May 26, 1940 — Radio Address

Insert A. P. 8 — with S.I.R. handwritten original.

Insert B. P. 15 — with S.I.R. handwritten original.

Army Draft 1 — no corrections (carbon).

Army (First Draft) — original 5 pages — corrections by the President and Rosenman. Additional paragraph by S.I.R.

Army (Second Draft) — original 5 pages combined with Army (Third Draft).

Army (Second Draft) — carbon — combined with Army (Third Draft) uncorrected.

Army (Same as above corrected by someone in War Dept.).


Extra uncorrected carbon pages of Navy draft.

Navy carbon with figures inserted in blanks in blue type.

Red Cross Memo with S.I.R. corrections.


Draft 1 — carbon — 15 pages — uncorrected.


Draft 2 — original — p. 5 and p. 18 with S.I.R. corrections.


Insert A. P. 13 — insertion with S.I.R. original.

Other Navy, Army, etc., data.
This will not require anything like a coalition cabinet. It will require only the common sense and the cooperation which now exist.
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 underprivileged.
These planes cost money — a lot of money. For example, a modern four-engine, long-range bombing plane costs $350,000 each; a modern interceptor pursuit plane costs $135,000; a medium bomber costs $165,000.

In 1933 we had only forty-eight modern tanks and armored cars. We now have on hand and on order seventeen hundred.

In 1933 we had only 355 anti-aircraft guns. We now have more than 1,700 modern anti-aircraft guns on hand and 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 which accompanies it, and a battery of these guns with all its equipment costs almost $300,000.

In 1933 we had no heavy field guns or howitzers of the high speed type. Today we have on hand or on order more than 600. Each of these cost at least $45,000.

Since 1933 we have developed our new anti-tank gun and almost one thousand of this superior weapon are on order. That cost $5,000 each.

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. These mortars cost more than $1,000 each.
The plain fact is that by the end of this year every existing unit of the regular army will be completely equipped with every type of modern weapon equal or superior in fighting efficiency with the weapons of any army in the world. And it is also true that existing units of the national guard will be largely equipped with similar items.

In 1932 we had army pilots. Today the army 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.

The productive capacity of the aviation industry -- army, navy and civilian -- has been raised from less than 3,000 planes per year in to more than 15,000 planes today.
In 1940 the Army had been decimated by the losses of the last war. It had no new heavy artillery and none of the old heavy artillery had been modernized. It had no new Light artillery and none of the old Light artillery remained. It had no new tanks, no new planes, no new trucks, and no new guns. In fact, the Army actually had fewer fighting planes than in 1918.

In 1933 the Army actually had fewer fighting planes than in 1918. The net result of all this was that the United States Army by 1933 had declined in size with the rise of Europe and the Far East from fourth in size in 1918 to twelfth (9).

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In 1940 that has been practically doubled. The Army of 1933 of the United States consisted of only 120,000 enlisted men. In 1940 the Army consisted of only 120,000 enlisted men.
in rank in 1933.

That was the situation I found. Since 1933 great changes have taken place. I made a comparison between the amount spent during the seven fiscal years since the Administration took office and the amount spent during the seven years before this Administration took office. I made the comparison with respect to the amount spent for new equipment and ammunition, modernization, new aircraft, new aviation engines, modernization of equipment and aircraft bombs. I do not include the amount of money spent for the recurring fixed charges of the Army, such as pay, food, clothing, maintenance, repair. These charges are annually recurring charges.

I average more than 35% of the total Army appropriations.

What we are interested in is the amount of increase and expansion.

During the seven years preceding 1933, we spent for this purpose a total of $260 million dollars.

Since 1933 we spent for this purpose, including emergency amounts from relief funds, a total of $288 million dollars. This shows an increase of $38 million dollars. You are entitled to ask that you got for this amount of your money, which was spent. This is the answer: The enlisted personnel...
of the Army has almost doubled.

In 1933 we had 1600 airplanes, but not a single light bombing plane or heavy four-engine bombing plane, and very few medium bombing planes. Today we have either on hand or on order 2838 planes of all types, including 773 bombing planes of all new types.
These planes cost money -- a lot of money. For example, a modern four-engine, long-range bombing plane costs $350,000 each; a modern interceptor pursuit plane costs $133,000; a medium bomber costs $160,000.

In 1933 we had only forty-eight modern tanks and armored cars. We now have on hand and on order seventeen hundred.

In 1933 we had only 355 anti-aircraft guns. We now have more than 1,700 modern anti-aircraft guns on hand and 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 which accompanies it. A battery of these guns with all its equipment costs almost $300,000.

In 1933 we had no heavy field guns or Howitzers of the high speed type. Today we have on hand or on order more than 800. Each of these cost at least $45,000.

Since 1933 we have developed our new anti-tank gun and almost one thousand of this superior weapon are on order. That costs $5,000 each.

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. These mortars cost more than $1,000 each.
The plain fact is that by the end of this year every existing unit of the regular army will be completely equipped with every type of modern weapon equal or superior in fighting efficiency when the weapons of any army in the world. And it is also true that existing units of the national guard will be largely equipped with similar items.

In 1933 we had ______ army pilots. Today the army 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.

The productive capacity of the aviation industry -- army, navy and civilian -- has been raised from less than 3,000 planes per year in _____ to more than 15,000 planes today.

There are many other items in which our progress since 1933 has been rapid. And the growth of this advance has been during the last two years.
When I took office in March, 1933, I found that the Army of the United States consisted of only 122,000 enlisted men. In 1940 that has been practically doubled. The Army of 1933 had been given practically new implements of war since 1919 and had been compelled to draw upon 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 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 1933.

That was the situation I found. Since then great changes have taken place. I compare the amount spent during the seven fiscal years since 1933 with the amount spent during the seven years before 1933. I compare the amount spent for new equipment and ammunition, new aircraft, new aviation engines, modernization of equipment and aircraft bombs. I do not include the amount of money spent for the recurring fixed charges of the Army, such as pay, food, clothing, and maintenance, an amount equal on the average to more than 85% of the total Army appropriations. What
Between July 1, 1933 and July 1, 1940 — seven fiscal years — we shall have spent $________ more than we spent the seven years before on the Army.

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 completely equipped with every type of modern weapon. This equipment makes our small army, unit for unit, equal or superior in fighting efficiency with any comparable unit in any Army in the world.

Here are some striking examples:
we are interested in is the amount of increase and expansion.

During the seven years preceding 1933, we spent for this purpose a total of $230,000,000.

Since 1933 we spent for this purpose, including emergency amounts from relief funds, a total of $708,000,000.

This shows a net increase of $538,000,000.

You are entitled to ask what you got for this amount of your money. This is the answer:

In 1933 we had 1,600 airplanes, but not a single modern light-bombing plane or heavy four-engine bombing plane, and very few medium bombing planes. Today we have either on hand or on order 2,838 planes, including 773 bombing planes, all of new types.

These planes cost money -- a lot of it. For example, one modern four-engine, one long-range bombing plane costs $350,000 each; 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-aircraft guns on hand and 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. [And one battery of these guns with all its equipment costs almost $300,000.]

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. [These mortars cost more than $1,000 each.]

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 1/63 army pilots. Today the army 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.

The productive capacity of the aviation industry -- army, navy and civilian -- has been raised from less than 3,000 planes per year in_ _ _ _ _ to more than 15,000 planes today.

The plain fact is that by the end of this year every existing unit of the regular army will be completely equipped with every type of modern weapon, equal or superior in fighting
efficiency with the weapons of any army in the world. And it is also true that existing units of the national guard will be largely equipped with similar items.
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The net result of all this was that the United States 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 1933.

That was the situation I found. Since then great changes have taken place. I compare the amount spent during the seven fiscal years since 1933 and the amount spent during the seven years before 1933. I compare the amount spent for new equipment and ammunition, new aircraft, new aviation, engines, modernization of equipment and aircraft bombs. I do not include the amount of money spent for the recurring fixed charges of the Army, such as pay, food, clothing, and maintenance, an amount equal on the average to more than 85% of the total Army appropriations. What
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for this purpose a total of $230,000,000.

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planes, all of new types.

These planes cost money -- a lot of it. For
example, one modern four-engine, one long-range bombing
plane costs $350,000 each; one modern interceptor pursuit
plane costs $150,000; one medium bomber costs $160,000.

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fire control equipment that goes with it. And one battery of these guns with all its equipment costs almost $300,000.

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. These mortars cost more than $1,000 each.

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 army pilots. Today the army 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.

The productive capacity of the aviation industry - army, navy and civilian - has been raised from less than 3,000 planes per year in to more than 15,000 planes today.

The plain fact is that by the end of this year every existing unit of the regular army will be completely equipped with every type of modern weapon equal or superior in fighting
efficiency with the weapons of any army in the world. And it is also true that existing units of the national guard will be largely equipped with similar items.
When I took office in March, 1933, I found that
the Army of the United States consisted of only 122,000
enlisted men. In 1949 that has been practically doubled.

The Army of 1933 had been given new implements of war since 1929 and had been compelled to draw
reserves upon stocks left over from the World War for current re-
quarries of equipment and supplies.

The net result of all this was that the United
States Army by 1933 had declined in ratio with the armies
of Europe and the Far East from fourth in rank in 1918 to
twelfth (7) in rank in 1933.

That was the situation I found. Since then great
changes have taken place. I compare the amount spent during
the seven fiscal years since 1933 and the amount spent
during the seven years before 1933. I compare the amount
spent for new equipment and ammunition, new aircraft, new
aviation, engines, modernization of equipment and aircraft
bombs. I do not include the amount of money spent for the
recurring fixed charges of the Army, such as pay, food,
clothing, and maintenance, an amount equal on the average
to more than 55% of the total Army appropriations. That
we are interested in is the amount of increase and expansion.

During the seven years preceding 1933, we spent
for this purpose a total of $238,000,000.

Since 1933 we spent for this purpose, including
emergency amounts from relief funds, a total of $738,000,000.

This shows a net increase of $538,000,000.

You are entitled to ask what you got for this
amount of your money. This is the answer.

In 1933 we had 1,600 airplanes, but not a single
modern light bombing plane or heavy four-engine bombing
planes, and very few medium bombing planes. Today we have
either on hand or on order 2,838 planes, including 773 bombing
planes, all of new types.

These planes cost money——a lot of it. For
example, one modern four-engine, one 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 755 anti-aircraft guns. We
now have more than 1,700 modern anti-aircraft guns on hand
and 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. And one battery of these guns with all its equipment costs almost $300,000.

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. These mortars cost more than $1,000 each.

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 12,600 army pilots. Today the army 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.

The productive capacity of the aviation industry for military airplanes -- has been raised from less than 2,000 planes per year in 1933 to more than 15,000 planes per year today.

The plain fact is that by the end of this year every existing unit of the regular army will be completely equipped with every type of modern weapon equal or superior in fir
efficiency with the weapons of any army in the world. And it is also true that existing units of the national guard will be largely equipped with similar items.
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 leading naval powers of the Navy had been diminished by the failure to replace ships and equipment which had become obsolete. Since 1933 practically a new Navy has been constructed.

There has been much loose talk about the cost of this new Navy.

Between July 1, 1933 and July 1, 1939, six fiscal years, we have spent for what we call "increases of the Navy" $847,000,000. This includes ships, naval airplanes, modernization, naval bases and navy yards. It does not include the amount spent for regular maintenance of the Navy such as pay, clothing, food, shelter, and repairs. It includes only new construction or expansion.
Between July 1, 1933 to July 1, 1939 -- the fiscal years --

we spent $________ more than we spent the years before

on the Navy.

What did we get for this money?

Since 1933 the personnel of the Navy has been

increased from ______ officers and enlisted men to ______

officers and enlisted men. We have laid down, etc.
During the period 1927 to 1932, 23 ships for the fighting fleet were laid down. During the period 1933 to 1938, 230 ships for the fighting fleet have been laid down, practically ten times the number in the preceding period.

Let me be more specific. We have increased the fighting personnel of the Navy from_______ to_______.
Let me tell you just a few of the many things that have been accomplished during the last few years.

It is a known fact, however, that in 1917, when the Administration came into office, the United States Navy had fallen in efficiency to a relatively low ebb. The fighting power of the Navy had been diminished by the failure to replace ships and equipment which had become obsolete. Since 1917, practically a new Navy has been constructed.

Between July 1, 1917, and July 1, 1933, the United States Navy has spent for regular maintenance of the Navy and Navy yards nearly $470,000,000. This includes ships, signal stations, radio stations, and all other equipment necessary for the upkeep of the Navy. It does not include the amount spent for the construction of new Navy yards, nor the cost of building new ships. There has been much loose talk about the cost of the Navy, but practically nothing has been accomplished by the failure to reduce the efficiency of the Navy.
For the six fiscal years prior to 1933, the United States spent on the increase of the Navy $447,000,000.

What did we get for this increase of $400,000,000 over these six years?

Since 1933 we have laid down and commissioned 12 cruisers, 63 destroyers, 26 submarines, 3 aircraft carriers and 2 gunboats, and 5 auxiliaries and small craft. Furthermore, we have under construction today and have spent part of this money on 8 battleships, 6 cruisers, 29 destroyers, 14 submarines, 1 airplane carrier and 51 auxiliaries and small craft.

Ship construction costs millions of dollars; it costs more 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 through the air. And in speaking of airplanes that work with the Navy -- in 1933 we had __________. Today we have __________.
NAVY

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.
NAVY

1

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 year 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 $817,112,625.

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
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

$47,237,504.

You have a right to know what you got for the
money this Administration spent during the last six years which
was $400,000,000 more than was spent the preceding six years.

This is the answer:

Since 1933, we have laid down and commissioned

- 12 cruisers; 63
- 26 submarines; 4
- 2 gunboats
- 5 auxiliary
- 8 battleships;
- 6 cruisers; 29 destroyers; 1 airplane
- 14 submarines; 51 auxiliaries
- Each

of these additions cost money. A lot of money. The modern 35,000 ton
type of battleship which we are building now costs $300

68 million dollars. A destroyer $8,350,000; a submarine

and 26,000 ton

$6,000,000 an aircraft carrier $47,000,000. As a result,

the same great advance in increase has taken place in the number
of airplanes connected with our Navy. In 1933 we had 1127 airplanes. Today we have 1813 airplanes, and in addition we have 933 on order. 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 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
authority for new aircraft is included.

NAVE

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 $111,459,000.

In the Navy bill now pending in the Congress the amount for
and 125,000,000 additional contractual
aviation is $138,052,000. 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
$79,370,000.

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.
Insert (Red Cross)

Tonight over the once peaceful roads of Belgium and France are now moving millions of women and children fleeing from their homes to escape the ruthlessness of war, almost wholly without shelter and sometimes without food. They are treading their weary way 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. Give to your nearest Red Cross chapter as generously as you can.

this is the voice of our common humanity.
My fellow countryman

Tonight we sit down again together, you and I, to consider the grave problems that confront us. To those who closed their eyes and would not see the approaching storm, the events of the past two weeks have meant the shattering of 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. With this rude awakening have come fears bordering on panic. It is said that we are defenseless. It is thought by some that we can build our defenses adequately, that we can match the strength of the aggressors, only by abandoning our freedom, our ideals, our way of life.

I did not share those illusions. I do not share these fears. We no longer discount the threats to our security. Let us not discount our strength. Let us have done with fears and with illusions. On this Sabbath evening, around our firesides, let us calmly consider what we have done and what we must do.
In recent weeks many of you may have read or heard from self-constituted experts on military matters that the large sums spent on our military and naval forces during the last few years have been wasted. You have been told that a planless, confused War Department has squandered the money allotted to it; that our military equipment is inadequate and obsolete; that the returns obtained have been inconsiderable in proportion to the investment our people have made for national defense. 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. I cannot emphasize this fact too strongly or deny too emphatically the implication that our defense forces are weak or inconsequential.

Let me tell you some of the things that have been accomplished during the past few years.
I want you to know that during the next six months alone more
new combat airplanes will be delivered than the Army has had
at any one time since the World War.
You have heard a great deal about motorization in foreign armies. During the past four years the appropriations made available to the War Department have enabled it to procure for the Army, and I include the regular Army and the National Guard, 28,000 few, fast motor vehicles. 20,000 of these were delivered this year.

Is it a waste of money that from funds already available all existing units of the regular Army will this year be completely equipped with the new semi-automatic Garand rifle, with cal. 50 anti-tank, 37 millimeter anti-tank guns; with the newest type of medium infantry mortars; with anti-aircraft guns; scout cars, combat cars, and gasmasks, antitank, medium and heavy artillery?

Is it a waste of money that by the end of this year also, the existing units of the National Guard will be largely equipped with similar items?

(Inset)

Is it a waste of money that the Army Air Corps, which two years ago had 1,479 planes has twice that many on hand today.
and by June of 1941 will have more than 5,500 firstline planes? A few years ago we had less than 1,500 Army pilots. Today in the Army we have more than 3,200 of the best fighting flyers in the world, who last year flew more than one million hours in combat training.

Has the money spent on air armament been wasted? The quality of our newest military planes is equal in all respects and superior in many respects to those found anywhere else in the world. The productive capacity of the aviation industry has been raised from less than 3,000 planes to more than 3,500 planes per year. The General Headquarters Air Force has been formed and during the last year the fighting strength of the Army Air Corps has been raised from 60 squadrons to 120 squadrons. During the past year 5 new air bases have been located and construction is well underway. These provide strong military bases in critical areas. This is in addition to the development of our civilian
airplanes which are not equalled in number or quality by any other nation in the world.

Has air armament been wasted when it is established fact that the air defense strength of the nation has more than doubled in the past three years and that the defenses of our air frontiers are stronger today than at any time in history?

I have heard renewed arguments for a separate air force.

Let me remind you that this important question was thrashed out some years ago and the decision made at that time that unified command was essential to successful military operations, has been amply justified in my mind by recent events.

The most strikingly successful military operations of the past year have not been the result of predominance in any one arm. They have resulted from the carefully coordinated action of air, ground and mechanized forces operating under unified command.

If I were disposed to question this basic principle, I could obtain
immediate reassurance at the present moment from the splendid
condition of the United States fleet, with its efficient and
well integrated air force. The air and sea units of our Navy are
welded into a magnificent combat team capable of immediate and
effective-coordinated operation. Under unified command the Army
with its own air force is attaining the same state of coordinated
efficiency.

I ask you to remember that in critical times like these
it is natural to demand some dramatic achievements, such as the
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 volunteer experts on military matters
center their demands on the spectacular features of warfare—parachute
troops, dive bombers and massive tanks.

I ask you not to become confused by these demands. To
I have confidence, as I have confidence in the officers of 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 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 sufficiently to insure our security.

... at my request Congress has just provided the largest appropriation ever asked by the Army in peace times. This...
appropriation is adequate to meet the plans of the Army and Navy during the next few months. I am violating no confidence when I tell you that my military advisors have opposed any sudden and ill-considered expansion of the Army beyond the capacity of industry to provide modern equipment. They have urged, and I have approved, a step-by-step development of our land defenses, keeping pace with delivery of material and conforming to the changes in the world situation.

This development has already begun. The regular Army today is stronger by more than 100,000 men than it was 7 years ago, and a further increase of 15,000 is in progress.

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 unoffi
cial observers. Our Army is compact, seasoned, highly trained and with high morale. Its development will continue as required to meet any crisis on any front.

I wish to tell you now that I will not hesitate at any moment to ask for additional funds when my military advisors inform me that they are required.

The quality of our new equipment has been questioned, and I wish to reassure you on this subject also.

Our new semi-automatic rifle is the finest military rifle in the hands of any troops in the world. The new anti-tank gun designed by the Ordnance Department has no superior in its class, and I make the same statement with confidence of 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 into weapons actually in the hands of the troops, but our potential productive capacity must be utilized to expedite the fulfillment of our requirements.

If our industrial economy is to produce the finished items essential to the Nation's welfare in the variety, quantity and quality needed, it is essential that the supply of raw materials which they utilize continue unimpaired and in some cases be available in even greater quantities than heretofore. Materials which are produced in abundance in the Western Hemisphere are not a serious problem. Those which are not produced by the Americas, in adequate quantities, present very serious problems. Richly endowed with resources as we are, there are a number of materials - such as rubber, quinine, tin, manganese ore, and chromite, which we cannot obtain in the quantity and quality needed, except by importation from sources far from our shores. These we call strategic and
critical materials.

Sufficient supplies of some of the deficiency materials, to tide us over an emergency, do not require large sums of money.

In order to obtain these, I have requested the Congress to appropriate $15,500,000 in addition to the $22,500,000 which has previously been made available for the accumulation of an emergency reserve of the strategic materials. Realizing that sufficient quantities of manganese, rubber, and tin cannot be obtained by the funds authorized by the "Strategic Materials legislation", I have directed that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation make provision for a sufficient supply of these materials in the United States to satisfy our requirements, even if access to foreign sources are prohibited, until domestic resources can be placed in operation, or American ingenuity develops a satisfactory substitute.

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.
And with it, we must adopt a practical program
of industrial training for all our citizens, men and women,
young and old, so that, etc.
Concluding paragraphs

At this time, when the world is threatened by the forces of destruction, it is my resolve and yours to make our defenses impregnable. We shall build up our army, our navy, our air forces. 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 no cause for fear. Our economic strength, the foundation of our defense, is equal to that of any or all aggressors. Prompt and effective harnessing of our productive powers will make our security absolute.

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. For any nation will defend its 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. Committed here are the blood and genius of all the peoples of the world who have sought this promise.
We have built well. We have banished ignorance, fear, and enslavement. It lies within our grasp to banish poverty and insecurity, 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 build and 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, the imperishable bedrock of our defense, lies in the stake which every American has in the land he defends.

This is the task of our generation. But we build and defend not for our generation alone. We defend a way of life whose foundations were laid by our fathers. We build a way of life for generations yet unborn. We build and defend 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 not found wanting.
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.

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.

Tonight over the once peaceful roads of Belgium and France millions of them are now moving, fleeing from their homes to escape the ruthlessness of war, without shelter and almost wholly without food. They are trodding their cold and hungry way 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. Give to 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 have closed their eyes to events abroad—because they believed in utter good faith what many 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 has 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.
There are some among us who have been 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 Havana and Alaska
and Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands and the Canal Zone might
be perhaps useful outposts but that even if they fell, 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 their own party advocated
was wholly good.

Those who have closed their eyes for any of these
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.

(Insert A)

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 fears bordering on panic. It is said that we are defenceless. 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. 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; they infer 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 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.

Let me tell you some of the things that have been accomplished during the past few years.
It would be wholly unbecoming for me at this time to refer to the complete failure of this nation to maintain its defenses from the close of the World War to the year 1933. I could tell you much about it but I would be accused of political motives were I to do so.

I give you, therefore, simple, provable figures.

When I took office in March, 1933, I found that the Army of the United States consisted of officers and men that they had had provided for them practically no new implements of war since 1919 -- except, of course, new uniforms and shoes and replacements of the bare necessities of life which wore out from year to year.

It had no new heavy artillery, and none of the old heavy artillery had been modernized; no new light artillery, and none of the old light artillery had been modernized; no new trucks except a partial replacement of the World War trucks which had been broken down and been thrown on the scrap heap; no new rifles; no additional ammunition except a replacement or re-working of the old ammunition of 1918; no anti-aircraft guns; no new tanks except in partial replacements of the World War tanks; no new planes except some replacements -- and this to the extent
that in 1933 the Army had less planes than in 1918. All this with the net result that the ratio of the United States Army in 1933 had declined in proportion to the armies of Europe and of the Far East from fourth in rank to twelfth in rank.

That was the situation I found. Since then we have spent millions of dollars on the Army, which, however, on an average annual basis, as compared with the eight years before 1933, is an excess of expenditure during my Administration of a net of million dollars.

These new and additional expenditures have resulted during these years in the following simple figures: The personnel of the Army has been increased from to .

We have modernized old heavy guns and built new ones. We have modernized light artillery and built new ones. We have added 25,000 motorized vehicles of all kinds to the equipment of the Army.

We have placed in commission tanks representing a net increase of tanks. We have increased the airplane strength from planes to planes.

We have war maneuvers in many parts of the country, not with a regiment or two on each side but with an entire Army Corps on each side.
That is the answer of fact and figures for those who talk of pouring money down the rat-hole -- those who would rather see a Senate investigation of the figures of expenditures which are clearly detailed on the books of the Comptroller General of the United States than use their energies for future defense.

The same thing in similar terms holds true of the Navy of the United States. I do not propose to go into long details. It is sufficient to say that in 1933 the Navy, like the Army, had fallen among the Navies of the world in power of ships and in efficiency to a relatively low ebb. (See 1934 Message). Since 1933 we have added _______ cruisers; _______ destroyers; _______ submarines; _______ auxiliaries of many kinds to the active commissioned list and we have under construction today _______ battleships; _______ cruisers; _______ destroyers; _______ submarines -- they cost money, and lots of it. I repeat the simple assertion of my Message to the Congress of last week. 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.
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 for the Army and Navy -- planes and guns and ships are much lower in Great Britain than they are with us -- that you can get more for your money over there than we can here. We can make 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 importance, 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 disproved theory.
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 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.

At my request Congress has just voted the largest appropriation ever asked by the Army in peace times. This appropriation is 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 Army 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.

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
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.

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.
At this time, when the world is threatened by the forces of destruction, it is my resolve and yours to make our defenses impregnable. We shall build up our army, our navy, our air forces. 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. Our economic strength, the foundation of our defense, is great. Prompt 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 is this that we must build and 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.

This is the task of our generation. But we build
and defend not for our generation alone. We defend a way of
life whose foundations were laid by our fathers. We build a
way of life for generations yet unborn. We build and defend
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 not found wanting.
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 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 Luxembourgh 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 from us across the seas.

Tonight over the once peaceful roads of Belgium and France millions of them are now moving, running from their homes to escape bombs and shells and fire, without shelter, and almost wholly without food. They plead 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 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
that some 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 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.
There are some among us who are persuaded by minority groups in our midst 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 wholly bad and that everything that the other party advocated was wholly good.

Those who have closed their eyes for any of these many reasons, those who would not look to see 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 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 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 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 have 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.
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 details. 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 obsolescent. Since 1933 practically a new Navy has been constructed.

Between July 1, 1933 and July 1, 1940--seven fiscal years--we shall have spent $ more than we spent the seven years before on the Navy.

What did we get for this money?

During that period ships for the fighting fleet have been laid down, practically ten times the number in the preceding similar period.

Let us be more specific. We have increased the fighting personnel of the Navy from to .

We have laid down and commissioned cruisers; destroyers; submarines; aircraft carriers and gunboats, and auxiliaries and small craft. Furthermore, we have under construction today and have spent part of this money on battleships, cruisers, destroyers, submarines, airplane carrier and auxiliaries and small craft.

Ship construction costs millions of dollars; it costs more 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 through the air. And in speaking of airplanes that work with the Navy, in 1933 we had___________.
today we have___________.

The Navy is far stronger today than at any peaceful 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 during the World War.
When I took office in March, 1933, I found that the Army of the United States 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 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 Army by 1937 had declined in rank with the armies of Europe and the Far East from fourth in rank in 1918 to twelfth (7) in rank in 1933.

That was the situation I found.

Since then great changes have taken place.

Between July 1, 1933 and July 1, 1940 — seven fiscal years — we shall have spent $1,292,000,000 more than we spent the seven years before on the Army.

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.

Here are some striking examples:

Since 1933 we have actually purchased 2500 airplanes including the most modern type of long-range bombers and fast pursuit planes.

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-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. 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 been during the last two years.

In 1933 we had 1,263 army pilots. Today the army 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.

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 getting 50,000 planes a year.
Ship construction costs millions of dollars; it costs more 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 through the air. And in speaking of airplanes that work with the Navy — in 1933 we had ______. Today we have ______.

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.

(FOLLOWED BY THE ARMY)

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. 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 submarines; 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.

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-times.

These appropriations are adequate to meet the plans of the Army and Navy during the next few months. There should be no sudden and ill-considered expansion 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.

That world situation may so change that it will be necessary to reappraise our progress 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 that 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 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.
We shall continue to improve and redesign, and to produce in accordance with the latest that the brains of science concede.

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 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—all 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.
We propose to call upon 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.
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 of. 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.*
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
the normal 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.

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. While our Navy and our air-
planes 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 sound,
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 society weak. That offensive should not now be broken down by the pinacers 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, 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 to bring their wages up to that minimum.
There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a breaking down of old age pensions or unemployment insurance. I would rather see the system extended to other groups who do not now enjoy them.

Conversely, our present emergency does make it unpatriotic for any specialized group 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 to 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
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. 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 strove 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 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.

And, parenthetically, if this increased purchasing power becomes a fact, government tax receipts automatically go up and help to pay the cost of additional preparedness.
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 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, base on false slogans and propaganda. The aim: 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 — [and lots 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 from abroad, armament programs are dangerously delayed. Singleness of national purpose is undermined. Men lose 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 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 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 use. 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 and 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 stamina 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 and that all of us are 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 every 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
democracies.

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

We have built well. We are bringing 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 defend.

It is the task of our generation. But we build and defend
not for our generation alone. We defend foundations laid by
our fathers. We build a life for generations yet unborn. We
defend and build a way of life not for America alone, but for
all mankind. Ours is a high duty, a noble task.
Day and night I pray for the restoration of peace in this mad world of ours.

It is not necessary that I, the President, ask the American people to pray in behalf of such a cause -- I know you are praying with me.

I am certain that out of the hearts of every man, woman and child in this land, in every waking minute a supplication goes up to Almighty God -- that all of us beg that suffering and starving, that death and destruction shall end -- and that 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.

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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 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 by the failure to replace ships and equipment which had become obsolete.

Since 1933 practically a new Navy has been constructed.

There has been much loose talk about the cost of this new Navy.

Through the fiscal years 1933 to 1941, the United States spent on the increase of the Navy $447,000,000, or an average of $44,700,000 per year, for the construction of new ships, the modernization of old ships in the fleet, and the building of training ships and hospital ships.

Between 1933 and 1941, we have spent for the increase of the Navy $447,000,000. This includes the cost of naval airplanes, submarines, the new carriers, the new auxiliaries to the active commissioned fleet. Furthermore, we have under construction at the present time 18 battleships, 16 cruisers, 73 destroyers, 26 submarines, and 57 auxiliaries and 14 aircraft carriers. Today, 3 months from now, we will have 18 battleships, 28 cruisers, 80 destroyers, 35 submarines, and 20 auxiliaries and 14 aircraft carriers.
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 lots 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, that no matter what methods or machinery which is set up by the Government to improve our national defense be -- no matter whether [be]

- only reasonable, good — they will cry to the nation that this is the wrong way of doing things. These people are not traitors; these people think they are good Americans. But I think we must realize that if they decide that no matter what their government does it [be] being done the wrong way, they [are] hastening our program of national defense just as much as if they were listening to the whisperings [recommendations] of foreign agents seeking our destruction. Criticism is helpful. Demurrage is almost always a result of these any forms of opposition argument programs are dangerously delayed. Singleness of national purpose is undermined. Men lose all confidence in each other, and hence in the efficacy of their own united action. Faith and courage
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Between July 1, 1933 and July 1, 1939—

six fiscal years—we have spent

for what we call "increase of

the navy" $47,000,000. This

includes ships, naval air planes,

modernization, naval bases,

modernization, naval bases. It does not

include new yards. It does not

include new yards. It does not

include the amount spent for

regular maintenance of the navy

such as pay, clothing, for

which, and repairs. It

includes only new construction

or expansion.

For the six fiscal years

June 1, 1933—

the United States

spent in the increase of the

navy $47,000,000.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

What did we get for this increase of $20,000,000 over three six years.
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