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From the papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

My fellow countrymen:

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 many 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.

On this Sabbath evening, around our firesides, let us calmly consider what we have done and what we must do.

No sober American can question the traditions, the morale, and the equipment of our armed services. These services have been keenly alive to the dangers inherent in the rearmament drive which began in 1933. In military, naval, and air design we have not merely kept pace, we have led the entire world.

The sums suggested by the defense departments, requested by me, and voted by the Congress have been well spent. Thoughtless charges to the contrary display a complete misunderstanding of the essential character of modern defense.

As I said to the Congress in my message of May 16, defense cannot be static; it must grow and change from day to day. The naval design of 7 years ago is inferior to the naval design of today. The aircraft design of 7 months ago is inferior to the aircraft design of today. The very rapidity of the change of techniques and designs is our best guarantee of the alertness of our officers, of the ingenuity and skill of our designers.

But the designs and equipment of yesterday were necessary for the defense of yesterday. The designs and equipment of today provide us security today. Only the designs and equipment of the future can provide us security in the future. We must be prepared to build and rebuild our armaments to match the pace of others.

Our immediate task is to mobilize our industrial resources for the expanded production of equipment of latest design. This I have requested and the Congress will soon have authorized. Conferences have already been held here in Washington between government officials and equipment manufacturers to plan the speedy



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expansion of their production. Their wholehearted response makes it possible for me to assure the country that our defense needs will be promptly met.

Effective industrial mobilization, however, important though it be, is only a small part of our task. Even as we marshal and direct these specialized industrial sectors for the production of armaments, we must expand the operations of the entire economy of which they form a strategically important part. What is vitally important is that we bring all our resources, both of man and of materials, into effective use. Our safety requires the immediate elimination of unemployment.

If the European democracies perish, it will not be because of any inherent weakness but because of their failure to make full use of their inherent strength. They have not lacked for economic resources. Their economic potential was not inferior to that of the dictatorships. But while the dictatorships harnessed every ounce of economic energy to the task of rearmament, the vastly more powerful democracies permitted their economies to limp along, hitting on only three cylinders.

It is important to note that their failure to arm as rapidly as the dictatorships was not due to use of their resources for any other purposes. They were tragically unable to make full use of their manpower and materials for any purpose, whether of peace or of war. All who hold freedom dear pray that they are not too late, that their inherent strength, at last fully evoked, will carry them through in the end.



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The bitter experience of the European democracies provides a lesson which we in America dare not ignore. We must avoid not only their error in failing to arm but their error in failing to bring their economies to the level of full operating efficiency, which is the essential foundation of national strength.

From its earliest days, this administration has sought to restore the level of production and national income to a height at which our men and our resources would be fully employed. To the extent we have succeeded, we are a stronger nation. Despite very substantial progress, we have never attained our objective of full employment. To that extent we are a weaker nation than we might now be.

The reason for our failure to reach our objective is not far to seek. Prior to the present emergency, the country was not sufficiently united in opinion to support a program adequate for the attainment of full employment. The closer we got to our goal, the more persuasive became the voices of those who counseled that the program must be checked and reduced.



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Today that disunity no longer exists. In the face of the threat from beyond our shores we are a united people. We are united in our determination to bring our mighty resources swiftly into full and effective utilization. We can permit no obstacle to stand in the way. Experience abroad teaches us that delay may be fatal.

We are now embarking upon a broad program of expansion that will carry us irresistibly forward. The behavior of the security and commodity markets this past week discloses fears that are utterly groundless. Never before in our history has expansion been more certain. Early termination of the war would make the need for expansion only the more imperative. Even the dullest should see that this is no time to sell America short.

Industry should not speed its programs for expansion of capacity. Idle money should be put to profitable use. Where funds are not available, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Federal Reserve Banks are ready to provide them. Every power of government is available to strengthen, support, and speed the expansion that must come.

In this expansion we run serious danger of price dislocations. Some congestion and bottlenecks will inevitably result as the consequence of the rapidity with which we shall move. A smooth coordination of the efforts of business, labor, and government is vitally necessary to avoid unbalanced development of the expansion.



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There will be some who will seek to exploit these temporary readjustments to their own speculative advantage. While reasonable and adequate profits are an essential part of our program of expansion, profiteering will not be tolerated, either by the people or by the government.

There are some who will fear inflation. These fears are groundless. Although price adjustments in some areas of our economy are necessary and desirable — I have farm prices particularly in mind — inflation will not be tolerated. If the sober judgment of the great mass of American businessmen and their devotion to the national interest are not sufficient to prevent runaway prices, we have the necessary techniques. Inflation will not occur.

There are some who fear that in our effort to secure adequate defense we must lower our standards of living. While at some future time it may be possible to meet the requirements of defense only by curtailment of living standards, that time is not even on the horizon today. The critical requirement of the present moment is the utilization of our idle resources.

The harnessing of our idle manpower and idle plant will expand production by 50 per cent or more. In terms of the annual national income, this will mean an increase of 35 billion dollars. This vast increase of output could be used entirely to increase our armaments without reducing our standards of living by one iota. At some future time it may become necessary for us annually



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to expend such an amount for our defense. It may become necessary to spend even more than such an amount. If that time comes this Nation will not put a price upon its security. And in such an hour I am confident that no sacrifice which may be necessary will not be gladly borne.

Today we need to use only a fraction of this increased output, this increased income, for armaments. But we sorely need to use this increase for the expansion of our capital equipment and productive capacity in power, in railroads, in manufacturing and mining. We sorely need to use it to raise our standards of living, to provide an adequate diet for every family in the land, to protect our health, to improve our housing.

Let me say this once again: the increase of our armaments does not require at this time any curtailment of our standards of living. Let me go further: the raising of our standards of living is an essential part of our defense, which can be neglected only at national peril.

Our task is not to pull in our belts; it is to apply our mighty energies to production for all our needs.

There are those who say that this cannot be accomplished by a democracy. There are those who say that we are fast becoming a dictatorship.

My fellow Americans, we are a stiff-necked and stubborn people. When occasion provokes, we can be a violent and lawless people. But you know and I know that we can never be a servile



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people.

Let us have done with this nonsense. The yoke of dictatorship will never be fastened upon this Nation. To conceive government to be the expression of the collective will, strength, and responsibility of the entire Nation. Its power derives from the consent of a free people. To demand of government the responsible discharge, for the common welfare, of whatever duties the situation may impose.

To demand these things of government. Our government does not impose them upon us. Only those who are uncertain of their own capacity and of the capacity of the American people to discharge the responsibilities of citizenship can seriously fear the emergency of dictatorship in this country.

There are those who urge that we give up the broad program for social and economic justice upon which we have been embarked these 7 years. They say that this program is wasteful, that it has weakened us, and that today it hampers the Nation in its primary drive for defense.

They say that our efforts to redress ancient wrongs, to extend ^{equal} opportunities, to permit all to share in our freedom and our wellbeing—that these efforts have bred class conflict, have destroyed our national unity. They point to the billions that we have spent and charge that we are the poorer for it.

Let us examine these charges soberly. Let us consider whether we are a poorer nation or a richer, a weaker nation or a stronger, for the things we have done.



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The task we faced 7 years ago was one of rescue and rehabilitation. The economic processes of the country were paralyzed, crippled in a deflation that had been permitted to continue and to grow for more than 3 years. We ended that paralysis, we reversed that deflation, we secured an immediate upsurge of the productive forces of the Nation.

Under the stimulus of a broad program of public investment and employment, the flow of buying power in the Nation's markets increased and industrial activity quickened. Every sector of the country, every productive occupation, participated in the recovery.

Millions of homes and farms were saved from foreclosure. Millions of men, women, and children were saved from privation. Thousands of banks and insurance companies, and businesses large and small, were rescued from bankruptcy.

We have conserved our resources of forest and soil. We have controlled floods and checked erosion. We have harnessed our rivers and brought electricity into millions of American farms and village homes.

We have built schools and libraries, roads and bridges. We have built public buildings and sanitation works. We have built hospitals and laboratories. We have built houses and playgrounds.

We have raised the dietary standards of millions and have protected and improved their health. We have stopped the decay of talent, the neglect of training, the denial of opportunity to our youth. We have conserved and sharpened the skills of our unemployed.



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To call this "waste" or to term this "extravagance", is to misconceive the very meaning of economy. It is a proposition that appeals to the common sense of everyone that the Nation cannot be poorer for having put idle hands to useful work. The Nation cannot be weaker for having strengthened the equipment of its economy and the morale of its people.

If today we are not as strong as we should be, it is because we have not done enough. It is because we have permitted millions to remain in idleness who might have been building the useful works that might today be contributing to our wellbeing and defence.

That prudence dictated yesterday necessity makes imperative today. We must continue these programs to raise our living standards, to develop our skills, to protect our health, to expand the wellbeing of every family in the land.

This is not generosity. This is not extravagance. This is a wise investment in protecting our vitality as a Nation, our vigor as a people, the state each of us has in our institutions.

These past 7 years have seen our people move far toward more equitable social and economic relationships.

In 1932 three million farm families, comprising over 15 million persons, were destitute, floundering under by economic and financial forces beyond their control. With 15-cent corn, 30-cent wheat, 5-cent cotton, few agricultural households were far from



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privation. We acted promptly to rescue these farm families from distress. We have restored them to their rightful place in the national economy. Our programs have placed a solid foundation under agriculture and therefore under the Nation.

We have recognized our obligation to the workers of this country as we have recognized our obligation to the farmers. It is the obligation to assure to each an equitable share of the national income and to establish conditions appropriate to the dignity of free citizens of a democracy.

Freedom and equity in industry can be achieved only through organized effort. The concentration of economic power renders the individual worker helpless in obtaining a fair price for his labor. We have placed upon a firm statutory basis the right of American labor to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.

Because of the unwillingness of some employers to recognize the constitutional basis of this right, industrial peace has not always prevailed. But where it has prevailed it has been the result of free negotiation between equals. This is the only kind of industrial peace appropriate to a free society.

In those areas of the economy in which labor is unable, through organization, to obtain decent and adequate living standards, we have recognized the responsibility to establish such standards. We have gone far in eliminating conditions shamefully



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unworthy of the American system, conditions which sap the vitality of our people.

Seven years ago the tragedy of youth vainly seeking opportunity to make a productive contribution was matched by the tragedy of the aged suffering insecurity and privation despite a lifetime of contribution to the national wellbeing.

We have recognized our obligation to develop the moral strength, social responsibility, and productive talents of youth. During the past 7 years millions of young men have been enabled to improve their own talents and to repair the neglected countryside and vital resources of the Nation. Millions of youth have been enabled to continue their education and vocational training. In our work programs the skills of millions of youth have been preserved and developed. Through these programs for youth we have conserved the seed corn of our national future.

We have recognized our obligation toward the aged. We have established a system of old-age insurance which today enables millions of us under the age of 65 to look forward to a secure old age. We have provided assistance to millions of our fellow citizens over the age of 65 and in need. From these lives the corroding force of insecurity and fear has been removed. This is a mighty achievement.

We will not give up these advances. We must move forward. The time is at hand to expand our program for youth. We must enable them to develop their capacities, to sharpen their skills



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for participation in the national effort we are undertaking.

As we expand our national output and income, we must take care that the aged share equitably and generously in the increase. The day is not far distant when we shall recognize the right of every person in a ^{free} democracy, whatever his economic status, to a decent and secure old age. The right of the aged to security is as fundamental to the wellbeing of a democracy as is the right of youth to public education.

The progress we have made toward more equitable social and economic relationships has meant a better balance in the distribution of the national income. It has meant a rising national income in which all have participated. Our program for agriculture, for labor, for youth, for the aged, has been a program for business as well.

Every dollar spent by the government has been represented several times over in business receipts. Every effort of government has expanded the markets for the products of business. Every program of this administration may appropriately be called a program of business stimulation.

To those who believe that we must now give up these programs I say that through these programs we as a people have been more strongly knit together than ever before. Through them the tangible fruits of democracy have been brought to every family in the land. These are the source of our strength and the very heart of the values we defend.



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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 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 the genius of all the people 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 and of a



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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.



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DRAFT #2

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. ^{Obviously} ~~Our place is~~ ~~highlighted~~ ^{We are} ~~highlighted~~ 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 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 ~~of them~~ are now moving, running from their homes to escape bombs and shells and fire, without shelter, and almost wholly without food. They ^{stumble} ~~plod~~ 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,



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DRAFT #2

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is rushing food, clothing and medical supplies to these millions.
distant
Please -- I beg you -- give according to your means to your nearest
Red Cross chapter, give us 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.



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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 ^{a few} ~~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~~ ^{the govt} did was ~~wholly bad~~ ^{wrong}. ~~that everything that the other party advocated was wholly good.~~

Those who have closed their eyes for any of these many ^{beliefs in the possibility of} 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.



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In some quarters, with this rude awakening has come fear 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 those 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 ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ 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 ^{as} ~~it is~~ a matter of ^{1/2 million should} ~~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.



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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 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 by the failure to replace ships and equipment 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. Between 1921 and 1933 the United States spent on what we call "increase of the Navy", including ships, airplanes, modernization, naval bases, navy yards \$_____ over a period of twelve years.

Between 1933 and 1940 -- seven years -- we have spent for "increase of the Navy" \$_____.

What did we get for it? Since 1933 we have added _____ cruisers, _____ destroyers _____ submarines _____ aircraft carriers and _____ auxiliaries to the active commissioned Fleet. Furthermore, we have _____ today under construction and have spent money on _____ battleships, _____ cruisers, _____ destroyers and _____ auxiliaries.



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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-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.

~~(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.



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DRAFT #2

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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.

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 program ^{at any time} ~~in 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.



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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.



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We shall continue to improve and redesign, and to produce 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



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DRAFT #2

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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 additional production investment which the program implies. The details of this are now being worked out in Washington, day and night.



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From the Report of
Harry L. Hopkins

DRAFT #2

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 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 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 unquestioned 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 consideration and the thought and attention of many administrative and executive officials in high places in the Nation's Capital.



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From the Papers of
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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. For 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 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



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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 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. 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 to bring their wages up toward that minimum.



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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.

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 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



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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. 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 toward the cost of additional preparedness.



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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, based on false slogans and propaganda. The aim: confusion of counsel, public indecision, political paralysis, and eventually a state of panic.



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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 the methods, the machinery which is set up by the Government to improve our national defense may be -- no matter whether it be only reasonably 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 is being done the wrong way, they are hurting our program of national defense just as much as if they were listening to the whisperings and recommendations of foreign agents seeking our destruction.

As a result of these many forms of opposition, armament 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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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.



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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?



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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. Co-mingled 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.



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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 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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Opening paragraphs

My fellow countrymen:

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 defenceless. 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.



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2

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~~ ^{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.



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3

Insert (see bottom page 4)

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.



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4

You have heard a great deal about motorisation 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 new, 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 German rifle; with cal. 50 anti-tank 37 millimeter anti-tank guns; with the newest type of ^{modern} infantry mortars; with anti-aircraft guns; scout cars, combat cars, ^{and} gasmasks, motor vehicles, 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?

Insert —

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



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HARRY L. HOPKINS

and by June of 1941 will have more than 5,500 firstline planes.⁷ A few years ago we had less than 1,500 Army pilots. Today in the Army we have more than 1,200 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 plans 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 15,000 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, ^{also} 5 new air bases have been located and construction is well under way. ~~These planes and other military bases in critical areas.~~ This is in addition to the development of our civilian

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aircraft which are not equalled in number or quality by any other nation in the world.

Has air argument been wasted when it is a 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 a 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 preeminence in any one arm. They have resulted from the carefully coordinated action of air, ground and mechanised forces, operating under unified command. If I were disposed to question this basic principle, I could obtain



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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 significant combat team, capable of immediate and effective readjusted 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 achievement, 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,--On parachute troops, dive bombers and massive tanks.

I ask you not to become confused by these demands. To



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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 ^{re-td} provided the largest appropriation ever asked by the Army in peace times. This



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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. Those divisions, newly equipped with modern transport, have been executing



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the same rapid maneuvers that have recently startled many of our ~~unofficial~~ ~~and official~~ 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. ^a

(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.



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From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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 ^{is} ~~was~~ and 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 uniminished 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

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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 \$45,500,000 in addition to the \$27,500,000 which has previously been made available for the accumulation of an emergency reserve of the strategic materials. Realizing that sufficient quantities of tungsten, 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



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you that major developments abroad will be paralleled by increasing precautions in this country.

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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.



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From the papers of

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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 bulwark 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 ~~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.



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Opening paragraphs

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My fellow countrymen:

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 these 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.



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2

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~~ ^{may} been wasted. You ~~have~~ ^{may} 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.



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3

Insert (See page 4)

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.



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4

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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. 30 and ~~and~~ 37 millimeter anti-tank guns, with the newest type of infantry mortars; with ^{modern} anti-aircraft guns; scout cars, combat cars, ^{and} gasmasks, ~~motor-vehicles~~, medium and heavy artillery?

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Insert

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and by June of 1941 will have more than 5,500 firstline planes. ⁷ 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 plans 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 15,000 planes per year. The General Headquarters Air Force has been ~~reduced~~ ^{expanded,} during the last year the fighting strength of the Army Air Corps has been raised from 60 squadrons to 120 squadrons. During the ^{also} past year, 5 new air bases have been located and construction is well underway. ~~These provide strong military bases in critical~~ ^{regions.} This is in addition to the development of our civilian



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airplanes which are not equalled in number or quality by any other nation in the world.

Has air armament been wasted when it is a 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 a unified command was essential to successful military operations, has been amply justified ~~as~~ ^{by} recent events.

The most strikingly successful military operations of the past year have not been the result of preeminence 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



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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 ~~seacoast~~ ^{coastal} 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 achievement, 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;—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 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 ^{passed} ~~provided~~ the largest appropriation ever asked by the Army in peace times. This



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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



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the same rapid maneuvers that have recently startled many of our ~~our~~ ^{unofficial} ~~official~~ 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.



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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 can and 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 uniminished 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

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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 \$45,500,000 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 industry develops a satisfactory substitute.

Let us face the fact that we are living in a time when our forces are constantly growing stronger, and I can assure



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you that major developments abroad will be paralleled by increasing precautions in this country.

~~SECRET~~



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



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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 bulwark 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 ~~ff~~ 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.



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From the Papers of
Isidore L. Hopkins

Dec 21, 1941

*Material for Mrs. [unclear]
Gallant*

Opening paragraphs

My fellow countrymen:

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 invulnerable. 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 realization have come fears bordering on panic. It is said that we are defenceless. 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 fireplaces, let us calmly consider what we have done and what we must do.



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Concluding paragraphs

At this time, when the world is threatened by the forces of destruction, it is my resolve and yours to make our defense 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.

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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 bulwark of our defense, lies in the stake which every American has in the land he defends.

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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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 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 me be more specific. We have increased the fighting personnel of the Navy from _____ to _____.

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



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NAVY (THIRD DRAFT)

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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 during the World War.



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ARMY (THIRD DRAFT)

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 had 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 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.

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 equipped with its complete requirements of modern weapons.

Here are some striking ~~xxx~~ examples:

Since 1933 we have actually ordered _____ 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



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ARMY (THIRD DRAFT)

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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. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ 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.



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*Knopf for
May 26, 1940
Van der Grinten*

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,
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.



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as generously as you can.

*I ask this in the
name of our common home*



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From the papers of
Sherry L. Hopkins

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

We are not merely
content with keeping
pace with improvements
in design, but we are
employing American
ingenuity in projecting
our designs in
advance of current

The task we faced 7 years ago was one of rescue and rehabilitation. The economic processes of the country were paralyzed, gripped in a deflation that had been permitted to continue and to grow for more than 3 years. We ended that paralysis, we reversed that deflation, we secured an immediate upsurge of the productive forces of the Nation.

Under the stimulus of a broad program of public investment and employment, the flow of buying power in the Nation's markets increased and industrial activity quickened. Every sector of the country, every productive occupation, participated in the recovery.

Millions of homes and farms were saved from foreclosure. Millions of men, women, and children were saved from privation. Thousands of banks and insurance companies, and businesses large and small, were rescued from bankruptcy.

We have conserved our resources of forest and soil. We have controlled floods and checked erosion. We have harnessed our rivers and brought electricity into millions of American farm and village homes.

We have built schools and libraries, roads and bridges. We have built public buildings and sanitation works. We have built hospitals and laboratories. We have built houses and playgrounds.

We have raised the dietary standards of millions and have protected and improved their health. We have stopped the decay of talent, the neglect of training, the denial of opportunity to our youth. We have conserved and sharpened the skills of our unemployed.



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To call this "waste", to term this "extravagance", is to misconceive the very meaning of economy. It is a proposition that appeals to the common sense of everyone that the Nation cannot be poorer for having put idle hands to useful work. The Nation cannot be weaker for having strengthened the equipment of its economy and the morale of its people.

If today we are not as strong as we should be, it is because we have not done enough. It is because we have permitted millions to remain in idleness who might have been building the useful works that might today be contributing to our wellbeing and defense.

What prudence dictated yesterday necessity makes imperative today. We must continue these programs to raise our living standards, to develop our skills, to protect our health, to expand the wellbeing of every family in the land.

This is not generosity. This is not extravagance. This is a wise investment in protecting our vitality as a Nation, our vigor as a people, the stake each of us has in our institutions.

These past 7 years have seen our people move far toward more equitable social and economic relationships.

Mr R In 1932 three million farm families, comprising over 15 million persons, were destitute, plowed under by economic and financial forces beyond their control. With 15-cent corn, 30-cent wheat, 5-cent cotton, few agricultural households were far from



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privation. We acted promptly to rescue these farm families from distress. We have restored them to their rightful place in the national economy. Our programs have placed a solid foundation under agriculture and therefore under the Nation.

We have recognized our obligation to the workers of this country as we have recognized our obligation to the farmers. It is the obligation to assure to each an equitable share of the national income and to establish conditions appropriate to the dignity of free citizens of a democracy.

Freedom and equity in industry can be achieved only through organized effort. The concentration of economic power renders the individual worker helpless in obtaining a fair price for his labor. We have placed upon a firm statutory basis the right of American labor to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.

Because of the unwillingness of some employers to recognize the constitutional basis of this right, industrial peace has not always prevailed. But where it has prevailed it has been the result of free negotiation between equals. This is the only kind of industrial peace appropriate to a free society.

In those areas of the economy in which labor is unable, through organization, to obtain decent and adequate living standards, we have recognized the responsibility to establish such standards. We have gone far in eliminating conditions shamefully



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From the Papers of
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unworthy of the American system, conditions which sap the vitality of our people.

Seven years ago the tragedy of youth vainly seeking opportunity to make a productive contribution was matched by the tragedy of the aged suffering insecurity and privation despite a lifetime of contribution to the national wellbeing.

We have recognized our obligation to develop the moral strength, social responsibility, and productive talents of youth. During the past 7 years millions of young men have been enabled to improve their own talents and to repair the neglected countryside and vital resources of the Nation. Millions of youth have been enabled to continue their education and vocational training. In our works programs the skills of millions of youth have been preserved and developed. Through these programs for youth we have conserved the seed corn of our national future.

We have recognized our obligation toward the aged. We have established a system of old-age insurance which today enables millions of us under the age of 65 to look forward to a secure old age. We have provided assistance to millions of our fellow citizens over the age of 65 and in need. From these lives the corroding force of insecurity and fear has been removed. This is a mighty achievement.

We will not give up these advances. We must move forward. The time is at hand to expand our programs for youth. We must enable them to develop their capacities, to sharpen their skills



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for participation in the national effort we are undertaking.

As we expend our national output and income, we must take care that the aged share equitably and generously in the increase. The day is not far distant when we shall recognize the right of every person in ^{the} democracy, whatever his economic status, to a decent and secure old age. The right of the aged to security is as fundamental to the wellbeing of a democracy as is the right of youth to public education.

The progress we have made toward more equitable social and economic relationships has meant a better balance in the distribution of the national income. It has meant a rising national income in which all have participated. Our program for agriculture, for labor, for youth, for the aged, has been a program for business as well.

Every dollar spent by the government has been represented several times over in business receipts. Every effort of government has expanded the markets for the products of business. Every program of this administration may appropriately be called a program of business stimulation.

To those who believe that we must now give up these programs I say that through these programs we as a people have been more strongly knit together than ever before. Through them the tangible fruits of democracy have been brought to every family in the land. These are the source of our strength and the very heart of the values we defend.



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From the Papers of
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Dwight D. Eisenhower
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free and productive economic system to every family in the land.

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