It is because of these rapid changes; it is because of the grave
danger to democratic institutions, and above all, it is because of the
united will of the entire American people that I come to ask you for a
further authorization of $4,848,121,957 for the national defense.

Let no man in this country or anywhere else believe that because we
in America still cherish freedom of religion, of speech, of assembly, of
the press; that because we maintain our free democratic political insti-
tutions by which the nation after full discussion and debate, chooses
its representatives and leaders for itself — let no man here or elsewhere
believe that we are weak.

The United States is the greatest industrial nation in the world.
Its people, as workers and as businessmen, have proved that they can
unite in the national interest and that they can bring together the
greatest assembly of human skills, of mechanical production, and of
national resources, ever known in any nation.

The principal lesson of the war up to the present time is that
partial defense is inadequate defense.

If the United States is to have any defense, it must have total
defense.

We cannot defend ourselves a little here and a little there. We
must be able to defend ourselves wholly and at any time.

Our plans for national security, therefore, should cover total
defense. I believe that the people of this country are willing to make
any sacrifice to attain that end.

After consultation with the War and Navy Departments and the
Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, I recommend a
further program for the national defense. This contemplates the
provision of funds and authorizations for the material requirements
without which the man power of the nation, if called into service,
cannot effectively operate, either in the production of arms and
goods, or their utilization in repelling attack.

In broad outline our immediate objectives are as follows:

1. To carry forward the Naval expansion program designed to
build up the Navy to meet any possible combination of
hostile naval forces.

2. To complete the total equipment for a land force of approxi-
matley 1,200,000 men, though of course this total of men
would not be in the Army in time of peace.

3. To procure reserve stocks of tanks, guns, artillery, ammunition,
etc., for another 800,000 men or a total of 2,000,000 men
if a mobilization of such a force should become necessary.

4. To provide for manufacturing facilities, public and private,
necessary to produce critical items of equipment required for
a land force of 2,000,000 men, and to produce the ordnance
items required for the aircraft program of the Army and Navy —
guns, bombs, armor, bombsights and ammunition.

5. Procurement of 15,000 additional planes for the Army and 4,000
for the Navy, complete with necessary spare engines, armanent,
and the most modern equipment.

The foregoing program deals exclusively with material requirements.
The Congress is now considering the enactment of a system of selective
training for developing the necessary man power to operate this
material and man power to fill army non-combat needs. In this way we
can make certain that when this modern material becomes available, it
will be placed in the hands of troops trained, seasoned, and ready, and
that replacement material can be guaranteed.
I take this occasion to report the excellent progress being made for the procurement of the equipment already ordered under authorization by the Congress. Every week more and more is being delivered. The several branches of the Government are working in close cooperation with each other and with private manufacturers.

We are keeping abreast of developments in strategy, tactics, and technique of warfare, and build our defenses accordingly.

The total amount which I ask of the Congress in order that this program may be carried out with all reasonable speed is $2,161,441,957, which it is estimated would be spent out of the Treasury between now and July 1, 1941, and an additional $2,686,730,000 for contract authorizations.

So great a sum means sacrifice. So large a program means hard work - the participation of the whole country in the total defense of the country. This nation through sacrifice and work and unity proposes to remain free.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

JULY 10, 1940.
TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

It is necessary that the people of this Nation view the problem of national defense with wholly dispassionate realism. Never have we as a nation been able to define the word "defense" in terms of a specific probable attack on us at a given point—

with known land and sea forces. Always we have had to take

into consideration not only the probabilities but also the

possibilities of attacks by unspecified nations or combinations

of nations, with the use of unpredictable forces.

Since 1933, partly in order to replace obsolete World

War material and partly because of growing unrest in various parts of the world, we have steadily built up our Army and Navy forces.

The Congress during the first half of 1939 appropriated large increases which, however, in the light of later events, were not large enough.

During the autumn and early winter the course of the war in Europe provided startling developments. By Executive Order, I increased the strength of the Army, Navy and Coast Guard within statutory authorizations and in January, 1940 I submitted a Budget which included provisions for a substantial expansion of personnel and for large increases in order to procure essential equipment for a larger Army and Navy.
Beginning in April this year, events in Europe brought startling changes and many new lessons. They brought with them also a possible and even probable extension of war operations to world-wide fields, together with potential threats to American defense which a year ago had appeared highly improbable.

Therefore, in addition to the increased Budget of January, I recommended to the Congress in May appropriations and contract authorizations for $1,182,000,000 for equipment, replacements and modernization and for the speeding up of existing defense contracts. Two weeks later, I informed the Congress that I was submitting additional estimates totalling over a billion dollars to further add to our defense.

As things stand today the Congress has approved a program which may be summarized as follows:

Funds for non-commercial items such as tanks, guns artillery and munitions to equip an organized force of 800,000 men.

Funds for commercial items such as trucks, clothing and similar equipment for at least 600,000 men.

Funds to expand Army aircraft to 10,000 planes and Navy aircraft to 5,700 planes.

Funds and contract authorizations to proceed with
the Naval expansion program as heretofore authorized.

The principal lesson of the war up to the present time is that partial defense is inadequate defense -- that the speed of American warfare precludes arming after the fact of war -- and that if the United States is to have any defense it must as well have total defense. We cannot defend ourselves just a little here and a little there; we must be able to defend ourselves all over and at any time.

Our plans for national security, therefore, should envisage total defense, for I believe that the people of this country are willing to make any sacrifice to attain that end.

In consultation with the War and Navy Departments and the Advisory Commission to the National Defense Council, I find substantial agreement that the following be made the policy and the program of the National Government. I call special attention to the fact that the adoption of this program will accomplish two objectives: First, the actual manufacture of the items for Army and Navy for which orders are given and, second, the building up of production facilities which today are wholly inadequate for carrying on a major war in our own defense.

1. **Initiation** Initiation of the Naval Expansion Program

provided for by H. R. 10,100 designed to build up the Navy to meet any possible combination of hostile naval
forces. Anything less leaves the United States in a position of insecurity.

2. The complete equipment for a ground force of approximately 1,200,000 men, though of course this total of men would not be in the Army in time of peace.

3. The procurement of reserve stocks of critical or non-commercial items such as tanks, guns, artillery, munitions, etc., to equip a ground force of 2,000,000 men if a mobilization of such a force became necessary.

4. Establishment and development of manufacturing facilities to produce critical items of reserve stocks to maintain in combat 2,000,000 men; and creation of additional production facilities which could not readily be improvised after an attack on us commenced.

5. Procurement of approximately 15,000 additional planes for the Army and 4,300 for the Navy, complete with necessary spare engines, armaments, etc.

I take this occasion to report the excellent progress being made for the procurement of the equipment already ordered by the Congress. The several branches of the Government are working in close cooperation with each other and with private manufacturers.
As an illustration I indicate briefly the developments of airplane production:

1. **January 1, 1939**
   - Productive capacity of **Military planes**: 5,500
   - Productive capacity of small commercial craft, which in the event of war would be transferred into training planes: 2,500
   - **Total**: 15,000

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Finally, it is estimated by the Advisory Commission to the National Defense Council that if the program continues as outlined the productive capacity of the United States by April 1, 1942 will be at least 40,000 military planes a year plus at least 12,000 small commercial planes.

In other words, this program represents an orderly
but concentrated effort to prepare the United States for any actuality of defense and the same relative increase in productive capacity can be applied to other critical items such as artillery and ammunition and tanks.

The total amount which I asked of the Congress in order that this program may be carried out with all reasonable speed is $ which it is estimated would be spent out of the Treasury between now and July 1, 1941 and an additional $ for contract authorizations. These contracts to be let at the earliest possible moment.
TO BE WORKED IN AN APPROPRIATE PLACE

I emphasize the fact that the program submitted together with the previous authorizations will give the United States 35,000 Army and Navy airplanes.
TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

As President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of its armed forces, I come again to the representatives of the people in Congress assembled, to lay before them an extraordinary estimate of funds and authorizations required for the national defense.

In my opinion, it is necessary now that the people of this nation and their representatives in Congress look at the problem of the national defense with utterly dispassionate realism. Never have we as a nation attempted to define the word "defense" in terms of a specific probable attack on the United States at a certain place and at a certain time and with our land and sea forces of a certain power or combination of power. From the beginning, we have had to take into consideration not only the probabilities, but also the possibilities, of attacks by nations or combinations of nations using against us forces and combinations of forces of unpredictable size and character.

In the long sweep of the century and a half since our defenses have been concentrated and unified under the Constitution, it has been
always a prime obligation of the President and Commander in Chief

promptly to advise the Congress with respect to any substantial change

calling for either increased or diminished defense needs

that might present a probable or even a possible attack upon the

United States and their liberties.

From time to time during the last seven years, I have not

failed to advise the people and their representatives of grave dangers

and

threatening the United States and its people, the institutions of
democracy everywhere, and the freedom of the peoples of the earth.

arising from the aggressive actions of despotic commanders of armed

forces who found their only sanctions in force. From time to time

I have availed myself of opportunities to reassert and reaffirm the

right of all the nations of the Americas, here on earth, to freedom

American doctrine of freedom in the Western Hemisphere.

from attack or control by any non-American power.

Unfortunately changes in the world situation which have

substantially increased the threat to us and our liberties, have been

coming upon us with increasing rapidity and violence during the

last two years.
A year and a half ago, on January 4, 1939, in my address to the Congress, I referred to the fact that I had felt it necessary on previous occasions to warn of disturbances abroad, and the need of putting our own house in order in the face of storm signals from across the seas. On that day I said that a war which threatened to envelop the world in flames had been averted, but that it had become increasingly clear that peace was not assured. I said then that all about us raged undeclared wars, military and economic. I said then that all about us were threats of new aggression, military and economic. I said then that the storms from abroad directly challenged three institutions indispensable to Americans—religion, democracy and international good faith.

Unhappily, many Americans—and among them not a few members of the Congress—believed that those who thought they foresaw the danger of a great war, were mistaken. Unhappily, those of us who did foresee that danger, were right.

A week later, on January 12, 1939, I submitted a program considered by me as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and by my advisors to
be a minimum program for the necessities of defense, saying that every
American was aware of the peaceful intentions of this government and
of this people, and that every American knew that we have no thought
of aggression and no desire for further territory. The Congress
granted that request for the minimum program then deemed necessary.

At the beginning of September the storm broke, and on the twenty-
first of that month, in a message to the extraordinary session of Congress,
I said that this Government must lose no time or effort to keep this
nation from being drawn into the war, and I asserted my belief that we
would succeed in these efforts. We have succeeded. I believe we shall
continue to succeed.

But it would be as the blind leading the blind if I were to conceal
from the people and their representatives in Congress what the
threats to our liberties, the threats to our security, the threats against
our way of life, the threats to our institutions of religion, of democracy,
and of international good faith, have increased in number and gravity from
month to month, from week to week, and almost from day to day.

In September last, by Executive Order, I increased the strength of
the Army, * Navy, * Coast Guard and the Federal Bureau of Investment within statutory authorizations made by the Congress. On January, 1940, I submitted a budget to the Congress which included provision for that expansion of personnel, as well as estimates for the national defense, amounting to approximately two billion dollars for the fiscal year 1941.

On May 16, in a message to the Congress, I pointed out that the swift and shocking developments of that time forced every neutral nation to look to its defenses in the light of new factors loosened by the brutal force of modern offensive war. Also, in that message, I called attention to the treacherous use of the "fifth column", by which persons supposed to be peaceful visitors were actually a part of an enemy unit of occupation, and called especial attention to the necessity for the protection of the whole American Hemisphere from control, invasion or domination. I asked at that time for a sum totaling $1,182,000,000 for the national defense.

On May 31, 1940, I again sent a message to the Congress, to say that the almost incredible events of the then past two weeks in the European conflict had necessitated another enlargement of our military program, and at that time I asked for $1,277,741,170 for the acceleration
and development of our military and naval program as measured in both machines and men.

Again today, in less than two months time, the changes in the world situation are so great and so profound that I must come once again to the Congress to advise concerning new threats, new needs, and the imperative necessity of meeting them. Free men and free women in the United States look to us to defend their freedom against all enemies foreign and domestic. Those enemies of freedom who hate free institutions now deride democratic governments as weak and inefficient.

We, the free men and women of the United States, with the memories of our fathers to inspire us and the hopes of our children to sustain us, are determined to be free, to be strong. The apologists for despotism and those savagely creatures who would aid them by defeatism or surrender—and treason, assert that because we have not devoted our full energies to arms and to preparation for war that we are incapable of defense. In the name of all free men and women I refute that imputation. It is true that because we were free we did not realize the full meaning of the threat of the new enslavement in which men
may not speak, may not listen, may not think. As these threats become more numerous and their dire meaning more clear, it will not

deepen the determination of the American people to meet the threats, wholly inadequate defiance, to defend the security of our nation, and to maintain our freedom.

We have seen nation after nation, some of them weakened by treachery from within, succumb to the force of the aggressor. We see great nations still gallantly fighting against aggression, encouraged by high hope of ultimate victory. For them in their struggle, our fields and factories and mines are furnishing materials and equipment. For ourselves, we must arm for defense.

That we are opposed to war is known not only to every American, but to every government in the world. That we will not use our arms in a war of aggression is known not only to every American but to every government in the world.

But, so long as we are free, and we intend always to be free, we will not let a war of aggression enter the United States or the Western Hemisphere, and we reserve full freedom of action to repel any invasion of our rights established, asserted and maintained for more than a cen-
tury in the Monroe Doctrine and in the treaties to which the United
States has solemnly subscribed.

It is because of these rapid changes; it is because of the grave
danger to democratic institutions, now not to be denied by any thinking
American; and above all, it is because of the united will of the entire
American people for whom I speak, that I come to ask you for a further
authorization of $4,848,171,957 for the national defense.

Let no man in this country or anywhere else believe that because
we in America still cherish freedom of religion, freedom of speech,
freedom of assembly, freedom of the press; — let no man here or else-
where believe that because we still cherish our free democratic political
institutions by which the people of the country, after full discussion
and debate, choose their representatives and leaders for themselves;
— let no man here or elsewhere believe that because we continue to
cherish these liberties, that we are weak. The United States is the
greatest industrial nation in the world. Its people, as workers and as
businessmen, have proved that they can unite in the national interest
and that they can bring to support that interest in their own defense.
the greatest assembly of human skills, of mechanical production, and of
national resources, ever known in any nation.

The principal lesson of the war up to the present time is that partial
defense is inadequate defense. The very speed of modern warfare precludes
any possibility of aiming after the fact of war. If the United States is
to have any defense, it must have total defense. We cannot defend ourselves
a little here and a little there. We must be able to defend ourselves
wholly and at any time.

Our plans for national security, therefore, should exchange total
defense, and I believe that the people of this country are willing to make
any sacrifice to attain that end.

In consultation with the War and Navy Departments and the Advisory
Commission of the Council of National Defense, I have found substantial
agreement upon a policy and a program for the national government. This
policy and program contemplates the provision of funds and authorizations
for the material requirements without which the man power of the nation,
called into service, cannot effectively operate, either in the produc-
tion of arms and goods, or their utilization in repelling attack.
program of defense is, in sum, worthy of that great people which is to be defended, and symbolizes the mobilization of the material resources of the United States of America.

In a total defense not only must we mobilize the materials we require but we also must see to it that in a truly democratic manner our men and women and our boys and girls are trained for their part in the democratic defense. Much has been made of the word "compulsory" as being undemocratic, but that will not delude a people who have deliberately founded their democratic institutions upon free, universal compulsory education. Ours will be the compulsion of the truant officer, not of the prison guard.

The adoption of the program now submitted will accomplish two objectives:

First, the actual manufacture of the items for Army and Navy for which orders are given and second, the building up of production facilities which today are wholly inadequate for carrying on a major war in our own defense.

This program in its broad outlines is as follows:

To carry forward

1. Initiation of the Naval expansion program provided for by

H. R. 10109 designed to build up the Navy to meet any possible combination of hostile naval forces. Anything less leaves the
United States in a position of insecurity.

2. The substantial completion of the equipment for a ground force of approximately 1,200,000 men, though of course this total of men would not be in the Army in time of peace. Also to provide facilities to equip another one or two million with so-called critical items, such as Tanks and guns.

3. The procurement of the major portion of the necessary reserve stocks of tanks, guns, artillery, ammunition, etc., to equip a ground force of 2,000,000 men if a mobilization of such a force became necessary.

4. Provision for the manufacturing facilities necessary to produce the ordnance items required for the aircraft program of the Army and Navy, and also for the facilities necessary to produce the critical items of equipment required for a ground force of 2,000,000 men.

5. Procurement of approximately 15,000 additional planes for the Army and 4,000 for the Navy, complete with necessary spare engines, armaments, and equipment.

I take this occasion to report the excellent progress being made for the procurement of the equipment already ordered under authorization by the Congress. The several branches of the Government are working in
close cooperation with each other and with private manufacturers.

Our ultimate objective is to develop and to build up our sea, our air and our ground forces into a mighty defensive force, commensurate with our needs in a volatile, war-torn world. We shall make no fetish of numbers in men, in ships, in planes, in tanks, or in any other equipment, but we shall exert every effort to keep abreast of developments in strategy, tactics, and technique of warfare, and build our defenses accordingly.

We have made steady progress all along our munitions front, and with the aid of the appropriations I have asked for, we should move more rapidly toward our desired goal. To illustrate how we have improved our status, let me indicate briefly the development of airplane production.

On January 1, 1939, America's annual productive capacity was 2,500 military planes of all types and large commercial transports. By July 1, 1939, we reached a capacity of 3,000 in these types. By January 1, 1940, we doubled our productive capacity 5,500 a year.

By placing orders immediately for the types and models of military airplanes now in production as well as increasing orders for commercial
transports, we shall reach an annual productive capacity of 16,000 in these
types by January 1, 1941; and one year from today, by July 1, 1941, we shall
be on a 26,000 a year basis. This will be augmented by 4,000 small non-mili-
tary aircraft which are equivalent to 1,500 military training planes. At the
completion of deliveries of airplanes under the current expansion program on
April 1, 1942, the production of military airplanes will be at the rate of
40,000 a year. This means that by July 1, 1942, the productive capacity of the airc-
raft industry will be approximately 50,000 airplanes per year.

In other words, this program represents an orderly but concentrated effort
to prepare the United States for any actuality of defense and the same relative
increase in productive capacity can be applied to other critical items such as
artillery and ammunition and tanks.

I emphasize the fact that the program submitted together with the previous
authorizations will give the United States 35,000 Army and Navy airplanes.

The total amount which I ask of the Congress in order that this program
may be carried out with all reasonable speed is $2,161,441,957, which it is
estimated would be spent out of the Treasury between now and July 1, 1941, and
an additional $2,686,730,000 for contract authorizations.

In order that the people and their representatives in Congress may be
fully informed of the details of this program, it is being submitted in formal

So vast a sum measured in money means sacrifice. So vast a program

measured in accomplishment means hard work. So vast a program means the

participation of every citizen of the country in the total defense against

This nation through sacrifice and work and unity foibles

the total threat. A lesser program would disappoint the hopes of the
citizensry of this nation, which is united and determined to be free.
TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

As President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of its armed forces, I come again to the representatives of the people in Congress assembled, to lay before them an extraordinary estimate of funds and authorizations required for the national defense.

In my opinion, it is necessary now that the people of this nation and their representatives in Congress look at the problem of the national defense with utterly dispassionate realism. Never have we as a nation attempted to define the word "defense" in terms of a specific attack at a certain place at a certain time or with specified land and sea forces. In the long sweep of the century and a half since our defenses have been concentrated and unified under the Constitution, it has been a prime obligation of the President and Commander in Chief promptly to advise the Congress with respect to any world circumstances calling for either increased or diminished defense needs.

From time to time during the last seven years, I have not failed to advise the people and their representatives of grave dangers threatening the United States and its people, and the institutions of democracy everywhere. From time to time I have availed myself of opportunities to reassert and to implant the right of all the nations of the American hemisphere to freedom from attack or control by any non-American power.
A year and a half ago, on January 4, 1939, in my address to the Congress, I referred to the fact that I had felt it necessary on previous occasions to warn of disturbances abroad, and the need of putting our own house in order in the face of storm signals from across the seas. On that day I said that a war which threatened to envelop the world in flames had been averted, but that it had become increasingly clear that peace was not assured. I said then that all about us raged undeclared wars, military and economic. I said then that all about us were threats of new aggression, military and economic. I said then that the storms from abroad directly challenged three institutions indispensable to Americans — religion, democracy and international good faith.

Unhappily, many Americans believed that those who thought they foresaw the danger of a great war, were mistaken. Unhappily, those of us who did foresee that danger, were right.

A week later, on January 12, 1939, I submitted a program considered by me as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and by my advisors to be a minimum program for the necessities of defense, saying that every American was aware of the peaceful intentions of this government and
of this people, and that every American knew that we have no thought of aggression and no desire for further territory. The Congress granted that request for the minimum program then deemed necessary.

At the beginning of September the storm broke, and on the twenty-first of that month, in a message to the extraordinary session of the Congress, I said that this Government must lose no time or effort to keep this nation from being drawn into the war, and I asserted my belief that we would succeed in these efforts. We have succeeded. I believe we shall continue to succeed.

In September last, I increased the strength of the Army, Navy, Coast Guard and the Federal Bureau of Investigation within statutory authorizations made by the Congress. In January, 1940, I submitted a budget to the Congress which included provision for that expansion of personnel, as well as estimates for the national defense, amounting to approximately two billion dollars for the fiscal year 1941.

On May 16, in a message to the Congress, I pointed out that the swift and shocking developments of that time forced every neutral nation to look to its defenses in the light of new factors loosed by the brutal
force of modern offensive war. I called attention to the
treachery of the "fifth column", by which persons supposed
to be peaceful visitors were actually a part of an enemy unit of
occupation, and called especial attention to the necessity for
the protection of the whole American Hemisphere from control,
invasion or domination. I asked at that time for a sum totaling
$1,182,000,000 for the national defense.

On May 31, 1940, I again sent a message to the Congress,
to say that the almost incredible events of the then past two
weeks in the European conflict had necessitated another enlarge-
ment of our military program, and at that time I asked for
$1,277,741,170 for the acceleration and development of our military
and naval needs as measured in both machines and men.

Again today, in less than two months time, the changes in
the world situation are so great and so profound that I must come
once again to the Congress to advise concerning new threats, new
needs, and the imperative necessity of meeting them. Free men and free
women in the United States look to us to defend their freedom against
all enemies foreign and domestic. Those enemies of freedom who hate
free institutions now deride democratic governments as weak and in-
efficient.

We, the free men and women of the United States, with memories
of our fathers to inspire us and the hopes of our children to sustain us,
are determined to be strong as well as free. The apologists for despotism
and those who aid them by whispering defeatism or appeasement, assert that
because we have not devoted our full energies to arms and to preparation
for war that we are now incapable of defense.

I refute that imputation.

We fully understand the threat of the new enslavement in which men
may not speak, may not listen, may not think. As these threats become
more numerous and their dire meaning more clear, it deepens the deter-
mination of the American people to meet them with wholly adequate de-
fense.

We have seen nation after nation, some of them weakened by treachery
from within, succumb to the force of the aggressor. We see great nations
still gallantly fighting against aggression, encouraged by high hope of
ultimate victory.
That we are opposed to war is known not only to every American, but to every government in the world. That we will not use our arms in a war of aggression that we will not wage war in Europe, Africa or Asia, is known not only to every American but to every government in the world.

But, we will repel aggression against the United States or the Western Hemisphere. The people and their representatives in the Congress know that the threats to our liberties, the threats to our security, the threats against our way of life, the threats to our institutions of religion, of democracy, and of international good faith, have increased in number and gravity from month to month, from week to week, and almost from day to day.

It is because of these rapid changes; it is because of the grave danger to democratic institutions, and above all, it is because of the united will of the entire American people that I come to ask you for a further authorization of $4,848,191,957 for the national defense.

Let no man in this country or anywhere else believe that because we in America still cherish freedom of religion, of speech, of assembly, of the press; that because we maintain our free democratic political institutions by which the nation after full discussion and debate, chooses its representatives and leaders for itself — let no man here or elsewhere believe that we are weak.
The United States is the greatest industrial nation in the world. Its people, as workers and as businessmen, have proved that they can unite in the national interest and that they can bring together the greatest assembly of human skills, of mechanical production, and of national resources, ever known in any nation.

The principal lesson of the war up to the present time is that partial defense is inadequate defense.

If the United States is to have any defense, it must have total defense.

We cannot defend ourselves a little here and a little there. We must be able to defend ourselves wholly and at any time.

Our plans for national security, therefore, should cover total defense. I believe that the people of this country are willing to make any sacrifice to attain that end.

After consultation with the War and Navy Departments and the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, I recommend a further program for the national defense. This contemplates the provision of funds and authorizations for the material requirements without which the man power of the nation, if called into service, cannot effectively operate, either in the production of arms and goods, or their utilization in repelling attack.
This program in its broad outlines is as follows:

1. To carry forward the naval expansion program designed to build up the Navy to meet any possible combination of hostile naval forces.

2. To complete the total equipment for a land force of approximately 1,200,000 men, though of course this total of men would not be in the Army in time of peace. Also to provide facilities to equip another 800,000 men with so-called critical items, such as tanks and guns.

3. To procure reserve stocks of tanks, guns, artillery, ammunition, etc., to equip a land force of 2,000,000 men if a mobilization of such a force became necessary.

4. To provide for manufacturing facilities, public and private, necessary to produce the ordnance items required for the aircraft program of the Army and Navy — guns, bombs, armor, bombights and ammunition.

5. Procurement of 10,000 additional planes for the Army and 4,000 for the Navy, complete with necessary spare engines, armaments, and the most modern equipment.

I take this occasion to report the excellent progress being made for the procurement of the equipment already ordered under
authorization by the Congress. Every week more and more is being
delivered. The several branches of the Government are working in
close cooperation with each other and with private manufacturers.

We are keeping abreast of developments in strategy,
tactics, and technique of warfare, and build our defenses accordin-
gly.

The total amount which I ask of the Congress in order
that this program may be carried out with all reasonable speed is
$2,161,441,967, which it is estimated would be spent out of the
Treasury between now and July 1, 1941, and an additional $2,686,730,000
for current authorizations.

So great a sum means sacrifice. So large a program means
hard work— the participation of the whole country in the total defense
of the country. This nation through sacrifice and work and unity
proposes to remain free.
TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

As President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of its armed forces, I come again to the representatives of the people in Congress assembled, to lay before them an extraordinary estimate of funds and authorizations required for the national defense.

In my opinion, it is necessary now that the people of this nation and their representatives in Congress look at the problem of the national defense with utterly dispassionate realism. Never have we as a nation attempted to define the word "defense" in terms of a specific probable attack on the United States at a certain place and at a certain time and with the land and sea forces of a certain power or combination of powers. From the beginning, we have had to take into consideration not only the probabilities, but also the possibilities, of attacks by nations or combinations of nations using against us forces and combinations of forces of unpredictable size and character.

In the long sweep of the century and a half since our defenses have been concentrated and unified under the Constitution, it has been
always a prime obligation of the President and Commander in Chief
promptly to advise the Congress with respect to any substantial change
that might presage a probable or even a possible attack upon the
United States and their liberties.

From time to time during the last seven years, I have not
failed to advise the people and their representatives of grave dangers
threatening the United States and its people, the institutions of
democracy everywhere, and the freedom of the peoples of the earth,
arising from the aggressive actions of despotic commanders of armed
forces who found their only sanctions in force. From time to time
I have availed myself of opportunities to reassert and reaffirm the
American doctrine of freedom in the Western Hemisphere.

Unfortunately changes in the world situation which have so sub-
stantially increased the threat to us and our liberties, have been
coming upon us with increasing rapidity and violence during the
last two years.
A year and a half ago, on January 4, 1939, in my address to the Congress, I referred to the fact that I had felt it necessary on previous occasions to warn of disturbances abroad, and the need of putting our own house in order in the face of storm signals from across the seas. On that day I said that a war which threatened to envelop the world in flames had been averted, but that it had become increasingly clear that peace was not assured. I said then that all about us raged undeclared wars, military and economic. I said then that all about us were threats from new aggression, military and economic. I said then that the storms from abroad directly challenged three institutions indispensable to Americans—religion, democracy and international good faith.

Unhappily, many Americans, and among them not a few members of the Congress, believed that those who thought they foresaw the danger of a great war, were mistaken. Unhappily, those of us who did foresee that danger, were right.

A week later, on January 12, 1939, I submitted a program considered by me as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and by my advisors to
be a minimum program for the necessities of defense, saying that every American was aware of the peaceful intentions of this government and of this people, and that every American knew that we have no thought of aggression and no desire for further territory. The Congress granted that request for the minimum program then deemed necessary.

At the beginning of September the storm broke, and on the twenty-first of that month, in a message to the extraordinary session of Congress, I said that this Government must lose no time or effort to keep this nation from being drawn into the war, and I asserted my belief that we would succeed in these efforts. We have succeeded. I believe we shall continue to succeed.

But it would be as the blind leading the blind if I were to conceal from the people and their representatives in Congress the fact that the threats to our liberties, the threats to our security, the threats against our way of life, the threats to our institutions of religion, of democracy, and of international good faith, have increased in number and gravity from month to month, from week to week, and almost from day to day.

In September last, by Executive Order, I increased the strength of
the Army, the Navy, the Coast Guard and the Federal Bureau of Investigation within statutory authorizations made by the Congress, in January, 1940, I submitted a budget to the Congress which included provision for that expansion of personnel, as well as estimates for the national defense, amounting to approximately two billion dollars for the fiscal year 1941.

On May 16, in a message to the Congress, I pointed out that the swift and shocking developments of that time forced every neutral nation to look to its defenses in the light of new factors loosed by the brutal force of modern offensive war. Also, in that message, I called attention to the treacherous use of the "fifth column", by which persons supposed to be peaceful visitors were actually a part of an enemy unit of occupation, and called especial attention to the necessity for the protection of the whole American Hemisphere from control, invasion or domination, and asked at that time for a sum totaling $1,182,000,000 for the national defense.

On May 31, 1940, I again sent a message to the Congress, to say that the almost incredible events of the then past two weeks in the European conflict had necessitated another enlargement of our military program, and at that time I asked for $1,277,741,170 for the acceleration
and development of our military and naval programs as measured in both machines and men.

Again today, in less than two months time, the changes in the world situation are so great and so profound that I must come once again to the Congress to advise concerning new threats, new needs, and the imperative necessity of meeting them. Free men and free women in the United States look to us to defend their freedom against all enemies foreign and domestic. Those enemies of freedom who hate free institutions now consider democratic governments as weak and inefficient. We, the free men and women of the United States, with the memories of our fathers to inspire us and the hopes of our children to sustain us, are determined to be free, to be strong. The apologists for despotism and those cowardly creatures who would aid them by defeatism, surrender and treason, assert that because we have not devoted our full energies to arms and to preparation for war that we are incapable of defense. In the name of all free men and women I refute that imputation. It is true that because we were free we did not realize the full meaning of the threat of the new enslavement in which men
may not speak, may not listen, may not think. But as these threats
become more numerous and their dire meaning more clear, it will but
depress the determination of the American people to meet the threats,
to defend the security of our nation, and to maintain our freedom.

We have seen nation after nation, some of them weakened by treach-
erly from within, succumb to the force of the aggressor. We see great
nations still gallantly fighting against aggression, encouraged by high
hope of ultimate victory. For them in their struggle, our fields and
factories and mines are furnishing materials and equipment. For ourselves,
we must are for defense.

That we are opposed to war is known not only to every American,
but to every government in the world. That we will not use our arms in
a war of aggression is known not only to every American but to every
government in the world.

But, so long as we are free, and we intend always to be free, we
will not let a war of aggression enter the United States or the Western
Hemisphere, and we reserve full freedom of action to repel any invasion
of our rights established, asserted and maintained for more than a cen-
tury in the Monroe Doctrine and in the treaties to which the United
States has solemnly subscribed.

It is because of these rapid changes; it is because of the grave
danger to democratic institutions, now not to be denied by any thinking
American; and above all, it is because of the united will of the entire
American people for whom I speak, that I come to ask you for a further
authorization of $4,648,171,927 for the national defense.

Let no man in this country or anywhere else believe that because
we in America still cherish freedom of religion, freedom of speech,
freedom of assembly, freedom of the press; — let no man here or else-
where believe that because we still cherish our free democratic political
institutions by which the people of the country, after full discussion
and debate, choose their representatives and leaders for themselves;
— let no man here or elsewhere believe that because we continue to
cherish these liberties, that we are weak. The United States is the
greatest industrial nation in the world. Its people, as workers and as
businessmen, have proved that they can unite in the national interest
and that they can bring to support that interest in their own defense.
the greatest assembly of human skills, of mechanical production, and of national resources, ever known in any nation.

The principal lesson of the war up to this present time is that partial defense is inadequate defense. The very speed of modern warfare precludes any possibility of arming after the fact of war. If the United States is to have any defense, it must have total defense. We cannot defend ourselves a little here and a little there. We must be able to defend ourselves everywhere and at any time.

Our plans for national security, therefore, should envisage total defense, and I believe that the people of this country are willing to make any sacrifice to attain that end.

In consultation with the War and Navy Departments and the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, I have found substantial agreement upon a policy and a program for the national government. This policy and program contemplates the provision of funds and authorizations for the material requirements without which the man power of the nation, when called into service, cannot effectively operate, either in the production of arms and goods, or their utilization in repelling attack. This
program of defense is, in sum, worthy of that great people which is to be defended, and symbolizes the mobilization of the material resources of the United States of America.

In a total defense not only must we mobilize the materials we require but we also must see to it that in a truly democratic manner our men and women and our boys and girls are trained for their part in the democratic defense. Much has been made of the word "compulsory" as being undemocratic, but that will not delude a people who have deliberately founded their democratic institutions upon free, universal compulsory education. Ours will be the compulsion of the truant officer, not of the prison guard.

The adoption of the program now submitted will accomplish two objectives: First, the actual manufacture of the items for Army and Navy for which orders are given and, second, the building up of production facilities which today are wholly inadequate for carrying on a major war in our own defense.

This program in its broad outlines is as follows:

1. Initiation of the Naval Expansion Program provided for by H. R. 10100 designed to build up the Navy to meet any possible combination of hostile naval forces. Anything less leaves the
United States in a position of insecurity.

2. The substantial completion of the equipment for a ground force of approximately 1,200,000 men, though of course this total of men would not be in the Army in time of peace.

3. The procurement of the major portion of the necessary reserve stocks of tanks, guns, artillery, ammunition, etc., to equip a ground force of 2,000,000 men if a mobilization of such a force became necessary.

4. Provision for the manufacturing facilities necessary to produce the ordnance items required for the aircraft program of the Army and Navy and also most of the facilities necessary to produce the critical items of equipment required for a ground force of 2,000,000 men.

5. Procurement of approximately 15,000 additional planes for the Army and 4,000 for the Navy, complete with necessary spare engines, armaments, and equipment.

I take this occasion to report the excellent progress being made for the procurement of the equipment already ordered under authorization by the Congress. The several branches of the Government are working in
close cooperation with each other and with private manufacturers.

Our ultimate objective is to develop and to build up our sea, our air and our ground forces into a mighty defensive force, commensurate with our needs in a volatile, war-torn world. We shall make no fetish of numbers in men, in ships, in planes, in tanks, or in any other equipment, but we shall exert every effort to keep abreast of developments in strategy, tactics, and technique of warfare, and build our defenses accordingly.

We have made steady progress all along our munitions front, and with the aid of the appropriations I have asked for, we should move more rapidly toward our desired goal. To illustrate how we have improved our status, let me indicate briefly the development of airplane production.

On January 1, 1939, America's annual productive capacity was 2,500 military planes of all types and large commercial transports. By July 1, 1939, we reached a capacity of 3,000 in these types. By January 1, 1940, we doubled our productive capacity to 5,500 a year.

By placing orders immediately for the types and models of military airplanes now in production as well as increasing orders for commercial
transports, we shall reach an annual productive capacity of 16,000 in these
types by January 1, 1941; and one year from today, by July 1, 1942, we shall
be on a 26,000 a year basis. This will be augmented by 4,000 small non-mili-
tary aircraft which are equivalent to 1,500 military training planes. At the
completion of deliveries of airplanes under the current expansion program on
April 1, 1942, the production of military airplanes will be at the rate of
40,000 a year. This means that by July 1, 1942, the productive capacity of the air-
craft industry will be approximately 30,000 airplanes per year.

In other words, this program represents an orderly but concentrated effort
to prepare the United States for any actuality of defense and the same relative
increase in productive capacity can be applied to other critical items such as
artillery and ammunition and tanks.

I emphasise the fact that the program submitted together with the previous
authorisations will give the United States 35,000 Army and Navy airplanes.

The total amount which I ask of the Congress in order that this program
may be carried out with all reasonable speed is $2,161,441,937, which it is
estimated would be spent out of the Treasury between now and July 1, 1941, and
an additional $2,686,750,000 for contract authorizations.

In order that the people and their representatives in Congress may be fully informed of the details of this program, it is being submitted in formal estimates.

So vast a sum measured in money means sacrifice. So vast a program measured in accomplishment means hard work. So vast a program means the participation of every citizen of the country in the total defense against the total threat. A lesser program would disappoint the hopes of the citizenry of this nation, which is united and determined to be free.