

July 10, 1940

[¹Second Appeal - Additional Defense Appropriation]

FDR Speech File

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

JULY 10, 1940

CONFIDENTIAL: To be held in STRICT CONFIDENCE and no portion, synopsis or intimation to be published or given out until the READING of the President's Message has begun in the Senate or the House of Representatives. Extreme care must therefore be exercised to avoid premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY

Secretary to the President

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 needs 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 warned against the possibility of retreat 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 reigned unrelenting 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 18, 1939, I submitted a program considered by me as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and by my advisers to be a minimum program for the necessities of defense, saying that every American was weary of the peaceful intonations 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 posed by the brutal force of modern offensive war. 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 organization, 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 needs as measured in both machine and man.

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.

Yet, 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 now omnipresent in which men may not speak, may not listen, may not think. As those threats become more numerous and their dire meaning more clear, it deepens the determination of the American people to meet them with wholly adequate defense.

We have seen nations afar 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 hopes of ultimate victory.

That we are opposed to war is known not only to every American, but to every government in the world. We will not use our arms in a war of aggression; we will not send our men to take part in European wars.

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 \$4,848,171,937 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 arm 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 approximately 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, armaments, 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.

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. ~~not 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 materiel and partly because of growing unrest in various ~~other~~ 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~~ ^{few unexpected} 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.

-2-

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~~ 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.* ~~On May 31,~~ 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

-3-

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 might ~~not~~ 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

-4-

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, ammunitions, etc., to equip a ground force of 2,000,000 ^{if} men ~~for~~ 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.

-5-

As an illustration I indicate briefly the developments of airplane production:

1. January 1, 1939	productive capacity of Military planes /	5,600
	Productive capacity of small commercial craft, which in the event of war would be transferred into training plane production	<u>9,500</u>
	Total	15,000
July 1, 1939	Military planes	9,000
	Small commercial planes	<u>10,000</u>
	Total	19,000
January 1, 1939	Military planes	14,000
	Small commercial planes	<u>11,000</u>
	Total	25,000
July 1, 1940	Military planes	16,000
	Small commercial planes	<u>11,000</u>
	Total	<u>27,000</u>
January 1, 1941	Estimated Military planes	18,000
	Small commercial planes	<u>12,000</u>
	Total	30,000
July 1, 1941	Estimated Military planes	26,000
	Small Commercial planes	<u>12,000</u>
	Total	38,000

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

-6-

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.

Draft. 16

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~~ ^{specified} land and sea forces, ~~of a certain~~ ^{Alone} power ~~an combination of powers.~~ ~~From the beginning, we have had to~~ ^A ~~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~~ *world circumstances*

calling for either increased or diminished defense needs
~~that might passage 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,~~ *and*
~~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~~ *to implement the*

~~right of all the nations of the American hemisphere to freedom~~
~~and the doctrine of freedom in the Western Hemisphere.~~

from attack or control by any non-American power.
Unfortunately changes in the world situation which have ~~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~~ 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 ^{the} ^{know} ~~that~~ 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, ^{made} ~~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~~⁹ 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~~⁹ 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 ^{needs} ~~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.

It 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, ^{strong AS AM HAS} ~~to be strong~~. The apologists for despotism and those ~~cowardly creatures~~ ^{whispering} 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. ^{now} ~~In the name of all free men and women~~ I refute that ^{*It*} ~~imputation. It is true that because we were free we did not realize~~ ^{*It*} ~~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 not~~ deepen the determination of the American people to meet ~~the threats,~~^{them with} ~~wholly adequate defense.~~
~~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 ^{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, ~~so long as we are free, and we intend always to be free, we~~^{repel} ~~will not let a war of aggression enter~~^{against} 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.~~

(Insert A 64)

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~~ Americans; 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 elsewhere believe that because we ~~still cherish~~ ^{maintain} our free democratic political institutions by which the ~~people of the country~~ ^{nation}, after full discussion and debate, choose ^{its} ~~their~~ representatives and leaders for ~~themselves~~ ^{itself}; -- let no man here or elsewhere believe that ~~because we continue to~~ ^{if} ~~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 ^{together} ~~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} ~~this~~ present time is that partial defense is inadequate defense. ~~The very speed of modern warfare precludes any possibility of acting after the fact of war.~~ ^A If the United States is ^Q 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} ~~completely~~ and at any time.

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

^{After} ~~the~~ consultation with the War and Navy Departments and the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, I have ^{recommended} ~~found~~ ^{a further} ~~substantial~~ ^{defense} ~~agreement upon a policy and a program~~ for the national ~~government~~. This ^{policy} ~~policy and program~~ contemplates the provision of funds and authorizations for the material requirements without which the man power of the nation, ^{if} ~~when~~ called into service, cannot effectively operate, either in the production of arms and goods, or their utilization in repelling attack. ~~such~~

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~~ ^{of procurement of equipment} will accomplish two objectives: First, the actual manufacture of the items ~~for~~ ^{needed for the} 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. 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. ^{To} ~~The substantial completion of~~ ^{total} the equipment for a ^{land} ~~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 200,000 men with so-called critical items, such as tanks and guns.*

3. ^{To} ~~The procurement of the major portion of the necessary~~ reserve stocks *land*

of tanks, guns, artillery, ammunitions, etc., to equip a ~~ground~~ ^{land} force of 2,000,000 men if a mobilization of such a force became necessary.

4. ^{To do} ~~Provision for the manufacturing facilities~~ ^{public and private} necessary to produce the

ordnance items required for the aircraft program of the Army and Navy ^{guns} *bombs, armor, bomb-sights and ammunition,*
~~and also part 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, ^{the most modern} 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. *Very much more and more is being delivered.* 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 are constantly trying

~~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 airplanes 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, 1941, we shall be on a 26,000 a year basis. This will be augmented by 4,000 small non-military 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 aircraft 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~~

~~writing.~~

^{great} So ~~not~~ a sum ^{large} measured in money means sacrifice. So ~~not~~ a program

~~measured in accomplishment~~ means hard work. So ~~not~~ a program means the

participation of ~~every citizen~~ ^{whole} of the country in the total defense ~~against~~ ^{of the country}

^{This nation through sacrifice and work and unity prepares} the total threat. A lesser program would disappoint the hopes of the

^{to remain} citizenry 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 implement 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 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 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 inefficient.

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 determination of the American people to meet them with wholly adequate defense.

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 \$4,848,171,987 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, munitions, 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 15,000 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 defense accordingly.

The total amount which I ask of the Congress in order that this program may be carried out with all reasonable speed is \$2,161,441,967, 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 contract authorizations.

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

27 May 1940
- E. H. R. 1
74, 101, 102, 103
92, 101, 102, 103
101, 102, 103

June 1940
July 1940

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



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

8000 PENTAGON, WASHINGTON, D. C.

From the Papers of
HARRY L. HOPKINSON

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 substantially increased the threat to us and our liberties, have been coming upon us with increasing rapidity and violence during the last two years.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

8100 PARK, N. W.

From the papers of

Harry L. Hopkins

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



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
National Archives and Records Service
FISHERL B. GODFREY LIBRARY
4001 PAIN, S. E.

From the Papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

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



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
National Archives and Records Service
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
1001 19th St. N.W.

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

the Army, the Navy, the Coast Guard and the Federal Bureau of Investigation within statutory authorizations made by the Congress, ^{and} 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



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
National Archives and Records Service
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
1010 YAM., N. Y.

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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 cowardly creatures who would aid them by defection, 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



National Archives and Records Service
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
RICH. 100-10, N. Y.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

From the Papers of
HENRY L. HOPKINS

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 deepen 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 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-



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
National Archives and Records Service
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
1001 PENN. AVE., N. W.

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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 elsewhere 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



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
National Archives and Records Service
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
MIL. FILE, 8. 7.

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
National Archives and Records Service
PRESERVE BY
NATIONAL ARCHIVES LIBRARY
NWD 1000, 10-11

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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 trust 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



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
National Archives and Records Service
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
8100 PARK, N. W.

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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, ammunitions, 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



National Archives and Records Service
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
8101 KENNEDY BLVD., N. W.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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 maritime 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



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
National Archives and Records Service
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
WASH. 25, D. C.

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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-military 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 aircraft 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 \$2,161,441,937, which it is estimated would be spent out of the Treasury between now and July 1, 1941, and



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
National Archives and Records Service
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
1000 PENTAGON, W. B.

From the Program of
HARRY L. HOPKINS

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 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.



National Archives and Records Service
FARMER B. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
MID VALLEY, N. Y.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins