense. ~~in the broad carrying out of the program~~..... 100,000,000

In addition to the above sum, I ask for authorizations for the Army, Navy and Marine Corps to make contract obligations in the further sum of..... 186,000,000

And to the President an additional authorization to make contract obligations for..... 100,000,000

The total of authorizations is, therefore. \$286,000,000

It is my belief that a large part of the requested appropriation of \$100,000,000, and the requested authorization of \$100,000,000 to the President will be used principally for the increase of production of airplanes, anti-aircraft guns, and the training of additional personnel for these weapons. This would be in addition to the direct estimates for these purposes in the other items *24945716.*

The proposed details of the appropriations and authorizations *requested* <sup>asked for</sup> ~~requested~~ will be given to the Committees of the Congress.

These estimates do not, of course, duplicate any item now in the pending War and Navy appropriation bills for the year 1941. Nor do they include supplemental or deficiency estimates which may become necessary by reason of pending legislation or shortage of funds under existing programs.

There are some who say that democracy cannot cope with the new techniques of government developed in recent years by a few countries -- by a few countries which deny the freedoms which we maintain are essential to our democratic way of life. This I reject.

I know that our trained officers and men know more about fighting and the weapons and equipment needed for fighting than any of us laymen; and I have confidence in them.

I know that to cope with present dangers we must be strong in heart and hand; strong in our faith -- strong in faith in our way of living.

I, too, pray for peace -- that the ways of aggression and force may be banished from the earth -- but I am determined to face the fact realistically that this ~~nation~~ <sup>nation</sup> requires a toughness of moral and physical fibre. Those qualities, I am convinced, the American people hold to a high degree.

Our task is plain. The road we must take is clearly indicated. Our defenses must be invulnerable, our security absolute. But our defense as it was yesterday, or even as it is today, does not provide security against potential developments and dangers of the future.

Defense cannot be static. Defense must grow and change from day to day. Defense must be dynamic and flexible, an expression of the vital forces of the nation and of its resolute will to meet whatever challenge the future may hold. For these reasons, I need hardly assure you that after the adjournment of this session of the Congress, I will not hesitate to call the Congress into Special Session if at any time the situation of the national defense requires it. The Congress and the Chief Executive constitute a team where the defense of the land is concerned.

Our ideal, our objective is still peace -- peace at home and peace abroad. Nevertheless, we stand ready not only to spend millions for defense but to give our service and even our lives for the maintenance of our American liberties.

Our security is not a matter of weapons alone. The arm that wields them must be strong, the eye that guides them clear, the will that directs them indomitable.

These are the characteristics of a free people, a  
people devoted to the institutions they themselves have built,  
a people willing to defend a way of life that is precious to  
them all, a people who put their faith in God.

*Franklin Roosevelt*

\*\*\*\*\*

*Original reading copy*

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS  
Delivered in Person to the Joint Assembly  
The Capitol, Washington, D. C.  
May 16, 1940, 1:00 P. M., E. S. T.

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND  
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:  
(TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:)

These are ominous days -- days whose swift and shocking developments force every neutral nation to look to its defenses in the light of new factors. The brutal force of modern offensive war has been loosed in all its horror. New powers of destruction, incredibly swift and deadly, have been developed; and those who wield them are ruthless and daring. No old defense is so strong that it requires no further strengthening and no attack is so unlikely or impossible that it may be ignored.

Let us examine, without self-deception, the dangers which confront us. Let us measure our strength and our defense without self-delusion.

The clear fact is that the American people must recast their thinking about national protection.

Motorized armies can now sweep through enemy territories at the rate of two hundred miles a day. Parachute troops are dropped from airplanes in large numbers behind enemy lines. Troops are landed from planes in open fields, on wide highways, and at local civil airports.

We have seen the treacherous use of the "fifth column" by (which) persons supposed to be peaceful visitors, persons who were actually a part of an enemy unit of occupation.

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.

Lightning attacks, capable of destroying airplane factories and munition works hundreds of miles behind the lines, are a part of the new technique of modern war.

The element of surprise which has ever been an important tactic in warfare has become the more dangerous because of the amazing speed with which modern equipment can reach and attack the enemy's country.

Our own vital interests are widespread. More than ever the protection of the whole American Hemisphere against invasion or control or domination by non-American nations has the united support of the twenty-one American Republics, including the United States. (Applause) And more than ever in the past this protection calls for ready-at-hand weapons capable of great mobility because of the potential speed of modern attack.

Let me analyze for a moment. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were reasonably adequate defensive barriers when fleets under sail could move at an average speed of five miles an hour. Even (then) in those days by a sudden foray it was possible for an opponent actually to burn our national Capitol. Later, the oceans still gave strength to our defense when fleets and convoys propelled by steam could sail the oceans at fifteen or twenty miles an hour.

But the new element -- air navigation -- steps up the speed of possible attack to two hundred, to three hundred miles an hour.

Furthermore, it brings the new possibilities of the

use of nearer bases from which an attack or attacks on the American Continents could be made. From the fiords of Greenland it is 4 hours by air to Newfoundland; 5 hours to Nova Scotia, to New Brunswick (and), to the Province of Quebec; and only 6 hours to New England.

The Azores are only 2,000 miles from parts of our eastern seaboard and if Bermuda fell into hostile hands it (is) would be a matter of less than 3 hours for modern bombers to reach our shores.

From a base in the outer West Indies, the coast of Florida could be reached in 200 minutes.

The islands off the west coast of Africa are only 1,500 miles from Brazil. Modern planes starting from the Cape Verde Islands can be over Brazil in 7 hours.

And Para, Brazil, near the mouth of the Amazon River, is but 4 flying hours to Caracas, Venezuela; and Venezuela is but 2½ hours to Cuba and the Canal Zone; and Cuba and the Canal Zone are 2½ hours to Tampico, Mexico; and Tampico is 2½ hours to St. Louis, Kansas City and Omaha.

On the other side of the continent, Alaska, with a white population of only 30,000 people, is within 4 or 5 hours of flying distance to Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma, (and) Portland. The islands of the southern Pacific are not too far removed from the west coast of South America to prevent them from becoming bases of enormous strategic advantage to attacking forces.

Surely, the developments of the past few weeks have

made it clear to all of our citizens that the possibility of attack on vital American zones ought to make it essential that we have the physical, the ready ability to meet those attacks and to prevent them from reaching their objectives.

This means military implements -- not on paper -- military instruments which are ready and available to meet any lightning offensive against our American interest. It means also that facilities for production must be ready to turn out munitions and equipment at top speed.

We have had the lesson before us over and over again -- nations that were not ready and were unable to get ready found themselves overrun by the enemy. So-called impregnable fortifications no longer exist. A defense which allows an enemy to consolidate his approach without hindrance will lose. A defense which makes no effective effort to destroy the lines of supplies and communications of the enemy will lose.

An effective defense by its very nature requires the equipment to attack (an) the aggressor on his route before he can establish strong bases within the territory of American vital interests. (Applause)

---

Loose talking and loose thinking on the part of some may give the false impression that our own American Army and Navy are not first-rate, or that money has been wasted on them.

Nothing could be further from the truth. (Applause)

Here are the facts: In recent years the defensive

power of our Army, Navy and Marine Corps (has) have as you  
know been (very) greatly improved.

The Navy is stronger today than at any time in the nation's history. Today also a large program of new construction is well under way. Ship for ship, ours are equal to, or better than, the vessels of any foreign power. (Applause)

And the Army likewise -- this may not be known but it is a fact -- is today at its greatest peace-time strength in all our history. Its equipment in quality and quantity has been greatly increased and improved.

The National Guard and the reserve strength of the two Services are better equipped and better prepared than during any other peace-time period.

On the other side of the picture we must visualize the outstanding fact that since the first day of September, 1939, every week that has passed has brought new lessons learned from actual combat on land and sea.

I cite examples. Where naval ships have operated without adequate protection by defending aircraft, their vulnerability to air attack has of course increased. All nations are hard at work studying the need of additional anti-aircraft protection.

Several months ago the use of a new type of magnetic mine made many unthinking people believe that all surface ships were doomed. Within a few weeks a successful defensive device against (these) those mines was placed in operation; and it is a fact that the sinkings of merchant ships by torpedo,

by mine (or) and by airplane are definitely much lower than during the similar period in 1915.

Combat conditions have changed even more rapidly in the air. With the amazing progress in the design of planes and engines, the airplane of a year ago is out-of-date now. It is too slow, it is improperly protected, it is too weak in gun power.

In types of planes, we are not behind the other nations of the world. Many of the planes of the belligerent powers are at this moment not of the latest models. But one belligerent power not only has many more planes than all their opponents combined, but also appears to have a weekly production capacity at the moment that is far greater than that of all their opponents.

From the point of view of our own defense, therefore, great additional production capacity is our principal air requisite.

For the permanent record, I ask the Congress not to take any action which would in any way hamper or delay the delivery of American-made planes to foreign nations which have ordered them, or seek to purchase (more) new planes. (Applause) That, from the point of view of our own national defense, would be extremely shortsighted.

During the past year American production capacity for war planes, including engines, has risen from approximately 6,000 planes a year to a good deal more than double that number, due in greater part to the placing of foreign orders here.

Our immediate problem is to superimpose on this production capacity a greatly increased additional production capacity. (Applause) I should like to see this nation geared up to the ability to turn out at least 50,000 planes a year. (Prolonged applause) (Furthermore) Yes, and I go further, I believe that this nation should plan at this time a program that would provide us with 50,000 military and naval planes. (Applause)

The ground forces of the Army, they require the immediate speeding up of last winter's program to procure more equipment of all kinds, including motor transport and artillery, tanks, (including) anti-aircraft guns and full ammunition supplies. (Applause) As you know, it had been planned to spread these requirements over the next (three) two or (four) three years. We should fill them at once. (Applause)

And so at this time I am asking the Congress immediately to (appropriation by the Congress of) appropriate a large sum of money for four primary purposes:

First, to procure the essential equipment of all kinds for a larger and thoroughly rounded-out Army;

Second, to replace or modernize all old Army and Navy equipment with the latest type of equipment;

Third, to increase production facilities for everything needed for the Army and Navy for national defense. (Applause) For it is clear that we require the ability to turn out quickly infinitely greater supplies;

(Fourth, to speed up to a twenty-four hour basis all existing Army and Navy contracts, and all new contracts to be awarded.)

I ask, I ask for an immediate appropriation of \$896,000,000. (divided approximately as follows:) And may I say that I hope there will be speed in giving the appropriation. (Applause)

That sum of \$896,000,000 of appropriation I would devote approximately as follows:

- (1.) For the Army..... \$546,000,000
- (2.) For the Navy and Marine Corps 250,000,000
- (3.) To the President to provide for emergencies affecting the national security and defense 100,000,000 (Applause)

And in addition to the above sum of appropriations, I ask for authorizations for the Army, Navy and Marine Corps to make contract obligations in the further sum of . \$186,000,000

And to the President (an) for additional authorizations to make contract obligations (for)..... 100,000,000

(The) Or a total of authorizations (is, therefore,) of..... \$286,000,000

And it is my belief that a large part of the requested appropriation of \$100,000,000 and the requested authorization of \$100,000,000 to the President will be used principally for the increase of production of airplanes, anti-aircraft guns, and the training of additional personnel for (these) those weapons. (Applause) (This) And may I point out that these requests for appropriations and authorizations would of course be in addition to the direct estimates for these purposes in the other items that are requested.

The proposed details of the appropriations and authorizations asked for will be given to the Committees of

the Congress.

(These) The estimates do not, of course, duplicate any item now in the pending War and Navy appropriation bills for the fiscal year 1941. Nor do they include supplemental or deficiency estimates which may become necessary by reason of pending legislation or shortage of funds under existing legal programs.

---

There are some who say that democracy cannot cope with the new techniques of government developed in recent years by (a few) some countries -- by a few countries which deny the freedoms (which) that we maintain are essential to our democratic way of life. (This) That I reject. (Applause)

I know, I know that our trained officers and men know more about fighting (and the), know more about weapons and the equipment needed for fighting than any of us laymen; and I have confidence (in them) in our officers and men. (Applause)

I know that to cope with present dangers we must be strong in heart and (hand) mind; strong in our faith -- strong in the faith in our way of living.

I, too, pray for peace -- that the ways of aggression and force may be banished from the earth -- but I am determined to face the fact realistically that this nation requires also a toughness of moral and physical fibre. Those qualities, I am convinced, the American people hold to a high degree. (Applause)

Our task is plain. The road we must take is clearly indicated. Our defenses must be invulnerable, our security absolute. But our defense, our defense as it was yesterday, or even as it is today, does not provide security against potential developments and dangers of the future.

Defense cannot be static. Defense must grow and change from day to day. Defense must be dynamic and flexible, an expression of the vital forces of the nation and of its resolute will to meet whatever challenge the future may hold. For these reasons, I need hardly assure you that after the adjournment of this session of the Congress, I will not hesitate to call the Congress into Special Session if at any time the situation of the national defense requires it. And the Congress, the Congress and the Chief Executive constitute a team where the defense of the land is concerned. (Prolonged applause - cheers)

Our ideal, yours and mine, the ideal of every man, woman and child in the country -- our objective is still peace -- peace at home and peace abroad. (Applause) Nevertheless, we stand ready not only to spend millions for defense but to give our service and even our lives for the maintenance of our American liberties. (Applause)

Our security is not a matter of weapons alone. The arm that wields them must be strong, the eye that guides them clear, the will that directs them indomitable.

These are the characteristics of a free people, a people devoted to the institutions they themselves have built,

a people willing to defend a way of life that is precious to them all, a people who put their faith in God. (Applause - cheers)

#1282

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

May 16, 1940

The following message to the Congress is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 1:00 P. M., E. S. T., May 16, 1940.

This same release of the text of this address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

- - - - -  
TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

These are ominous days -- days whose swift and shocking developments force every neutral nation to look to its defenses in the light of new factors. The brutal force of modern offensive war has been loosed in all its horror. New powers of destruction, incredibly swift and deadly, have been developed; and those who wield them are ruthless and daring. No old defense is so strong that it requires no further strengthening and no attack is so unlikely or impossible that it may be ignored.

Let us examine, without self-deception, the dangers which confront us. Let us measure our strength and our defense without self-delusion.

The clear fact is that the American people must recast their thinking about national protection,

Motorized armies can now sweep through enemy territories at the rate of two hundred miles a day. Parachute troops are dropped from airplanes in large numbers behind enemy lines. Troops are landed from planes in open fields, on wide highways, and at local civil airports.

We have seen the treacherous use of the "fifth column" by which persons supposed to be peaceful visitors were actually a part of an enemy unit of occupation. Lightning attacks, capable of destroying airplane factories and munition works hundreds of miles behind the lines, are part of the new techniques of modern war.

The element of surprise which has ever been an important tactic in warfare has become the more dangerous because of the amazing speed with which modern equipment can reach and attack the enemy's country.

Our own vital interests are widespread. More than ever the protection of the whole American Hemisphere against invasion or control or domination by non-American nations has the united support of the twenty-one American Republics, including the United States. More than ever this protection calls for ready-at-hand weapons capable of great mobility because of the potential speed of modern attack.

The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were reasonably adequate defensive barriers when fleets under sail could move at an average speed of five miles an hour. Even then by a sudden foray it was possible for an opponent actually to burn our national Capitol. Later, the oceans still gave strength to our defense when fleets and convoys propelled by steam could sail the oceans at fifteen or twenty miles an hour.

But the new element -- air navigation -- steps up the speed of possible attack to two hundred, to three hundred miles an hour.

Furthermore, it brings the new possibilities of the use of nearer bases from which an attack or attacks on the American Continents could be made. From the fiefs of Greenland it is 4 hours by air to Newfoundland; 5 hours to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec; and only 6 hours to New England.

The Azores are only 2,000 miles from parts of our eastern seaboard and if Bermuda fell into hostile hands it is a matter of less than 3 hours for modern bombers to reach our shores.

From a base in the outer West Indies, the coast of Florida could be reached in 200 minutes.

The islands off the west coast of Africa are only 1,600 miles from Brazil. Modern planes starting from the Cape Verde Islands can be over Brazil in 7 hours.

And Para, Brazil, is but 4 flying hours to Caracas, Venezuela; and Venezuela but 2½ hours to Cuba and the Canal Zone; and Cuba and the Canal Zone are 2½ hours to Tampico, Mexico; and Tampico is 2½ hours to St. Louis, Kansas City and Omaha.

On the other side of the continent, Alaska, with a white population of only 30,000 people, is within 4 or 5 hours of flying distance to Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma and Portland. The islands of the southern Pacific are not too far removed from the west coast of South America to prevent them from becoming bases of enormous strategic advantage to attacking forces.

Surely, the developments of the past few weeks have made it clear to all of our citizens that the possibility of attack on vital American zones ought to make it essential that we have the physical, the ready ability to meet those attacks and to prevent them from reaching their objectives.

This means military implements -- not on paper -- which are ready and available to meet any lightning offensive against our American interest. It means also that facilities for production must be ready to turn out munitions and equipment at top speed.

We have had the lesson before us over and over again -- nations that were not ready and were unable to get ready found themselves overrun by the enemy. So-called impregnable fortifications no longer exist. A defense which allows an enemy to consolidate his approach without hindrance will lose. A defense which makes no effective effort to destroy the lines of supplies and communications of the enemy will lose.

An effective defense by its very nature requires the equipment to attack an aggressor on his route before he can establish strong bases within the territory of American vital interests.

---

Loose talking and thinking on the part of some may give the false impression that our own Army and Navy are not first-rate, or that money has been wasted on them.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

In recent years the defensive power of our Army, Navy and Marine Corps has been very greatly improved.

The Navy is stronger today than at any time in the nation's history. Today also a large program of new construction is well under way. Ship for ship, ours are equal to, or better than, the vessels of any foreign power.

The Army likewise is at its greatest peace-time strength. Its equipment in quality and quantity has been greatly increased and improved.

The National Guard and the reserve strength of the two Services are better equipped and better prepared than during any other peace-time period.

On the other side of the picture we must visualize the outstanding fact that since the first day of September, 1939, every week that has passed has brought new lessons learned from actual combat on land and sea.

I cite examples. Where naval ships have operated without adequate protection by defending aircraft, their vulnerability to air attack has increased. All nations are hard at work studying the need of additional anti-aircraft protection.

Several months ago the use of a new type of magnetic mine made many unthinking people believe that all surface ships were doomed. Within a few weeks a successful defensive device against these mines was placed in operation; and it is a fact that the sinkings of merchant ships by torpedo, by mine or by airplane are definitely much lower than during the similar period in 1918.

Combat conditions have changed even more rapidly in the air. With the amazing progress in the design of planes and engines, the airplane of a year ago is out-of-date now. It is too slow, it is improperly protected, it is too weak in gun power.

In types of planes, we are not behind the other nations of the world. Many of the planes of the belligerent powers are at this moment not of the latest models. But one belligerent power not only has many more planes than all their opponents combined, but also appears to have a weekly production capacity at the moment that is far greater than that of their opponents.

From the point of view of our own defense, therefore, great additional production capacity is our principal air requisite.

For the permanent record, I ask the Congress not to take any action which would in any way hamper or delay the delivery of American-made planes to foreign nations which have ordered them, or seek to purchase more planes. That, from the point of view of our own national defense, would be extremely shortsighted.

During the past year American production capacity for war planes, including engines, has risen from approximately 6,000 planes a year to more than double that number, due in greater part to the placing of foreign orders.

Our immediate problem is to superimpose on this production capacity a greatly increased additional production capacity. I should like to see this nation geared up to the ability to turn out at least 50,000 planes a year. Furthermore, I believe that this nation should plan at this time a program that would provide us with 60,000 military and naval planes.

The ground forces of the Army require the immediate speeding up of last winter's program to procure equipment of all kinds, including motor transport and artillery, including anti-aircraft guns and full ammunition supplies. It had been planned to spread these requirements over the next three or four years. We should fill them at once.

At this time I am asking the immediate appropriation by the Congress of a large sum of money for four primary purposes:

First, to procure the essential equipment of all kinds for a larger and thoroughly rounded-out Army;

Second, to replace or modernize all old Army and Navy equipment with the latest type of equipment;

Third, to increase production facilities for everything needed for the Army and Navy for national defense. We require the ability to turn out quickly infinitely greater supplies;

Fourth, to speed up to a twenty-four hour basis all existing Army and Navy contracts, and all new contracts to be awarded.

I ask for an immediate appropriation of \$896,000,000, divided approximately as follows:

1. For the Army.....\$546,000,000
2. For the Navy and Marine Corps.... 250,000,000
3. To the President to provide for emergencies affecting the national security and defense..... 100,000,000

In addition to the above sum, I ask for authorizations for the Army, Navy and Marine Corps to make contract obligations in the further sum of..... 186,000,000

And to the President an additional authorization to make contract obligations for..... 100,000,000

The total of authorizations is, therefore, \$286,000,000

It is my belief that a large part of the requested appropriation of \$100,000,000, and the requested authorization of \$100,000,000 to the President will be used principally for the increase of production of airplanes, anti-aircraft guns, and the training of additional personnel for these weapons. This would be in addition to the direct estimates for these purposes in the other items requested.

The proposed details of the appropriations and authorizations asked for will be given to the Committee of the Congress.

These estimates do not, of course, duplicate any item now in the pending War and Navy appropriation bills for the year 1941. Nor do they include supplemental or deficiency estimates which may become necessary by reason of pending legislation or shortage of funds under existing programs.

---

There are some who say that democracy cannot cope with the new techniques of government developed in recent years by a few countries -- by a few countries which deny the freedoms which we maintain are essential to our democratic way of life. This I reject.

I know that our trained officers and men know more about fighting and the weapons and equipment needed for fighting than any of us laymen; and I have confidence in them.

I know that to cope with present dangers we must be strong in heart and hand; strong in our faith -- strong in faith in our way of living.

I, too, pray for peace -- that the ways of aggression and force may be banished from the earth, -- but I am determined to face the fact realistically that this nation requires a toughness of moral and physical fibre. Those qualities, I am convinced, the American people hold to a high degree.

Our task is plain. The road we must take is clearly indicated. Our defenses must be invulnerable, our security absolute. But our defense as it was yesterday, or even as it is today, does not provide security against potential developments and dangers of the future.

Defense cannot be static. Defense must grow and change from day to day. Defense must be dynamic and flexible, an expression of the vital forces of the nation and of its resolute will to meet whatever challenge the future may hold. For these reasons, I need hardly assure you that after the adjournment of this session of the Congress, I will not hesitate to call the Congress into Special Session if at any time the situation of the national defense requires it. The Congress and the Chief Executive constitute a team where the defense of the land is concerned.

Our ideal, our objective is still peace -- peace at home and peace abroad. Nevertheless, we stand ready not only to spend millions for defense but to give our service and even our lives for the maintenance of our American liberties.

Our security is not a matter of weapons alone. The arm that wields them must be strong, the eye that guides them clear, the will that directs them indomitable.

These are the characteristics of a free people, a people devoted to the institutions they themselves have built, a people willing to defend a way of life that is precious to them all, a people who put their faith in God.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 23, 1940

Dear Jim:

Herewith is a copy of the release  
of the President's message to the Congress  
which at your request he was very glad to sign  
for the National Archives.

Very sincerely yours,

*Bill*

WILLIAM D. HASSETT

Mr. James D. Preston,  
Assistant Administrative Secretary,  
The National Archives,  
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure.

2401

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

May 16, 1940

The following message to the Congress is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 1:00 P. M., E. S. T., May 16, 1940.

This same release of the text of this address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

- - - - -  
TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

These are ominous days -- days whose swift and shocking developments force every neutral nation to look to its defenses in the light of new factors. The brutal force of modern offensive war has been loosed in all its horror. New powers of destruction, incredibly swift and deadly, have been developed; and those who wield them are ruthless and daring. No old defense is so strong that it requires no further strengthening and no attack is so unlikely or impossible that it may be ignored.

Let us examine, without self-deception, the dangers which confront us. Let us measure our strength and our defense without self-delusion.

The clear fact is that the American people must recast their thinking about national protection.

Motorized armies can now sweep through enemy territories at the rate of two hundred miles a day. Parachute troops are dropped from airplanes in large numbers behind enemy lines. Troops are landed from planes in open fields, on wide highways, and at local civil airports.

We have seen the treacherous use of the "fifth column" by which persons supposed to be peaceful visitors were actually a part of an enemy unit of occupation. Lightning attacks, capable of destroying airplane factories and munition works hundreds of miles behind the lines, are part of the new techniques of modern war.

The element of surprise which has ever been an important tactic in warfare has become the more dangerous because of the amazing speed with which modern equipment can reach and attack the enemy's country.

Our own vital interests are widespread. More than ever the protection of the whole American Hemisphere against invasion or control or domination by non-American nations has the united support of the twenty-one American Republics, including the United States. More than ever this protection calls for ready-at-hand weapons capable of great mobility because of the potential speed of modern attack.

The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were reasonably adequate defensive barriers when fleets under sail could move at an average speed of five miles an hour. Even then by a sudden foray it was possible for an opponent actually to burn our national Capitol. Later, the oceans still gave strength to our defense when fleets and convoys propelled by steam could sail the oceans at fifteen or twenty miles an hour.

But the new element -- air navigation -- steps up the speed of possible attack to two hundred, to three hundred miles an hour.

Furthermore, it brings the new possibilities of the use of nearer bases from which an attack or attacks on the American Continents could be made. From the fiefs of Greenland it is 4 hours by air to Newfoundland; 5 hours to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec; and only 6 hours to New England.

The Azores are only 2,000 miles from parts of our eastern seaboard and if Bermuda fell into hostile hands it is a matter of less than 3 hours for modern bombers to reach our shores.

From a base in the outer West Indies, the coast of Florida could be reached in 200 minutes.

The islands off the west coast of Africa are only 1,500 miles from Brazil. Modern planes starting from the Cape Verde Islands can be over Brazil in 7 hours.

And Para, Brazil, is but 4 flying hours to Caracas, Venezuela; and Venezuela but 2½ hours to Cuba and the Canal Zone; and Cuba and the Canal Zone are 2½ hours to Tampico, Mexico; and Tampico is 2½ hours to St. Louis, Kansas City and Omaha.

On the other side of the continent, Alaska, with a white population of only 30,000 people, is within 4 or 5 hours of flying distance to Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma and Portland. The islands of the southern Pacific are not too far removed from the west coast of South America to prevent them from becoming bases of enormous strategic advantage to attacking forces.

Surely, the developments of the past few weeks have made it clear to all of our citizens that the possibility of attack on vital American zones ought to make it essential that we have the physical, the ready ability to meet those attacks and to prevent them from reaching their objectives.

This means military implements -- not on paper -- which are ready and available to meet any lightning offensive against our American interest. It means also that facilities for production must be ready to turn out munitions and equipment at top speed.

We have had the lesson before us over and over again -- nations that were not ready and were unable to get ready found themselves overrun by the enemy. So-called impregnable fortifications no longer exist. A defense which allows an enemy to consolidate his approach without hindrance will lose. A defense which makes no effective effort to destroy the lines of supplies and communications of the enemy will lose.

An effective defense by its very nature requires the equipment to attack an aggressor on his route before he can establish strong bases within the territory of American vital interests.

---

Loose talking and thinking on the part of some may give the false impression that our own Army and Navy are not first-rate, or that money has been wasted on them.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

In recent years the defensive power of our Army, Navy and Marine Corps has been very greatly improved.

The Navy is stronger today than at any time in the nation's history. Today also a large program of new construction is well under way. Ship for ship, ours are equal to, or better than, the vessels of any foreign power.

The Army likewise is at its greatest peace-time strength. Its equipment in quality and quantity has been greatly increased and improved.

The National Guard and the reserve strength of the two Services are better equipped and better prepared than during any other peace-time period.

On the other side of the picture we must visualize the outstanding fact that since the first day of September, 1939, every week that has passed has brought new lessons learned from actual combat on land and sea.

I cite examples. Where naval ships have operated without adequate protection by defending aircraft, their vulnerability to air attack has increased. All nations are hard at work studying the need of additional anti-aircraft protection.

Several months ago the use of a new type of magnetic mine made many unthinking people believe that all surface ships were doomed. Within a few weeks a successful defensive device against these mines was placed in operation; and it is a fact that the sinkings of merchant ships by torpedoes, by mines or by airplanes are definitely much lower than during the similar period in 1915.

Combat conditions have changed even more rapidly in the air. With the amazing progress in the design of planes and engines, the airplane of a year ago is out-of-date now. It is too slow, it is improperly protected, it is too weak in gun power.

In types of planes, we are not behind the other nations of the world. Many of the planes of the belligerent powers are at this moment not of the latest models. But one belligerent power not only has many more planes than all their opponents combined, but also appears to have a weekly production capacity at the moment that is far greater than that of their opponents.

From the point of view of our own defense, therefore, great additional production capacity is our principal air requisite.

For the permanent record, I ask the Congress not to take any action which would in any way hamper or delay the delivery of American-made planes to foreign nations which have ordered them, or seek to purchase more planes. That, from the point of view of our own national defense, would be extremely shortsighted.

During the past year American production capacity for war planes, including engines, has risen from approximately 6,000 planes a year to more than double that number, due in greater part to the placing of foreign orders.

Our immediate problem is to superimpose on this production capacity a greatly increased additional production capacity. I should like to see this nation geared up to the ability to turn out at least 50,000 planes a year. Furthermore, I believe that this nation should plan at this time a program that would provide us with 50,000 military and naval planes.

The ground forces of the Army require the immediate speeding up of last winter's program to procure equipment of all kinds, including motor transport and artillery, including anti-aircraft guns and full ammunition supplies. It had been planned to spread these requirements over the next three or four years. We should fill them at once.

At this time I am asking the immediate appropriation by the Congress of a large sum of money for four primary purposes:

First, to procure the essential equipment of all kinds for a larger and thoroughly rounded-out Army;

Second, to replace or modernize all old Army and Navy equipment with the latest type of equipment;

Third, to increase production facilities for everything needed for the Army and Navy for national defense. We require the ability to turn out quickly infinitely greater supplies;

Fourth, to speed up to a twenty-four hour basis all existing Army and Navy contracts, and all new contracts to be awarded.

I ask for an immediate appropriation of \$895,000,000, divided approximately as follows:

1. For the Army.....\$545,000,000
2. For the Navy and Marine Corps.... 250,000,000
3. To the President to provide for emergencies affecting the national security and defense..... 100,000,000

In addition to the above sum, I ask for authorizations for the Army, Navy and Marine Corps to make contract obligations in the further sum of..... 185,000,000

And to the President an additional authorization to make contract obligations for..... 100,000,000

The total of authorizations is, therefore, \$286,000,000

It is my belief that a large part of the requested appropriation of \$100,000,000, and the requested authorization of \$100,000,000 to the President will be used principally for the increase of production of airplanes, anti-aircraft guns, and the training of additional personnel for these weapons. This would be in addition to the direct estimates for these purposes in the other items requested.

The proposed details of the appropriations and authorizations asked for will be given to the Committees of the Congress.

These estimates do not, of course, duplicate any item now in the pending War and Navy appropriation bills for the year 1941. Nor do they include supplemental or deficiency estimates which may become necessary by reason of pending legislation or shortage of funds under existing programs.

---

There are some who say that democracy cannot cope with the new techniques of government developed in recent years by a few countries -- by a few countries which deny the freedoms which we maintain are essential to our democratic way of life. This I reject.

I know that our trained officers and men know more about fighting and the weapons and equipment needed for fighting than any of us laymen; and I have confidence in them.

I know that to cope with present dangers we must be strong in heart and hand; strong in our faith -- strong in faith in our way of living.

I, too, pray for peace -- that the ways of aggression and force may be banished from the earth,-- but I am determined to face the fact realistically that this nation requires a toughness of moral and physical fibre. Those qualities, I am convinced, the American people hold to a high degree.

Our task is plain. The road we must take is clearly indicated. Our defenses must be invulnerable, our security absolute. But our defense as it was yesterday, or even as it is today, does not provide security against potential developments and dangers of the future.

Defense cannot be static. Defense must grow and change from day to day. Defense must be dynamic and flexible, an expression of the vital forces of the nation and of its resolute will to meet whatever challenge the future may hold. For these reasons, I need hardly assure you that after the adjournment of this session of the Congress, I will not hesitate to call the Congress into Special Session if at any time the situation of the national defense requires it. The Congress and the Chief Executive constitute a team where the defense of the land is concerned.

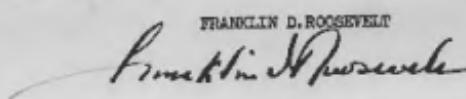
Our ideal, our objective is still peace -- peace at home and peace abroad. Nevertheless, we stand ready not only to spend millions for defense but to give our service and even our lives for the maintenance of our American liberties.

Our security is not a matter of weapons alone. The arm that yields that must be strong, the eye that guides them clear, the will that directs them indomitable.

These are the characteristics of a free people, a people devoted to the institutions they themselves have built, a people willing to defend a way of life that is precious to them all, a people who put their faith in God.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
May 16, 1940.



DRAFT 1

BEGINNING

These are ominous days. Days whose swift and shocking developments forced every neutral nation to look to its defenses with resounding alarm. The brutal force of modern war has been loosed in all its horror. New powers of destruction, incredibly swift and deadly, have been developed and those who wield them are ruthless and daring. No defense is so strong it requires no further strengthening and no attack so unlikely that it may be neglected. Let us examine the dangers which confront us without self-deception. Let us measure our strength and our defenses without self-delusion.

2

DRAFT

*clear*  
The fact ~~exists~~ is that the American people must  
~~realize~~ <sup>last</sup> their thinking about American defenses. Motorized  
armies now sweep through enemy territories at the rate of  
200 miles a day. Parachute troops are catapulted from air-  
planes in large numbers behind the enemy lines. <sup>(A)</sup> We have seen  
the treacherous use of the "fifth column" by which persons  
~~were~~ supposed to be peaceful visitors turned <sup>into</sup> ~~out to be~~  
part of ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> ~~tiny~~ <sup>tiny</sup> ~~unit~~ <sup>unit</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~enemies~~ <sup>enemies</sup>. Lightning attacks capable of  
destroying airplane factories and munition works hundreds  
of miles behind the lines are part of the new technique of  
modern warfare.

The element of surprise which has ever been an  
important tactic in warfare has become ~~more~~ the more dangerous  
because of the amazing speed with which modern equipment  
can reach and attack the enemy's country. <sup>B.</sup>

*Our*  
Our vital interests are widespread. ~~More than~~  
~~ever the Monroe Doctrine has national support and Pan-American~~  
~~support.~~ More than ever ~~the~~ <sup>This</sup> protection of the Monroe Doctrine  
calls for ready-at-hand weapons capable of great mobility  
because of the potential speed of modern attack. The Atlantic  
and Pacific oceans were reasonably adequate defensive barriers  
~~now~~ when fleets under sail could move at an average  
speed of 5 miles an hour. Even then by sudden foray it was  
possible for an enemy country ~~to~~ actually <sup>to</sup> burn ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> national  
~~Capitol.~~ The oceans even gave strength to our defense <sup>In this they</sup>  
~~fleets~~ <sup>John</sup> ~~and~~ convoys propelled by steam could sail the oceans  
at 15 or 20 miles an hour.

But the new element -- air navigation -- steps  
up the speed of possible attack ~~approximately~~ to 200 or 300 miles  
an hour. Furthermore, it brings the new possibilities of the

(2)

use of ~~many~~ bases from which ~~an~~ attack <sup>or attacks</sup> on the American Continents could be made. The fiords of Greenland are \_\_\_\_\_ hours by air from Newfoundland; \_\_\_\_\_ hours from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec and only \_\_\_\_\_ hours from New England. The Azores are ~~only~~ \_\_\_\_\_ miles from a large part of our eastern seaboard and modern bombers could be over our shores in ~~less than~~ <sup>less than</sup> 1 hour. From a base ~~in~~ the outer West Indies, the coast of Florida could be reached in \_\_\_\_\_ minutes. The west coast of Africa and the islands off that continent are only 1,400 miles from Brazil. ~~the~~ modern planes can be over ~~the~~ <sup>flying from the Canary Islands</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>less than</sup> 5 hours. And Brazil is but \_\_\_\_\_ flying minutes <sup>or hours</sup> from Venezuela and Venezuela but \_\_\_\_\_ flying hours from Cuba and the Canal Zone. And Cuba and the Canal Zone are \_\_\_\_\_ hours from Mexico and Mexico is \_\_\_\_\_ hours from St. Louis, Kansas City and Omaha.

On the other side of the continent, Alaska with a white population of 28,000 people is within a <sup>few</sup> ~~few~~ hours of flying distance from Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma and Portland. The islands of the southern Pacific are not too far removed from the west coast of South America to prevent them from becoming bases of enormous strategic advantage to attacking forces. Surely the developments of the past few weeks have made it clear to all of our citizens that the possibility of attack on vital American zones <sup>ought to</sup> ~~should~~ make it essential that we <sup>have the physical ability</sup> ~~have~~ <sup>them</sup> ~~more~~ to meet those attacks and to prevent ~~more~~ from reaching their objectives.

This means military implements ~~that are~~ not on paper, but are ready and available to meet <sup>any</sup> lightning offensive against our interest. It means the facilities for producing <sup>and that</sup> must be ready to turn out munitions and equipment at top speed. We have had the lesson <sup>before us</sup> over and over

4

again nations that ~~were~~ <sup>desirous</sup> ~~not~~ ready and before they ~~were able~~ <sup>able to get ready</sup> to catch up they found their country overrun by the enemy.

No longer must defense depend solely on repelling the offensive of an enemy against so-called impregnable fortifications. A defense which allows an enemy to consolidate ~~his~~ approach <sup>will</sup> without hindrance ~~and~~ <sup>will</sup> lose. A defense which makes no effort to ~~destroy~~ <sup>hit</sup> the lines of supply and communications of the enemy <sup>will</sup> ~~their rear is indestructible~~ <sup>will</sup> lose.

An effective defense by its very nature requires the equipment to attack <sup>an aggressor</sup> before ~~the~~ <sup>it</sup> enemy can establish <sup>its</sup> bases within the territory of our vital interests.

Loose talking and thinking on the part of some may give the false impression that our own army and navy are not first rate, <sup>or that</sup> ~~and much of the~~ money on them has been wasted.

Nothing could be further from the truth. To be sure we must remember that the first class navies of the world possess the same type of ships with the same offensive and defensive armament as our own and that if our ships are to be given additional protection against air attack, so must all the navies of the world. This is due to the lessons from current operations of existing war. So with the army. With the amazing progress in the air industry, the airplane of a year ago is out of date. It is too slow, or improperly protected for successful combat today. But so are most of the airplanes of the belligerent countries. In types of planes we are not behind the other countries of the world. Indeed plane for plane, our fighting planes are probably superior to any planes in the world. But we do need great additional production capacity to build and keep on building whatever may be the latest type of military plane necessary to our defense.

DRAFT

END

In a world threatened by the forces of destruction and enslavement, our task is to preserve democracy; to assure a nation that is free, peaceful and strong; that provides no soil for the poisoned seed of the demagogue; a country in which every man has a stake, in which there are no disfranchise, no groups without hope to form a "fifth column" in the face of an enemy.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

These are ominous days -- days whose swift and shocking developments force every neutral nation to look to its defenses in the light of new factors. The brutal force of modern offensive war has been loosed in all its horror. New powers of destruction, incredibly swift and deadly, have been developed; and those who wield them are ruthless and daring. No old defense is so strong that it requires no further strengthening and no attack is so unlikely or impossible that it may be ~~neglected~~. Let us examine the dangers which confront us (without self-deception). Let us measure our strength and our defense (without self-delusion).

The clear fact is that the American people must recast their thinking about National Protection ~~American Defenses~~.

Motorized armies now sweep through enemy territories at the rate of two hundred miles a day. Parachute troops are ~~dropped~~ descended from airplanes in large numbers behind the enemy line. ~~Other~~ Troops are landed from planes in open fields, on wide highways, and at local civil airports.

We have seen the treacherous use of the "fifth column" by which persons supposed to be peaceful visitors ~~were~~ were <sup>actually</sup> a part of an enemy unit of occupation. Lightning attacks capable of destroying airplane factories and munition works

hundreds of miles behind the lines are part of the new technique of modern warfare.

The element of surprise which has ever been an important tactic in warfare has become the more dangerous because of the amazing speed with which modern equipment can reach and attack the enemy's country.

Our own vital interests are widespread. More than ever the protection of the whole American Hemisphere against invasion or control or domination by non-American nations has the united support of the twenty-one American Republics, including the United States. More than ever this protection calls for ready-at-hand weapons capable of great mobility because of the potential speed of modern attack.

The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were reasonably adequate defensive barriers when fleets under sail could move at an average speed of five miles an hour. Even then by a sudden <sup>No. 5</sup> ~~foray~~ it was possible for an ~~enemy~~ <sup>raider</sup> actually to burn our national Capitol. Later, the oceans gave strength to our defense ~~in themselves~~ when fleets and convoys propelled by steam could sail the oceans at fifteen or twenty miles an hour.

But the new element -- air navigation -- steps up the speed of possible attack to two hundred <sup>to</sup> three hundred miles

an hour.

Furthermore, it brings the new possibilities of the use of nearer bases from which an attack or attacks on the American Continents could be made. ~~From the~~ <sup>it is</sup> ~~the~~ ~~fiords of Greenland~~ ~~are~~ ~~4~~ hours by air ~~from~~ Newfoundland; ~~5~~ hours ~~to~~ Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec, and only ~~6~~ hours ~~to~~ New England.

~~A~~ The Azores are only ~~200~~ miles from ~~the~~ part of our eastern seaboard and modern bombers ~~fall~~ <sup>in</sup> hostile hands ~~15~~ minutes ~~our shores~~ ~~of~~ ~~to reach~~ ~~in 15 min~~. From a base in the outer West Indies, the coast of Florida could be reached in ~~240~~ minutes. ~~200~~ miles off the ~~3 hours~~ ~~for~~ Africa ~~islands off that continent~~ are only ~~one thousand~~ ~~fifteen~~ hundred miles from Brazil. Modern planes starting from the ~~Cape Verde~~ Islands can be over Brazil in ~~one~~ hours. And Brazil is ~~15~~ hours ~~to Venezuela~~, but ~~4~~ flying ~~one~~ hours ~~to~~ Venezuela, and Venezuela ~~2 1/2~~ flying hours ~~to~~ Cuba and the Canal Zone; ~~and~~ Cuba and the Canal Zone are ~~2 1/2~~ ~~to~~ <sup>15</sup> hours ~~to~~ Mexico, and ~~there is~~ ~~2 1/2~~ hours ~~to~~ St. Louis, Kansas City and Omaha.

On the other side of the continent, Alaska with a white population of ~~only~~ <sup>only</sup> ~~thirty~~ <sup>4 or 5</sup> thousand people ~~only~~ is within ~~one~~ ~~15~~ hours of flying distance ~~from~~ Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma and Portland. The islands of the southern Pacific are not too far removed from the west coast of South America to prevent them

from becoming bases of enormous strategic advantage to attacking forces. Surely, the developments of the past few weeks have made it clear to all of our citizens that the possibility of attack on vital American zones ought to make it essential that we have the physical ready ability to meet those attacks and to prevent them from reaching their objectives.

This means military implements -- not on paper -- which are ready and available to meet any lightning offensive against our American interest. It means also that facilities for production must be ready to turn out munitions and equipment at top speed. We have had the lesson before us over and over again -- nations that were not ready and were unable to get ready <sup>themselves</sup> before they found <sup>themselves</sup> overrun by the enemy. So-called impregnable fortifications no longer exist. A defense which allows an enemy to consolidate his approach without hindrance will lose. A defense which makes no effective effort to destroy the lines of supplies and communications of the enemy in their rear will lose.

An effective defense by its very nature requires the equipment to attack an aggressor before he can establish strong bases within the territory of <sup>American</sup> our vital interests.

---

Loose talking and thinking on the part of some may give the false impression that our own army and navy are not first-rate, or that money ~~on them~~ has been wasted *in them*.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

In recent years the defensive power of our Army, Navy and Marine Corps has been very greatly improved.

The Navy is stronger today than at any time in the nation's history. Today a ~~new~~<sup>also</sup> large program of new construction ~~is~~<sup>A</sup> under way. Ship for ship, ours are equal to, or better than, the vessels of any foreign power.

The Army likewise is at its greatest peace-time strength. Its equipment in quality and quantity has been greatly increased and improved.

The National Guard and the reserve strength of the two Services are better equipped and better prepared than during any other peace-time period.

On the other side of the picture we must visualize the outstanding fact that since the first day of September ~~1939~~<sup>1939</sup> every week that has passed has brought new lessons learned from actual combat on land and sea.

I cite examples. Where ~~many~~ ships operating close to enemy coasts ~~are~~ defending aircraft their vulnerability to air attack ~~is~~ increased, and in new designs additional ~~and anti-aircraft protection must be added.~~ All ships of all ~~types~~ ~~need~~ ~~the use of~~

Several months ago a new type of magnetic mine made ~~more~~ ~~dangerous~~, many unthinking people believe that all surface ships ~~would~~ ~~be destroyed thereby.~~ Within a few weeks a successful defensive device against these mines was placed in operation; and it is a fact that ~~these~~ sinkings of merchant ships by torpedo, by mine or by airplane ~~are~~ definitely much lower than during the similar period in 1915.

Combat conditions have changed even more rapidly in the air. With the amazing progress in the design of planes and engines, the airplane of a year ago is out-of-date now. It is too slow, ~~and~~ it is improperly protected, it is too weak in gun power.

In types of planes, we are not behind the other nations of the world. ~~Many~~ of the planes of the belligerent powers are at this moment not of the latest models. But one belligerent power not only has many more planes than all their opponents combined, but also appears to have a

weekly production capacity at the moment that is far greater than ~~that~~  
of their opponents.

From the point of view of our own defense, therefore,  
great additional production capacity is our principal requisite.

For the permanent record, I ask the Congress not to take  
any action which would in any way hamper or delay the delivery  
of American-made planes to foreign nations which ~~the~~ have

ordered them, or ~~the~~ <sup>or</sup> to purchase more planes. That from  
the point of view of our own national defense, would be extremely

shortsighted. <sup>During the past year American productive</sup> capacity  
for war planes, including engines, has risen from approximately  
~~six thousand planes a year to~~ <sup>more than double that number,</sup>

~~six thousand planes a year to~~, due in greater part to the placing of foreign orders.

Our immediate problem is to superimpose on this productive  
capacity a greatly increased additional productive capacity.

I should like to see this nation geared up to the ability to  
turn out at least fifty thousand planes a year. (B)

On the ground, the Army requires the immediate speeding  
~~up of last winter's~~ <sup>May 1st</sup> delivery  
of all equipment of all  
kinds, including motor transport and artillery, and also including  
anti-aircraft guns and a full ammunition supply. It had been

hoped to spread these requirements over the next three or four years. We should fill them at once.

At this time I am asking the immediate appropriation by the Congress of a large sum of money for ~~the~~<sup>four</sup> primary purposes:

First, to procure the essential equipment of all kinds for a larger and thoroughly rounded-out Army;

Second, to replace or modernize all old Army and Navy equipment with the latest type of equipment;

Third, to increase production facilities for everything ~~needed~~<sup>clarify</sup> needed for the Army and Navy ~~for national defense~~  
~~in the event of large-scale war~~, because ~~the~~ <sup>to</sup> quickly turn out infinitely greater supplies; ~~ability to~~

~~Fourth, to fill certain emergency needs of the Navy;~~

~~Fourth~~<sup>seventh</sup>, to speed up to a twenty-four hour basis all existing Army and Navy contracts, and all new contracts to be awarded.

C H

There are some who say that democracy cannot cope with the new techniques of government developed in recent years by a few countries - by a few countries which deny the freedoms which we maintain are essential to our democratic way of life. This I reject. ~~I~~ I know that to cope with ~~the~~ <sup>Distant dangers</sup> we must be strong in heart and hand; strong in our faith - strong in ~~the~~ faith in our way of living. I, too, pray for peace, ~~that~~ that the ways of aggression and force may be banished from the earth, but I am determined to face the fact realistically that this world requires a toughness of ~~our~~ moral and physical fibre, ~~which~~ the American people hold to a high degree.

As I know that our trained officers and men know more about fighting and the weapons and equipment needed for fighting than any of us laymen; and I have confidence in them,

# ~~C~~ C continued

## Concluding Paragraphs

~~At a time when the world is threatened by the forces of destruction and enslavement,~~ Our task is plain. The road we must take is clearly indicated. Our defenses must be invulnerable, our security absolute. But ~~our~~ defense ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> yesterday or even today, <sup>as it was</sup> ~~however great, however farsighted,~~ <sup>not yet</sup> ~~provide security against the unknown and unforeseeable developments and dangers of the future.~~ <sup>potential</sup>

Defense cannot be static. Defense must grow and change from day to day. Defense must be dynamic and flexible, an expression of the vital forces of the Nation and its resolute will to meet whatever challenge the future may hold. (D) <sup>of</sup> <sup>A</sup> <sup>wishes</sup>

Our security is not a matter of concrete and steel alone. These provide ~~to~~ the spearhead of our defense. Behind them must be the shaft, a strong, <sup>flexible</sup>, and vigorous economic system that <sup>will help to maintain the Republic</sup> ~~will not~~ be shattered by any impact. Most important of all, the arm that wields the <sup>m</sup> must be strong, the eye that guides ~~the~~ <sup>them</sup> clear, the will that directs ~~it~~ indomitable. These are the characteristics of a free people, a people devoted to the institutions they themselves have built, a people <sup>willing to</sup> defend a way of life that is precious to them all, <sup>a people that</sup> ~~but~~ <sup>in their</sup> faith in God.

STATUS      OF      PRINCIPAL      ITEMS      OF      EQUIPMENT      FOR      EXISTING      UNIT

NATIONAL PROJECT 225,000 Dollars TOTAL 445,000 Dollars

Principal Critical Items	Unit Cost	Required	On Hand Aug 1, 1940	On Order	Date of Final Delivery	Not on Order Pounds & Authority Available	To 1941 Est. to Include Repli- cational Estimate Projected to Reach	Remaining Inventory	Estimated Cost of Shortage	Remarks
<b>Note: Total No. of Critical Items -- 330</b>										
<u>Antitank/Panzerschreck</u>										
Gun, Antitank, Mobile	\$40,000	334	338	300	Sept 1940		+ 36	-	-	* For P.E.T.
Direction	\$8,000	79	85	12	Sept 1940		+ 9	-	-	* For P.E.T.
Height Finders	20,000	79	72	30	Jan 1942		+ 3	-	-	* For P.M.P.
Sound Locators	\$4,000	813	82	184	Aug 1941 <del>2/2</del>		78	-	-	
Lead Computers	30,000	315	0	0	-	132	130	80	1,200,000	
Gun, 20mm, AA	10,000	616	18	465	Aug 1941 <del>2/2</del>		409	-	-	
Gun, Machine, Cal .30 AA	\$1,750	718	658	128	Aug 1940		8	-	-	
Detectors	55,000	78	0	11	Aug 1941 <del>2/2</del>		82	+ 3	178,000	* Actual shortage 156 of which are set up in PT 1942 Estimates.
Searchlights, 50° Mobile	28,000	292	88	188	Nov 1940	30	154	-	-	
<u>Reserves</u>										
U.S. Rifle, Cal .30, M1 - Garand Semiautomatic	\$0	156,110	\$8,000	131,700	June 1942 <del>2/2</del>		+ 25,000	-	-	* For P.E.T.
U.S. Rifle, M1903, Cal .30 - Springfield			960,000				-	-	-	
U.S. Rifle, M1917, Cal .30 - M1917			1,400,000				-	-	-	
Machine Gun, Cal .30	1,655	784	216	479	March 1941 <del>2/2</del>		10	-	-	
Mortar, 82mm	1,830	759	188	479	Nov 1940		27	-	-	
Anti-Tank Gun, 37mm	8,000	1,098	328	744	June 1942 <del>2/2</del>		520	-	-	
75mm Gun - Spigot Mortar	\$0,800	1,276	143	488	June 1941		+ 676	-	-	
105mm Mortar - High Speeded	1,100	684	456	295	March 1941		-	-	-	
105mm Gun, M1 - Modern	50,000	72	4	36	April 1942 <del>2/2</del>		49	-	-	
155mm Gun - High Speeded	8,400	129	86	68	Aug 1940		-	-	-	
8" Howitzer	50,000	24	-	-	-		24	-	-	
<u>Combat Vehicles</u>										
Armored Cars	\$8,500	658	488	-	-		475	-	-	
Combat Cars	28,400	708	114	56	Dec 1940		40	-	-	
Light Tanks, M1A1	28,000	694	10	219	Dec 1940		+ 340	-	-	* 72 represent authorized M1A1 types.
Medium Tanks, M2	68,000	182	16	188	Aug 1941 <del>2/2</del>		18	-	-	
<u>Ammunition</u>										
										* Pounds set up for ammunition in PT 1942 Estimates (29,367,800) will complete requirements by Dec 1941.
										Any alternative dictating the replacement of our existing stocks over a prolonged period of time should prevent subsequent expansion by the PMP and should be immediately followed by the replacement of remaining PMP stocks by Requirements as our overall procurement objective.

STATUS OF PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF EQUIPMENT FOR WHICH PURCHASES ARE BEING MADE

C RECHARGEABLE BATT 227,000 Rechargeable BATTERIES 240,000 Rechargeable TOTAL 468,000 Rechargeable

Cash 440,000,000

Trucking Pkts 66,000,000

Pkts R17 20,000,000

+

596,000,000

Contract 106,000,000

Trucking Pkts 20,000,000

Boring 80,000,000

186,000,000

732,000,000

Army  
N.

596 M  
250

~~100~~  
896,000,000.

Airth.

186,000,000.

1082,000,000.

5/10/40  
1:10 pm

Mr. Forster:

The attached is a suggestion from Dr. Bush, Chm NACA, for the Presidents message. The Pres. has already approved the proposed engine laboratory.

J. Fletcher

A study of the aeronautical research facilities now available in this country and their best interrelationship has been made by the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. As a result of its studies, the Committee finds that there is a serious lack of engine research facilities in the United States, and that it is of the utmost importance for the development of aviation in general, and for our defense program in particular, to take immediate steps to remedy this deficiency. I therefore approve the Committee's recommendation that provision be made for an aircraft engine research laboratory to be constructed by the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics at the earliest possible date.

M.G.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Louis Johnson gives this as  
the most important summary of our needs  
yet presented by him.

E.M.W.  
E.M.W.

WAR DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 10, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

1. Because of my responsibility in assuring adequate supplies to the Army in case of emergency, I have had a memorandum submitted as to the adequacy of supply preparedness in the event of a major war. It is attached hereto.

2. The important points are as follows:

a. For sufficient national defense it is believed the American people would expect our existing land and air forces to be fully equipped not only for mobilization and training but also for immediate and continued combat. They would also probably expect the availability, within a relatively few months, of a large reservoir of additional power both for land and air that could be used as circumstances dictate. This involves the two first projects in the War Department's program for war preparedness; namely, the Army in Being (500,000 officers and men) and the Protective Mobilization Plan (1,200,000).

b. Supply preparedness is not adequate for either of the above objectives. To achieve it requires the following:

Funds to equip fully both with critical items and with essential items the existing force of some 500,000 men, not only for mobilization and training, but also for combat . . . . . \$255,000,000.

Funds to equip fully with critical items the Protective Mobilization Plan force of 1,200,000 men, not only for mobilization but also for combat . . . . . \$840,000,000.  
\* \* \* \* \*

Funds to reach the present authorized limit of 6,000 planes for the Air Corps, the additional planes to be limited to combat planes, and for the other equipment necessary to support this number of planes . . . . .  
\* \* \* \* \* \$300,000,000.

Funds for industrial mobilization to eliminate or reduce the major bottlenecks, such as, reserve plants, reserve machinery, strategic materials, educational orders, factory plans, etc. . . . . \$100,000,000.

TOTAL \$1,495,000,000.

3. I recommend that immediate steps be taken to obtain the authorization and funds necessary to carry out the above program, if you think the objectives outlined conform to public policy.

4. It is important to note that some two years would be required to convert the above appropriations into delivered materials and that some fifteen to eighteen months would be necessary to develop quantity production of planes, weapons and ammunition on the basis of "delivery at the front".

*Louis Johnson*  
LOUIS JOHNSON  
The Assistant Secretary of War

WAR DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 10, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF WAR.

Subject: Adequacy of Supply Preparedness of  
the Army in the Event of a Major War.

1. In accordance with your instructions, the following summary is submitted.

2. Adequacy of preparedness depends primarily upon the amount of force the nation expects the armed forces to be able to apply at the start of war and by time intervals thereafter. While the question has been answered in a simple and comprehensive way by public policy in so far as the Navy is concerned - for some years past, a Navy second to none, and now, a Navy some ten percent stronger than any other navy - a similar answer has not been made in so far as the Army is concerned. Such a decision is the basic requirement of an effective military policy because of the long time factor involved in the creation of military power, both from the standpoint of trained personnel and supplies, and this war again emphasizes the vital importance of the synchronization of these two essentials. Until such a decision is made, a determination of adequacy must be nebulous.

3. Various objectives have been planned by the Army, have been discussed with higher authorities and in some cases appropriations have been made at least in partial support of such objectives. These are as follows:

a. Existing Forces - approximately 500,000.  
Regular Army - 227,000 men and 14,000 officers.  
National Guard - 235,000 men and 16,000 officers.  
Total - 462,000 men and 30,000 officers.

The Regular Army mans all the defenses of the out-lying possessions, the coast defenses of the United States and the management, training, development and procurement activities of the Army, leaving a field force of some 80,000 men, exclusive of air force. This field force provides only 5 complete infantry divisions with limited amount of Corps and G.H.Q. troops,

including only one mechanized cavalry brigade and 7 regiments of antiaircraft artillery.

The National Guard mans 18 skeletonized divisions and limited number of Corps and G.H.Q. troops, including 14 antiaircraft regiments.

b. Protective Mobilization Plan - 1,200,000.

Strength to be obtained within four months of M-day by bringing all units of existing forces to war strength and by activating additional units to provide a force of two field armies or 9 army corps of 3 divisions each. There is no addition to the mechanized force.

c. Protective Mobilization Plan, Augmented - some 4,000,000.

To be achieved through 4 augmentations, extending over a period of 10 months from M-day. This plan doubles the field forces outlined above, provides replacements and increases coast defenses, outlying defenses and G.H.Q. troops.

d. Air Force - 6,000 planes.

This number, limited by law, includes all serviceable planes, both combat and non-combat. About 60% are fighting planes.

Present program for utilization of these planes provides for 1,862 combat planes in fighting units and 1,335 in reserve.

The war objective of air power has not yet been approved by the War Department, although comprehensive studies have been made and decisions could probably be promptly reached if conditions required.

4. Supply preparedness at any time is dependent upon present stocks, decreased by estimated losses and increased by estimated production or procurement. An application of this test to each of the above objectives follows:

a. Existing Forces - 500,000.

Stocks of equipment and supplies on hand, plus those under procurement with funds already appropriated will equip (but not fight) these troops satisfactorily with both critical and essential items except as follows:

Critical items - \$76,000,000.

Essential items - 125,000,000.

As the present appropriation bill passed the House of Representatives, it provided funds for

Critical items - \$51,000,000.

Essential items - 45,000,000.

Thus, additional funds required to equip this force are as follows:

Critical items - \$25,000,000.

Essential items - 80,000,000.

In order to "fight" this force, additional stocks, costing at least \$150,000,000, would be necessary during the time required to create necessary productive capacity.

The shortage in critical items includes antiaircraft artillery with fire control, tanks, combat cars, scout cars, field howitzers, anti-tank guns, aircraft warning service equipment, searchlights and ammunition.

The shortages in essential items include motor transportation, tentage, clothing, medical supplies, engineer field equipment, communications equipment.

Critical items are those necessary to field service which are generally non-commercial in character and difficult to procure in quantity, such as guns, ammunition, military airplanes, fire control, etc. The time required to develop stocks is some 12 - 24 months.

Essential items are those necessary for field service but generally commercial in character and obtainable from existing commercial sources, such as motor transportation, tentage, medical supplies, etc. The time required to develop stocks is some 4 - 12 months.

b. Protective Mobilization Plan, exclusive of air force.

Principal shortages to equip only:

Critical items - \$240,000,000.

Essential items - 400,000,000.

Facilities - 100,000,000.

To "fight" this force, additional stocks required to replace losses until production is adequate - \$500,000,000. The shortages are of the same character as listed under a., above.

c. Protective Mobilization Plan, Augmented.

No figures have been prepared. The following are only roughly approximations:

To equip:

Critical items - \$1,000,000,000.

Essential items - 1,500,000,000.

Facilities - 1,000,000,000.

To fight: \$5,000,000,000.

The shortages are again similar to those listed under a., above.

In the World War, expenditures for supplies for a corresponding force amounted to over \$12,000,000,000. Large quantities of these stocks are still available for use and their availability correspondingly reduces our present procurement requirements. However, they are not in properly balanced quantities and in many cases must be modernized.

d. Air Corps.

Funds so far appropriated and included in the present appropriation bill would provide some 5,400 planes, nearly half of which are still in the procurement stage. There is still a shortage, within the authorization, of 600 planes. To procure these additional planes would cost some \$240,000,000 if all were four-engine bombers. Smaller planes would cost less. Other equipment to balance with these planes is short, perhaps to the extent of \$50,000,000. To provide for war needs during the time necessary for the creation of additional war production, very substantial additional reserves of planes would undoubtedly be required. An estimate cannot be made without a statement of the objective.

5. The Time Factor Involved in Supply Preparedness.

As already stated, supply preparedness is dependent upon stocks and production. Thus, there are two factors involved, the time required to create stocks and the time required to create quantity production. The more rapidly production can be achieved, the less need there will be for stocks and the more rapidly they can be created. When the colossal requirements of a major war are considered, the time factor is of transcending importance. Unfortunately, however, and in spite of every effort, it is of very extensive proportions. World experience on the question is of importance.

In the World War, troops were ready to fight within approximately one year after the declaration of war. Our troops fought almost wholly with munitions obtained from the Allies, even at the end of the war. Adequate production - on a delivered to the front basis - would not have been achieved in less than two years after the start of the war in spite of the fact that previous to our entry into the war Allied purchases had created a very substantial munitions industry in this country.

In the present war period, Germany is understood to have started her plans for the creation of large scale munitions power in 1933. Some three or four years elapsed before she had created substantial stocks and substantial productive capacity. At the present time, she undoubtedly has the largest stocks of land and air

fighting equipment and of productive capacity therefor of any nation in the world. I was recently informed by Mr. Evans, Vice President of the General Motors Corporation, recently returned to the United States after having spent eleven years in Germany, that in the case of one munitions plant with which he was familiar, it had taken Germany in excess of two years to construct the plant and to reach quantity production. It was his impression that other corresponding endeavors involved similar time factors. In a recent speech, Mr. Hitler indicated he had spent some 90 billions of marks on preparedness, the equivalent, perhaps, of 40 billions of dollars in the United States on the basis of work and materials.

In the case of England, we know that the time necessary to create appreciable stocks and productive capacity has been some 4 years in spite of the fact that some 10 billions of dollars have been devoted thereto. We know that some 2 years are required to create new plant capacity in England and to develop quantity production therefrom.

We know from the experience of the foreign governments who have endeavored to procure munitions in the United States that no appreciable deliveries of such items as artillery and ammunition therefor can be obtained in less than some 18 months to 2 years. Even in the case of aircraft, where relatively large commercial capacity exists, quantity deliveries do not start in less than some 12 to 15 months.

At a recent inspection of the Allison Engine Plant, Mr. Evans, in general charge thereof, stated that a new engine plant could not be constructed by his company and brought into quantity production in less than 15 to 18 months. This is in spite of the fact that his company has just completed one such effort and is fully acquainted with all the problems. It must be remembered also that the engines would then have to be delivered to an airplane factory and assembled into planes. This additional time factor approximates 2 months. Since engines are the bottleneck of additional aircraft production, we face a time lag of some 17 to 20 months in creating additional aircraft production in the event of war, even after industry has been given a green light; and we know that time is required by the management of the government in making the necessary plans and decisions to put individual plants to work.

The obvious question is: What can be done that has not been done to shorten this time factor in the United States? Within the funds that have been available, it is believed that reasonable progress has been made. The war effort has been estimated and

tentative arrangements have been made for industry to absorb the load. These arrangements must be made more exact and dependable through the medium of educational orders and factory plans for which additional funds can be efficiently used. In making the plans, bottlenecks have developed, such as strategic materials and special machinery and some progress has been achieved in providing stocks thereof. Additional funds in appreciable quantities can be used for this purpose. The most important bottleneck in so far as time is concerned is new construction. There are many items of munitions which cannot be obtained by the modification or enlargement of existing commercial plant capacity, such as the loading of ammunition, both high explosive and chemical, and smokeless powder. In these, new construction will be necessary. England faced this same problem and had to create some 38 additional plants. She started this program on the basis of "shadow", or reserve factories and then had to place them in full scale production when war became imminent. The United States might well follow this example in the case of critical items with the larger time factors.

But in spite of every effort, the conclusion is inescapable that it will require some two years after appropriations become available to create the corresponding stock piles and it will require some 12 to 20 months, depending upon the complexity of the item and the conditions of the time, to create quantity production in the event of war and deliver the items to the fighting front.

#### 6. Conclusions.

It seems obvious that if this country became involved in a major war effort, the American people would expect our existing land and air forces to be fully supplied, not only for mobilization and training but also for instant and continuous combat.

It is further believed the American people would expect the creation within a relatively few months of a large reservoir of additional power, both for land and air that could be used as circumstances dictated.

Supply preparedness is not adequate for either of the above objectives at this time. Complete adequacy requires large additional appropriations and these cannot be converted into delivered stocks in less than some 18 - 24 months. However, it should be remembered that armies must fight without complete supplies of food, clothing, shelter, transportation and fighting munitions.

The most important action that can be taken today to prepare America for a major war effort is to put American industry to work in a big way.

7. Recommendations.

a. That decision be made as to the strength of land and air forces needed, both at the start of war and by time intervals thereafter.

b. That funds be provided to equip fully both with critical items and with essential items the existing force of some 500,000 men, not only for mobilization and training but also for combat.

c. That funds be provided to equip fully with critical items the Protective Mobilization Plan force of 1,200,000 men, not only for mobilization but also for combat.

d. That funds be provided to reach the present authorized limit of 6,000 planes for the Air Corps, the additional planes to be limited to combat planes and for the other equipment necessary to support this number of planes.

f. That adequate funds be provided for industrial mobilization to eliminate or reduce the major bottlenecks, such as reserve plants, reserve machinery, strategic materials, educational orders, factory plans, etc.

The above program would involve additional funds approximately as follows, but of course more detailed estimates would be in order:

b -	\$255,000,000
c -	840,000,000
d -	300,000,000
e -	100,000,000
Total -	\$1,495,000,000

Note:- This memorandum has not been processed through the General Staff, although some of the information contained herein has been obtained therefrom. It is suggested that you get the views of the Chief of Staff on the questions involved.

*J. H. Burns*  
J. H. BURNS,  
Colonel, Ordnance Department,  
Executive.

WAR DEPARTMENT  
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Dear Mr. President:

From long conferences over the last two years and from studying our own defense problems and developments abroad, while there are many defense needs of great importance, it is my humble opinion that there is none of more importance than the necessity for putting the Boeing Aircraft Company (which is now operating at about 37% of its capacity) into full production to secure for the United States Army a large additional number of Flying Fortresses. There are now on hand or on order (Consolidated and Boeing) a total of 178. The attached personal memorandum from General Brett, Chief of the Materiel Division, shows the requirement for hemisphere defense of a total of 578. Deducting the 178 on hand, there remains the balance of 400 which could be procured.

If the funds were appropriated, an order could be placed with Boeing for these 400 planes with the understanding that as soon as the four-engine, 5500 mile range bomber (design for which has been drawn and submitted and in a few days will have been cleared by the Army Air Corps, and the construction of which could be started immediately without the testing of a prototype) has been flight tested, the order could be switched over from the present B-17 to the newer long range type. General Brett's estimate is that on this basis approximately 150 of the 400 would be the present superb B-17-D and the remaining 250 would be of the new 5500 mile type, which is an approved Air Board project.

I respectfully urge that I be given clearance to ask the Senate Military Affairs Committee to add the funds for as many of these 400 ships as you presently approve.

*Louis Johnson*

WAR DEPARTMENT  
AIR CORPS  
MATERIEL DIVISION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Washington, D. C.,  
May 10, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR - The Assistant Secretary of War.

SUBJECT - Purchase of Additional Heavy Bombardment Type Airplanes.

1. In compliance with your verbal instructions I am submitting herewith my views with regard to the purchase of 400 additional Heavy Bombardment type airplanes.
2. The memorandum for The Chief of Staff from the Assistant Chief of Staff, War Plans Division (copy of which is inclosed) indicates an M-Day requirement of 915 Bombardment airplanes with characteristics conforming to Air Board requirements for Heavy and Medium Bombardment types. Likewise the matter of additional procurement of Heavy Bombardment airplanes has been discussed by the Chief of Air Corps with the Assistant Chief of Staff, War Plans Division, as indicated in memoranda dated October 18 and October 17, 1939, and letter to The Adjutant General dated November 1 inclosed herewith.
3. The range of the Boeing B-17 Heavy Bombardment airplane commonly referred to as the Flying Fortress is substantially in accordance with Air Board requirements for the Medium Bombardment type. It is envisioned that a Heavy Bombardment airplane meeting Air Board requirements will have a gross weight of at least 80,000 pounds, which is approximately twice the size of the present B-17.
4. The quantity procurement of Heavy Bombardment airplanes should take cognizance of this requirement as determined by the War Department for increased range. However, in my opinion consideration should likewise be given to the requirement for early delivery of the largest airplanes now in production.
5. The immediate requirements for Heavy Bombardment airplanes based upon information obtained from the Office, Chief of the Air Corps indicate a definite requirement for 578 Heavy Bombardment airplanes of the B-17 class, or larger. These airplanes can be utilized to good advantage as basic equipment for tactical units provided in the Aviation Expansion Program. A tentative assignment of Heavy Bombardment airplanes is substantially as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memo. for The Ass't Secretary of War,  
May 10, 1940.

United States

12 Squadrons - Heavy Bombardment - 12 Planes per Squadron -	144
4 Group Headquarters - 2 planes per Group -	8
4 Long-range Reconnaissance Squadrons - 12 planes per Squadron -	48
6 Medium Bombardment Squadrons (converted) - 12 planes per Squadron -	72
2 Medium Bombardment Groups - 2 planes per Group -	4
2 Medium-range Reconnaissance Squadrons - 12 planes per Squadron -	24
Total -	300
15% reserve authorized for the United States -	45
Total -	345

Insular Possessions

Panama

6 Squadrons - 12 planes per Squadron -	72
2 Group Headquarters - 2 planes per Group -	4
2 Reconnaissance Squadrons - 12 planes per Squadron -	24

Hawaii

2 Reconnaissance Squadrons - 12 planes per Squadron -	24
---	----

Alaska

1 Heavy Bombardment Squadron - 12 planes per Squadron -	12
---	----

Puerto Rico

3 Heavy Bombardment Squadrons - 12 planes per Squadron -	36
1 Reconnaissance Squadron - 12 planes per Squadron -	12
1 Group Headquarters - 2 planes per Squadron -	2
Total -	186
25% reserve for foreign possessions -	47
Total -	233

Grand Total -	578
Deduct on hand and on order -	178

Balance - 400

6. There are now on order and on hand 178 Heavy Bombardment airplanes. Therefore there remains a definite requirement for 400 additional airplanes of this type.

7. In view of the situation that now exists in the plants capable of manufacturing airplanes of this type, i.e., Boeing, Douglas, Consolidated, and Martin, it appears that the Boeing Aircraft Company can immediately undertake the production of 400 additional Heavy Bombers. It would be desirable to pro-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~DECLASSIFIED~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memo. for The Ass't Secretary of War,  
May 10, 1940.

wide for the delivery of not to exceed 150 of these additional Bombers substantially identical to the present Flying Fortress or B-17. The balance of 250 should be of an improved design that will meet the Air Board requirements for range. The Boeing Company have submitted designs and have sufficient experience with the production of both commercial and military aircraft of this type to immediately undertake quantity production of an improved type Bomber without the necessity of first producing a prototype.

*S. H. Brett*

Sgt. H. BRETT,  
Brig. General, Air Corps,  
Chief, Material Division.

3 Incls:

- Incl. 1 - Copy Memo. to Ass't Chief of Staff, W.P.D., 10-18-39, with Incl.
- Incl. 2 - Copy ltr. to The Adj. Gen., 11-1-39.
- Incl. 3 - Copy Conf. Memo. to Chief of Staff, 3-28-40.

~~DECLASSIFIED~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY  
WASHINGTON

May 14, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

For the purpose of coordinating and expediting the necessary preparedness activities of the Government, I recommend the following:

I. That you obtain from Congress an appropriation of at least \$100,000,000, to be expended at your direction, for the purpose of expanding plants and equipment in the industries manufacturing airplanes, ordnance, equipment and munitions for our military and naval branches where it is necessary to bring production capacity up to the required standard.

II. That you create the following Committee to be clothed with ultimate authority subject to your approval and charged with the duty of increasing the production capacity in the pertinent fields of industry to the point where military needs can be currently met within the period of the next twelve months. In order that the needs of the Allied Powers now purchasing military equipment in this country may be given adequate and sympathetic consideration, I suggest that you make the Secretary of the Treasury the Chairman of the Committee. The other members should be the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the Assistant Secretary of War, and the head of Civil Aeronautics Authority, with authority for them to designate as alternates in the various fields the heads of the activities under consideration.

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY  
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

14 May 1940

MEMORANDUM

My dear Mr. President:

In this time of international chaos and with the entire population of the country in a state of nervous jitters, it seems to me that the time is opportune to obtain from the Congress a blanket authority to contract for five billion dollars worth of national defense, the funds to be distributed to the various activities of the Army and Navy as the President may direct.

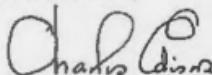
The cash necessary to finance this program would be spread out over several years so that the burden on any one year would not be oppressive. If the situation takes a turn for the better the program could be reduced.

The totalitarian mob must be shown that democracies can act in emergencies - can cut through the delays and ineffectiveness of legislative processes when the need comes.

We must have flexibility if we are to do a job. We cannot be frozen into a meticulously subdivided legislative program when that program to be realistic should be one of constant adjustment to meet changing conditions. The people are alive to the fact that this is no 10¢ limit game we are in. They are ready to play with blue chips, and they will have to if they are to preserve what they have. Five billion is a lot of money and the blank check is a bold idea, but to my way of thinking it is imperative.

I would like to recall to you that I made a similar proposal after Munich.

Sincerely yours,

  
Charles Edison

\* I wouldn't balk at 10

The President,  
The White House.

~~DECLASSIFIED~~

WAR DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 14, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF WAR.

Subject: Air Power Program for Army.

1. In conformity with your instructions, the following is submitted as to my own personal views with reference to an expanded air program.

2. When procurements are completed under appropriations and all funds now under consideration by Congress, the strength of the Air Corps will be approximately 5,400 planes, of which approximately 3,000 will be combat planes. Of this number, some 2,000 will be with fighting units and 1,000 in reserve. The present accepted attrition rate for fighting is 15% per month of planes with fighting units only. For present authorized strength this would mean that to keep fighting units at full strength  $15\% \times 12 \times 2,000$  or 3,600 replacement planes would be needed per year.

3. The General Staff has divided the preparation of the Army, exclusive of air power, into three major stages - or, Existing Forces, The Protective Mobilization Force and the P.M.F., Augmented. The corresponding strengths of the Army are approximately 500,000 - 1,200,000 and 4,000,000. The above strength of combat airplanes correspond to the first army stage of preparedness or 500,000 men. No decision has yet been made as to the corresponding 2nd and 3rd stages of air strength.

4. If we make increases in air strength for the 2nd and 3rd stages corresponding to the proposed increases for the Army, the numbers of fighting planes would be

For 2nd stage or P.M. Force	- 7,500
For 3rd stage or P.M.F., Augmented	-24,000

To support the second stage would require a replacement capacity of 9,000 ( $15\% \times 12 \times 5,000$ ) fighting planes per year. The total present

potential capacity of industry for military planes (such capacity to be on a rounded out basis) is 15,000 per year. Of this number, some 60%, or 9,000 only, would be fighting planes. Therefore, if we should stop foreign purchases we would have capacity sufficient to maintain a P.M.P. air force of above size. However, if we should place orders now, some 2 years at least would be required to obtain the additional 4,500 fighting planes needed to reach the objective of 7,500.

To support the 3rd stage would require a capacity of 28,800 replacement fighting planes per year. This is approximately 300% of present potential capacity, including all that now used by foreign purchasers. To support the 3rd stage it is evident, therefore, that existing capacity must be tripled.

With reference to engines, this capacity, under the present set-up, will be ahead of planes within a few months. It will only be necessary to double engine capacity to keep it in step with above plane program. (See your memorandum to the President dated May 14, 1940).

5. It seems to me we should do the following:

a. Double present engine capacity for fighting planes by the creation of three or more new plants.

b. Triple plane capacity by the creation of  
28,800 - 9,000 = 16 new plants.  
1,200

c. Place orders for planes to make the same kind of provisions for a P.M.P. air force that we are making for ground troops. This means 4,500 additional fighting planes and corresponding numbers of training planes, etc.

d. Depend upon existing aircraft industry as expanded by orders to supply training planes and engines therefor.

*J.H.Burns*  
J. H. BURNS,  
Colonel, Ordnance Department,  
Executive.

WAR DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 14, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Subject: Additional capacity for production of aircraft.

1. In compliance with your directive, there is provided herewith a brief summary of the additional capacity needed to increase the production capacity of the aircraft industry from the present level to a level of 50,000 airplanes per annum.

2. It is estimated that the existing industry could, by January 1941, if orders were placed immediately, be producing military airplanes at the rate of 15,000 per annum, of all types, including tactical, training and miscellaneous. This indicates the need for sufficient additional capacity to produce airplanes at the rate of 35,000 per annum. Studies which were made in the fall of 1938 indicated that 30 Government arsenals of approximately 1,000,000 square feet each would produce 100 airplanes a month each and provide sufficient capacity to bring the total capacity of the country to 50,000 airplanes per annum. It has been estimated that each of these Government arsenal plants would cost approximately 10,000,000, or a total of 300,000,000.

3. The studies made on this subject indicate that it would take approximately 12 months to erect the buildings, equip the plants and tool for production; that the first article would be completed in 18 to 20 months, and that these plants would reach capacity production in approximately 24 months. It is desired to emphasize that the establishment of facilities to produce welded fuselage and wood and wire wings, such as are required in the training types, can be effected much more easily than the expansion of facilities to produce the stress skin high performance types.

4. Factors which will operate to retard the completion and beginning of production in the factories which will build the stress skin types are a shortage of machine tools (hydraulic presses, precision lathes, boring machines, milling machines, etc.), a

shortage of skilled shop workers and a shortage of management personnel. In this connection, your attention is invited to the fact that current orders are taxing the ability of the present facilities to expand management and shop personnel.

5. The aircraft engine industry could have, in January 1941, a productive capacity of 3,200,000 horsepower per month if orders were placed immediately to utilize all unobligated capacity. It is estimated that 80,000,000 horsepower per year, or 7,000,000 per month, would be required to equip 50,000 airplanes. This indicates a requirement of additional capacity to produce 3,200,000 additional horsepower of aircraft engines per month. Three Government arsenal plants of 1,000,000 square feet each will be required. It has been estimated that the cost of these plants will approximate \$20,000,000 each and when completed will have a potential output of 1,000,000 horsepower per month. It is estimated that the plants would require 12 months for completion and training of personnel, 18 to 20 months for the production of the first satisfactory production article and that they will reach maximum production in 24 months.

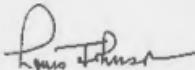
6. It is believed that the propeller and instrument sections of the industry can expand their plants adequately to provide sufficient equipment if they are given priority in the securing of machine tools, materials and personnel.

7. No information is submitted on the additional plant equipment which would be required to provide the guns, ammunition, bombs, signal corps equipment and chemical warfare equipment which would be needed to make the airplanes effective for combat action.

8. To summarize:

Additional capacity required to increase production capacity from present level to 50,000 airplanes per year

30 airplane plants @ \$10,000,000 each	-	\$300,000,000
3 military engine plants @		
\$20,000,000 each	-	60,000,000
Total	-	\$360,000,000

  
Louis Johnson,  
The Assistant Secretary of War.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 15, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Re: Defense Message

As a strong democratic leader in an hour of crisis I am wondering whether politically you shouldn't say something about the financing of the additional proposed expenditures. Otherwise, hostile critics may say you are merely passing the buck to Congress and evading the responsibilities of leadership. A Gallup poll showed a majority for special defense taxation last year, and I shouldn't be surprised if this sentiment had grown greatly the past few days. A few words recalling your previous recommendation, showing your continuing concern, letting Congress out because of the time element, and yet intimating the need in the next session might meet the situation. It would recognize the problem yet treat it realistically.

*Lauchlin Currie*

Lauchlin Currie

In presenting estimates for emergency national defense expenditures in my budget message I urged that additional revenues be provided to cover these expenditures. I stated then that our people "want to strengthen our national defense and are prepared to pay additional taxes for this purpose." I believe that our people are even more prepared to shoulder these additional costs today. But I am equally convinced that the nation will not tolerate any delay in pressing forward with our defense program while we are deciding who shall pay and how much, and that soundly conceived tax legislation requires more time and study than is immediately available.

In these circumstances the Congress may wish to consider appointing a joint committee of the two Houses to work with the Treasury during the summer on a program of national defense taxes to defray at least part of the additional expenditures rendered necessary by events abroad. That course should enable the Congress to act upon the matter of national defense taxes before next March. I should think that any equitable tax program would include the taxing of some of the large profits that may be expected to accompany the general stimulation of business arising from foreign and domestic armament expenditures. At the same time, however, utmost care must be taken to avoid slowing up our urgently needed defense preparations.

ARMY AIR CORPS

Notes Pertaining to Statement as  
to Status of Airplane Equipment

Of the 3,210 combat planes, shown in column (2), 1,897 designated as operating planes and 1,313 as reserve planes.

All of the 1,897 combat operating planes will be on hand by June 30, 1941, but some of the new purchases under the 1,841 "on order" will be delivered without the latest improvements in the way of self-sealing tanks, armor for pilot, and heavier guns. However, as operating combat planes are replaced later, the replacements will be so equipped and some of the older planes will be modernized, but not all, i.e., old planes with comparatively short life remaining will not be modernized.

In all its contracts the War Department has first priority over foreign orders and can, at any time, demand and get delivery. However, with respect to the 1,313 reserve combat planes, it would be to the interest of the Army Air Corps to defer making demands for deliveries, since a deferment will result in getting a better and more modern type of plane without increasing cost. This would not apply, however, to orders for reserve planes with manufacturers who have no foreign orders, and in such cases reserve planes will be delivered on contract time.

In the 1941 Budget there was included funds for the replacement of 496 planes of all types, covering replacements due to losses, obsolescence, useful life, etc. This number was reduced by the House of Representatives to 57. The War Department has requested the Senate Appropriations Committee to increase the number of replacement planes from 57 to 166, and, in addition, has requested that 27 heavy bombers be provided for in lieu of 103 liaison planes. The granting of this latter request will reduce the 5,500-plane program to 5,424.

None of the 1,534 combat planes now on hand, as shown in column (3), are equipped with modern improvements in the matter of armor, guns, self-sealing tanks, etc. Of the 1,841 combat planes now on order, column (4), some will, when delivered, have all of these improvements and some will not have the improvements. As these 1,841 planes are delivered, they will be placed in operating units of the Army Air Corps and the present planes in such units, except those whose useful life is nearing an end, will be modernized. In addition, all replacement planes will have the modern improvements.

ARMY PROGRAM

In round numbers, \$546,000,000, in cash, and \$186,000,000 in contract authorizations; total, \$732,000,000. In detail, there are required sixty-four million dollars for antiaircraft guns and ammunition; one hundred and eighty-six millions for the Air Corps to provide 200 additional heavy bombers and pilots at the rate of 7,000 per year; twenty-eight millions for modernizing and rearming existing planes; thirty-two millions to speed up production of materiel now being manufactured or included in appropriation bills now before Congress; sixty-four millions to procure commercial items of equipment now lacking for the present organizations of the Regular establishment and the National Guard, such as trucks, tools, blankets, clothing and parachutes; twenty-nine millions for maintenance and equipment for 15,000 additional men urgently needed to fill out existing organizations and for temporary shelter and organizational equipment for twenty new units to be created; three hundred and eight millions for non-commercial equipment which requires a year and more to manufacture - such as guns, ammunition, tanks, armored scout cars, gas masks and electrical devices; four millions for coast defenses ~~at home and overseas~~, other than antiaircraft otherwise provided; eight millions and three quarters in addition to the four millions now before Congress, for an air base at Anchorage, Alaska; and seven and three quarter millions for industrial mobilization.

These estimates do not, of course, duplicate any item now in the pending War and Navy Appropriation Bills for the fiscal year 1941 or include supplemental or deficiency estimates which may become necessary by reason of new legislation or shortage of funds under existing programs.

Emergency Fund for the President

To enable the President to provide for emergencies affecting the national security and defense and for each and every purpose connected therewith, to be expended in his discretion through such bureaus and offices of the Government as he may designate, \$100,000,-000, to be immediately and continuously available until expended.

NAVY PROGRAM

In round numbers, \$250,000,000, in cash, and \$20,800,000 in contract authorizations; total, \$270,800,000. This total is to be applied, in approximate amounts, as follows: one hundred forty-seven million eight hundred thousand for speeding up ship construction under existing programs; thirty-one millions for antiaircraft guns and equipment; twenty-seven millions for the procurement of 105 airplanes of various types; four million three hundred thousand for ordnance and ammunition to supply shortages; twenty-nine millions for protective nets for the submarine and torpedo defense of the Fleet and commercial harbors in the United States; three million seven hundred thousand for miscellaneous items of public works for the service of the Fleet ashore; and twenty-eight millions for equipment for the Fleet Marine Force, radio listening gear for motor torpedo boats, mine-sweeping gear and modernization and rearming of existing airplanes.

ARMY PROGRAM

In round numbers, \$546,000,000, in cash, and \$186,000,000 in contract authorizations; total, \$732,000,000. In detail, there are required sixty-four million dollars for antiaircraft guns and ammunition; one hundred and eighty-six millions for the Air Corps to provide 200 additional heavy bombers and pilots at the rate of 7,000 per year; twenty-eight millions for modernizing and rearming existing planes; thirty-two millions to speed up production of materiel now being manufactured or included in appropriation bills now before Congress; sixty-four millions to procure commercial items of equipment now lacking for the present organizations of the Regular establishment and the National Guard, such as trucks, tools, blankets, clothing and parachutes; twenty-nine millions for maintenance and equipment for 15,000 additional men urgently needed to fill out existing organizations and for temporary shelter and organizational equipment for twenty new units to be created; three hundred and eight millions for non-commercial equipment which requires a year and more to manufacture - such as guns, ammunition, tanks, armored scout cars, gas masks and electrical devices; four millions for coast defenses at home and overseas, other than antiaircraft otherwise provided; eight millions and three quarters in addition to the four millions now before Congress, for an air base at Anchorage, Alaska; and seven and three quarter millions for industrial mobilization.

These estimates do not, of course, duplicate any item now in the pending War and Navy Appropriation Bills for the fiscal year 1941 or include supplemental or deficiency estimates which may become necessary by reason of new legislation or shortage of funds under existing programs.

Emergency Fund for the President

To enable the President to provide for emergencies affecting the national security and defense and for each and every purpose connected therewith, to be expended in his discretion through such bureaus and offices of the Government as he may designate, \$100,000,-000, to be immediately and continuously available until expended.

NAVY PROGRAM

In round numbers, \$250,000,000, in cash, and \$20,800,000 in contract authorizations; total, \$270,800,000. This total is to be applied, in approximate amounts, as follows: one hundred forty-seven million eight hundred thousand for speeding up ship construction under existing programs; thirty-one millions for antiaircraft guns and equipment; twenty-seven millions for the procurement of 105 airplanes of various types; four million three hundred thousand for ordnance and ammunition to supply shortages; twenty-nine millions for protective nets for the submarine and torpedo defense of the Fleet and commercial harbors in the United States; three million seven hundred thousand for miscellaneous items of public works for the service of the Fleet ashore; and twenty-eight millions for equipment for the Fleet Marine Force, radio listening gear for motor torpedo boats, mine-sweeping gear and modernization and rearming of existing airplanes.

ADDITIONAL NATIONAL DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS

\$657,737,257

J 11/12  
As to personnel -- the above sum provides for increasing the Regular Army to peace strength (280,000). No increase is provided for the present National Guard (235,000). Total force provided for is 515,000 men.

As to materiel -- the above sum provides all items of equipment for the 515,000 men. It also provides critical (non-commercial) items for the Protective Mobilization Plan Force of 750,000 men plus replacements. It does not complete the essential (commercial) items for the Protective Mobilization Plan Force.

In addition, it will modernize existing combat airplanes and provide an operating reserve of 27 heavy bombers; it will provide additional sea-coast defenses at accelerated rates for the United States and Overseas Departments; the Anchorage Air Base project and the accelerated program for Procurement Planning and Industrial Mobilization.

The above sum will permit expansion of the Regular Army to 280,000 men by September 30, 1940, and the mobilization with complete modern armament and equipment of a total of 750,000 men plus replacements by December 31, 1941. Seacoast Defenses in overseas departments and in the United States will be strengthened. In other words, these are the essential steps to wipe out the present ragged, unbalanced state of the Army as to organization and materiel, in order to establish a practical base of departure for a possible mobilization.

---

A further preparatory step towards mobilization, to be taken when the situation becomes more serious, involves a sum of \$265,000,000 required to complete essential items of equipment for the Protective Mobilization Plan Force.

---

---

Actual mobilization will require immediate provision of approximately \$2,000,000,000 over and above the present annual costs, for the maintenance, shelter, and training of the Protective Mobilization Plan Force for one year and for active operations in the field for six months.

---

B&LP Branch  
12 May 1940

SUMMARY OF ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE  
IN ADDITION TO THE 1941 BUDGET AND THE SUPPLEMENTAL ESTIMATES OF \$18,000,000.

Provision by Joint Resolution for the immediate increase of 15,000 enlisted men.....	\$ 17,146,812	<i>Facult</i>
Additional funds to speed up production on current contracts for materiel.....	15,000,000 <i>but</i>	<i>check</i>
Additional funds to speed up production of materiel in the Mili- tary Appropriation Bill and the \$18,000,000 of supplemental estimates now before the Senate.....	16,918,168	<i>april</i>
Remaining requirements in <u>critical</u> items for existing units of the Regular Army and National Guard * .....	7,159,584	✓
Remaining requirements in <u>essential</u> items for existing units of the Regular Army and National Guard.....	74,321,054	<i>disk</i>
27 heavy bombers as an operating reserve.....	14,182,304	✓
Modernization of existing combat airplanes.....	28,188,200	?
Provision during fiscal year 1941 for the increase of 53,000 enlisted men to include critical items.....	112,736,717	<i>Dr. L. letter</i>
Remaining requirements in critical items of equipment for the Protective Mobilization Plan Force * .....	277,009,368	<i>ns-check</i>
Essential facilities to speed up ammunition production * .....	44,275,000	<i>only new plant.</i>
Additional amounts for seacoast defenses for Puerto Rico and Panama * .....	15,890,125	o.c.
Additional amounts for seacoast defenses, Atlantic Coast, Continental United States * .....	18,467,415	<i>out</i>
Restoration of project as submitted to Congress for the Anchor- age Air Base, Alaska.....	8,752,560	✓
Restoration of the program as submitted to Congress for Procure- ment Planning and Industrial Mobilization.....	7,739,950	
TOTAL ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS.....	\$657,787,257	
Cash appropriation.....	\$560,027,623	
Contract authorizations.....	97,759,634	
TOTAL.....	\$657,787,257	

\* Including speed-up.

B&LP Branch  
12 May 1940

SUMMARY OF ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE  
IN ADDITION TO THE 1941 BUDGET AND THE SUPPLEMENTAL ESTIMATES OF \$18,000,000,  
EXCLUSIVE OF NEW AIRCRAFT.

Provision by Joint Resolution for the immediate increase of 15,000 enlisted men.....	\$ 17,146,812	7 Oct	
Antiaircraft equipment, both mobile and seacoast defenses* .....	47,393,264	✓	
Antiaircraft ammunition.....	16,775,060	✓	
Funds to speed up production of materiel on current contracts and in the Military Appropriation Bill and the \$18,000,000 of supplemental estimates now before the Senate * .....	31,918,168	✓	
Commercial (essential) items still required by existing units of the Regular Army and the National Guard.....	74,321,054	✓	
Modernization of combat airplanes:			
Air Corps.....	5,000,000	✓	
Heavier and additional weapons and ammunition.....	23,188,200	✓	
Maintenance during fiscal year 1941 for the increase of 15,000 men.....	15,260,254	✓	
Remaining requirements in non-commercial (critical) items of equipment for the Protective Mobilization Plan force (less antiaircraft) * .....	262,466,549	✓	
Plants to speed up ammunition production * .....	44,275,000	✓	
Additional amounts for seacoast defenses less antiaircraft:			
Atlantic Coast, U.S. * .....	6,799,016	4,010,700	
Panama * .....	2,585,206	2,144,100	
Puerto Rico * .....	3,559,010		
Anchorage Air Base.....	8,752,560	✓	
Procurement Planning and Industrial Mobilization.....	7,739,950	✓	
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>567,170,103</b>		
<u>Cash</u> 460,300,000	Cash appropriations.....	460,298,788	440 M.
106,000,000	Contract authorizations.....	106,871,315	
<u>B&amp;LP Br</u> 566 300,000	<u>Total.....</u>	<u>\$567,170,103</u>	<u>547 M</u>
5-14-40		186,000,000	
		\$753,170,000	

\* Including speed-up.

Sir 260 - B17 Plans (Boeing) \$80,000,000  
B&LP Br 5-14-40  
Cash - \$20,000,000  
Cont.A. - \$60,000,000  
(Sinking) 600 P.D.L's { Cash \$86- } Cont.A. - \$106,000,000

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

These are ominous days — days whose swift and shocking developments force every neutral nation to look to its defenses in the light of new factors. The brutal force of modern offensive war has been loosed in all its horror. Newspapers of destruction, incredibly swift and deadly, have been developed and those who wield them are ruthless and daring. No old defense is so strong that it requires no further strengthening and no attack is so unlikely or impossible that it may be neglected. Let us examine the dangers which confront us without self-deception. Let us measure our strength and our defenses without self-delusion.

The clear fact is that the American people must recast their thinking about American defenses.

Motorized armies now sweep through enemy territories at the rate of two hundred miles a day. Parachute troops are catapulted from airplanes in large numbers behind the enemy line. Other troops are landed from planes in open fields, on wide highways, and at local civil airports.

We have seen the treacherous use of the "fifth column" by which persons supposed to be peaceful visitors were a part of an enemy unit of occupation. Lightning attacks capable of destroying airplane factories and munition works



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Record Service

AMERICAN HERITAGE LIBRARY

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

hundreds of miles behind the lines are part of the new techniques of modern warfare.

The element of surprise which has ever been an important tactic in warfare has become the more dangerous because of the amazing speed with which modern equipment can reach and attack the enemy's country.

Our own vital interests are widespread. More than ever the protection of the whole American Hemisphere against invasion or control or domination by non-American nations has the united support of the twenty-one American Republics, including the United States. More than ever this protection calls for ready-at-hand weapons capable of great mobility because of the potential speed of modern attack.

The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were reasonably adequate defensive barriers when fleets under sail could move at an average speed of five miles an hour. Even then by a sudden foray it was possible for an enemy country actually to burn our national Capitol. Later, the oceans gave strength to our defense in the days when fleets and convoys propelled by steam could sail the oceans at fifteen or twenty miles an hour.

But the new element — air navigation — steps up the speed of possible attack to two hundred to three hundred miles



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Record Service

FREDERIC B. DOUGLASS LIBRARY  
WASH. D. C., U. S. A.

Library Law Department

Projects of  
Theodore Parker

an hour.

Furthermore, it brings the new possibilities of the use of nearer bases from which an attack or attacks on the American Continents could be made. The fiords of Greenland are 4 hours by air from Newfoundland; 5 hours from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec and only 6 hours from New England.

The Azores are only 2100 miles from a large part of our eastern seaboard and modern bombers could be over our shores in 8 to 9 hours. From a base in the outer West Indies, the coast of Florida could be reached in 200 minutes. The west coast of Africa and the islands off that continent are only one thousand five hundred miles from Brazil. Modern planes starting from the Canary Islands can be over Brazil in 21/2 hours. And Brazil is but 8 1/4 flying minutes (or hours) from Venezuela and Venezuela but 2 1/4 flying hours from Cuba and the Canal Zone. And Cuba and the Canal Zone are 2 1/4 hours from Mexico and Mexico is 2 1/2 hours from St. Louis, Kansas City and Omaha.

On the other side of the continent, Alaska with a white population of twenty-eight thousand people only is within a few hours of flying distance from Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma and Portland. The islands of the southern Pacific are not too far removed from the west coast of South America to prevent them



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Record Center  
William G. Rosenberg Library

7701 17th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20587  
Telephone 202-720-5000

from becoming bases of enormous strategic advantage to attacking forces. Surely the developments of the past few weeks have made it clear to all of our citizens that the possibility of attack on vital American zones ought to make it essential that we have the physical ready ability to meet those attacks and to prevent them from reaching their objectives.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

FEDERAL BUDGET LIBRARY

This means military implements -- not on paper -- which are ready and available to meet any lightning offensive against our American interest. It means also that facilities for production must be ready to turn out munitions and equipment at top speed. We have had the lesson before us over and over again -- nations that were not ready and were unable to get ready before they found their country overrun by the enemy. So-called impregnable fortifications no longer exist. A defense which allows an enemy to consolidate his approach without hindrance will lose. A defense which makes no effective effort to destroy the lines of supplies and communications of the enemy in their rear will lose.

An effective defense by its very nature requires the equipment to attack an aggressor before he can establish strong bases within the territory of our vital interests.

Loose talking and thinking on the part of some may give the false impression that our own Army and Navy are not first-rate, or that money on them has been wasted.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

In recent years the defensive power of our Army, Navy and Marine Corps has been very greatly improved.

The Navy is stronger today than at any time in the nation's history. Today a very large program of new construction is under way. Ship for ship, ours are equal to, or better than, the vessels of any foreign power.

The Army likewise is at its greatest peace-time strength. Its equipment in quality and quantity has been greatly increased and improved.

The National Guard and the reserve strength of the two Services are better equipped and better prepared than during any other peace-time period.

On the other side of the picture we must visualize the outstanding fact that since the first day of September last every week that has passed has brought new lessons learned from actual combat on land and sea.



**GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION**

National Archives and Records Service  
Emmett R. Berryman, Director

Not Pub. U. S.

From the Papers of  
Henry L. Hopkins

I cite examples. Where Navy ships operating close to enemy coasts lack defending aircraft their vulnerability to air attack is increased and in new designs additional armor and anti-aircraft protection must be added. All ships of all navies face this problem.

Several months ago a new type of magnetic mine made many unthinking people believe that all surface ships could be destroyed thereby. Within a few weeks a successful defensive device against these mines was placed in operation and it is a fact that these sinkings of merchant ships by torpedo, by mine or by airplane is definitely much lower than during the similar period in 1915.

Combat conditions have changed even more rapidly in the air. With the amazing progress in the design of planes and engines, the airplane of a year ago is out-of-date now. It is too slow, ~~and~~ it is improperly protected, it is too weak in gun powder.

In types of planes we are not behind the other nations of the world. Most of the planes of the belligerent powers are at this moment not of the latest models. But one belligerent power not only has many more planes than all their opponents combined, but also appears to have a



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service

FRANCIS B. HOPKINS LIBRARY

Library L. Hopkins  
From the Papers of

weekly production capacity at the moment that is far greater than their opponents.

From the point of view of our own defense, therefore, great additional production capacity is our principal requisite.

For the permanent record I ask the Congress not to take any action which would in any way hamper or delay the delivery of American-made planes to foreign nations which have ordered them, or propose to purchase more planes. That from the point of view of our own national defense would be extremely shortsighted. During the past year American productive capacity for war planes, including engines, has risen from approximately six thousand planes a year to nearly twenty thousand planes a year, due in greater part to the placing of foreign orders.

Our immediate problem is to superimpose on this productive capacity a greatly increased additional productive capacity. I should like to see this nation geared up to the ability to turn out at least fifty thousand planes a year.

On the ground, the Army requires the immediate speeding up of last winter's plans for having on hand equipment of all kinds, including motor transport and artillery, and also including anti-aircraft guns and a full ammunition supply. It had been



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Record Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

From the Papers of  
Harry L. Hopkins

hoped to spread these requirements over the next three or four years. We should fill them at once.

At this time I am asking the immediate appropriation by the Congress of a large sum of money for five primary purposes:

First, to procure the essential equipment of all kinds for a larger and thoroughly rounded-out Army;

Second, to replace or modernize all old equipment with the latest type of equipment; *for + 1/2*

Third, to increase production facilities for everything needed for the Army and Navy in the event of a large scale war, because it is purely a protective measure to be able to turn out infinitely greater supplies;

Fourth, to fill certain emergency needs of the Navy;

Fifth, to speed up to a twenty-four hour basis all existing Army and Navy contracts, and all new contracts to be awarded.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Museum Archives and Record Service  
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

From the Papers of  
Henry L. Hopkins

DRAFT

BEGINNING

These are ominous days. Days whose swift and shocking developments forced every neutral nation to look to its defenses with redoubled care. The brutal force of modern war has been loosed in all its horror. New powers of destruction, incredibly swift and deadly, have been developed and those who yield them are ruthless and daring. No defense is so strong it requires no further strengthening and no attack so unlikely that it may be neglected. Let us examine the dangers which confront us without self-deception. Let us measure our strength and our defenses without self-delusion.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service

FRANCIS D. BROOKS, LIBRARIAN  
and PARK M. HOPKINS

From the Papers of  
HARRY L. Hopkins

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

The almost incredible events of the past two weeks in the European conflict, particularly as a result of the use of aviation and mechanized equipment, together with the possible consequences of further developments, necessitate another enlargement of our military program.

No individual, no group can clearly foretell the future. As long, however, as a possibility exists that not one continent or two continents but all continents may become involved in a world wide war, reasonable precaution demands that American defense be made more certain.

An investigation into manufacturing resources since my message of May 16th, to determine the practicability of placing additional orders with industry for special material, both to provide an early expansion of existing production facilities, and to obtain increased quantities of the special weapons concerned, has caused the War and Navy Departments to submit to me an urgent and new recommendation that increased appropriations and authorizations for the National Defense be made before the adjournment of the present Congress.

Over and beyond the acquisition of this actual material is the evident requirement for the immediate erection of additional production facilities to meet possible future



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Record Service  
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library  
King Park, N. Y.

Jerry L. Hopkins

From the Papers of

emergencies as well as present deficiencies in the making of munitions, such as guns, ammunition and fire control equipment. These facilities require a long time to create and to reach quantity production. The increased gravity of the situation indicates that action should be taken without delay.

The problem of defending our national institutions and territorial integrity is no longer a problem for men equipped simply with an indomitable determination. Modern defense requires that this determination be supported by the highly developed machinery of our industrial productive capacity.

The expansion of our defense program makes it necessary that we undertake immediately the training and retraining of our people, and especially our young people, for employment in industry and in service in the Army and Navy.

The requirements of industry and the expanded armed forces for persons with experience in mechanical and manual fields are obviously going to be great. We do not have such trained persons in the number that will be required for the tasks that lie ahead of us if our defense is to be assured. We have, therefore, the task of training a large number in the skills and semi-skills required by modern production in industry and by a highly mechanized defense force in the Army and Navy. A primary consideration in



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

From the Pictures of

National Archives and Record Service  
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY  
PRINTED FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

HARRY L. Hopkins

the training of skills must be, not the existing distribution that would be required if our industrial machine and our defensive forces were fully mobilized.

In the national effort for defense upon which we are now engaged, it is imperative that we make full and effective use of the mighty capacities that lie in our population. Here as yet undeveloped lie the ability and the strength needed in the building up of our armaments to provide a sure industrial foundation for the meeting of any and all defense requirements. Without the full development of these skills, our national defense will be less than it must be in the critical days which lie ahead. Without the full contribution of our people, our defense cannot attain the invulnerability which the nation demands and which we are determined it shall have.

The one most obvious lesson of the present war in Europe is the value of the factor of speed. There is definite danger in waiting to order the complete equipping and training of armies after a war begins.

Therefore, I suggest the speedy enlargement of the program for equipping and training in the light of our defense needs.

I have instructed the representatives of the War and Navy Departments and also the representatives of the several agencies



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, PRES.

HARRY S. TRUMAN, VICE PRES.

dealing with the training of young men for non-combatant services to make available to the appropriate committees of the Congress the plans and proposals which they have laid before me.

These plans call for immediate appropriations to carry forward Congressional decisions in bills already pending, for immediate appropriations to add to the program and for authorizations to enter into contracts which it will take some time to complete.

The amounts involved are large -- over a billion dollars -- but I believe that for national safety the needs are urgent.



**GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION**

National Archives and Record Service

FRANK B. BROOKLYN LIBRARY  
1911 Park, N. Y.

From the Papers of  
Henry L. Hopkins

## STATEMENT OF PROJECT AIRPLANES, REGULAR ARMY, ORGANIZED RESERVES, AND NATIONAL GUARD

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Types	Unit Cost (a)	Number Required	On Hand 5/1/40	On Order 5/1/40	Date of Final Delivery (d)	Not on Order 5/1/40 But Funds Available	In 1941 Bill Inc. Supp. Estimate	Shortage on Completion of Com- pletion of	Estimated Cost of Shortage (e)
<b>Combat:</b>									
Bombers, Heavy	\$300,000 to \$350,000	205	53	125	June 1941			35	\$16,228,712
Bombers, Medium	115,000 to 167,000	548	466	430	Aug. 1941			66	18,690,513
Bombers, Light	118,000 to 133,000	300	237	186	June 1941				
Pursuit, Fighter	300,000 to 325,000	95	2	11	Jan. 1941				
Pursuit, Interceptor	\$133,000	192	-	79	June 1941			37	7,124,914
Turksuit, 1-Eng.	52,000 to 90,000	807	386	711	Aug. 1941				
Observation, C & D	42,000	563	370	203	June 1941				
Liaison, C & D	24,000	147	--	106	May 1941	41			
Miscellaneous Combat		353							
Modernization (See note g)									5,000,000
Sub-Total - Combat		3210	1534 (c)	1841 (c)		41		136	\$41,044,139
<b>Miscellaneous:</b>									
Cargo or Transports	57,000	83	80	10	Sept. 1940			6	
Photo	71,000	14	5	8	Sept. 1940				
Amphibian	62,000	44	28	-				14	
Sub-Total - Misc.		141	114	18				20	
<b>Training:</b>									
Primary Training	10,000	960	307	703	March 1941				
Basic Training	20,000	801	318	481	Feb. 1941				
Advanced Training	32,000	322	318	28	Oct. 1940			37	
Sub-Total - Training		2073	943	1217				37	
GRAND TOTAL		5424 (b) 2591	3076			41	57	136	\$41,044,139

(a) Cost includes airframe, engine, Government Furnished Equipment, Ordnance and Signal Corps equipment.

(b) Reduction of 3500 program to 5424 due to decrease of 103 Liaison and increase of 27 Heavy Bomber Airplanes.

(c) 52 Heavy Bomber and 188 Pursuit, 1-Engine, of the 1534 combat airplanes on hand (Col. 3) and all of the 1841 combat airplanes on order (Col. 4) will be modernized in accordance with experience gained thus far in the present European war. Cost incident thereto in the case of airplanes, the delivery of which has been deferred for this purpose, will be borne by the manufacturer. For those not deferred \$5,000,000 additional will be required.

(d) Present contract delivery dates. Does not consider deferral due to the obtaining of improvements in airplanes, such as leak proof tanks, armor, and increased armament.

(e) Replacement airplanes only.

NOTE: The difference in the number shown in Column 2 and the sum of Columns 3 and 4 is represented by losses from May 1, 1940 to June 30, 1941.

*Draft - 1st choice*

In my first message to the Congress for the strengthening of our national defense, I proposed that the Congress provide funds to accomplish four immediate steps in this program:

First, to procure the essential equipment of all kinds for a larger and thoroughly rounded-out army;

Second, to replace or modernize all old army and navy equipment with the latest type of equipments;

Third to increase production facilities for everything needed for the army and navy for national defense. We require the ability to turn out quickly infinitely greater supplies;

Fourth, to speed up to a 24-hour basis all existing army and navy contracts, and all new contracts to be awarded.

These steps the Congress has taken and with such unanimity and speed that our singleness of purpose must give pause to the enemies of democratic form of government and comfort to decent and liberal-minded people everywhere in the world.

I now move to that most obviously be the next step in the expansion of our safeguards. This step is in the form of a training program for our people. It is desirable that we shall all, labor and management, understand the full intention of the government and I have decided to go into the matter rather fully.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION  
MATERIALS, PERSONNEL AND RECORDS SERVICE

Harry L. Hopkins  
From the People  
to the People

The major responsibility for training skilled workers for particular skilled jobs rests within the industrial plants where such workers are to be employed. For the most part the task of retraining workers whose skills have deteriorated because of non-use will also have to be done within the individual plants.

Experience has shown that the most practicable way to meet requirements for highly skilled workers, if the general labor market cannot supply the necessary number, is to move other workers already employed in similar categories of work up the line into higher classifications. This frequently requires additional training, but it is most economical because such persons in the lower categories usually already have the necessary technical background and training to be moved up one or two rungs in the ladder of skill. The problem of increasing the supply of highly skilled workers therefore becomes one of adding to the existing proficiency of workers already employed in the plant on work which is already related to the more highly skilled work that must be done. In other words, the problem is not one of creating new skilled mechanics through apprenticeship training. It is rather one of advancing already skilled workers into categories of still greater skill. However, apprenticeship programs at the same time become more essential than ever, for it is their function to start the training of persons to fill in the voids that have been created as a result of moving people up from below. In the last analysis, apprenticeship training is a long and slow process and it will be useless to base any policy of meeting our immediate needs for highly skilled crafts on such a program.

The Supply of Semi-Skilled Workers

The problem of the highly skilled labor supply of the country when reduced to numbers is small. In airplane manufacturing highly skilled labor constitutes

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION  
National Archives and Records Service

FRANCIS G. BREWER, LIBRARIAN  
APR. 1943

From the Papers of  
Harry L. Hopkins



but 7 percent of the total labor employed. In automobile manufacturing it constitutes about 5 percent of the total labor force. However, the 7 percent of highly skilled workers in airplane manufacture are essential if jobs are to be available for the remaining 93 percent. These 93 percent consist for the most part of semi-skilled workers who, having been given the basic essential knowledge of how to handle tools, of the properties of metals, of the importance of accuracy, etc., can easily and quickly be trained in the plant and on the job in doing the specific work to which they are assigned. More again it should be emphasized that the real training must be done in the plant for the specific job to be done. But the time required for such training can be markedly shortened and the semi-skilled worker can be more easily adjusted to his job if he already has the basic knowledge and habits which are parts of the ultimate requirements of the semi-skilled job.

It is to this "pre-employment" or better still "pre-plant training" training that the Government can and must give assistance. The work done by the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps has anticipated much of what we are here talking about. The purpose of this work should be to so condition their clientele that when they do secure jobs, they will be adaptable to quickly learning how to operate a lathe, or a small stamping machine, or to assembling parts. In other words, the task of these agencies should be to see to it that their clients do not enter industry entirely "green." Their clients should know the uses of different tools and machines, the workable qualities of different metals, the essentials of a blueprint, and a host of other things which will make it possible for them quickly to adjust themselves to the plant in which they are to be employed and more quickly absorb the training for specific jobs that they will receive in the plant.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Warren A. Nichols, Director  
Records & Archives Division

John C. Nichols, Librarian

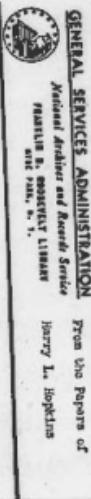
From the Papers of

Harry L. Hopkins

Summarizing the problem of skilled and semi-skilled workers, the situation should be something like this:

A. There are two sources of supply for the highly skilled workers who will be needed for the defense program. One source will be the general labor market which will include the unemployed highly skilled as well as highly skilled in certain industries who will move to defense industries. The other source of supply will be skilled people already employed in the defense plants who with additional training that will be given them in these plants can move into the more highly skilled categories.

B. The great bulk of new workers who will be absorbed by our defense program will be semi-skilled. They also will have to be trained for their specific jobs in the plants in which they are to be employed. They will have to be trained on the job itself. To make them more adaptable for such training and to enable them to absorb such training more efficiently and more quickly, there should be a "pre-plant training" training system under which the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps should teach the fundamentals of tool, machine, and assembly operations. With such training in fundamentals, new workers to be absorbed by industry can be trained on the job in a relatively short period of time.



In doing this we should take a leaf out of the experience of what is probably our greatest single institution - our system of free education - and open such opportunities to all young people rich and poor alike. I propose that this shall be the basis of this new extension of our training.

I propose the following plan: That funds be made available whereby all young people not employed, not now in school, not serving in the Army or Navy or not needed in their homes shall have an opportunity to obtain training of a definite pre-employment, pre-plant training character.

I propose that in doing this all available facilities of the Federal, state and local governments, public and private schools, as well as labor and industry shall be used and included. Much of our present educational and industrial equipment and buildings can and should be used at night as well as in the daytime.

The nature of such training shall be such as not to break down the standards of labor or to place an unusual and impossible burden upon industry but shall provide an opportunity for young people to acquire a familiarity with the tools, equipment and operation of our industries. These young people shall be paid a small subsistence wage similar to that now paid them on NRA projects along with maintenance ends, for the above purpose, I ask the Congress to make available to the President the sum of \$\_\_\_\_\_, the expenditure of which shall be in line with the above proposal.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Agency

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_  
INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_  
FILED \_\_\_\_\_

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_  
INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_  
FILED \_\_\_\_\_

Opening Paragraph

These are ominous days, days whose swift and shocking developments require every neutral nation to look to its defenses with redoubled care. The brutal forces of modern war have been loosed in all their horror. New Powers of destruction, incredibly swift and deadly, are thrown against entire peoples. The ruthlessness and daring of those who wield these powers leave no nation, however peaceful, however remote, immune to danger of aggression. No attack is so unlikely that it may be neglected; no defense so strong it requires no further strengthening. Let us examine the dangers which confront us. Without panic, but without self-delusion, let us measure our strength and our defenses.



**GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION**

National Archives and Records Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

From the Papers of  
HARRY L. Hopkins

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 16, 1940.

Dear Harry:-

Here are the corrected  
pages for your copy.

*Grace*



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service  
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY  
WEST PARK, N. Y.

From the Papers of

Harry L. Hopkins

Defense cannot be static. Defense must grow and change from day to day. Defense must be dynamic and flexible, an expression of the vital forces of the nation and of its resolute will to meet whatever challenge the future may hold. For these reasons, I need hardly assure you that after the adjournment of this session of the Congress, I will not hesitate to call the Congress into Special Session if at any time the situation of the national defense requires it. The Congress and the Chief Executive constitute a team where the defense of the land is concerned.

Our ideal, our objective is still peace -- peace at home and peace abroad. Nevertheless, we stand ready not only to spend millions for defense but to give our service and even our lives for the maintenance of our American liberties.

Our security is not a matter of weapons alone. The arm that wields them must be strong, the eye that guides them clear, the will that directs them indomitable.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

ARMED FORCES RESEARCH SERVICE  
ARMED FORCES INFORMATION CENTER

LIBRARY OF THE  
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

These are the characteristics of a free people, a  
people devoted to the institutions they themselves have built,  
a people willing to defend a way of life that is precious to  
them all, a people who put their faith in God.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Architectural Archives and Records Service

FRANCIS G. BREWER LIBRARY

1911 Park Avenue

From the papers of

Henry L. Hopkins

(F-16-40)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

longer for this.  
Some - many, diff.  
" both  
So not everything

my/idea

Two hemispheric defenses?  
Democracy?

No changes in existing, will  
consultation

one "America" defenses

"long range - wide area"

Democracy

Tains Remitt [In the front on the  
Festival stage, lighted from below]

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION  
Mailroom Address and Records Service  
From the Papers of  
HARRY S. TRUMAN  
SAFETY L. HOGKINS  
MARCH 10, 1946  
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION  
Washington, D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

productive facilities -  
not a paper - but ready  
to turn out men + equip.  
at top speed. We may never  
be ready - must catch

"a defense which depends  
only on repelling the offense  
of an enemy agent, has called  
unjustifiable factors - he even  
makes a counter charge -  
denied to failure. A defense  
which allows an enemy to  
control the approach lines  
without hindrance obviously  
loses.

A defense which makes



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION  
National Archives and Records Service

From the Papers of  
Henry L. Stimson

1945 PARK, N.Y.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

no effort to hamper the  
flow of supply of enemy  
in their war is unadvisable  
The amnts an essential  
factor to begin strength

"Our vital interests will  
spread"

"Now then over the  
Marine doctrine has  
national support & the American  
effort now then over the  
people of the Marine doctrine calls for  
ready at hand weapons great  
& quick mobility from  
of the greatest speed of  
modern attack.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

The Atlantic "Pacifc"  
were adequate defensive brains  
while fleet under sail could  
run at a avg speed of  
3 miles an hour - this makes  
travoys less & long, if our  
material supply were possible.  
No ocean goes strength &  
defense as long as <sup>steamer</sup> fleet and  
caravans at 15 or 20 miles  
an hour -

But the new element  
air navigation & ships up  
the speed of possible attack  
momently - to 200 or 300 miles  
an hour. Furthermore it



GSA

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Florida -

No W coast of Africa  
+ island off it are only  
1400 miles from Brazil.  
(Put in hours too)

Brazil is - hours from  
Venezuela -

So - hours from  
Caribe + land you.

Cuba + land only -  
hours from Mexico  
Mexico - hours from  
St Louis - KC - Atlanta -

HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY  
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS  
Washington, D. C., September 1, 1949  
National Archives and Records Service  
From the Papers ofTHE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

brings the new possibilities  
of the air force makes  
bases far which to  
attack the continent entirely.

The islands of Brazil are  
only - miles from New  
foundland - - from Nova Scotia  
Newfoundland -  
only - miles from New  
England -

No longer as last -  
miles from a long  
part of our entire coastline  
- the entire West Indies  
is only - miles from

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

From the Pages of  
HARRY L. Hopkins

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION  
Architects, Engineers and Architects Bureau  
REGULATIONS OF THE LIBRARY



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

If in the end I  
cannot start with  
a wild option of 25,000  
+ will do few hundred  
by my ships from  
Vancouver - Seattle  
Tacoma + Portland

We all have easy  
access between Hawaii  
& the West of our Pacific  
Coast + Mexico +

The islands of Pacific  
are not too far removed  
from West Coast of S. America

To prevent them from  
becoming bases of  
enormous strategic  
advantage to attacking  
forces.

People around last  
year - the world was no  
war - as who at ease  
they thought it would be  
conducted like World War,  
then would be unprepared  
ships + cattle down to  
long coastal of underseas

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

in whole except  
envelope.

Today we are  
motorcycling across  
over 200 miles a day  
we are an army successfully  
hiking through 7 towns  
without ever getting  
front. We are attacking  
capitals of villages in  
flat bottom - mountain  
hundreds of miles  
in defending them  
Completed as noted



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service  
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY  
WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

From the papers of  
Henry L. Hopkins

Instructions

1. Turn out this wall to the rear.
2. Let it stand to weather - it is your way.
3. Let it remain until one week has passed.
4. Paint with the same black paint used to paint the rest of the exterior walls. Let the black paint dry.
5. Turn the new black paint over + before.

to finish.  
A. Mow grass, mow 200 miles a day,  
B. Remove existing - day over night  
gravel from  
lot & lay  
asphalt  
agent  
agent  
C. Lay down black topsoil of 3 inches  
an inch + remove stones

2. Remove sodden + old of asphalt area<sup>2</sup> long  
1. Grade first area of surface  
2. Gravel

3. On an day, you did want to work

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

1938 File No. 1

From the Files of

Harry L. Hopkins

objection

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Tobacco  
653  
Mayflower

London - answer -

Now who say Germany had the best  
new Colonies of free men. Then England  
had it's own well at no small number, - least  
that's they - or full

I am for you and that it very  
of you to you so honest from the start  
but I am returning to you another and then  
another again the day before yesterday of wood  
and plywood. It is what the German people  
held in high degree.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Historical Archives and Records Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.

From the Papers of  
Henry L. Hopkins

There may be those who think I'm hysterical.  
I am afraid so - that one must say if the  
Baldwin's being so strong! They wouldn't  
But I decidedly shall not bear  
anything - on or off his back. I must now  
be far off with off notice account to  
the other way back and becomes undignified.

With regard to now in my ~~stomach~~.  
to have been - at least not often - that it  
should not be considered. I make about



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Record Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

From the papers of  
Henry L. Hopkins

Robert?

5-16-40

In recent years the defensive power of our arm, navy or main corps has been greatly improved.   
 ~~far more important~~ is the change of any time in the nation history. Ships for ships they are the equal of any fleet - the world.

The army likewise is at its greatest force time strength - its armor equipment in quality and quantity has been substantially increased. The?

The Naval force - the Naval Fleet - and the marine corp of the service are both equipped and prepared the during any other peace time period.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY  
West Park, N. Y.

Henry L. Hopkins  
2705 5th Street of

The National Guard is better equipped

Problems of yesterday are  
activated today.



**GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION**

National Archives and Records Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

WHITE HOUSE, W. C. C.

From the Papers of  
Harry L. Hopkins

*National Defense*

\*

*Address of*

**President Franklin D. Roosevelt**

*to the*

**Joint Session of Congress**

May 16, 1940

\*

*(Not printed at Government expense)*



United States  
Government Printing Office  
Washington : 1940  
232481—18652

ADDRESS

or

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, these are ominous days—days whose swift and shocking developments force every neutral nation to look to its defenses in the light of new factors. The brutal force of modern offensive war has been increased all the hour. New powers of destruction, incredibly swift and deadly, have been developed; and those who wield them are ruthless and unmerciful. No old defense is so strong that it requires no further strengthening; and no attack is so unlikely or impossible that it may be ignored.

Let us examine, without self-deception, the dangers which confront us. Let us measure our strength and our defense without self-delusion.

The clear fact is that the American people must recast their thinking about national protection.

Motorized armies can now sweep through enemy territories at the rate of 200 miles a day. Parachute troops are dropped from airplanes in large numbers behind enemy lines. Troops are landed from planes in open fields, on wide highways, and at local civil airports.

We have seen the treacherous use of the "fifth column" by which persons supposed to be peaceful visitors were actually a part of an enemy unit of occupation. Lightning attacks, capable of destroying airplane factories and munition works hundreds of miles behind the lines, are part of the new technique of modern war.

The element of surprise which has ever been an important tactic in warfare has become the more dangerous because of the amazing speed with which modern equipment can reach and attack the enemy's country.

Our own vital interests are widespread. More than ever the protection of the whole American Hemisphere against invasion or control or domination by non-American nations has the united support of the 21 American Republics, including the United States. More than ever this protection calls for ready-at-hand weapons capable of great mobility because of the potential speed of modern attack.

The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were reasonably adequate defensive barriers when fleets under sail could move at an

average speed of 5 miles an hour. Even then by a sudden foray it was possible for an opponent actually to burn our National Capitol. Later the oceans still gave strength to our defense when fleets and convoys propelled by steam could sail the oceans at 15 or 20 miles an hour.

But the new element—air navigation—steps up the speed of possible attack to 200 or 300 miles an hour.

Further, it becomes the new possibilities of the use of nearer bases from which an attack or attacks on the American Continents could be made. From the flocks of Greenland it is 4 hours by air to Newfoundland; 5 hours to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec; and only 6 hours to New England.

The Azores are only 2,000 miles from parts of our eastern seaboard, and if Bermuda fell into hostile hands it is a matter of less than 3 hours for modern bombers to reach our shores.

From a base in the outer West Indies the coast of Florida could be reached in 200 minutes.

The islands off the West Coast of Africa are only 1,500 miles from Brazil. Modern planes starting from the Cape Verde Islands can be over Brazil in 7 hours.

And Para, Brazil, is but 4 flying hours to Caracas, Venezuela; and Venezuela but 2½ hours to Cuba and the Canal Zone; and Cuba and the Canal Zone are 2½ hours to Tampico, Mexico; and Tampico is 2½ hours to St. Louis, Kansas City, and Omaha.

On the other side of the continent, Alaska, with a white population of only 39,000 people, is within 4 or 5 hours of flying distance to Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma, and Portland. The islands of the southern Pacific are not too far removed from the west coast of South America to prevent them from becoming bases of enormous strategic advantage to attacking forces.

Surely the developments of the past few weeks have made it clear to all of our citizens that the possibility of attack on vital American zones ought to make it essential that we have the physical, the ready, ability to meet those attacks and to prevent them from reaching their objectives.

This means military implements—not on paper—which are ready and available to meet any lightning offensive against our American interest. It means also that facilities for production must be ready to turn out munitions and equipment at top speed.

We have had the lesson before us over and over again—that those who were not ready and were unable to get ready found themselves overrun by the enemy. So-called impregnable fortifications no longer exist. A defense which allows an enemy to consolidate his approach without hindrance will lose. A defense which makes no effective effort to destroy

the lines of supplies and communications of the enemy will lose.

An effective defense, by its very nature, requires the equipment to attack an aggressor on his route before he can establish strong bases within the territory of American vital interests.

Loose talking and thinking on the part of some may give the false impression that our own Army and Navy are not first rate, or that money has been wasted on them.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

In recent years the defensive power of our Army, Navy, and Marine Corps has been very greatly improved.

The Navy's ships have never been at any time in the Nation's history. Today also a large program of new construction is well under way. Ship for ship, ours are equal to or better than the vessels of any foreign power.

The Army likewise is at its greatest peacetime strength. Its equipment in quality and quantity has been greatly increased and improved.

The National Guard and the Reserve strength of the two services are better equipped and better prepared than during any other peacetime period.

On the other side of the picture we must visualize the outstanding fact that since the 1st day of September 1939 every week that has passed has brought new lessons learned from actual combat on land and sea.

I cite examples. Where naval ships have operated without adequate protection by defending aircraft, their vulnerability to air attack has increased. All nations are hard at work studying the need of additional antiaircraft protection.

Several months ago the use of a new type of magnetic mine made many of the leading battle battleships that surface ships were doomed. Within a few weeks a successful defensive device against these mines was placed in operation; and it is a fact that the sinkings of merchant ships by torpedo, by mine, or by airplane are definitely much lower than during the similar period in 1915.

Combat conditions have changed even more rapidly in the air. With the amazing progress in the design of planes and engines, the airplane of a year ago is out of date now. It is too slow, it is improperly protected, it is too weak in gun-power.

In types of planes we are not behind the other nations of the world. Many of the planes of the belligerent powers are at this moment not of the latest models. But one belligerent power not only has many more planes than all their opponents combined, but also appears to have a weekly production capacity at the moment that is far greater than that of their opponents.

From the point of view of our own defense, therefore, great additional production capacity is our principal air requisite.

For the permanent record, I ask the Congress not to take any action which would in any way hamper or delay the delivery of American-made planes to foreign nations which have ordered them, or seek to purchase more planes. That, from the point of view of our own national defense, would be extremely short-sighted.

During the past year American production capacity for war planes, including engines, has risen from approximately 6,000 planes a year to more than double that number, due in greater part to the placing of foreign orders.

Our immediate problem is to superimpose on this production capacity a greatly increased additional production capacity. I should like to see this Nation geared up to the ability to turn out at least 50,000 planes a year. Furthermore, I believe that this Nation should plan at this time a program that would provide us with 56,000 military and naval planes.

The ground forces of the Army require the immediate spending of last winter's program to procure equipment of all kinds, including motor transport and artillery, including antiaircraft guns and full ammunition supplies. It had been planned to spread these requirements over the next 3 or 4 years. We should fill them at once.

At this time I am asking the immediate appropriation by the Congress of a large sum of money for four primary purposes:

First, to procure the essential equipment of all kinds for a larger and thoroughly rounded-out Army;

Second, to replace or modernize all old Army and Navy equipment with the latest type of equipment;

Third, to increase production facilities for everything needed for the Army and Navy for national defense. We require the ability to turn out quickly infinite greater supplies;

Fourth, to speed up to a 24-hour basis all existing Army and Navy contracts, and all new contracts to be awarded.

I ask for an immediate appropriation of \$996,000,000, and may I say I hope there will be speed in giving the appropriation. [Applause.] That sum I would divide approximately as follows:

1. For the Army.....	\$546,000,000
2. For the Navy and Marine Corps.....	250,000,000
3. For the President to provide for emergencies affecting the national security and defense.....	100,000,000

In addition to the above sum, I ask for authorizations for the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps to make contract obligations in the further sum of \$166,000,000.

232431-18652

And to the President an additional authorization to make contract obligations for \$100,000,000.

The total of authorizations is, therefore, \$266,000,000.

It is my belief that a large part of the requested appropriation of \$100,000,000, and the requested authorization of \$100,000,000 to the President will be used principally for the increase of production of airplanes, antiaircraft guns, and the training of additional personnel for these weapons. This would be in addition to the direct estimates for these purposes in the other items requested.

The proposed details of the appropriations and authorizations asked for will be given to the committees of the Congress.

These estimates do not, of course, duplicate any item now in the pending war and navy appropriation bills for the year 1941. Nor do they include supplemental or deficiency estimates which may become necessary by reason of pending legislation or shortage of funds under existing programs.

There are some who say that democracy cannot cope with the new techniques of government developed in recent years by a few countries—by a few countries which deny the freedoms which we maintain are essential to our democratic way of life. This I reject.

I know that our trained officers and men know more about fighting and the weapons and equipment needed for fighting than any of us laymen; and I have confidence in them.

I know that to cope with present dangers we must be strong in heart and hand; strong in our faith—strong in faith in our way of living.

I, too, pray for peace—that the ways of aggression and force may be banished from the earth—but I am determined to face the fact realistically that this Nation requires a toughness of moral and physical fiber. These qualities, I am convinced, the American people hold to a high degree.

Our task is plain. The road we must take is clearly indicated. Our defenses must be strengthened, our security absolute. But our defense as it was yesterday, or even as it is today, does not provide security against potential devildoers and destroyers of the future.

Defense cannot be static. Defense must grow and change from day to day. Defense must be dynamic and flexible, an expression of the vital forces of the Nation and of its resolve will to meet whatever challenge the future may hold. For these reasons, I need hardly assure you that after the adjournment of this session of the Congress I will not hesitate to call the Congress into special session if, at any time the situation of the national defense requires it. The Congress and the Chief Executive constitute a team where the defense of the land is concerned.

232431-18652

Our ideal, our objective, is still peace—peace at home and peace abroad. Nevertheless, we stand ready not only to spend millions for defense but to give our service and even our lives for the maintenance of our American liberties.

Our security is not a matter of weapons alone. The arm that wields them must be strong, the eye that guides them clear, the will that directs them indomitable.

These are the characteristics of a free people, a people devoted to the institutions they themselves have built, a people willing to defend a way of life that is precious to them all, a people who put their faith in God. [Prolonged applause.]

232431—18652



3223

File

6/19/40.

# NATIONAL DEFENSE

By President Franklin D. Roosevelt

---

## *Recent Messages*

INTRODUCTION BY  
SENATOR MORRIS SHEPPARD



*American Council on Public Affairs*

# NATIONAL DEFENSE

By PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

*Message to the Congress of the United States, May 16, 1940:*

## Introductory Note

By SENATOR MORRIS SHEPPARD  
*Chairman, Senate Committee on Military Affairs*

IN HIS messages to Congress and in his more informal fire-side chats, President Roosevelt has often been credited with voicing the views of the majority of the American people, but he has never come closer to speaking the views of a united nation than in his recent addresses on preparedness and the national defense.

In openly discussing with the Congress and with the people the problems of our national defense, and ways and means of strengthening it, the President has followed a typically democratic course which stands out in bold contrast to the secretive procedures and bombastic announcements of the one-man totalitarian states which have abolished parliaments and reduced their people to the status of pawns.

In a democracy such as ours, there can be no adequate national defense without adequate national understanding for the national defense is the "common defense" and it involves not only the protection of our lives and property but the preservation of the ideals, institutions, and ways of life that have made our country great, our people free and happy, and our shores the mecca of countless citizens of less fortunate lands.

Whether future events in other parts of the world serve to increase or to diminish our present concern over the problem of national security, the President's messages presented herewith under a single cover by the American Council on Public Affairs, will stand for years to come as classic expressions on this great problem of our national existence.

THESE are ominous days—days whose swift and shocking developments force every neutral nation to look to its defenses in the light of new factors. The brutal force of modern offensive war has been looted in all its horror. New powers of destruction, incredibly swift and deadly, have been developed; and those who wield them are ruthless and daring. No old defense is so strong that it requires no further strengthening and no attack is so unlikely or impossible that it may be ignored.

Let us examine, without self-deception, the dangers which confront us. Let us measure our strength and our defense without self-delusion. The clear fact is that the American people must recast their thinking about national protection.

Motorized armies can now sweep through enemy territories at the rate of two hundred miles a day. Parachute troops are dropped from airplanes in large numbers behind enemy lines. Troops are landed from planes in open fields, on wide highways, and at local civil airports.

We have seen the treacherous use of the "fifth column" by which persons supposed to be peaceful visitors were actually a part of an enemy unit of occupation. Lightning attacks, capable of destroying airplane factories and munition works hundreds of miles behind the lines, are part of the new technique of modern war.

The element of surprise which has ever been an important tactic in warfare has become the more dangerous because of the amazing speed with which modern equipment can reach and attack the enemy's country.

Our own vital interests are widespread. More than ever the protection of the whole American Hemisphere against invasion or control or domination by non-American nations has the united support of the twenty-one American Republics, including the United States. More than ever this protection calls for ready-at-hand weapons capable of great mobility because of the potential speed of modern attack.

The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were reasonably adequate defensive barriers when fleets under sail could move at an average speed of five miles an hour. Even then by a sudden foray it was possible for an opponent actually to burn our national Capitol. Later, the oceans still gave strength to our defense when fleets and convoys propelled by steam could sail the oceans at fifteen or twenty miles an hour.

But the new element—air navigation—steps up the speed of possible attack to two hundred, to three hundred miles an hour.

Furthermore, it brings the new possibilities of the use of nearer bases from which an attack or attacks on the American Continents could be made. From the fords of Greenland it is 4 hours by air to Newfoundland; 5 hours to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec; and only 6 hours to New England.

The Azores are only 2,000 miles from parts of our eastern seaboard and if Bermuda fell into hostile hands it is a matter of less than 3 hours for modern bombers to reach our shores.

From a base in the outer West Indies, the coast of Florida could be reached in 200 minutes.

The islands off the west coast of Africa are only 1,500 miles from Brazil. Modern planes starting from the Cape Verde Islands can be over Brazil in 7 hours.

And Para, Brazil, is but 4 flying hours to Caracas, Venezuela; and Venezuela but 2½ hours to Cuba and the Canal Zone; and Cuba and the Canal Zone are 2½ hours to Tampico, Mexico; and Tampico is 2½ hours to St. Louis, Kansas City and Omaha.

On the other side of the continent, Alaska, with a white population of only 30,000 people, is within 4 or 5 hours of flying distance to Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma and Portland. The islands of the southern Pacific are not too far removed from the west coast of South America to prevent them from becoming bases of enormous strategic advantage to attacking forces.

Surely, the developments of the past few weeks have made it clear to all of our citizens that the possibility of attack on vital American zones ought to make it essential that we have the physical, the ready ability to meet those attacks and to prevent them from reaching their objectives.

This means military implements—not on paper—which are ready and available to meet any lightning offensive against our American interest. It means also that facilities for production must be ready to turn out munitions and equipment at top speed.

We have had the lesson before us over and over again—nations that were not ready and were unable to get ready found themselves overrun by the enemy. So-called impregnable fortifications no longer exist. A defense which allows an enemy to consolidate his approach without hindrance will lose. A defense which makes no effective effort to destroy the lines of supplies and communications of the enemy will lose.

An effective defense by its very nature requires the equipment to attack an aggressor on his route before he can establish strong bases within the territory of American vital interests.

Loose talking and thinking on the part of some may give the false impression that our own Army and Navy are not first-rate, or that money has been wasted on them.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

In recent years the defensive power of our Army, Navy and Marine Corps has been very greatly improved.

The Navy is stronger today than at any time in the nation's history. Today also a large program of new construction is well under way. Ship for ship, ours are equal to, or better than, the vessels of any foreign power.

The Army likewise is at its greatest peace-time strength. Its equipment in quality and quantity has been greatly increased and improved.

The National Guard and the reserve strength of the two Services are better equipped and better prepared than during any other peace-time period.

On the other side of the picture we must visualize the outstanding fact that since the first day of September, 1939, every week that has

passed has brought new lessons learned from actual combat on land and sea.

I cite examples. Where naval ships have operated without adequate protection by defending aircraft, their vulnerability to air attack has increased. All nations are hard at work studying the need of additional anti-aircraft protection.

Several months ago the use of a new type of magnetic mine made many unthinking people believe that all surface ships were doomed. Within a few weeks a successful defensive device against these mines was placed in operation; and it is a fact that the sinkings of merchant ships by torpedo, by mine or by airplane are definitely much lower than during the similar period in 1915.

Combat conditions have changed even more rapidly in the air. With the amazing progress in the design of planes and engines, the airplane of a year ago is out-of-date now. It is too slow, it is improperly protected, it is too weak in gun power.

In types of planes, we are not behind the other nations of the world. Many of the planes of the belligerent powers are at this moment not of the latest models. But one belligerent power not only has many more planes than all their opponents combined, but also appears to have a weekly production capacity at the moment that is far greater than that of their opponents.

From the point of view of our own defense, therefore, great additional production capacity is our principal air requisite.

For the permanent record, I ask the Congress not to take any action which would in any way hamper or delay the delivery of American-made planes to foreign nations which have ordered them, or seek to purchase more planes. That, from the point of view of our own national defense, would be extremely shortsighted.

During the past year American production capacity for war planes, including engines, has risen from approximately 6,000 planes a year to more than double that number, due in greater part to the placing of foreign orders.

Our immediate problem is to superimpose on this production capacity a greatly increased additional production capacity. I should like to see this nation geared up to the ability to turn out at least 50,000 planes a year. Furthermore, I believe that this nation should plan at this time a program that would provide us with 50,000 military and naval planes.

The ground forces of the Army require the immediate speeding up of last winter's program to procure equipment of all kinds, including motor transport and artillery, including anti-aircraft guns and full ammunition supplies. It had been planned to spread these requirements over the next three or four years. We should fill them at once.

At this time I am asking the immediate appropriation by the Congress of a large sum of money for four primary purposes:

First, to procure the essential equipment of all kinds for a larger and thoroughly rounded-out Army;

Second, to replace or modernize all old Army and Navy equipment with the latest type of equipment;

Third, to increase production facilities for everything needed for the Army and Navy for national defense. We

require the ability to turn out quickly infinitely greater supplies;

Fourth, to speed up to a twenty-four hour basis all existing Army and Navy contracts, and all new contracts to be awarded.

I ask for an immediate appropriation of \$896,000,000, divided approximately as follows:

1. For the Army	\$146,000,000
2. For the Navy and Marine Corps	250,000,000
3. To the President to provide for emergencies affecting the national security and defense	100,000,000

In addition to the above sum, I ask for authorizations for the Army, Navy and Marine Corps to make contract obligations in the further sum of \$186,090,000.

And to the President an additional authorization to make contract obligations for \$100,000,000.

The total of authorizations is, therefore \$286,090,000.

It is my belief that a large part of the requested appropriation of \$100,000,000, and the requested authorization of \$100,090,000 to the President will be used principally for the increase of production of airplanes, anti-aircraft guns, and the training of additional personnel for these weapons. This would be in addition to the direct estimates for these purposes in the other items requested.

The proposed details of the appropriations and authorizations asked for will be given to the Committees of the Congress.

These estimates do not, of course, duplicate any item 1941. Nor do they include supplemental or deficiency estimates which may become necessary by reason of pending legislation or shortage of funds under existing programs.

There are some who say that democracy cannot cope with the new techniques of government developed in recent years by a few countries—by a few countries which deny the freedoms which we maintain are essential to our democratic way of life. This I reject.

I know that our trained officers and men know more about fighting and the weapons and equipment needed for fighting than any of us laymen; and I have confidence in them.

I know that to cope with present dangers we must be strong in heart and hand; strong in our faith—strong in our way of living.

I, too, pray for peace—that the ways of aggression and force may be banished from the earth—but I am determined to face the fact realistically that this nation requires a toughness of moral and physical fibre. Those qualities, I am convinced, the American people hold to a high degree.

Our task is plain. The road we must take is clearly indicated. Our defenses must be invulnerable, our security absolute. But our defense as it was yesterday, or even as it is today, does not provide security against potential developments and dangers of the future.

Defense cannot be static. Defense must grow and change from day to day. Defense must be dynamic and flexible, an expression of the vital forces of the nation and of its resolve will to meet whatever challenge the future may hold. For these reasons, I need hardly assure you that after the adjournment of this session of the Congress, I will not hesitate to call the Congress into Special Session if at any time the situation of the national defense requires it. The Congress and the Chief Executive constitute a team where the defense of the land is concerned.

Our ideal, our objective is still peace—peace at home and peace abroad. Nevertheless, we stand ready not only to spend millions for defense but to give our service and even our lives for the maintenance of our American liberties.

Our security is not a matter of weapons alone. The arm that yields them must be strong, the eye that guides them clear, the will that directs them indomitable.

These are the characteristics of a free people, a people devoted to the institutions they themselves have built, a people willing to defend a way of life that is precious to them all, a people who put their faith in God.

#### *Radio Message to the Country Delivered on May 26, 1940:*

MY FRIENDS, at this moment of sadness throughout most of the world, I want to talk with you about a number of subjects that directly affect the future of the United States. We are shocked at the almost incredible eye witness stories that come to us; stories of what is happening at this moment to the civilian populations of Norway and Holland and Belgium and Luxembourg and France.

I think it is right on this Sabbath evening that I should say a word in behalf of women and children and old men who need help—immediate help in their present distress—help from us across the seas, help from us who are still free to give it.

Tonight over the once peaceful roads of Belgium and France millions are now moving, running from their homes to escape bombs and shells and fire and machine gunning without shelter, and almost without food. They stumble on, knowing not where the end of the road will be. I speak to you of these people because each one of you that is listening to me tonight has a way of helping them. The American Red Cross, that represents each of us, is rushing food and clothing and medical supplies to these destitute civilian millions. Please—I beg you—give according to your means to your nearest Red Cross chapter, give as generously as you can. I ask this in the name of our common humanity.

Let us sit down again, together, you and I, to consider our own pressing problems that confront us.

There are many among us who in the past closed their eyes to events abroad—because they believed in utter good faith what some of their fellow Americans told them—that was was taking place in Europe was none of our business; that no matter what happened over there, the United States could always pursue its peaceful and unique course in the world.

There are many among us who closed their eyes, from lack of interest or lack of knowledge; honestly and sincerely thinking that many hundreds of miles of salt water made the American hemisphere so remote that the people of North and Central and South America could go on living in the midst of their vast resources without reference to, or danger from, the other continents of the world.

There are some among us who were persuaded by minority groups that we could maintain our physical safety by retiring within our continental boundaries—the Atlantic on the east, the Pacific on the west, Canada on the north and Mexico on the south. I illustrated the futility—the impossibility—of that idea in my message to the Congress last week. Obviously, a defense policy based on that is merely to invite future attack.

And, finally, there are a few among us who have deliberately and consciously closed their eyes because they were determined to be opposed to their government, its foreign policy and every other policy, to be partisans, and to believe that anything that the government did was wholly wrong.

To those who have closed their eyes for any of these many reasons, to those who would not admit the possibility of the approaching storm—to all of them the past two weeks have meant the shattering of many illusions.

They have lost the illusion that we are remote and isolated and, therefore, secure against the dangers from which no other land is free.

In some quarters, with this rude awakening has come fear, fear bordering on panic. It is said that we are defenseless. It is whispered by some that, only by abandoning our freedom, our ideals, our way of life, can we build our defenses adequately, can we match the strength of the aggressors.

I did not share those illusions. I do not share these fears.

Today we are now more realistic. But let us not be calamity-howlers and discount our strengths. Let us have done with both fears and illusions. On this Sabbath evening, in our homes in the midst of our American families, let us calmly consider what we have done and what we must do.

In the past two or three weeks all kinds of stories have been handed out to the American public about our lack of preparedness. It has even been charged that the money we have spent on our military and naval forces during the last few years has gone down the rat-hole. I think that it is a matter of fairness to the nation that you hear the facts.

Yes we have spent large sums of money on the national defense. This money has been used to make our Army and Navy today the largest, the best equipped, and the best trained peace-time military establishment in the history of this country.

Let me tell you just a few of the many things accomplished during the past few years.

I do not propose to go into every detail. It is a known fact, however, that in 1933, when this administration came into office, the United States Navy had fallen in standing among the navies of the world, in power of ships and in efficiency, to a relatively low ebb. The relative fighting power of the Navy had been greatly diminished

by failure to replace ships and equipment, which had become out-of-date.

Between 1933 and 1940—seven fiscal years—your government will have spent \$1,487,000,000 more than it spent on the Navy during the seven years before 1933.

What did we get for this money?

The fighting personnel of the Navy rose from 79,000 to 145,000. During this period 215 ships for the fighting fleet have been laid down or commissioned, practically seven times the number in the preceding similar period.

Of these we have commissioned twelve cruisers, sixty-three destroyers, twenty-six submarines, three aircraft carriers, two gunboats, seven auxiliaries and many smaller craft. Among the many ships now being built and paid for are eight new battleships.

Ship construction costs millions of dollars—more in the United States than anywhere else in the world; but it is a fact that we cannot have adequate naval defense for all American waters without ships—ships that sail the surface of the ocean, ships that move under the surface and ships that move through the air. And, speaking of airplanes that work with the Navy, in 1933 we had 1,127 useful aircraft and today we have 2,892 on hand and on order. Nearly all of the 1933 planes have been replaced by new planes because they became obsolete or worn out.

The Navy is far stronger today than at any peace-time period in the whole long history of the nation. In hitting power and in efficiency, I would even make the assertion that it is stronger today than it was during the World War.

The Army of the United States in 1933 consisted of 122,000 enlisted men. Now, in 1940, that has been practically doubled. The Army of 1933 had been given few new implements of war since 1919, and had been compelled to draw on old reserve stocks left over from the World War.

The net result of this was that our Army by 1933 had very greatly declined in its ratio of strength with the armies of Europe and the Far East.

That was the situation I found.

Since then great changes have taken place.

Between 1933 and 1940—these past seven fiscal years—your government will have spent \$1,292,000,000 more than was spent on the Army in the previous seven years.

And what did we get for this money?

The personnel of the Army has been almost doubled. And by the end of this year every existing unit of the present regular Army will be equipped with its complete requirements of modern weapons. Existing units of the National Guard will also be largely equipped with similar items.

Here are some striking examples taken from a large number of them:

Since 1933 we have actually purchased 5,640 airplanes, including the most modern type of long-range bombers and fast pursuit planes, though, of course, many of these that were delivered four, five, six or seven years ago have been worn out through use and been scrapped.

We must remember these planes cost money—a lot of it. For example, one modern four-engine, long-range bombing plane costs \$350,000; one modern interceptor pursuit plane costs \$133,000; one medium bomber costs \$160,000.

To go on, in 1933 we had only 355 anti-aircraft guns. We now have more than 1,700 modern anti-aircraft guns of all types on hand or on order, and you ought to know that a three-inch anti-aircraft gun costs \$40,000 without any of the fire control equipment that goes with it.

In 1933 there were only twenty-four modern infantry mortars in the entire Army. We now have on hand and on order more than 1,600.

In 1933 we had only forty-eight modern tanks and armored cars; today we have on hand and on order 1,700. Each one of our heavier tanks costs \$46,000.

There are many other items in which our progress since 1933 has been rapid, and the great proportion of this advance has been during the last two years.

In 1933 we had 1,263 Army pilots. Today the Army alone has more than 3,200 of the best fighting fliers in the world, who last year flew more than 1,600,000 hours in combat training. This does not include the hundreds of splendid pilots in the National Guard and organized reserves.

Within the past year the productive capacity of the aviation industry to produce military planes has been tremendously increased. This capacity today, however, is still inadequate. But the government, working with industry, is determined to increase this capacity to meet our needs. We intend to harness the efficient machinery of these manufacturers to the government's program of being able to get 50,000 planes a year.

One additional word about aircraft. Recent wars, including the current war in Europe, have demonstrated beyond doubt that fighting efficiency depends on unity of control.

In sea operations the airplane is just as much an integral part of unity of operations as are the submarine, the destroyer and the battleship, and in land warfare the airplane is just as much a part of military operations as are the tank corps, the engineers, the artillery or the infantry itself. Therefore the air forces should be part of the Army and Navy.

At my request the Congress is voting the largest appropriation ever asked by the Army or the Navy in peacetime and the equipment and training provided by them will be in addition to the figures I have given you.

The world situation may so change that it will be necessary to re-appraise our program at any time. In such case I am confident that the Congress and the Chief Executive will work in harmony as a team, as they are doing today.

I will not hesitate at any moment to ask for additional funds when they are required.

In this era of swift, mechanized warfare we all have to remember that what is modern today and up-to-date, what is efficient and practical, becomes obsolete and outworn tomorrow.

Even while the production line turns out airplanes, new ones are being designed on the drafting table.

Even as a cruiser slides down the ways, plans for improvement, plans for increased efficiency in the next model, are taking shape in the blueprints of designers.

Every day's fighting in Europe, on land, on sea and in the air, disclose constant changes in methods of warfare. We are constantly improving and redesigning, testing new weapons and seeking to produce in accordance with the latest that the brains of science conceive.

We are calling upon the resources, the efficiency and the ingenuity of American manufacturers of war materiel of all kinds—airplanes, tanks, guns, ships and all the hundreds of products that go into this materiel. The government of the United States itself manufactures few of the implements of war. Private industry will continue to be the source of most of this materiel; and private industry will have to be speeded up to produce it at the rate and efficiency called for by the needs of the times.

I know that private business cannot be expected to make all the capital investment required for expansions of plants and factories and personnel which this program calls for at once. It would be unfair to expect industrial corporations to do this, when there is a chance that a change in international affairs may stop future orders.

Therefore, the Government of the United States stands ready to advance the necessary money to help provide for the enlargement of factories, the establishment of new plants, the employment of thousands of necessary workers, the development of new sources of supply for the hundreds of raw materials required, the development of quick mass transportation of supplies. The details of this are now being worked out in Washington, day and night.

We are calling on men now engaged in private industry to help us in carrying out this program and you will hear more of this in the next few days.

This does not mean that the men we call upon will be engaged in the actual production and this materiel. That will still have to be carried on in the plants and factories throughout the land. Private industry will have the responsibility of providing the best, speediest and most efficient mass production of which it is capable. The functions of the business men whose assistance we are calling upon will be to coordinate this program, to see to it that all of the plants continue to operate at maximum speed and efficiency.

Patriotic Americans of proved merit and of unquestioned ability in their special fields are coming to Washington to help the government with their training, experience and capability.

It is our purpose not only to speed up production but to increase the total facilities of the nation in such a way that they can be further enlarged to meet emergencies of the future.

But as this program proceeds there are several things we must continue to watch and safeguard, things which are just as important to the sound defense of a nation as physical armament itself. While our navy and our airplanes and our guns may be our first lines of defense, it is still clear that way down at the bottom, underlying them all, giving them their strength, sustenance and power, are the spirit and morale of a free people.

For that reason, we must make sure in all that we do that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains which

we have made in these past years. We have carried on an offensive on a broad front against social and economic inequalities and abuses which had made our society weak. That offensive should not now be broken down by the pincers movement of those who would use the present needs of physical military defense to destroy it.

There is nothing in our present emergency to justify making the workers of our nation toil for longer hours than now limited by statute. As more orders come in and as more work has to be done, tens of thousands of people who are now unemployed will receive employment.

There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a lowering of the standards of employment. Minimum wages should not be reduced. It is my hope, indeed, that the new speed-up of production will cause many businesses which now pay below the minimum standards to bring their wages up.

There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a breaking down of old-age pensions or unemployment insurance. I would rather see the systems extended to other groups who do not now enjoy them.

There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives—conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, housing and help to the underprivileged.

Conversely, however, I am sure that responsible leaders will not permit some specialized group, which represents a minority of the total employees of a plant or industry, to break up the continuity of employment of the majority of the employees. The policy and the laws providing for collective bargaining are still in force. And labor will be adequately represented in Washington in this defense program.

Also our present emergency and a common sense of decency make it imperative that no new group of war millionaires come into being in this nation as a result of the struggles abroad. The American people will not relish the idea of any American citizen growing rich and fat in an emergency of blood and slaughter and human suffering.

And, finally, this emergency demands that the consumers of America be protected so that our general cost of living can be maintained at a reasonable level. We ought to avoid the spiral processes of the World War. The soundest policy is for every employer in the country to help give useful employment to the millions who are unemployed. By giving to these millions an increased purchasing power, the prosperity of the whole country will rise to a much higher level.

Today's threat to our national security is not a matter of military weapons alone. We know of new methods of attack.

The Trojan Horse. The fifth column that betrays a nation unprepared for treachery.

Spies, saboteurs and traitors are the actors in this new strategy. With all of them we must deal vigorously.

But there is an added technique for weakening a nation at its very roots, for disrupting the entire pattern of life of a people. It is important that we understand it.

The method is simple. First, discord. A group—not too large—a group that may be sectional or racial or political—is encouraged to exploit their prejudices through false slogans and emotional appeals.

The aims of those who deliberately egg on these groups is to create confusion of counsel, public indecision, political paralysis and eventually a state of panic.

Sound national policies come to be viewed with a new and unremitting skepticism, not through the wholesome political debates of honest and free men, but through the clever schemes of foreign agents.

As a result of these new techniques armament programs may be dangerously delayed. Singleness of national purpose may be undermined. Men can lose confidence in each other, and therefore in the efficacy of their own united action. Faith and courage yield to doubt and fear. The unity of the State is so sapped that its strength is destroyed.

All this is no idle dream. It has happened time after time, in nation after nation, during the last two years. Fortunately American men and women are not easy dupes. Campaigns of group hatred or class struggle have never made much headway among us, and are not making headway now. But few forces are being unleashed, deliberately planned propagandas to divide and weaken us in the face of danger as other nations have been weakened before.

These dividing forces are undiluted poison. They must not be allowed to spread in the New World as they have in the Old. Our moral and mental defenses must be raised as never before against those who would cast a smoke screen across our vision.

The development of our defense program makes it essential that each and everyone of us feel that we have some contribution to make toward the security of our country.

At this time, when the world—and the world includes our own American Hemisphere—is threatened by forces of destruction it is my resolve and yours to build up our armed defenses.

We shall build them to whatever heights the future may require.

We shall rebuild them swiftly as the methods of warfare swiftly change.

For more than three centuries we have been building on this continent a free society, a society in which the promise of the human spirit may find fulfillment. Commended here are the blood and genius of all the peoples of the world who have sought this promise.

We have built well. We are continuing our efforts to bring the blessings of a free society, of a free and productive economic system, to every family in the land. This is the promise of America.

It is this that we must continue to build—this that we must continue to defend.

It is the task of our generation. But we build and defend not for our generation alone. We defend the foundations laid by our fathers. We build a life for generations yet unborn. We defend and we build a way of life, not for America alone, but for all mankind. Ours is a high duty, a noble task.

Day and night I pray for the restoration of peace in this mad world of ours. It is not necessary that I, the President, ask the American people to pray in behalf of such a cause; I know you are praying with me.

I am certain that out of the hearts of every man, woman and child in this land, in every waking minute, a supplication goes up to Almighty

God; that all of us beg that suffering and starving, that death and destruction may end—and that peace may return to the world. In common affection for all mankind, your prayers join with mine—that God will heal the wounds and the hearts of humanity.

*Message to the Congress of the United States on May 31, 1940:*

THE almost incredible events of the past two weeks in the European conflict, particularly as a result of the use of aviation and mechanized equipment, together with the possible consequences of further developments, necessitate another enlargement of our military program.

No individual, no group, can clearly foretell the future. As long, however, as a possibility exists that not one continent or two continents but all continents may become involved in a world-wide war, reasonable precaution demands that American defense be made more certain.

An investigation into manufacturing resources since my message of May 16, to determine the practicability of placing additional orders with industry for special material, both to provide an early expansion of existing production facilities and to obtain increased quantities of the special weapons concerned, has caused the War and Navy Departments to submit to me an urgent and new recommendation that increased appropriations and authorizations for the national defense be made before the adjournment of the present Congress.

Over and beyond the acquisition of this actual material is the evident requirement for the immediate creation of additional production facilities to meet possible future emergencies as well as present deficiency in the making of munitions, such as guns, ammunition and fire-control equipment. These facilities require a long time to create and to reach quantity production. The increased gravity of the situation indicates that action should be taken without delay.

The problem of defending our national institutions and territorial integrity is no longer a problem for men equipped simply with an indomitable determination. Modern defense requires that this determination be supported by the highly developed machinery of our industrial productive capacity.

The expansion of our defense program makes it necessary that we undertake immediately the training and retraining of our people, and especially our young people, for employment in industry and in service in the Army and Navy.

The requirements of industry and the expanded armed forces for persons with experience in mechanical and manual fields are obviously going to be great. We do not have such trained persons in the number that will be required for the tasks that lie ahead of us if our defense is to be assured. We have, therefore, the task of training a large number in the skills and semi-skills required by modern production in industry and by a highly mechanized defense force in the Army and Navy.

A primary consideration in the training of skills must be not the existing distribution of workers among skilled fields, but the distribution that would be required if our industrial machine and our defensive forces were fully mobilized.

In the national effort for defense upon which we are now engaged it is imperative that we make full and effective use of the mighty capacities that lie in our population. Here, as yet undeveloped, lie the ability and the strength needed in the building up of our armaments to provide a sure industrial foundation for the meeting of any and all defense requirements.

Without the full development of these skills our national defense will be less than it must be in the critical days which lie ahead. Without the full contribution of our people our defense cannot attain the invulnerability which the nation demands and which we are determined it shall have.

The one most obvious lesson of the present war in Europe is the value of the factor of speed. There is definite danger in waiting to order the complete equipment and training of armies after a war begins.

Therefore I suggest the speedy enlargement of the program for equipping and training in the light of our defense needs.

I have instructed the representatives of the War and Navy Departments and also the representatives of the several agencies dealing with the training of young men for noncombatant services to make available to the appropriate committees of the Congress the plans and proposals which they have laid before me.

These plans call for immediate appropriations to carry forward Congressional decisions in bills already pending, for immediate appropriations to add to the program and for authorizations to enter into contracts which it will take some time to complete.

There is a specific recommendation I would make in concluding this message, that before adjournment this Congress grant me the authority to call into active service such portion of the National Guard as may be deemed necessary to maintain our position of neutrality and to safeguard the national defense, this to include authority to call into active service the necessary reserve personnel.

The amounts involved are large—over a billion dollars—but I believe that for national safety the needs are urgent.

## DESIGN FOR DEMOCRACY

Dedicated to the belief that the extensive diffusion of information is a profound responsibility of American democracy, the American Council on Public Affairs is designed to promote the spread of authoritative facts and standard opinions concerning contemporary social and economic problems.

The Council believes that the facts and opinions presented and under its sponsorship deserve careful attention and consideration. It is not, however, committed to those facts and opinions in any other way. Those publications of the Council necessarily represent different viewpoints on public questions.

The members of the Council's National Board are Harry Elmer Barnes, Rev. Dr. George E. Brown, Dr. James T. Farley, Dr. George F. Kennan, Prof. Claude Miller, Lowell Mellett, Rev. Dr. Henry Smith Ladd, Edwin C. Johnson, Walter West, Mark Starr, Robert Moses Lovett, Willard Upham, Nathaniel H. Hart, Dr. Joseph Davis, Prof. William C. Brewster, John B. Andrews, Nathaniel West, Dr. Max Rafferty, W. E. Ladd, Charles W. Morgan, Mrs. Waterman Williams, Walter Myer, Dr. Ernest Gruening, Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister, Prof. Ernest Griffith, Henry T. Hunt, Dohert Clark, Abraham Ribicoff, Dr. George E. Kline, Dr. George E. Pyle, Dr. Frank Murphy, Dr. Carroll, Dr. Floyd W. Reaves, Clark M. Hitchcock, Dr. Frederick L. Reeder, Carl Myerson, R. J. Coli, Richard Bowditch, Eugene Davidson, Dr. Frank J. Coyle, Dr. John C. Stennis, Dr. John C. Stennis, Dr. Mark May, M. B. Schlesinger is Executive Secretary and Editor of Publications.

## SIGNIFICANT PUBLIC AFFAIRS PUBLICATIONS

**THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TODAY.** A survey of recent innovations and renovations by Cordell Hull, Frances Perkins, William O. Douglas and 29 other authorities. Introduction by Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes. 119 pp. (\$1).

**RIVAL UNIONISM IN THE UNITED STATES.** By Walter Galenson. A thoroughgoing and impartial study of the history, development, programs and techniques of rival unions. 320 pp. (\$2.50).

**THE POLL TAX.** A detailed report by Dr. Frank P. Graham, Prof. James J. Morrison, Prof. H. C. Nixon and others. 23 pp. (25¢).

**FIVE YEARS OF HITLER.** A review of religion, labor, women, education, militarism, and propaganda under Nazism by Prof. Frederick Schuman, Rev. Henry S. Leiper, Dr. Charles Beard, Prof. Robert Brady, H. C. Engelbrecht and Dr. Alice Hamilton. 46 pp. (10¢).

**ANTI-TRUST LAW ENFORCEMENT.** A detailed discussion of past and present factors by Thurman Arnold. 23 pp. (25¢).

**PUERTO RICAN PROBLEMS.** A comprehensive symposium by Dr. Gertrude C. Bussey, Prof. Paul T. Homan and others. 15 pp. (10¢).

**IN DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY.** A manifesto concerning civil liberties by Justice Frank Murphy. Introductory notes by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Dr. Charles Beard. 15 pp. (10¢).

**INSIDE THE "CHRISTIAN FRONT."** A revealing picture by Theodore Irwin. 23 pp. (10¢).

**HEYWOOD BROUN.** Reminiscences by Rev. John A. Ryan, Bruce Bliven, Roger Baldwin, Gardner Jackson, and Milton Kaufman. 15 pp. (10¢).

**WHAT WAS FEDERAL THEATRE?** An analysis by Hallie Flanagan, Director of Theatre Research of Vassar College. 23 pp. (10¢).

**PUBLIC HOUSING IN AMERICA.** A highly authoritative book by some 96 experts. Contains articles by Lewis Mumford, Sir Raymond Unwin, Catherine Bauer, Senator Robert Wagner, Nathan Straus, Rev. E. R. Moore, Charles P. Taft, Alfred E. Smith, Senator Millard Tydings, and Rev. Charles E. Coughlin. 369 pp. (\$1.25).

---

*American Council on Public Affairs*  
1721 Eye Street, Washington, D. C.