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**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**

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**File No. 1283-A**

**1940 May 26**

**Fireside Chat #15 –  
National Defense**

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

MAY 26, 1940

My friends:

At this moment ~~of almost universal~~ 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 <sup>are witnesses</sup> are shocked by the almost incredible stories that come to us <sup>A</sup> 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, 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, without shelter, and almost wholly without food. They stumble on, knowing not where the

*point to*

end of the road will be. I ~~remind~~ 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, which represents each of us, is rushing food, clothing and medical supplies to these destitute 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 what 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 ~~so~~ <sup>hundreds of</sup> many miles of saltwater made the American Hemisphere so remote that the people of North, Central and South America could go on living in the midst of their vast resources without reference to, or danger from, 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's foreign policy, to be partisan, 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 bordering on panic. It is said that we are defenceless. 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.

(9,35)

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

We are now more realistic. But let us not be calamity-howlers and discount our strength. 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 <sup>has</sup> ~~have~~ gone down the rat-hole. I think that it is a matter of fairness to the nation that you hear the facts.

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? - Money not included in the <sup>new defense appropriations</sup> ~~old defense appropriations~~

The fighting personnel of the Navy rose from 78,000 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 ~~existing~~ <sup>7 year</sup> period.

Of these we have commissioned 12 cruisers; 63 destroyers; 26 submarines; 3 aircraft carriers; 2 gunboats; 7 auxiliaries and many smaller craft. *And* Among the many ships now being built and paid for are 8 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~~ <sup>old</sup> planes have been replaced by new planes because they became *1933* <sup>1</sup> 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.

(9.40)

The Army of the United States in 1933 consisted of 122,000 enlisted men. 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 all 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 -- seven fiscal years -- your <sup>will</sup> government ~~shall~~ have spent \$1,292,000,000 more than was spent on the Army the previous seven years.

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 somestriking examples taken from a large number:

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 which were delivered 4,5,6 or 7 years ago have worn out through use and been scrapped.

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.

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

In 1933 there were only 24 modern infantry mortars in the entire Army. We now have on hand and on order more than 1,600.

In 1933 we had only 48 modern tanks and armored cars; today we have on hand and on order 1,700. Each one of our heavier tanks cost \$46,000.

There are many other items in which our progress since 1933 has been rapid. And the great proportion of this advance ~~has~~ <sup>comes</sup> ~~of really modern equipment,~~ ~~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 flyers in the world, who last year flew more than one million 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 ~~more than doubled.~~ 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,

*(Continued)*  
the air forces should be part of the Army and Navy.  
A.A.

(9.45)

In line with my request the Congress is voting the largest appropriation ever asked by the Army or the Navy in peace-time; and the equipment and training provided for them will be in addition to the figures I have given you.

The world situation may so change that it will be necessary to reappraise 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 blue prints of designers.

Every day's fighting in Europe, on land, on sea, and in the air, discloses 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.  
A

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

9.50

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 — *from* conservation of natural  
resources, assistance to agriculture, housing, and help to the  
under-privileged.

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 rising spiral of costs of all kinds,* 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 those 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 these 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 aim of those who deliberately egg on these groups is to create confusion of counsel, public indecision, political paralysis and eventually, a state of panic.

9.55

Sound national policies come to be viewed with a new and unreasoning 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 <sup>yet</sup> <sub>A</sub> easy dupes. Campaigns of group hatred or class struggle have never made much headway among us, and are not making headway now. But new 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 smokescreen across our vision.

The development of our defense program makes it essential that each and every one 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. Commingled 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 -- *for* 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.

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Franklin D Roosevelt  
Original reading copy

*Franklin D. Roosevelt*

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Delivered from the White House  
May 26, 1940, 9.30 P. M., E. S. T.

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 by the almost incredible eyewitness 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 wholly without food. They stumble on, knowing not where the end of the road will be. I (remind) 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, (which) that represents each of us, is rushing food and clothing and medical supplies to these destitute civilian millions. Please -- I beg you -- please 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.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

Let us sit down (again), together again, 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 what 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 the 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, 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 partisan, and to believe that any-

thing 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 strength. 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 whole 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, I cannot (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.

But between 1933 and this year, 1940 -- seven fiscal years -- your Government will have spent (\$1,487,000,000) a billion four hundred eighty-seven million dollars more than it spent on the Navy during the seven years (before) that preceded 1933.

What did we get for this money, money, incidentally, not included in the new defense appropriations -- only the money heretofore appropriated?

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) seven year period.

Of these 215 ships we have commissioned 12 cruisers; 63 destroyers; 26 submarines; 3 aircraft carriers; 2 gunboats; 7 auxiliaries and many smaller craft. And among the many ships now being built and paid for as we build them are 8 new battleships.

Ship construction, of course, 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, airplanes that work with the Navy, in 1933 we had 1,127 of them, 1,127 useful aircraft and today we have 2,892 on hand and on order. Of course, nearly all of the old planes of 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 it consisted of 122,000 enlisted men. Now, in 1940, that number 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 all this was that our Army by 1933 had very greatly declined in its ratio of strength with the

armies of Europe and of the Far East.

That was the situation I found.

But, 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 it spent on the Army the previous seven years.

What did we get for this money?

The personnel of the Army, as I have said, 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 which were delivered 4 and 5 and 6 (or) and 7 years ago have worn out through use and been scrapped.

We must remember that 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 \$135,000; 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-craft 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.

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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.) consists of really modern equipment.

For instance, in 1933, on the personnel side we had 1,263 Army pilots. Today the Army alone has more than 3,200 of the best fighting flyers in the world, flyers who last year flew more than one million hours in combat training. (This) And that figure does not include the hundreds of splendid pilots in the National Guard and in the organized reserves.

Within the past year the productive capacity of the aviation industry to produce military planes has been tremendously increased. In the past year the capacity more than doubled, but (this) that capacity (today, however,) is still inadequate. But the Government, working with industry is determined to increase (this) that 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, about which we read so much. Recent wars, including the current war in Europe, have demonstrated beyond doubt that fighting efficiency depends on unity of command, unity of control.

In sea operations the airplane is just as much an integral part of the 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 continue to be part of the Army and Navy.

(At) In line with my request the Congress, this week, is voting the largest appropriation ever asked by the Army or the Navy in peace-time; and the equipment and training provided (by) for them will be in addition to the figures I have given you.

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

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I know that private business cannot be expected to make all of 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 or their investors to do this, when there is a chance that a change in international affairs may stop or curtail future orders a year or two hence.

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. And the details of all 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 detail in the next few days.

This does not mean that the men we call upon will be engaged in the actual production of 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.

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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 arma-

ment itself. While our Navy and our airplanes and our guns and our ships may be our first line(s) 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, I believe, 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 of 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 -- from conservation of natural resources, assistance to agriculture, housing, and help to the under-privileged.

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 an industry, to break up the continuity of employment of the majority of the employees. Let us remember that the policy and the laws that provide (providing) for collective bargaining are still in force. And I can assure you that labor will be adequately represented in Washington in (this defense program.) the carrying out of this program of defense.

And one more point on this: (Also) Our present emergency and a common sense of decency make it imperative that no new group of war millionaires shall 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) last of all, 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 rising spiral of costs of all kinds. The soundest policy is for every employer in the country to help give useful employment to the millions who are unemployed. By giving to those millions

an increased purchasing power, the prosperity of the whole (country) nation 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) other methods, 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 these we must and will 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. And it is important that we understand it.

The method is simple. It is, first, discord, a dissemination of discord. A group -- not too large -- a group that may be sectional or racial or political -- is encouraged to exploit (their) its prejudices through false slogans and emotional appeals. The aim 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 unreasoning 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 lose confidence in the efficacy of their own united action. Faith and courage can yield to doubt and fear. The unity of the state (is) can be so sapped that its strength is destroyed.

All this is no idle dream. It has happened time after time, in nation after nation, (during) here in 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 new 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) I do not hesitate to call undiluted poison. They must not be allowed to spread in the New World as they have in the Old. Our moral, (and) our mental defenses must be raised up as never before against those who would cast a smokescreen across our vision.

The development of our defense program makes it essential that each and every one of us, men and women, feel that we have some contribution to make toward the security of our (country) nation.

At this time, when the world -- and the world includes our own American Hemisphere -- when the world 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 Americans have been building on this continent a free society, a society in which the promise of the human spirit may find fulfillment. Commingled 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, yours and mine. But we build and defend not for our generation alone. We defend the foundations laid down 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 -- for 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.

May 26, 1940

CATION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast from the White House, MUST BE HELD IN CONFERENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:30 P. M., E. S. T. May 26, 1940. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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 by the almost incredible stories that come to us 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 sea, 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, without shelter, and almost wholly without food. They stumble on, knowing not where the end of the road will be. I remind 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, which represents each of us, is rushing food, clothing and medical supplies to these destitute millions. Please -- I beg you -- do so 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 and faith what some of their fellow Americans told them -- that what 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 almost entirely thinking that the many miles of salt water made the Americas Hemisphere so remote that the people of North, Central and South America could go on living in the midst of their vast resources without reference to, or danger from, other Continents of the world.

There are some among us who were persuaded by minority groups that we could maintain our physical safety by rotting within our continental boundaries -- the Atlantic on the east, the Pacific on the west, Canada in 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's foreign policy, to be partisan, 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 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.

We are now more realistic. But let us not be calamity-bowlers and discount our strength. 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.

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 12 cruisers; 63 destroyers; 26 submarines; 3 aircraft carriers; 2 gunboats; 7 auxiliaries and many smaller craft. Among the many ships now being built and paid for are 8 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. 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 all 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 -- seven fiscal years -- your government will have spent \$1,292,000,000 more than it spent on the Army the previous seven years.

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:

Since 1933 we have actually purchased 6,640 airplanes, including the most modern type of long-range bombers and fast pursuit planes, though, of course, many of these which were delivered 4,5,6 or 7 years ago have worn out through use and been scrapped.

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 \$135,000; one medium bomber costs \$150,000.

In 1933 we had only 385 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 24 modern infantry mortars in the entire Army. We now have on hand and on order more than 1,500.

In 1933 we had only 48 modern tanks and armored cars; today we have on hand and on order 1,700. Each one of our heavier tanks costs \$45,000.

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 flyers in the world, who last year flew more than one million 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 peace-time; 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 reappraise 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 cutworn tomorrow.

Even while the production line turns our 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 blue prints of designers.

Every day's fighting in Europe, on land, on sea, and in the air, discloses 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 material of all kinds -- airplanes, tanks, guns, ships, and all the hundreds of products that go into this material. 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 material; 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 of this material. 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 proven 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, substance 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 present 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 under-privileged.

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 these 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 aim 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 unreasoning 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 new forces are being unleashed, deliberately planned propaganda 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 smokescreen across our vision.

The development of our defense program makes it essential that each and every one 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 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. Comingled 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 sad 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.

DRAFT 1

FIRESIDE RADIO ADDRESS

MAY 26, 1940.

At this moment of almost universal gloom throughout the world, I want to talk with you about a number of subjects that directly affect the future of the United States. Our gloom is heightened by the almost incredible stories that come to us of what is happening at this moment to the civilian populations of Norway and Holland and Belgium and Luxembourg and France -- and perhaps even of England and Scotland.

Before I speak of the possibilities of similar sufferings to the Americans of the future, 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 of course, from us across the seas.~~

Tonight over the once peaceful roads of Belgium and France millions of them are now moving, ~~running~~, <sup>running</sup> ~~fleeing~~ from their homes to escape the ~~pathlessness~~ <sup>bombs and shells and fire</sup> of war, without shelter, and almost wholly without food. They ~~are~~ <sup>bleed on</sup> ~~trotting~~ <sup>the</sup> cold and hungry, knowing not where the end of the road will be. I remind 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, which represents each of us, is rushing food, clothing  
and medical supplies to these millions. ~~to your nearest~~  
~~according to your means & your nearest~~  
~~Red Cross chapter 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 ~~closed~~ <sup>in the past</sup> closed their eyes to events abroad -- because they believed in utter good faith what <sup>many</sup> of their fellow Americans told them -- that what was happening 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~~ closed their eyes, from lack of interest or lack of knowledge; honestly and sincerely thinking of the tragedies in Europe as being so many geographical miles away, so many leagues of salt water distant, so remote from the American Hemisphere that the Americans of North America, and Central America and South America could go on living in the midst of their vast resources without any particular relationship to, or danger from, other Continents of the world.

A There are some among us who ~~were~~ persuaded by sincere minority groups in our midst that we could, if we had to, line the thousands of miles of our seacoast with heavy guns -- line even our southern and northern borders with forts and machine guns and depend on our own boundaries -- the Atlantic on the east, the Pacific on the west, Canada on the north and Mexico on the south -- with the thought that ~~Hawaii~~ <sup>perhaps, was</sup> and Alaska and Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands and the Canal Zone might be perhaps useful outposts but that <sup>should</sup> even if they fall, we, inside of our own four walls, could continue our American way of life without reference to what was going on, not only in the rest of the world but in the rest of our own Continent.

And, finally, there are some among us who have deliberately and ~~consciously~~ closed their eyes because they were determined to be opposed to their government's foreign policy, to be partisan, and to believe that anything that one party did was wholly bad and that everything that the ~~other~~ party advocated was wholly good.

Those who have closed their eyes for any of these ~~three~~ many reasons, who would not look to see the approaching storm,

[who would not listen to their own government, who preferred to follow the pollyannas of politics] -- to all of them the past two weeks have meant the shattering of many illusions.

They have been shocked into the realization that the European democracies are not impregnable. 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, bordering on panic. It is said that we are defenseless. It is thought 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.

We are now more realistic, and we no longer discount ~~the threats to our security~~. <sup>But</sup> Let us not be calamity-howlers and discount our strength. 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 -- especially by some commentators and by some self-constituted experts on military subjects and by some politicians, who, regardless of party, think more in terms of publicity than of patriotism. They tell you about our lack of preparedness ~~nowhere~~ <sup>It has been charged</sup> that the money we have spent on our military and naval forces during the last few years have gone down the rat-hole. I think that it is a matter of simple fairness to you ~~so that you may decide for yourselves,~~ that you should <sup>first</sup> hear some of the facts, ~~and some of the details.~~

I want to assure you tonight that these statements are unfounded; that nothing could be further from the truth.  
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.

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

B

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See March 1933

I can say the same thing to an even more marked degree with respect to the Navy. I do not propose to go into detailed figures. 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 fighting ~~efficiency~~ of the Navy had been diminished by the failure to replace ships which had become obsolescent. Since 1933 practically a new Navy has been constructed. There has been much loose talk about the cost of this new Navy. I wish to give you the correct figures of what it actually did cost.

For the fiscal years beginning July 1, 1933 to July 1, 1939 the amount of money actually spent for increasing the Navy, including ships, airplanes, modernization, naval bases, naval yards and their facilities was \$ \_\_\_\_\_. This, of course, does not include the amount spent for regular maintenance of the Navy such as pay, clothing, food, shelter, and upkeep and repair of units ashore and afloat. It includes

NAVY

2

only the amount which should be charged to new or expanded construction. For the same number of years before 1933 there was spent for new construction and expansion the amount of \$\_\_\_\_\_.

You have a right to know what you got for the money this Administration spent during the last six years which was \$\_\_\_\_\_ more than was spent the preceding six years. This is the answer:

Since 1933, we have added \_\_\_\_\_ cruisers; \_\_\_\_\_ destroyers; \_\_\_\_\_ submarines; \_\_\_\_\_ aircraft carriers; \_\_\_\_\_ auxiliaries of many kinds to the active commissioned list. In addition to that, we have under construction at the present time for which payments, of course, have been made as construction proceeded under the contracts \_\_\_\_\_ battleships; \_\_\_\_\_ cruisers; \_\_\_\_\_ destroyers; \_\_\_\_\_ airplane carriers; \_\_\_\_\_ submarines; \_\_\_\_\_ auxiliaries. Each of these additions cost money. A lot of money. The modern type of battleship which we are building now costs from \$69 to 80 million dollars. A destroyer\$\_\_\_\_\_; a submarine \$\_\_\_\_\_; an aircraft carrier\$\_\_\_\_\_. As a result, the same great advance in increase has taken place in the number

NAVY

3

of airplanes connected with our Navy. In 1933 we had \_\_\_\_\_ airplanes. Today we have \_\_\_\_\_ airplanes. This increase has been paid for by the increase in naval expenditures which I mentioned before.

I have been talking about expenditures in the Navy to increase its fighting force. That is not the entire picture. In order to appreciate the increase in our naval program it is necessary to consider the appropriations, too. That is the amount of money which we have authorized to be placed into construction as soon as the contracts can be let. The Navy appropriations also include the amount of money for the maintenance and repair of the Navy. A comparison of the average naval appropriation for the ten years preceding this Administration with the average annual Navy appropriation for the eight years thereafter will show the other side of the picture.

The average before 1933 was about \$361,000,000 a year. The average afterwards was about \$525,000,000 per year. In addition to this, there was an average of about \$58,000,000 additional since 1933 which came out of the so-called emergency funds or relief appropriations. Looking ahead for the next year, the present Navy bill pending in Congress has already

NAVY

4

passed the Senate and reaches a total of \$1,300,000,000. In 1933 when I took office, there were about 80,000 enlisted men in the Navy. Now, there are almost double that amount. The appropriations for aviation in the Navy in 1933 was about \$25,000,000. In the current fiscal year it is about \$63,000,000. In the Navy bill now pending in the Congress the amount for aviation is \$                . For airplane construction in the Navy, there was appropriated in 1933 \$7,000,000. In the current fiscal year, there has been appropriated about \$47,000,000 and in the Navy bill pending in the Congress, there is an item for \$                .



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 even stronger today than it was even during the World War.

DRAFT 1

*Follows (Army)*

- 9 -

I do not want, however, to give you the false impression that our Army is adequate today or that our Navy is.

Things are relative -- and relative costs for example cannot be measured in mere terms of dollars. You and I know, for instance, that construction costs of all kinds of ~~materials~~ <sup>equivalent</sup> for

the Army and Navy -- planes and guns and ships, are much lower

~~any other nation even in~~ in Great Britain than they are with us -- that you can get more for your money ~~anywhere~~ than we can here. We can make

<sup>with our high standards of labor and living costs</sup>

no adequate comparison of costs between us and Germany because

there is no way of comparing the value of the internal German

mark which circulates only within that country and the American

dollar which has a constant value not only at home but all

over the world. Neither can we make a comparison between our

costs and the costs in Japan. Lots of things enter into these

comparisons -- Things like the cost of living and of equal im-

<sup>This Nation's</sup>  
portance, things like standards of life.

[ ] One great chain of newspapers is now demanding  
that a separate air force be created in our national defense.

This question was threshed out in many countries ten or fifteen years ago. Some countries decided on an entirely separate air force -- separate from the Navy and separate from the Army.

On the best military advice obtainable the United States decided to set up in the Navy an Air Corps, which would operate with the Navy over the seas; and a separate Air Corps for the Army which would work with the Army over the land. It is now a simple fact, borne out by the experience of all nations, that this old decision of ours was a correct one. Wars which have occurred since then, including the current European war, have demonstrated beyond doubt that fighting efficiency is dependent upon what is known as unity of control. Actual warfare has proved that where the naval air force is separated at sea from the Navy itself, there have followed serious losses and serious tactical mistakes. In land fighting, unity of command -- on land and in the air -- has been shown to be essential for efficient combat in modern war.

The simple fact is, of course, that 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 that 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. Why, at a time of world crisis, do they seek to sabotage the military preparations of their government by reviving a wholly outworn and disapproved theory.

6  
INSERT 1

In critical times like these it is natural for unthinking persons to demand some overnight transformation of a peaceful nation into a tremendous fighting force completely equipped with enormous quantities of complicated, destructive implements of war. Influenced by accounts of the fighting abroad, our self-deputed experts on military matters center their demands on the spectacular features of warfare; on parachute troops, dive bombers and massive tanks.

I ask you not to become confused by these demands, to have confidence, as I have confidence, in the officers of our military and naval services ~~the War and Navy Departments~~ who are responsible for the development of our defense forces. I know, and I want you to know, that the Army and the Navy have been preparing within the limits of men and equipment for just such an emergency as the one which confronts us today. I have satisfied myself that their plans are well-considered and up-to-the-minute; that they are geared for action at the greatest possible speed consistent with efficiency to produce a properly equipped, well-balanced, well-coordinated fighting team.

[ I am certain that thousands of American families tonight have discussed the future with apprehension and have asked if the funds now being provided by Congress for the national defense are sufficient to insure our security.]

~~The [redacted] is voting~~  
At my request Congress has just voted the largest appropriation ever asked by the Army in peace times. This <sup>on the Navy</sup> ~~is~~ appropriation <sup>are</sup> adequate to meet the plans of the Army and Navy during the next few months. There should be no sudden and ill-considered expansion ~~of the~~ beyond the capacity of industry to provide modern equipment. There must be a step-by-step development of our defenses, keeping pace with delivery of material and conforming to the changes in the world situation.

~~C/S~~ [ This year four separate field armies are holding extended maneuvers, the largest in our present history. During the past winter under unusually severe winter conditions, the combat divisions of the Army have been in the field under intensive training. These divisions, newly equipped with modern transport, have been executing the same rapid maneuvers that have recently startled many of our unofficial observers. Our Army is compact, seasoned, highly trained and with high morale. Its development will continue as required to meet any crisis on

6

INSERT NO. I

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.

*Cruiser*  
Even as a ~~battleship~~ slides down the ways, plans for improvement, plans for increased efficiency in the next model, are taking shape in the ~~minds of naval engineers and in the~~ blue prints of designers.

Every day's fighting in Europe, on land, on sea, and in the air, discloses flaws, deficiencies, and weak spots in ships, in planes, in guns, in tanks.

And so it is no admission of failure to say that some of the equipment in our national defense is outmoded. But I do say that what we have been recently building and what we are now building is the latest, the most up-to-date and the most efficient equipment which the world now knows ~~and that~~  
~~as we with the rest of the world learn more from the experience~~  
~~of the battles abroad,~~ *We* shall continue to improve and redesign, and to produce in accordance with the latest that the brains of science conceive.

~~any front~~] I will not hesitate at any moment to ask for additional funds when it appears to our military leaders that they are required.

The quality of our new equipment has been questioned in some quarters.

Our new semi-automatic rifle is the finest military rifle in the hands of any troops in the world. Our new anti-tank gun has no superior in its class, and I make the same statement with confidence for all our other items of modern armament. Our latest model tanks are of the most advanced design, and the armor with which they are equipped is superior to that produced by any other nation in the world. It is the quantity, not the quality of our equipment that constitutes our present problem. You must remember that time is required to translate appropriations of money into weapons actually in the hands of the troops. Our aim is to cut that time to the bone.

*Insert I*

We must face the fact that we are living in a time when proponents of force are constantly growing stronger, and I can assure you that major developments abroad will be paralleled by increasing precautions in this country.

13A

The American people now fully understand the situation which faces them, and the need for speedy and drastic steps to increase the national defense. It is going to be a big job. It is going to be an expensive job. It is not merely the work or money of one year. It will have to be a steady, persistent, continuous process. I know that you are all prepared to make the effort and the sacrifice which are involved.

[After much thought and consideration and discussion with many groups of people, and after reading thousands of communications which come to the White House from all over the country, I have come to certain definite ideas about the general lines our program should take.]

[are calling]  
We shall have to call 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 ~~does not~~ manufacture implements of war. ~~It does not~~ Private industry will be the <sup>few of the</sup> ~~continues~~ <sup>most of</sup> source 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 the ~~new~~ expansion 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  
~~stop future orders.~~  
affairs may render it all impossible.

~~Therefore, the Government of the United States,~~  
~~handling the resources which belong to the people of the United~~  
~~States must call on the assistance of private industry, for this~~  
~~purpose. The Government proposes to render that assistance.~~

The Government stands ready to advance the necessary money to ~~help~~  
provide for the ~~expansion of capital facilities~~ 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 -- all of the necessary additional production investment  
which the program implies. The details of this are now being  
~~and~~  
worked ~~over~~ in Washington, day and night.

We propose to call upon ~~men~~ men now engaged in private  
industry to help us in carrying out this program.

This does not mean that the men we call upon will be engaged in the actual production of this material. ~~The actual~~

~~production~~ will still have to be carried on in the plants and factories of private American corporations throughout the land.

In those private plants and factories, there will have to be employed by private industry the best mass production experts, ~~expeditors~~ plant officers, most highly developed efficiency experts that American business is capable of. The functions of the business men ~~that we shall~~ we are calling upon ~~call upon in Washington, on the other hand,~~ will be to super-coordinate this program and to deal with the various manufacturers and producers to coordinate their efforts and to see to it that all of the plants ~~being used to carry out this program~~ continue to operate at maximum speed and efficiency.

It also does not mean that the Government of the United States or indeed that the entire development of the defense program is to be turned over to these men. I am going to ask them to cooperate with, to assist, and to act as managers for, existing agencies of government charged by law with the responsibility of carrying out, in the most productive manner possible, the purposes of the Congressional defense appropriations.

I know that I can find patriotic Americans of proven merit  
and of unquestioned ability in their special fields ~~who will~~  
~~Are coming~~  
~~Days the~~ ~~With their~~  
~~come to Washington to help~~ ~~to their~~ government ~~the~~ training,  
~~the~~ experience and capabilities which have made them successes  
in their own businesses.

This program is now proceeding with all due speed; it is receiving my constant attention and consideration, and the thought and attention of many administrative and executive officials in high places in the Nation's Capital.

I ask you to remember that merely because Congress has appropriated money does not necessarily mean that ~~all these~~ ~~full production~~,  
~~things~~ will be ready for immediate use in a week, a month, or a year. It is our purpose not only to accelerate the normal speed of production but to increase the ~~production~~ facilities ~~in such a way that they~~ ~~total~~ of the nation ~~so that the total of production itself~~ can be enlarged to meet ~~the~~ emergencies ~~of~~ ~~in~~ the future, ~~will call for~~.  
*Further*

As this program proceeds there are several things which we must continue to watch and safeguard, things which are just as important to the sound defense of a nation as physical armament itself. For while our Navy and our airplanes <sup>and our guns</sup> ~~may be~~ our first line, ~~our~~ <sup>of defense</sup> ~~Coast artillery may be our second line,~~ and ~~while~~ ~~there may be other 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, defending a sound, social and economic system to which they are willing to give their last full measure of devotion, and which they ~~have~~ <sup>feel is designed for</sup> ~~are only interested in~~ in their own welfare and ~~comfort~~ and security.

For that reason, we must make sure, in all that we do, that ~~so long as this nation is at peace~~, there be no break-down 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 the social and economic inequalities and abuses which had made our economic order ~~vulnerable~~ <sup>weak</sup> to the ~~attacks of those who sought to change it~~. That offensive <sup>now</sup> should not 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 provided by statute. Forty or forty-two hours a week are long enough for men and women to work. This is not only a matter of social advantage. As more orders come in and as more work has to be done, it will mean that tens of thousand 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 need not be reduced. It is my hope that the new speed up of production will cause many businesses which now pay below the minimum standards ~~of interstate industry~~ to bring their wages up toward that minimum.

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

Conversely, our present emergency does make it unpatriotic for any specialized group of labor to take advantage, by strike or otherwise, of their power to tie up industry and our national defense by demanding special increases in pay for their own particular and special groups. For example, I am sure that the American people will not tolerate, and I am sure that responsible labor leaders themselves will not permit, some particular trade which represents five percent of the total employees of an industrial plant <sup>to</sup> <sub>to</sub> break up the continuity of employment of the remaining ninety-five percent of the employees

by making some special demand for their own trade.

In the same way, 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 citizens growing rich and fat in an emergency of blood and slaughter and human suffering.

And, finally, our emergency demands that the consumers of America be protected so that our general cost of living can be maintained at a reasonable level. ~~the question~~  
~~the following~~) And while I would hate to see any breakdown in wage scales, I hope conversely, when the time of great business activity comes in producing implements of war, that labor will not seek increases in pay unless they are justified as a result of an increase in the cost of living. To accept this policy is an act of high patriotism on the part of the workers of America. I am sure that they will accept it. In the long run such a policy will benefit them more; for we hope to give useful employment to millions who are now unemployed so that the increased purchasing power of the country will increase the prosperity of all.

A

~~SECRET~~ 1

~~SECRET~~ 2

Today's threat to our national security is not a matter of military arms alone. The invaded countries of Europe have taught us that new weapons of conquest have been forged, as deadly as dive bombers, as destructive as flame-throwing tanks.

The Trojan Horse, The Fifth Column that betrays a nation unprepared for treachery. Spies, saboteurs and traitors play their part in this new strategy. With all of these we must deal vigorously. But there is a new technique for weakening a nation at its very roots, for disrupting the entire pattern of life of a people. And it is important that we understand this new technique so that we can recognize it and expose it when we spot it in our midst.

The method is simple. First, discord. Some group of party or class in the population -- political, racial, or economic -- is falsely made to appear as the chief cause of the troubles of the particular nation. Any group will do, providing it is not too large. Next, by false propaganda designed to tie up the selected group with this or that plan, movement, or other part of our national life, spurious issues are raised in the public mind based on false slogans and propaganda. The aim: confusion of counsel, public indecision, political paralysis, and eventually a state of panic.

DRAFT 1

INSET A  
1002

Sound national policies come to be viewed with a new and unreasoning skepticism, not through the wholesome political debates of honest and free men, but through the ~~prosecution~~ <sup>clawed shrews</sup> — ~~and lots of us~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~foreign agents~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~Armenian~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~China~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~Japan~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~Germany~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~America~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~United States~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~state~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~its~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~members~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~so sapped that the~~ <sup>173</sup> ~~strength of the state is no longer.~~ <sup>tiny</sup>  
~~strength of the state is no longer.~~ <sup>tiny</sup>  
~~nation is ready for conquest.~~

All this is no idle dream. It has happened time after time in nation after nation during the last ~~two years~~ <sup>two years</sup> abroad. 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 new 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~~ <sup>divisive</sup> 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 smokescreen across our vision, so we may not see the road to our national safety.

INSERT 2

Page 2

that organization, so that each of us may be best fitting  
ourselves to withstand any attempt that may be made to impair  
our strength and unity by fright or terror.

\*\*\*\*\*

*Insert 2 + 3*

*and the world includes our  
other American hemisphere.*

At this time, when the world is threatened by the  
~~forces of destruction, it is my resolve and yours to make our~~  
~~defences impregnable. We shall build up our~~  
~~air forces.~~

*g* We shall build them to whatever heights the future  
*g* may require. We shall rebuild them swiftly, as the methods of  
warfare swiftly change.

(B)

This mighty Nation has some cause for fear. Our  
~~economic strength, the foundation of our defense, is great.~~  
~~Present and effective harnessing of our productive powers will~~  
~~improve our security.~~

We are united in our determination to defend our  
country. We are equally united in the ideals and the faith  
which we defend. This is the more important unity. Most  
nations will defend their soil; a democracy must defend its  
freedom.

At this time, when the world is threatened by the  
forces of enslavement, let us dedicate ourselves anew to the  
ideals and to the faith which have given our entire history its  
meaning. 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. Commingled here are the

blood and genius of all the peoples of the world who have sought this promise.

We have built well. ~~We have made a start toward~~  
~~banishing ignorance, fear, and enslavement. We seek 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~~ <sup>All</sup> It is this that we must build ~~and~~ <sup>continue to</sup> this that we must defend. ~~In the building of it our defense will be strengthened and made invulnerable; for the lasting source of our strength lies in the stake which every American has in the land he defends.~~

~~It~~ <sup>It</sup> is the task of our generation. But we build and defend not for our generation alone. We defend ~~ways of~~  
~~life whose~~ foundations ~~were~~ laid by our fathers. We build a life for generations yet unborn. We build ~~and defend~~ <sup>defend and</sup> a way of life not for America alone, but for all mankind.

Ours is a high duty, a noble task. ~~Let us pray~~  
~~that we be enabled to do it.~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

*OThinner*  
We must have sturdiness of hand, heart and mind. For

we have all come to recognize how ~~the~~ <sup>TT</sup> terror can be deliberately  
~~instilled~~ <sup>was applied</sup> and used. In Europe it ~~has been used~~ long before the  
attack in order to paralyze or weaken the power of resistance.

Months of effort ~~were~~ spent to bring home every vision of horror.

Suggestions ~~were~~ scattered <sup>in</sup> every <sup>hour</sup> ~~point~~ and in every form ~~were~~  
~~to~~ <sup>truth</sup> to create a sense of helplessness. ~~Talk is encouraged of~~  
~~secret plans and weapons to create the image of a~~  
~~and unmatchable force.~~

That is why the management of our affairs and the development  
*O Terrier* of our defense program makes sturdiness so essential. It  
should rest upon the feeling that each and every one of us has  
some contribution to make toward the security of our country  
~~all of us~~  
and that ~~were~~ are doing it to the utmost of our ability.

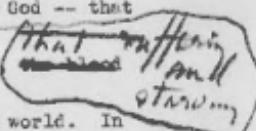
The type of organization that we are planning in our  
defense program is the best means of drawing upon our collective  
strength; in that collective strength each of you may have  
the fullest confidence. Out of the strength of our institutions  
and the moral fibre of our people, we can create swiftly a  
defense organization that will protect us against any danger  
that may come. Let us each play our part in the creation of

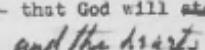
~~INSECT 5~~

C

I have received many telegrams and communications from people all over the United States, representing all religious faiths, asking that the President of the United States proclaim a definite day and hour for the people of the United States to pray for the restoration of peace in this mad world of ours.

I am reluctant to believe that it is necessary for the President to ask the American people to pray in behalf of such a cause. I am certain that out of the hearts of every man, woman and child in this land, in every waking minute ~~of the~~

~~the~~ a ~~president~~ supplication goes up to Almighty God -- that ~~all of us~~ ~~by~~ ~~death~~  all of us ~~that the holocaust~~ and destruction ~~and~~ shall end and peace shall return to the world. In

common affection for all mankind, ~~know that~~ your prayers join with mine ~~my~~ -- that God will ~~stop the letting of~~  ~~blood~~ ~~heal the wounds of humanity.~~

1

DRAFT #2

3700 words

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

MAY 26, 1940

At this moment of almost universal sadness throughout the world, I want to talk with you about a number of subjects that directly affect the future of the United States. ~~Our~~ <sup>We are shocked by</sup> ~~is heightened by~~ the almost incredible stories that come to us of what is happening at this moment to the civilian populations of Norway and Holland and Belgium and Luxembourg and France ~~and perhaps even of England and Scotland.~~

Before I speak of the possibilities of similar suffering to the Americans of the future, 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~~ in their present distress -- help from us across the seas, ~~from us which~~ ~~you still fail to give it.~~

Tonight over the once peaceful roads of Belgium and France millions ~~were~~ are now moving, running from their homes to escape bombs and shells and fire, without shelter, and almost wholly without food. They ~~are~~ <sup>struggle</sup> on, knowing not where the end of the road will be. I remind 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, which represents each of us,

Institute

is rushing food, clothing and medical supplies to these 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 what was <sup>taking place</sup> ~~happening~~ 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~~ <sup>of the tragedies in Europe as being</sup> ~~so many geographical miles away,~~ <sup>occurring</sup> ~~so many leagues of salt water distant, so remote from~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~people~~ <sup>of</sup> the American Hemisphere that the ~~Americans~~ <sup>people</sup> of North America, Central America and South America could go on living in the midst of their vast resources without any ~~political~~ <sup>friendly</sup> relationship to, or danger from, other Continents of the world.

There are some among us who ~~were~~ persuaded by minority groups ~~in our interest~~ 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 ~~some~~ among us who have deliberately and consciously closed their eyes because they were determined to be opposed to their government's foreign policy, to be partisan, and to believe that anything that ~~one party did~~ was ~~the government did~~ ~~writing,~~ wholly ~~bad~~, and ~~that everything that the other party advocated~~ ~~was wholly good.~~

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

~~They have been shocked into the realization that the European democracies are not impregnable.~~ 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 bordering on panic. It is said that we are defenceless. It is ~~thought~~ <sup>whispered</sup> 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 those fears.

We are now more realistic. But let us not be calamity-howlers and discount our strength. 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 xxxxxxxxx about our lack of preparedness. It has been charged that the money we have spent on our military and naval forces during the last few years <sup>ever</sup> ~~has~~ gone down the rat-hole. I think that it is a matter of ~~simple~~ fairness to ~~you~~ that you hear the facts.

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.

*but*  
~~NAVY (THIRD DRAFT)~~

- 5 -

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

I do not propose to go into detailed figures. 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 fighting power of the Navy had been diminished ~~proportionately to~~  
~~the leading naval powers by the failure to replace ships~~  
~~and equipment, which had become ~~obsolete~~<sup>out of date</sup>.~~ Since 1933  
~~practically a new Navy has been constituted.~~

Between July 1, 1933 and July 1, 1940 -- seven fiscal years -- we shall have spent \$1,497,000,000 more than we spent the seven years before ~~on the Navy~~<sup>1933</sup>.

What did we get for this money?

During ~~this~~ period 215 ships for the fighting fleet have been laid down, practically ~~as~~<sup>more</sup> times the number in the preceding similar period.

Let me be more specific. We have increased the fighting personnel of the Navy from 78,000 to 145,000.

Of these we have ~~commissioned~~ commissioned 12 cruisers;

63 destroyers; 26 submarines; 3 aircraft carriers; ~~2~~

~~gunboats, 7 auxiliaires and small craft.~~

~~Among these ships now in the fleet and paid for all we have used construction today and have spent part of this~~

~~money on 8 battleships, 6 carriers, 20 destroyers, 12 sub-~~

~~marines, 1 airplane carrier and 12 auxiliaries and small craft.~~

Ship construction costs millions of dollars. ~~It's~~ more in the United States than anywhere else in the world; but it is a ~~sure~~ fact that we cannot have adequate

NAVY (THIRD DRAFT)

~~5A~~ 5A

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.

~~useful aircraft~~ And speaking  
of airplanes that work with the Navy, in 1933 we had 1127

~~today we have 1813 and~~ ~~in 1933~~ <sup>and</sup> in border.

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 ~~more~~ stronger today than it was during  
the World War.

## ARMY (THIRD DRAFT)

5B

When I took office in March, 1933, I found that the Army of the United States, <sup>in 1933</sup> consisted of ~~only~~ 122,000 enlisted men. 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 <sup>on old</sup> ~~upon~~ reserve stocks left over from the World War for ~~current requirements of equipment and supplies.~~

The net result of all this was that the ~~United States~~ <sup>very greatly</sup> ~~Army by 1933 had declined in ratio with the armies of Europe and the Far East from fourth in rank in 1918 to twelfth in rank in 1939.~~

That was the situation I found.

Since then great changes have taken place.

Between ~~July~~, 1933 and ~~July~~, <sup>1940</sup> -- seven fiscal years -- we shall have spent \$ ~~1293,000,000~~ more than we spent the seven years ~~before~~.

What did we get for this money?

~~During that period~~ 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 ~~new~~ examples:

Since 1933 we have actually ~~ordered~~ <sup>purchased</sup> ~~5640~~ airplanes, including the most modern type of long-range bombers and fast pursuit planes, though of course many of those which were delivered <sup>4 1/2 to 5 1/2 years ago have now not through wear & tear</sup>. These planes cost money — a lot of it. For example, ~~just~~ 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.

In 1933 we had only 355 anti-aircraft guns. We now

## ARMY (THIRD DRAFT)

5 C

- 2 -

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, ~~each~~, without any of the fire control equipment that goes with it.

In 1933 there were only 24 modern infantry mortars in the entire army. We now have on hand and on order more than 1,600.

In 1933 we had only 48 modern tanks and armored cars; today we have on hand and on order 1,700. ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>Each</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>One</sup> of our heavier tanks cost \$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 flyers in the world, who last year flew more than one million hours in combat training. ~~This does not include the hundreds of splendid pilots in the National Guard and~~ 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 <sup>being, the</sup> to the government's program of getting 50,000 planes a year.

Organized reserves.

Ship construction costs millions of dollars; it costs more  
~~with our high standards living~~  
in the United States than anywhere else in the world; But it is  
a simple 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  
~~of naval airplanes,~~  
through the air. And I speak of airplanes that work with the  
~~we~~ in 1933 we had 1127. Today we have 813 with 933 more  
on order.

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

- (COMBINED IN THE NAVY)

~~Planned~~  
One word about aircraft. Please do not listen to those who  
~~tell you we should have a separate air force -- separate from the~~  
~~Army and the Navy. That idea was experimented with by other~~  
~~nations. Most of them came back to the policy of unity of command between~~  
~~land and sea, unity of command between sea and air.~~  
~~Those that did not are regretting it now.~~

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

~~Let us remember too, that~~ 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 ~~that~~ 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 first of the Army and Navy.*

~~In critical times like these it is natural for unthinking persons to demand some overnight transformation of a peaceful nation into a tremendous fighting force completely equipped with enormous quantities of complicated, destructive implements of war. Influenced by accounts of the fighting abroad, our self-deputed experts on military matters center their demands on the spectacular features of warfare; on parachute troops, dive bombers and massive tanks.~~

I ask you not to become confused by these demands, to have confidence, as I have confidence, in the officers of our military and naval services, who are responsible for the development of our defense forces. I have satisfied myself that their plans are well-considered and up-to-the-minute; that they are geared for action at the greatest possible speed consistent with efficiency to produce a properly equipped, well-balanced, well-coordinated fighting team.]

At my request the Congress is voting the largest appropriation ever asked by the Army or the Navy in peace-time.

~~These appropriations are adequate to meet the plans of the Army and the equipment and~~  
~~the Navy during the next few months; they shall be increased~~  
~~Training provided by them will be in addition to the~~  
~~and all considered operation beyond the capacity of industry~~  
~~figures I have given you~~  
~~to provide modern equipment. There must be a step-by-step~~  
~~development of our defenses, keeping pace with delivery of~~  
~~material and conforming to the changes in the world situation.~~

The world situation may so change that it will be  
at any time  
necessary to reappraise our program ~~[a few months hence]~~. 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 ~~it appears to our military leaders~~ 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 out-worn 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 blue prints of designers.

Every day's fighting in Europe, on land, on sea, and in the air, discloses ~~flaws, deficiencies, and weaknesses~~ constant changes in methods of warfare ~~spotted to ships, in planes, in guns, in tanks~~

And so it is no admission of failure to say that some of the equipment in our national defense is outmoded. But I do say that what we have been recently building and what we are now building is the latest, the most up-to-date and the most efficient equipment which the world now knows.

*We constantly*  
*We shall continue to improve and redesign, and to produce*  
*factory new weapons*  
*and equipment*

We shall continue to improve and redesign, and to produce *factory new weapons* and *equipment* in accordance with the latest that the brains of science conceive.

[ We must face the fact that we are living in a time when proponents of force are constantly growing stronger, and I can assure you that major developments abroad will be paralleled by increasing precautions in this country.]

[ The American people now fully understand the situation which faces them, and the need for speedy and drastic steps to increase the national defense. It is going to be a big job. It is going to be an expensive job. It is not merely the work or money of one year. It will have to be a steady, persistent, continuous process. I know that you are all prepared to make the effort and the sacrifice which are involved.]

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, -- ~~and of the necessary addi-~~  
~~tional production investment which the program implies.~~

The details of this are now being worked out in Washington, day and night.

DRAFT #2

We [propose to call] upon men now engaged in  
[are calling on]

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 of 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 it is capable <sup>of which</sup>. 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 proven merit and of un-  
questioned ability in their special fields are coming  
to Washington to help the government with their training,  
experience and capability.

[This program is now proceeding with all due  
speed; it is receiving my constant attention and considera-  
tion and the thought and attention of many administrative  
and executive officials in high places in the Nation's  
Capital.]

*b6 b7c*

I ask you to remember that merely because Congress has appropriated money does not necessarily mean that full production will be ready for immediate use in a week, a month, or a year. It is our purpose not only to accelerate <sup>up</sup> ~~total~~ speed ~~of~~ 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. *(Signed)*

*B7C*

As this program proceeds there are several things which we must continue to watch and safeguard, things which are just as important to the sound defense of a nation as physical armament itself. ~~Now~~ 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, defending a country, social and economic system [to which they are willing to give their last full measure of devotion, and] which they feel is designed for their own welfare and security.

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 ~~the~~ social and economic inequalities and abuses which had made our ~~economic~~ <sup>Society</sup> 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 provided by statute. ~~Eighty or forty-two~~ hours a week are long enough for men and women to work. This is not only a matter of social advantage. As more orders come in and as more work has to be done, ~~we will~~ ~~now~~ tens of thousand 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 ~~need~~ <sup>should</sup> not be reduced. It is my hope that the new speed-up of production will cause many businesses which now pay below the minimum standards to bring their wages up, ~~toward~~ ~~that~~ <sup>ideal</sup> minimum.

There is nothing in our present emergency to  
justify a ~~sacrifice of any of our social gains or a retreat~~  
from any of our social objectives -- conservation of resources,  
assistance to agriculture, housing, and help to the under-  
privileged.

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.

(D)

Conversely, ~~however, our present emergency does make it unprofitable for any specialized group~~ <sup>to take advantage, by strike or otherwise, of their power to tie up industry and our national defense by demanding special increases in pay for their own particular and special groups. For example, I am sure that the American people will not tolerate, and I am sure that responsible labor leaders themselves will not permit, some</sup> ~~specialized groups~~

A minority which represents ~~a~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~one~~ <sup>or</sup> industry plant to break up the continuity of employ-

~~ment of the remaining ninety-five percent of the employees.~~

~~This policy and the laws providing for arbitration will be in force by making some special demands for their own trade.~~  
And labor will be adequately represented in Washington in ~~the~~ <sup>in this</sup> ~~present~~ <sup>time</sup> emergency and a ~~new~~ <sup>new</sup> ~~group~~ <sup>of</sup> 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~~ <sup>rich</sup> and fat in an emergency of blood and slaughter and human

suffering.

*This*

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~~   
~~cost of living rose; then the wage scale rose; then the~~   
~~cost of living went up again -- and the wage scale stayed~~   
~~hard to keep pace with it. During this emergency, therefore,~~   
~~it would be best for all concerned to avoid repeating that~~   
~~spiral -- and the best thing we can do~~ <sup>*The soundest policy*</sup>   
in the country to help give useful employment to the millions who are unemployed. By giving to those millions an increased purchasing power, the prosperity of the whole country will rise to a much higher level.

~~And, parenthetically, If this increased purchasing power becomes a fact, government tax receipts automatically go up and help to pay [redacted] the cost of additional preparedness.~~

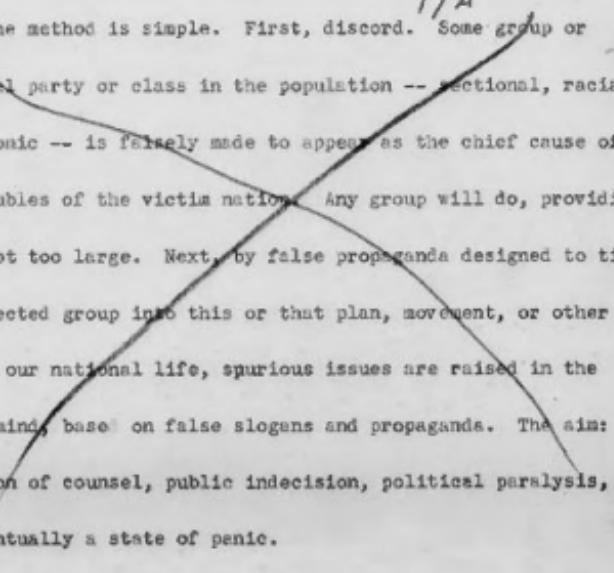
Today's threat to our national security is not a matter of military ~~weapons~~ alone. ~~We know of new methods of attack.~~ ~~The invader countries of Europe have~~ taught us that new weapons of conquest have been forged, ~~deadly as dive-bombers, as destructive as flame-throwing tanks.~~

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 these we must deal vigorously. ~~But there is an~~ ~~hidden~~ technique for weakening a nation at its very roots, for disrupting the entire pattern of life of a people. ~~And it is~~ ~~important that we understand this new technique so that we can~~ ~~recognize it and expose it when we spot it in our midst.~~

*17A*  
The method is simple. First, discord. Some group or political party or class in the population -- sectional, racial, or economic -- is falsely made to appear as the chief cause of the troubles of the victim nation. Any group will do, providing it is not too large. Next, by false propaganda designed to tie the selected group into this or that plan, movement, or other part of our national life, spurious issues are raised in the public mind, based on false slogans and propaganda. The aim: confusion of counsel, public indecision, political paralysis, and eventually a state of panic.



17a.

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 ~~by overemphasising their demands~~. The aim of those who deliberately egg on these groups is to create confusion of counsel, public indecision, political paralysis and eventually, a state of panic.

cooperation which has existed.

comes. It will reduce only the common areas and the  
loss of area leading under the a collective

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This will not require anything like a coalition cabinet. It will require only the common sense and the cooperation which now exist.

Admittedly a simple ad hominem  
of someone's biography, notwithstanding his/her/their own  
qualifications and/or dress standards to no elected congressional  
representative or senatorial representative. This will be made up  
merely by legislative records, terms of office and committee assignments  
as member of Congress -- to committee in addition  
to "good" -- not too much -- & "bad" just not so

(continue to next page)

DRAFT #2

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→ Faith and courage

Sound national policies come to be viewed with a new and unreasoning skepticism, not through the wholesome political debates of honest and free men, but through the clever schemes of foreign agents, -- ~~and lists of well meaning Americans listen with at least partial approval.~~

~~Added to them unfortunately are some who in high places of responsibility adopt, for political or selfish reasons, a definite policy of saying, in public and in print, no matter what methods or machinery are set up by the Government to improve our national defense -- no matter whether they be good or bad -- that this is the wrong way of doing things. These people are not traitors; these people sincerely think they are good Americans. But I think we must realize that if they have already decided that no matter what their government does it will be the wrong way, they will hinder our program of national defense just as much as if they were to listen to the whisperings of foreign agents seeking our destruction. Criticism is helpful. Condemnation in advance is almost subversive.~~

As a result of these new techniques ~~new~~ armament programs <sup>many by</sup> dangerously delayed. Singleness of national purpose <sup>many by</sup> <sup>Care</sup> undermined. Men lose ~~the~~ confidence in each other, and therefore in the efficacy of their own united action.

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, ~~in~~.

Fortunately, American men and women are not easy dupes.

Campaigns of group hatred or class struggle have never made such headway among us and are not making headway now. But new 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 smokescreen across our vision.

~~We must have stamina of hand, heart and mind. For we have all come to recognize how THE TERROR can be deliberately instilled and used. In Europe it was applied long before the attack in order to paralyze or weaken the power of resistance. Months of effort were spent to bring home every vision of horror. Suggestions were scattered in every home — in every form to create a sense of futile helplessness.~~

~~That is why the management of our affairs and the development of our defense program makes it essential.~~

~~It should rest upon the feeling that each and every one of us has~~

~~some contribution to make toward the security of our country and~~

~~are making that contribution.~~

~~that all of us doing it to the utmost of our ability.~~

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.

~~This mighty Nation has some cause for fear. If the most highly organized and the most ruthless armed force ever known in the world's history succeeds in the utter domination, first of one continent, then of another continent; and from the sheer power that goes with success, extends control by arms or alliance to all the world -- all the continents except the Americas -- if that should happen, why should the Americas escape?~~

That lies behind our determination to defend our present  
and our future. That lies behind our unity of thought to defend  
not only our soil but [to defend] the freedom that goes with  
democracy.

[At this time, when the world is threatened by the forces  
of enslavement, let us dedicate ourselves anew to the ideals  
and to the faith which have given our entire history its meaning.]

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. <sup>In</sup> Commingled here are the  
blood and genius of all the peoples of the world who have sought  
this promise.

We have built well. We are ~~handing~~ <sup>our efforts</sup> ~~continuing~~ <sup>continuing to bring</sup> 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  
<sup>continues to</sup>  
we must defend.

It is the task of our generation. But we build and defend  
not for our generation alone. We defend <sup>the</sup> foundations laid by  
our fathers. We build a life for generations yet unborn. We  
defend <sup>and</sup> 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~~ that all of us beg that suffering  
and starving, that death and destruction <sup>may</sup> end -- and that  
<sup>may</sup> peace ~~shall~~ 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.

\*\*\*\*\*

*Excerpts made for new reels  
by The President*

FOR THE NEWS REELS

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. The world situation may so change that it will be necessary to reappraise 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.

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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. 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 smokescreen across our vision.

We are shocked by the almost incredible stories that come to us of what is happening at this moment to the civilian populations of Norway and Holland and Belgium and Luxembourg and France. The American Red Cross, which represents each of us, is rushing food, clothing and medical supplies to these destitute 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.

- - - - -

There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a lowering of the standards of employment. There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a breaking down of old age pensions or unemployment insurance. 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. 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. And, finally, this emergency demands that the consumers of America be protected.

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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.

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