Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945
Series 2: “You have nothing to fear but fear itself:” FDR and the New Deal

File No. 1330-A

1940 October 30

Boston, MA – Campaign Address
I've had a glorious day here in New England. I've looked forward to coming here to Boston. But there's one thing about this trip that I regret. I have to return to Washington tonight, without getting a chance to go into my two favorite states -- Maine and Vermont.

In New York City, I showed by the cold print of the Congressional Record how Republican leaders, with their votes and in their speeches, have been playing, and still are playing, politics with national defense.

Even during the past three years, when the dangers to all forms of democracy throughout the world have been obvious, the Republican team in the Congress has been acting only as a Party team.
Time after time, Republican leadership refused to see that what this country needs is an all-American team.

These side line critics are now saying that we are not doing enough for our national defense. I say we are going full speed ahead!

Our navy is our outer line of defense.

Almost the very minute that this Administration came into office we began to build the Navy up -- to build a bigger Navy.

In seven years, we have raised the total of 193 ships in commission to 337 in commission, today.

We have 113 more ships under construction, today.

In seven years we raised the personnel of the Navy from 106,000 to 210,000, today.

You good people here in Boston know of the enormous increase of productive work in your Boston Navy Yard.
There are now six times as many men employed in all our navy yards as there were in 1933. The private ship-building yards are also humming with activity — building ships for our navy and for our expanding merchant marine.

The construction of this navy has been a monumental job. In spite of what some campaign orators may tell you, you cannot buy a battleship from a mail order catalogue.

We have not only added ships and men to the navy. We have enormously increased the effectiveness of naval bases in our outlying territories.

Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

And within the past two months your Government has acquired new naval and air bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean. They extend all the way from Newfoundland to that part of South America where the Atlantic Ocean begins to get narrow, with Africa not far away.
I repeat: Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

That is the record of the growth of our Navy. In 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy. Side-line critics may carp in a campaign. But Americans are mighty proud of that record. Americans will put their country first and partisanship second.

And speaking of partisanship, I remind you -- when the Naval Expansion Bill came up in 1938 the vast majority of Republican members of the Congress voted against building any additional battleships.

What kind of political shenanigans are these? Can such people be trusted with national defense?

We are also expanding our Army. Under normal conditions we have no need for a large Army. But unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the peace of America against unprecedented threats.
Since the day when Poland was invaded, we have more than doubled the size of our regular Army. Adding to this the Federalized National Guardsmen, our armed land forces now equal more than 436,000 enlisted men.

The officers and men of our Army and National Guard are the finest in the world.

They will be the nucleus for training the young men who are being called under the Selective Service Act.

General Marshall has said that the task of training these young men is a "profound privilege".

Campaign orators seek to tear down the morale of the American people, when they make false statements about the Army's equipment. I say we are supplying our Army with the best fighting equipment in the world.

The Defense Commission is getting things done with speed and efficiency. More than eight billion dollars of defense contracts have been let.
I am afraid that these campaign orators will pretty soon be under the painful necessity of eating their words.

The most inexcusable unpatriotic misstatement of fact about our Army is the brazen charge that the men called to training will not be properly housed.

The plain fact is that construction on Army housing is far ahead of schedule to meet all present needs, and that by January fifth, next, there will be complete and adequate housing for nine hundred and thirty thousand soldiers.

I give assurance to the mothers and fathers of America that each and every one of their boys in training will be well housed.

Throughout the one year of their training, there will be constant promotion of their health and well being.

And while I am talking to you mothers and fathers, I give you one more assurance.
I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again.

Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores.

The purpose of our defense is defense.

The Republican campaign orators who moan and groan about our Army and Navy are even more mournful about our strength in the air. But only last year, 1939, the Republicans in the Congress were voting in favor of reducing appropriations for the Army air corps.

What kind of political shenanigans are these?

Can such people be trusted with national defense?

I stress particularly what every Army and Navy flier tells us -- that what counts most in sustained air power is the productive capacity of our airplane factories.
We are determined to attain a production capacity of 50,000 planes a year in the United States. Day and night we are working and making rapid progress toward that goal.

You citizens of Seattle who are listening tonight -- you have watched the Boeing plant grow. It is now producing four times as many planes each month as it was producing a year ago.

You citizens of Southern California can see the great Douglas factories. They have doubled their output in that period.

You citizens of Buffalo and St. Louis can see the Curtiss plants in your cities. Their output has jumped to twelve times its level of a year ago.

And, of course, I don't need to tell you anything about the quality of the men who fly these planes!
You citizens of Hartford who hear my words: look across the Connecticut River at the whirring wheels and the beehive of activity which is the Pratt and Whitney plant which I saw today. A year ago this plant was producing airplane engines totaling one hundred thousand horsepower a month. Today this production has been stepped up tenfold, stepped up to one million horsepower a month.

And you citizens of Paterson, New Jersey, you can see the Curtiss-Wright plant which a year ago produced two hundred seventy thousand horsepower a month and this October is producing 859,000 horsepower.

In ten months we have increased our engine output 240 per cent.

And we are building brand new plants for airplanes and airplane engines in centers in the Middle West, far from the coast.
Last Spring and Winter this great production capacity program was stepped up by orders from overseas. In taking these orders for planes to go overseas, we are following hard-headed self-interest.

Building on the foundation provided by these orders, the British are now receiving a steady stream of airplanes. After three months of blitzkrieg in the air, the strength of the Royal Air Force is actually greater now than when the attack began. This increase in strength despite battle losses is due in part to the purchases made from American airplane industries.

The British have now asked for permission to negotiate again with American manufacturers for 12,000 additional planes. I have asked that the request be given most sympathetic consideration by the Priorities Board consisting of William S. Knudsen, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., and Leon Henderson. When these additional orders are approved,
they will bring Britain's present orders for military planes from the United States to more than 26,000. They will require still more new plant facilities so that the present program of building planes for military purposes both for the United States and Great Britain will not be interrupted.

Also large additional orders are being negotiated for artillery, machine guns, rifles, and tanks with equipment and ammunition. The plant capacity necessary to produce all of this military equipment is and will be available to serve the needs of the United States in any emergency.

The productive capacity of the United States, which has made it the greatest industrial country in the world, will not fail now. It will make us the strongest air power in the world. And that is not just a campaign promise!

I have been glad to welcome back to our own shores that Boston boy, beloved by all of Boston, my Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Joe Kennedy.
Actually on the scene where planes were fighting and bombs dropping, for many months he has been telling me just what you and I have visualized from afar -- that all the smaller independent nations of Europe -- Sweden, Switzerland, Greece, Ireland, and the others -- have lived in terror of the destruction of their independence by Nazi military might.

We can build up our armed defenses to their highest peak of efficiency; but they will still be inadequate unless we support them with a strong national morale, a sound economy, a sense of solidarity and economic justice.

When this Administration came to office, the foundation of our national morale was crumbling. In the panic and misery of those days no democracy could have built up an adequate armed defense.

What we have done since 1933 has been written in terms of improvement in the daily life and work of the common man.
I have discussed the falsifications which Republican campaign orators have been making about the economic condition of the country — the condition of labor and the condition of business.

They are even more ridiculous when they shed those old crocodile tears over the plight of the farmer.

Now, if there is anyone that a Republican candidate loves more than the laboring man in November, it is the farmer.

And the first one he forgets after election day is the farmer.

Do I have to remind you of the plight of the farmer during the period between 1920 and 1933 — declining income, accumulating surpluses, rising farm debts — ten cent corn, twenty cent wheat, five cent cotton, three cent hogs?

They did nothing to stop this slide. But, of course, before every election day, they always uncorked the old bottle of soothing syrup and spread it thick.
The farmers of America know from the record what the state of American agriculture is today.

Here it is:

Farm income this year is just about double what it was in 1932.

Farm buying power this year is greater than it was even in 1929.

Tens of thousands of farms have been saved from foreclosure.

More than 800,000 low income farmers have obtained credit from the Government, which they could get nowhere else.

Over a million farms have been electrified since 1933.

Over 6,000,000 farmers have received benefit payments of more than three and a half billion dollars.

What does all this add up to? It means an agriculture which is strong and vigorous. And we all know how much this is due to the patient efforts and practical vision of Henry Wallace.
The people of New England know that if the farmers' income had remained what it was in 1932, they would be buying fewer shoes, fewer watches and ice boxes, less woolen goods and cotton goods, than they are buying now. Prosperous farmers mean more employment, more prosperity for the workers and business men of New England, and of every industrial area in America.

Parity -- the proper relationship between agriculture and the rest of our economy -- will continue to be our guiding principle.

We now have great stocks of wheat, corn and cotton -- in a sense really strategic materials in a world threatened with war.

Surpluses not needed for reserves are now being used to feed the hungry and the ill-nourished, and that is a fact difficult for Republican orators to deny.
Our school luncheon program will this year reach three million children with milk and other foods. And milk does those children much more good than political soothing syrup.

While this was being done, what were the Republican leaders doing? Here is the record:

In 1933, Republicans in the Congress, in both Houses, voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act by 88 to 52.

In 1936, they voted against the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act by 75 to 25.

In 1938, they voted against the second Agricultural Adjustment Act by 84 to 15.

And even in 1940, they voted against parity payments to farmers by 143 to 32.

In the Spring of this year, they voted overwhelmingly against the Stamp Plan to distribute food to needy people through private grocery stores.
The American farmers will not be deceived by pictures of Old Guard candidates, patting cows and pitching hay in front of moving picture cameras.

All the sweet words of the Republican leaders in Philadelphia last June were not worth the paper they were written on.

For listen to this. Last Summer, only a few weeks after the Republican National Platform had been adopted endorsing commodity loans for the farmers, the Republican members of the House marched right back into the Halls of Congress and voted against commodity loans for the farmers. They voted against them by a vote of 106 to 37.

Among the Republican leaders who voted against that bill and against practically every other farm bill was the present Chairman of the Republican National Committee, that "peerless leader", the "farmers' friend" -- Congressman Joe Martin of Massachusetts.
He is of national interest now because at the time of his appointment as Republican National Chairman, this handsome verbal bouquet -- this expensive orchid -- was pinned upon him: "In public life for many years Joe Martin has represented all that is finest in American public life".

Considering the source of that orchid, Martin may be slated for some Cabinet post. So let's look at the voting record of this representative of what they call "all that is finest in American public life".

Martin voted against the Public Utility Holding Company Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the National Securities Exchange Act, and the extension of the Civilian Conservation Corps. He voted against practically all relief and work relief measures, and against the appropriation for rural electrification.

Martin voted against the Civil Service Extension Act and against the United States Housing Act.
What I particularly want to say on the radio to the farmers of the Nation, is that Republican National Chairman Martin voted against every single one of the farm measures recommended by this Administration. Perhaps he will be rewarded for this loyal service to the principles of his Party, by being appointed Secretary of Agriculture.

He is one of that great historic trio which has voted consistently against every measure for the relief of agriculture, Martin, Barton and Fish.

I have to let you in on a secret. It will come as a great surprise to you. It's this:

I'm enjoying this campaign. I'm really have a fine time.

I think you know that the Office of President has not been an easy one during the past years.

The tragedies of this distracted world have weighed heavily upon all of us.
But — there is revival for every one of us in the sight of our own national community.

In our own American community we have sought to submerge all of the old hatreds, all the old fears, of the old world.

We are Anglo-Saxon and Latin, we are Irish and Teuton and Jewish and Scandinavian and Slav — we are American. We belong to many races and colors and creeds — we are American.

And it seems to me that we are most completely, most loudly, most proudly American around Election Day.

Because it is then that we can assert ourselves — voters and candidates alike. We can assert the most glorious, the most encouraging fact in the world today — the fact that democracy is alive — it is alive and going strong.

We are telling the world that we are free — and we intend to remain free and at peace.
We are free to live and love and laugh.

We face the future with confidence and courage.

We are American.

[Signature]

*Note: The signature appears to be shortened to "D. R."*
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Boston Garden, Boston, Massachusetts
October 30, 1940, 10:15 P.M., E.S.T.

MR. MAYOR, MY FRIENDS OF NEW ENGLAND:

I've had a glorious day here in New England. (Applause)
(I've looked forward to coming here to Boston.) And I do not need to
tell you that I have been glad to come back to my old stamping ground
in Boston. (But) There's one thing about this trip that I regret. I
have to return to Washington tonight, without getting a chance to go
into my two favorite states (--) of Maine and Vermont. (Laughter and
applause)

This is the third inning.

In New York City two nights ago, I showed by the cold print
of the Congressional Record how Republican leaders, with their votes and
in their speeches, have been playing, and still are playing politics
with national defense.

Even during the past three years, when the dangers to all
forms of democracy throughout the world have been obvious, the Republi-
can team in the Congress has been acting only as a Party team.

Time after time, Republican leadership refused to see that
what this country needs is an all-American team. (Applause)

(These) Those side line critics are now saying that we are
not doing enough for our national defense. I say to you that we are
going full speed ahead! (Applause)

Now, let us take them up in turn:

Our Navy, our Navy is our outer line of defense.

Almost the very minute that this Administration came into
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

I have just come back from a very trying experience. I have learned that I am not to keep quiet in face of certain developments that have taken place. These developments have been so serious that we are not going to wait for any sort of hesitation on our part. We must act immediately.

Here is the daily schedule.

We have a new program that we must start immediately. The Congress has been called in special session to see that the executive, legislative, and administrative functions are carried out efficiently. The new program includes measures to increase employment, stimulate production, and prevent unemployment.

This is the time for action. Let us not delay in implementing these measures.
office seven and a half years ago, we began to build the Navy up --- to build a bigger Navy.

And in those seven years we have raised the total of 193 ships in commission to 337 ships in commission today. (Applause)

And, in addition to that, we have 119 more ships that are actually under construction today.

In those seven years we raised the personnel of (the) our Navy from 106,000 to 210,000 today. (Applause)

You good people here in Boston know of the enormous increase of productive work in your Boston Navy Yard. (Applause) And that is only one of many Navy yards -- one of the best. (Applause) There are now six times as many men employed in (all) our Navy yards as there were back there in 1933. And the private ship-building yards are also humming with activity -- building ships for our Navy and also for (our) that new expanding merchant marine of ours.

Well, you/and I know -- they know out on the farms of the Middle West that the construction of this Navy has been a monumental job. And, in spite of what some campaign orators may tell you, you cannot buy a battleship from a mail order catalogue. (Applause)

We have not only added ships and men to the Navy. We have enormously increased the effectiveness of Naval bases in (our) those outlying territories of ours in the Atlantic and Pacific.

For our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we possibly can.

And you here in New England know well and can visualize it.

And within the past two months your Government has acquired new Naval and air bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean,
(They) extending all the way from Newfoundland in the north to that part of South America where the Atlantic Ocean begins to get narrow, with Africa not far away. (Applause)

And so I repeat to you: Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we possibly can.

That is the record, the record of the growth of our Navy. In 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy. (Applause) Side-line critics may carp in a political campaign. But Americans are mighty proud of that record and Americans will put their country first and partisanship second. (Applause)

(And) Go back to the old Congressional Record: Speaking of partisanship, I remind you -- when the Naval Expansion Bill came up in 1938 the vast majority of Republican members of the Congress voted against building any (additional) more battleships.

What kind -- what kind of political shenanigans are (these) those? (Applause)

Can (such people be trusted) we trust those people with national defense? (Cries of "No.")

(We are also expanding our army.) Next, take up the Army: Under normal conditions we have no need for a (large) vast Army in this country. But you and I know that unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the peace of America against unprecedented threats.

Since (the) that day, a little over a year ago, when Poland was invaded, we have more than doubled the size of our regular Army. Adding to this the Federalized National Guardmen, our armed land forces
now equal more than 436,000 enlisted men. And yet there are armies overseas that run four and five and six million men.

The officers and men of (our) this Army of ours, the regular Army, and the National Guard, I say, are the finest in the world.

And they will be, as you know, the nucleus for the training of the young men who are being called under the Selective Service Act, 800,000 of them in the course of this year out of nearly 17,000,000 registered -- in other words, a little less than 5 per cent of the total registration.

General Marshall (has) said to me the other day that the task of training (these) those young men is, for the Army, a "profound privilege." (Applause)

Campaign orators seek to tear down the morale of the American people when they make false statements about the Army's equipment. I say to you that we are supplying our Army with the best fighting equipment in all the world.

Yes, the Army and the Defense Commission (is) are getting things done (with) by speed and efficiency. More than eight billion dollars of contracts for defense (contracts) have been let in the past few months.

And I am afraid that (these) those campaign orators will pretty soon -- if they keep on much further -- they will pretty soon be under the painful necessity of (eating their words) coming down to Washington later on and eating their words. (Applause)

And I cannot help but feel that the most inexcusable, the most unpatriotic misstatement of fact about our Army -- a misstatement calculated to worry the mothers of the Nation -- is the brazen charge
that the men called to training will not be properly housed.

The plain fact, the provable fact is that construction on Army housing is far ahead of schedule to meet all (present) needs, and that by January fifth, next, there will be complete and adequate housing in this Nation for nine hundred and thirty thousand soldiers.

(Appause)

And so I feel that very simply and very honestly I can give assurance to the mothers and fathers of America that each and every one of their boys in training will be well housed and well fed.

Throughout (the one) that year of (their) training, there will be constant promotion of their health and their well-being.

And while I am talking to you (mothers and) fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance.

I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again:

Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

(Appause)

They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores.

Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense. (Applause)

The Republican campaign orators who moan and groan (laughter) about our Army and Navy, they are even more mournful about out strength in the air. But only last year, 1939, the Republicans in the Congress of the United States were voting in favor of reducing appropriations for the Army Air Corps.

And so I have to say again, What kind of political shenanig-
gans are these?

Can such people be trusted, trusted with national defense?

I say no! (Audience: "No!")

I am stressing, of course, rightly, (particularly) what every Army and Navy flier tells us -- that what counts most in sustained air power is the productive capacity of our airplane and engine factories. That ought to be almost a first-grade lesson.

We are determined to attain a production capacity of 50,000 planes a year in the United States. And day (and night) by day we are working and making very rapid progress toward that goal. (Applause)

For example, the citizens of Seattle, Washington, you citizens of Washington who are listening tonight -- you have watched the Boeing plant out there grow. It is now producing four times as many planes each month as it was producing a year ago.

And you citizens of Southern California, you can see the great Douglas factories. They have doubled their output in (that period) less than a year.

And you citizens of Buffalo and St. Louis can see the Curtiss plants in your cities. Their output has jumped (to) twelve times its level of a year ago. (Applause)

And, of course, (I don't need to tell you anything about the quality of the men who fly these planes!) we are training the young men and training them successfully in sufficient numbers to fly these planes as soon as they come off the lines. (Applause)

But planes won't fly without engines. You citizens of Hartford, where I was this morning, you who hear my words: look across the Connecticut River at the whirring wheels and the beehive of activity
which is the Pratt and Whitney plant (which) that I saw (today). A
year ago (this) that plant was producing airplane engines totaling
one hundred thousand horsepower a month. Today (this) that production
has been stepped up tenfold, stepped up to one million horsepower a
month.

And you citizens of Paterson, New Jersey, you can see the
Curtiss-Wright plant which a year ago produced two hundred seventy
thousand horsepower a month and this October -- this month -- is pro-
ducing 859,000 horsepower.

And so, just one more figure, in ten months, in the past ten
months, (we have) this Nation has increased our engine output for
planes 240 per cent, and I am proud of it.

Remember, too, that we are scattering them all over the
country. (And) We are building brand new plants for airplanes and for
airplane engines in places besides the Pacific Coast and this coast.
We are also building them in centers in the Middle West (far from the
coast).

Last spring, (and) last winter, within a year ago this great
production capacity program was stepped up by orders from overseas. In
taking these orders for planes (to go) from overseas, we are following
and were following hard-headed self-interest.

Building on the foundation provided by these orders, the
British on the other side of the ocean are (now) receiving a steady
stream of airplanes. (Applause) And after three months of blitzkrieg
in the air over there, the strength of the Royal Air Force is actually
greater now than when the attack began. (Applause) And they know and
we know that that (This) increase in strength despite battle losses is
due in part to the purchases made from American airplane industries and American progress.

Tonight I am privileged to make an announcement, using Boston instead of the White House: The British within the past few days have (now) asked for permission to negotiate again with American manufacturers for 12,000 additional planes. (Applause) And I have asked that (the) that request be given most sympathetic consideration by the Priorities Board. (Applause) I have asked the Priorities Board to give it that consideration, the Board made up (consisting) of William S. Knausen, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., and Leon Henderson. When (these) those additional orders are approved, as I hope they will be, they will bring Britain's present orders for military planes from the United States to more than 26,000. (Applause) And we must remember that these orders (They) will require still more new plant facilities so that the present program of building planes for military purposes (both for the United States and Great Britain) will not be interrupted.

With that request has come orders, (also) large additional orders, (are being) negotiated for artillery, for machine guns, for rifles, (and) for tanks with equipment and ammunition. And again the plant capacity necessary to produce all of this military equipment is and will be available to serve the needs of the United States in any emergency. (Applause)

The productive capacity of the United States that I talk about, which has made it the greatest industrial country in the world, (will) is not failing now. It (will make) is going to make us -- it is making us the strongest air power in the world. And that is not just a campaign promise! (Applause)
I have been glad in the past two or three days to welcome back, back to the shores of America, (to our own shores) that Boston boy, beloved by all of Boston and a lot of other places, my Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Joe Kennedy. (Applause)

Actually on the scene, on the scene where planes were fighting and bombs/dropping day and night for many months, he has been telling me just what you and I have visualized from afar -- that all of the smaller independent nations of Europe -- Sweden and Switzerland and Greece and Ireland and the others -- all of them have lived in terror of the destruction of their independence by Nazi military might. (Cries of "Boo!")

And so, my friends, we (can) are building up our armed defenses to their highest peak of efficiency for a very good reason, the reason of the possibility of real national danger to us; but they these defenses will (still) be inadequate unless we support them with a strong national morale, a sound economy, a sense of solidarity and economic and social justice. (Applause)

When this Administration first came to office, the foundation of (our) that national morale was crumbling. In the panic, (and) in the misery of those days no democracy could have built up an adequate armed defense.

What we have done since 1933 has been written in terms of improvement in the daily life and the daily work of the common man.

I have discussed the falsifications which Republican campaign orators have been making about the economic condition of the (country) Nation -- the condition of labor and the condition of business.

They are even more ridiculous when they shed (these) those
old crocodile tears over the plight of the American farmer.

Now, if there is anyone that a Republican candidate loves more than the laboring man in (November) October and up to Election Day, it is the farmer.

And the first one that he forgets after Election Day is the farmer. (Laughter)

Do I have to remind you of the plight of the farmer -- not just the western farmer, but the New England farmer -- during the period between 1920 and 1933 -- declining income, accumulating surpluses, rising farm debts -- ten-cent corn and twenty-cent wheat and five-cent cotton and three-cent hogs? I said it to you in 1936 and it is just as true today in the history of this country as it was then.

(They) But before 1933 the Administration did nothing to stop (this) that slide. But, of course, before every Election Day they always uncork(ed) the old bottle of soothing syrup and spread it thick. (Laughter and applause)

Why, the farmers of America know from the record what the state of American agriculture is today.

(Here it is:) For instance:

Farm income this year is just about double what it was in (1932) '32.

And farm buying power this year is greater than it was even in 1929. (Applause)

Tens of thousands of (farms) farmers have (been) had their farms saved from foreclosure.

More than 800,000 low income farmers have (obtained) been able to obtain credit from the Government, (which) credit they could
get nowhere else. And, incidentally, credit which they are repaying.

Over a million farms have been electrified since 1933.

And over 6,000,000 farmers -- that's a lot of farmers --
over 6,000,000 farmers have received benefit payments of more than
three and a half billion dollars. (Applause)

Well, what does it all (this) add up to? It means an agri-
culture (which) that is strong and vigorous.

And we all know how much this is due to the patient efforts
and the practical vision of Henry Wallace. (Applause)

The people of New England, whether they live in the city or
out in the country, they know full well that if the farmers' income
in this Nation had remained what it was in 1932, they would be buying
fewer shoes and fewer watches and ice boxes, less woolen goods, (and)
less cotton goods, than they are buying now. Prosperous farmers mean
more employment, more prosperity for the workers and the businessmen
of New England, and of every industrial area in (America) the whole
country.

And so we are still striving for the goal -- parity -- the
proper relationship between agriculture and the rest of our economy --
that will continue to be our guiding principle.

Why, we now have great stocks of wheat and corn and cotton --
in a sense really strategic materials in a world that is threatened
(with) by war.

But surpluses not needed for reserves are now being used to
feed the hungry and the ill-nourished and that is a fact that is diffi-
cult for the old Republican orators to deny. (Applause)

And just one little item on that: Our school luncheon
program (applause) why, that will (this year) reach three million children with milk and other foods this year. And milk does those children (much) more good than political soothing syrup. (Applause)

And, while this was being done, what were the Republican leaders doing? Here is the record:

In 1933, Republicans in the Congress, in both houses, voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act (by) in the House of Representatives, 88 to 52.

In (1936) '36, they voted against the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act (by), 75 to 25.

In 1938, they voted against the second Agricultural Adjust-
ment Act (by), 84 to 15.

And even in 1940, this year, they voted against parity pay-
ments to farmers by 143 to 32.

In the spring of this year, they voted overwhelmingly against the Stamp Plan, the Stamp Plan to distribute food to needy people through a private grocery store(s).

No, the American farmers will not be deceived by pictures of Old Guard candidates, patting cows and pitching hay in front of moving picture cameras. (Prolonged laughter and applause)

And even since the Convention in Philadelphia, all the sweet words of the Republican leaders (in Philadelphia last June -- they were not) in that Convention have not been worth the paper they were written on.

For listen to this: Last summer, only a few weeks after the Republican National Platform had been adopted endorsing commodity loans for the farmers, the Republican members of the House marched right back
into the Halls of Congress and voted against commodity loans for the farmers, to the tune of 106 to 37. (Laughter) (They voted against them by a vote of)

Now, among the Republican leaders, among the Republican leaders who voted against that bill and against practically every other farm bill for the United States was the present Chairman of the Republican National Committee, that "peerless leader," (the) that "farmers' friend" -- Congressman Joe Martin of Massachusetts. (Boos)

I would not single him out except that he is of national interest now because at the time of his appointment as Republican National Chairman there was pinned on him the following (this) handsome verbal bouquet, this expensive orchid: he was called, (was pinned upon him:) "In public life for many years Joe Martin has represented all that is finest in American public life."

Considering the source of that orchid, Martin (may) must be slated for some Cabinet post. So let's look for a minute at the voting record of this gentleman, this representative of what they call, "all that is finest in American public life."

Martin voted against the Public Utility Holding Company Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority Act, the National Securities Exchange Act, and the extension of the (C.C.C.) Civilian Conservation Corps Act. He voted against practically all relief and work relief measures, and against the appropriation for rural electrification.

Martin voted against the Civil Service Extension Act and against the United States Housing Act. (Boos)

So, what I particularly want to say on the radio to the farmers of the Nation, and to you here in this Hall, is that Republican
National Chairman Martin voted against every single one of the farm
measures that were recommended by this Administration. (Cry of "Throw
him a fish," accompanied by laughter) But wait a minute! Perhaps (he)
Brother Martin will be rewarded for this loyal service to the principles
of his party by being appointed Secretary of Agriculture. (Laughter)

And I still remember from two nights ago, he is one of that
great historic trio which has voted consistently against every measure
for the relief of agriculture, Martin, Barton & Fish. (Applause and
laughter)

I have to let you in on a secret. (Laughter) It will come
as a great surprise to you. And it's this:

I'm enjoying this campaign. And I'm really having a fine
time. (Laughter and applause)

But I think you know that the office of President has not
been an easy one during the past years.

The tragedies of this distracted world have weighed heavily
(upon) on all of us.

But -- there is revival for every one of us in the sight
of our own national community.

In our own American community we have sought to submerge all
of the old hatreds, all the old fears, of the old world.

We are Anglo-Saxon and Latin, we are Irish and Teuton and
Jewish and Scandinavian and Slav -- we are American. (Applause) We
belong to many races and colors and creeds -- we are American. (Applause)

And it seems to me that we are most completely, most loudly,
most proudly American around Election Day. (Applause)

Because it is then that we can assert ourselves -- voters
and candidates alike. We can assert the most glorious, the most encouraging fact in all the world today -- the fact that democracy is alive -- (it) is alive and going strong. (Applause)

Yes, we are telling the world that we are free -- and we intend to remain free and at peace.

We are free to live and love and laugh.

We face the future with confidence and with courage. We are American. (Prolonged applause)
I've had a glorious day here in New England. I've looked forward to coming here to Boston. But there's one thing about this trip that I regret. I have to return to Washington tonight, without getting a chance to go into my two favorite states -- Maine and Vermont.

In New York City, I showed by the cold print of the Congressional Record how Republican leaders, with their votes and in their speeches, have been playing, and still are playing politics with national defense.

Even during the past three years, when the dangers to all forms of democracy throughout the world have been obvious, the Republican team in the Congress has been acting only as a Party team.

Time after time, Republican leadership refused to see that what this country needs is an all-American team.

These side line critics are now saying that we are not doing enough for our national defense. I say we are going full speed ahead!

Our navy is our outer line of defense.

Almost the very minute that this administration came into office we began to build the Navy up -- to build a bigger navy.

In seven years, we have raised the total of 193 ships in commission to 337 in commission, today.

We have 119 more ships under construction, today.

In seven years we raised the personnel of the Navy from 106,000 to 210,000, today.

You good people here in Boston know of the enormous increase of productive work in your Boston Navy Yard. There are now six times as many men employed in all our navy yards as there were in 1933. The private ship-building yards are also humming with activity -- building ships for our navy and for our expanding merchant marine.

The construction of this navy has been a monumental job. In spite of what some campaign orators may tell you, you cannot buy a battleship from a mail order catalogue.
We have not only added ships and men to the navy. We have enormously increased the effectiveness of naval bases in our outlying territories.

Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

And within the past two months your Government has acquired new naval and air bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean. They extend all the way from Newfoundland to that part of South America where the Atlantic Ocean begins to get narrow, with Africa not far away.

I repeat: Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

That is the record of the growth of our Navy. In 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy. Side-line critics may carp in a campaign. But Americans are rightly proud of that record. Americans will put their country first and partisanship second.

And speaking of partisanship, I remind you — when the Naval Expansion Bill came up in 1936 the vast majority of Republican members of the Congress voted against building any additional battleships.

What kind of political shenanigans are these?

Can such people be trusted with national defense?

We are also expanding our Army. Under normal conditions we have no need for a large Army. But unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the peace of America against unprecedented threats.

Since the day when Poland was invaded, we have more than doubled the size of our regular Army. Adding to this the Federalised National Guard, our armed land forces now equal more than 436,000 enlisted men.

The officers and men of our Army and National Guard are the finest in the world.

They will be the nucleus for training the young men who are being called under the Selective Service Act.

General Marshall has said that the task of training those young men is a "profound privilege".

Campaign orators seek to tear down the morale of the American people, when they make false statements about the army's equipment. I say we are supplying our army with the best fighting equipment in the world.

The Defense Commission is getting things done with speed and efficiency. More than eight billion dollars of defense contracts have been let.

I am afraid that these campaign orators will pretty soon be under the painful necessity of eating their words.

The most inexcusable unpatriotic misstatement of fact about our army is the brazen charge that the men called to training will not be properly housed.

The plain fact is that construction on army housing is far ahead of schedule to meet all present needs, and that by January fifth, next, there will be complete and adequate housing for nine hundred and thirty thousand soldiers.
I give assurance to the mothers and fathers of America that each and every one of their boys in training will be well housed.

Throughout the one year of their training, there will be constant promotion of their health and well being.

And while I am talking to you mothers and fathers, I give you one more assurance.

I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again,

Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores.

The purpose of our defense is defense.

The Republican campaign orators who moan and groan about our army and navy are even more mournful about our strength in the air. But only last year, 1939, the Republicans in the Congress were voting in favor of reducing appropriations for the army air corps.

What kind of political shenanigans are these?

Can such people be trusted with national defense?

I stress particularly what every army and navy flier tells us -- that what counts most in sustained air power is the productive capacity of our airplane factories.

We are determined to attain a production capacity of 50,000 planes a year in the United States. Day and night we are working and making rapid progress toward that goal.

You citizens of Seattle who are listening tonight -- you have watched the Boeing plant grow. It is now producing four times as many planes each month as it was producing a year ago.

You citizens of Southern California can see the great Douglas factories. They have doubled their output in that period.

You citizens of Buffalo and St. Louis can see the Curtiss plants in your cities. Their output has jumped to twelve times its level of a year ago.

And, of course, I don't need to tell you anything about the quality of the men who fly these planes!

You citizens of Hartford who hear my words: look across the Connecticut River at the whirling wheels and the beehive of activity which is the Pratt and Whitney plant which I saw today. A year ago this plant was producing airplane engines totaling one hundred thousand horsepower a month. Today this production has been stepped up tenfold, stepped up to one million horsepower a month.

And you citizens of Paterson, New Jersey, you can see the Curtiss-Wright plant which a year ago produced two hundred seventy thousand horsepower a month and this October is producing 859,000 horsepower.
In ten months we have increased our engine output 240 per cent.

And we are building brand new plants for airplanes and airplane engines in centers in the Middle West, far from the coast.

Last Spring and Winter this great production capacity program was stepped up by orders from overseas. In taking these orders for planes to go overseas, we are following hard-headed self-interest.

Building on the foundation provided by these orders, the British are now receiving a steady stream of planes. After three months of blitzkrieg in the air, the strength of the Royal Air Force is actually greater now than when the attack began. This increase in strength despite battle losses is due in part to the purchases made from American airplane industries.

The British have now asked for permission to negotiate again with American manufacturers for 12,000 additional planes. I have asked that the request be given most sympathetic consideration by the Priorities Board consisting of William S. Knudsen, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., and Leon Henderson. When these additional orders are approved, they will bring Britain's present orders for military planes from the United States to more than 26,000. They will require still more new plant facilities so that the present program of building planes for military purposes both for the United States and Great Britain will not be interrupted.

Also large additional orders are being negotiated for artillery, machine guns, rifles, and tanks with equipment and ammunition. The plant capacity necessary to produce all of this military equipment is and will be available to serve the needs of the United States in any emergency.

The productive capacity of the United States, which has made it the greatest industrial country in the world, will not fail now. It will make us the strongest air power in the world. And that is not just a campaign pledge!

I have been glad to welcome back to our own shores that Boston boy, beloved by all of Boston, my Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Joe Kennedy.

Actually on the scene there planes were fighting and bombs dropping, for many months he has been telling me just what you and I have visualized from afar — that all the smaller independent nations of Europe — Sweden, Switzerland, Greece, Ireland, and the others — have lived in terror of the destruction of their independence by Nazi military might.

We can build up our armed defenses to their highest peak of efficiency, but they will still be inadequate unless we support them with a strong national morale, a sound economy, a sense of solidarity and economic justice.

When this Administration came to office, the foundation of our national morale was crumbling. In the panic and misery of those days no democracy could have built up an adequate armed defense.

What we have done since 1933 has been written in terms of improvement in the daily life and work of the common man.

I have discussed the falsifications which Republican campaign orators have been making about the economic condition of the country — the condition of labor and the condition of business.
They are even more ridiculous when they shed those old crocodile tears over the plight of the farmer.

Now, if there is anyone that a Republican candidate loves more than the laboring man in November, it is the farmer.

And the first one he forgets after election day is the farmer.

Do I have to remind you of the plight of the farmer during the period between 1920 and 1933 -- declining income, accumulating surpluses, rising farm debts -- ten cent corn, twenty cent wheat, five cent cotton, three cent hogs.

They did nothing to stop this slide. But, of course, before every election day they always uncorked the old bottle of soothing syrup and spread it thick.

The farmers of America know from the record what the state of American agriculture is today.

Here it is:

Farm income this year is just about double what it was in 1932.

Farm buying power this year is greater than it was even in 1929.

Tens of thousands of farms have been saved from foreclosure.

More than 800,000 low income farmers have obtained credit from the government, which they could get nowhere else.

Over a million farms have been electrified since 1933.

Over 6,000,000 farmers have received benefit payments of more than three and a half billion dollars.

What does all this add up to? It means an agriculture which is strong and vigorous.

And we all know how much this is due to the patient efforts and practical vision of Henry Wallace.

The people of New England know that if the farmers' income had remained what it was in 1932, they would be buying fewer shoes, fewer watches and ice boxes, less woolen goods and cotton goods, than they are buying now. Prosperous farmers mean more employment, more prosperity for the workers and business men of New England, and of every industrial area in America.

Parity -- the proper relationship between agriculture and the rest of our economy -- will continue to be our guiding principle.

We now have great stocks of wheat, corn and cotton -- in a sense really strategic materials in a world threatened with war.

Surpluses not needed for reserves are now being used to feed the hungry and the ill-nourished and that is a fact difficult for Republican orators to deny.
Our school lunch program will this year reach three million children with milk and other foods. And milk does those children much more good than political soothing syrup.

While this was being done, what were the Republican leaders doing? Here is the record:

In 1933, Republicans in the Congress, in both houses, voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act by 88 to 52.

In 1936, they voted against the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act by 75 to 25.

In 1938, they voted against the second Agricultural Adjustment Act by 84 to 15.

And even in 1940, they voted against parity payments to farmers by 143 to 32.

In the Spring of this year, they voted overwhelmingly against the Stamp Plan to distribute food to needy people through private grocery stores.

The American farmers will not be deceived by pictures of Old Guard candidates, putting cows and pitching hay in front of moving picture cameras.

All the sweet words of the Republican leaders in Philadelphia last June — they were not worth the paper they were written on.

For listen to this. Last summer, only a few weeks after the Republican National Platform had been adopted endorsing commodity loans for the farmers, the Republican members of the House marched right back into the Halls of Congress and voted against commodity loans for the farmers. They voted against them by a vote of 106 to 37.

Among the Republican leaders who voted against that bill and against practically every other farm bill was the present Chairman of the Republican National Committee, that "peerless leader", the "farmers' friend" — Congressman Joe Martin of Massachusetts.

He is of national interest now because at the time of his appointment as Republican National Chairman, this handsomeworded bouquet, this expensive orichic, was pinned upon him: "In public life for many years Joe Martin has represented all that is finest in American public life".

Considering the source of that orichic, Martin may be asked for some Cabinet post. So let's look at the voting record of this representative of what they call, "all that is finest in American public life".

Martin voted against the Public Utility Holding Company Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the National Securities Exchange Act, and the extension of the C.C.C. He voted against practically all relief and work relief measures, and against the appropriation for rural electrification.

Martin voted against the Civil Service Extension Act and against the United States Housing Act.
What I particularly want to say on the radio to the farmers of the Nation, is that Republican National Chairman Martin voted against every single one of the Farm measures recommended by this Administration. Perhaps he will be rewarded for this loyal service to the principles of his Party, by being appointed Secretary of Agriculture.

He is one of that great historic trio which has voted consistently against every measure for the relief of agriculture, Martin, Burton & Fish.

I have to let you in on a secret. It will come as a great surprise to you. It’s this:

I’m enjoying this campaign. I’m really having a fine time.

I think you know that the Office of President has not been an easy one during the past years.

The tragedies of this distracted world have weighed heavily upon all of us.

But — there is revival for every one of us in the sight of our own national community.

In our own American community we have sought to submerge all of the old hatreds, all the old fears, of the old world.

We are Anglo-Saxon and Latin, we are Irish and Teuton and Jewish and Scandinavian and Slav -- we are American. We belong to many races and colors and creeds — we are American.

And it seems to me that we are most completely, most loudly, most proudly American around Election Day.

Because it is then that we can assert ourselves — voters and candidates alike. We can assert the most glorious, the most encouraging fact in the world today — the fact that democracy is alive -- it is alive and going strong.

We are telling the world that we are free — and we intend to remain free and at peace.

We are free to live and love and laugh.

We face the future with confidence and courage. We are American.
I've had a glorious day here in New England. I've looked forward to coming here to Boston. But there's one thing about this trip that I regret. I have to return tonight to Washington, without getting a chance to go into Maine and Vermont.

The night before last, in New York City, I showed by the cold print of the Congressional Record how Republican leaders with their votes and in their speeches have been playing and still are playing politics with national defense.

I named some of these prominent Republican Congressional leaders, including those modern counterparts of Winken, Blinken and Nod — namely Martin, Barton and Fish. Even during the past three years, when the dangers to all forms of democracy throughout the world became obvious, the Republican team in the Congress acted solely as a Party team. Republican leadership refused to see, time after time, that what this country needs is an all-American team.
Today despite what the sideline critics are saying about our national defense, we are going full speed ahead with defense.

We are using the full output of existing industrial facilities for materials of defense. Additional facilities of all kinds are coming into active operation.

Actual production is increasing with every passing week.

Take a good look with me at the progress of our navy, air and army defenses. See what we have been able to do in spite of opposition and sabotage by leaders of the Republican party.

Our navy comes first because it is our outer line of defense.

It is in the Navy that foresight is most essential, because naval armaments require the longest time to build.

Almost the very minute that this Administration came into office, it reversed the process of the prior Administration in cutting down naval defense. We began immediately to build the Navy up— to build a bigger Navy.

In the interest of fact-finding, let us take a look together.
In seven years we raised the total of one hundred and ninety-three ships in commission to three hundred and twenty four ships in commission, today. We have 119 ships under construction, today.

In seven years we raised the personnel of the Navy from one hundred and six thousand to two hundred and ten thousand, today.

You good people here in Boston know of the enormous increase of productive work in your Boston Navy Yard in the last seven years. The same story is true for every Navy Yard and for every private ship building yard, on the east coast and on the west coast of the United States. There are now six times as many men employed in our navy yards as there were in 1933. The private ship-building yards are also humming with activity -- building ships for our navy and for our expanding merchant marine.

Lest there be another false cry -- that our ships are all abuilding and none afloat, -- I repeat that figure of war ships in commission -- fully manned and ready for action -- three hundred and thirty-seven of them, today.
In 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy.

The construction of this navy has been a monumental job.

It has demanded expert craftsmanship and engineering genius. In spite of what some campaign orators may tell you, you cannot buy a battle ship from a mail order catalogue. We have not only added ships and men to the navy. We have enormously increased the defense effectiveness of naval bases in our outlying territories -- the Aleutian Islands, Alaska, the Panama Canal, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and other islands in the Pacific.

Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

And within the past six weeks your Government has acquired eight new naval and air bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean. They extend all the way from Newfoundland in the north to that part of South America where the Atlantic Ocean begins to get narrow, with Africa not far away.

Construction of these bases is already under way.

I repeat: Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.
That is the record of the growth of our Navy. Side-line critics may carp in a campaign. But most Americans are mighty proud of that record.

And I must remind you of what I said last Monday—When the Naval Expansion Bill came up in 1938 the vast majority of Republican members of the Congress voted against building additional battleships.
Why about our Army? This Nation has never liked large armies. We are also expanding our army. Under normal conditions we have no need for a large army.

Until recently we have never felt the need of them. But unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the peace of America against unprecedented threats.

And so we are building up our army and supplying it with the best fighting equipment. In 1933 we began to use work relief funds to increase ordnance for the Army, arsenals for the Army, and to motorize the Army. With such funds we have built military airports, miles of strategic highways, bridges, viaducts, Army posts, armories, docks, military hospitals and a host of other improvements now so valuable to our defense.

Since the day when Poland was invaded, we have more than doubled the size of our regular Army, from 176,000 enlisted men to 354,000 enlisted men. Adding to this the Federalized National Guardsmen, our armed land forces now equal more than 436,000 enlisted men.
The regular army and the national guard will form the nucleus of all units of the
great new army now in process of formation.

The officers of our army are the finest in the
world. They have been trained remarkably well
trained - in the highest traditions of our democratic
service.

They will train the young men who are being
called under the Selective Service Act. Their methods
of training are not those of the pompous martinet
the Prussian drill-master.

But General Marshall has said that the task
of training these young men is, for our officers, a
"profound privilege." They know that it is their
duty to understand their men - to understand their
backgrounds, their characters and their ambitions.
They know that they must promote a healthy
discipline - but not regimentation.

The task of providing modern equipment for
our great new army is under the supervision of the
Defense Commission. And this equipment now being turned
out at a rapid rate is better than the best possessed by any
other army in the world.
The Army has on hand 2,000,000 Lee-Enfield and Springfield rifles -- as fine a rifle as is being used in Europe. We are now building up a supply of the new Garand automatic rifles at the rate of 11,700 a month. That rate of production will increase.

Campaign orators seek to tear down the morale of army defense and the morale of the American people when they make false statements about its equipment. More than eight billion dollars of defense contracts have been let. The Defense Commission is getting things done with speed and efficiency, in spite of unsupported and unsupportable glittering generalities about red tape and delay.

After November fifth, I shall invite some of these orators to Washington to see their works.

The most inexcusable statement of fact is the brazen charge that the men called to training will not be properly housed.

The plain fact is that construction is now in progress on two hundred and thirty-five Army housing projects. By January fifth, next, I am assured by the Chief of Staff that there will be housing for nine hundred and thirty thousand soldiers.
There has never been such quick, speedy construction of adequate new housing for men called to service.

I give assurance to the mothers and fathers of America that each and every one of the boys in training will be well housed. They will live in modern quarters designed and constructed by experts in housing.

Throughout the one year of their training, there will be constant promotion of their health and comfort and well being.

And while I am talking to you mothers and fathers, I give you one more assurance. Lest you have been misled by any false clamor:

Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores.

I have said it before, but I shall say it again and again, as long as a single shred of doubt may remain:

The purpose of our defense is defense.

America is not an aggressor nation. It will never become an aggressor nation.

We simply mean to be invincible in the defense of our liberties.

We shall be invincible.
The Republican campaign
caters to war, power, and growth
among our army and navy. Are even
more meaningful about how strength
in the air.
We hear the same moans and groans from the same people about our strength in the air. But only last year, 1939, they were voting against increasing the authorized number of planes in the navy. They were even voting in favor of reducing appropriations for the army air corps.

Can these people be trusted with national defense? What kind of political shenanigans are these? Particularly I stress what the purveyors of false information with political malice aforesaid overlooked -- and what every army and navy flier tells us -- that what counts is air power is productive capacity. We are determined to attain a productive capacity of 50,000 planes a year in the United States alone. This is in accordance with a definite program actually under way.

Day and night we are working and making great headway towards that goal.
The planes now being built for our army and navy are the finest and fastest military airplanes that can be built in any country.

You citizens of Seattle who are listening tonight, you have watched your Boeing plant grow. It is now producing four times as many planes each month as it was producing a year ago.

You citizens of Buffalo and St. Louis can see the Curtiss plants in your cities. Their output has jumped to twelve times its level of a year ago.

You citizens of Los Angeles can see the Douglas factories, in Santa Monica and El Segundo. They have doubled their output in that period.

Any foreign power, or combination of powers, will have to think more than twice before putting its forces within range of our fighting planes.

And I doubt need to tell you anything about the quality of the men who fly these planes!

You citizens of Hartford who hear my words: look across the Connecticut River at the whirling wheels and the beehive of activity which is the Pratt and Whitney plant. A year ago this plant was producing engines totaling one hundred thousand horsepower a month. Today this production has been stepped up tenfold, stepped up to one million horse-power a month.
And you citizens of Paterson, New Jersey, you can see the Curtiss-Wright plant which a year ago produced two hundred seventy thousand horsepower a month and this October is producing 859,000 horsepower.

In ten months we have increased our engine output 240 per cent and are now approaching a level of 2,000 engines a month.

All of our airplane and airplane engine plants are running full time. And in addition we are building brand new plants in centers in the Middle West, far from the coast.

Last Spring and Winter this great production capacity program was stepped up by orders from overseas. In taking these orders for planes to go overseas, we are following hard-headed self-interest.

Building on the foundation provided by orders placed last winter and in the spring, the British are now receiving a steady stream of airplanes. After three months of blitzkrieg in the air, the strength of the Royal Air Force is actually greater now than when the blitzkrieg began. And this increase in strength despite battle losses is due in part to the purchases made from American airplane industries. These purchases will be of ever increasing importance.
The British have now asked for permission to negotiate again with American manufacturers for another 12,000 additional planes. I have asked that the request be given most sympathetic consideration by the Priorities Board consisting of William S. Knudsen, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., and Leon Henderson. When these additional orders are approved, they will bring Britain's present orders for military planes from the United States to more than 26,000. They will require extra plant facilities so that the present program of building planes for military purposes both for the United States and Great Britain will not be interrupted.

Also large additional orders are being negotiated for artillery, machine guns, rifles, and tanks with equipment and ammunition. The plant capacity necessary to produce all of this military equipment will be available to serve the needs of the United States in any emergency.

The productive capacity of the United States, which has made it the greatest industrial country in the world, will not fail now. It will make us the strongest air power in the world. And that is not just a campaign promise.
I have been glad to welcome back to our own shores that Boston boy, beloved by all of Boston, my Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Joe Kennedy.

Actually on the scene where planes were fighting and bombs dropping, for many months he has been telling me just what you and I have visualized from afar -- that the smaller independent nations of Europe have lived in terror of the destruction of their independence by Nazi might of military might. [Handwritten note: "All the smaller nations"]

We all know that if England goes, every other democracy in Europe will go. If England goes, Ireland, in spite of its bravery, but because of its size, must inevitably fall under the heel of goosestepping soldiers. If England goes, the Christian peoples of England and Ireland fall under the domination of an autocratic leadership that regards religion as a plaything of dictators -- un-Christian dictators.

The facts about the building up of the Army are well known to you. Most certainly we do not want a large standing army. But the Nation does want its men trained. That is what we are doing today.
If back in 1915, we had enacted a selective service law, and had the same armed defenses as we have now, I firmly believe that the German Empire would not have dared to declare unrestricted submarine warfare. It was that violent action of 1917 which was directly responsible for getting us into the World War.

These are the three lines of fighting defense -- the Navy, the Air Force, the Army. We can build them up their highest peak of efficiency and, unless we place under them the support and foundation of a strong national morale, a sound economy, a sense of solidarity and economic justice, a people who feel that they have a real stake in their government, and who are determined to defend their free institutions, not only because they are free but because they are able to supply them with the satisfaction of legitimate human needs. There is the foundation upon which all military strength must rest. And that foundation we have been building steadily since 1933.

When this Administration came to office, that foundation was crumbling. In the panic and misery of those days no democracy could have built up an adequate armed defense.
What we have done since 1933 has been written in terms of improvement in the daily life and work of the common man.

I discussed in Philadelphia last week the falsifications which have been made about the economic condition of the country — the condition of labor and the condition of business. They are even more ridiculous when they ask the plights of the farmer. Now, if there is anyone that a Republican candidate loves more than a laboring man in November, it is the farmer. And he forgets completely after election day, the farmer.

Do I have to remind you of the plights of the farmer during the period between 1920 and 1933 — declining income, accumulating surpluses, rising farm debts. The Government did nothing to help. They let things slide and slide until we had ten cent corn, twenty cent wheat, five cent cotton, three cent hogs.

They did nothing to stop the slide. But, of course, they always had plenty of soothing syrup in the form of bigger promises, every election day. And you know from reading Republican campaign speeches, that 1940 is no exception to that.
The farmers of America

Anyone interested in stating facts knows from the record what the state of American agriculture is today.

Farms have received during this Administration twenty-five billions of dollars more than they would have received if their incomes had continued at the 1932 level.

Farm income this year is just about double what it was in 1932. And farm buying power this year is greater than it was in 1929.

Farmers of the country can buy $327,000,000 more of goods and services this year, than they could in 1929.

Rise in farm prices is only the beginning of the story of the farmer during the last eight years.

Tens of thousands of farms have been saved from foreclosure, through more generous terms of credit.

More than 800,000 low income farmers have obtained credit from the government, which they could get nowhere else, and full expert farm management advice from the government, to boot.

Over a million farms have been electrified since 1932.
The farmers' roads by which they get their products to market have been increased by over thirty thousand miles, to say nothing of the half million miles of repairs and improvements.

Under the Soil Conservation Act and its predecessor acts, over 6,000,000 farmers have received benefit payments of more than three and a half billion dollars.

What does all this add up to? It means an agriculture which is not only now strong and vigorous but one which can face the future with confidence.

These Republican leaders who were willing to let the farmer's income drop to practically nothing, who were willing to see his farm and home foreclosed, who were willing to see his purchasing power go to pieces — without lifting a finger to help — these leaders know full well that the farmer is better off today and feels more secure in his future than at any time since the World War.

The people of New England know that if the farmers' income had remained what it was in 1932, they would be buying fewer shoes, fewer automobiles, less woolen goods and iceboxes, than they are buying now.

Prosperous farmers mean more employment, more prosperity for the workers and business men of New England, and of every industrial city in America.
The industrialists and the workers of New England have shared and supported our objective, knowing that the welfare of the farmer has a very definite relationship to the welfare of the industrial worker.

Parity -- the proper relationship between agriculture and the rest of our economy -- will continue to be our guiding principle. Control and loan programs must be continued -- adjusted, of course, to conditions as they develop.

We now have great stocks of wheat, corn and cotton -- in a sense really strategic materials in a world threatened with war.

Surpluses not needed for reserves are now being used to feed the hungry and the ill-nourished... 

The Food Stamp Plan is now operating in two hundred different areas and will reach more than four million persons.

Our school luncheon program will this year reach forty-three thousand schools and three million children with milk and other foods which ward off the threat of malnutrition. And milk does these children much more good than political soothing syrup.
Crop insurance is no longer a matter of mere talk.
It is a working reality on four hundred thousand wheat farms.

Farm tenancy is no longer merely a subject of
discussion. For the first time in American history we are
doing something about it. We are helping the problem by
improving farm income; we are helping it more directly by
assisting qualified tenants to buy good farms.

While this was being done, what were the Republican
leaders doing? Here is the record:

In 1933, Republicans in the Congress (both houses)
voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act by 88 to
52.

In 1936, they voted against the Soil Conservation
and Domestic Allotment Act by seventy-five to twenty-five.

In 1938, they voted against the second Agricultural
Adjustment Act by eighty-four to fifteen.

And even in 1940, they voted against parity payments by
hundred and forty-three to thirty-two.

In the Spring of this year, they voted overwhelmingly
against the Stamp Plan to distribute food through normal business

struck out because to needy people.
The American farmers will not be deceived by pictures of Old
Guard candidates and holding company executives, petting cows and pitching
hay in front of moving picture cameras.

All the sweet words of the Republican leaders in Philadelphia
last June — all the good will of the financiers there assembled, all the
throbbing protests of benevolence to agriculture — they were not worth the
paper they were written on. For listen to this: Only a few weeks after
the Philadelphia Platform in June 1940 had been adopted endorsing
commodity loans, the Republican members of the House went right back into
the Halls of Congress and voted against commodity loans. They voted
against them by a vote of one-hundred-and-six-to-thirty-seven.

Among the Republican leaders who voted against that bill and
against practically every other farm bill through all his years of service
was the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, the
man who would become Speaker of the House of Representatives if his party
obtained control of the Congress, that fearless leader who now shapes the
policies of the Republican Party — Congressman Joe Martin of Massachusetts.

He is of peculiar national interest because at the time of his
appointment as National Chairman of the Republican Party, those who controlled
the destinies of the party said of him: "In public life for many years Joe
Martin has represented all that is finest in American public life."
Considering the service of this Senator,

That shows that he must be slated for some Cabinet post. So let's look at the record of votes to see what these Republican leaders really mean when they refer to his record of this representative, quote: "all that is finest in American public life".

For Martin voted against relief appropriations.

• He voted against the development of the Tennessee Valley Authority.
• He voted against the extension of the Civilian Conservation Corps.
• He voted against practically all relief and work relief measures.
• He voted against the Public Utility Holding Company Act.
• He voted against the appropriation of one hundred million dollars for rural electrification.

• He voted against the United States Housing Act.

• He voted against the National Securities Exchange Act.
• He voted against the Guffey Coal Bill.
• He voted against the Civil Service Extension Act.

What I particularly want to say to the farmers of the Nation is that Republican leader Martin, who seeks to become Speaker Martin, or perhaps even Secretary of Agriculture Martin, voted against every single one of the farm measures recommended by this Administration. Perhaps he will be rewarded for this loyal service to the principles of this party by being appointed Secretary of Agriculture.
And I repeat, the reason I mention Joe Martin's votes particularly is that the Republican leaders have designated him as the man "who has represented all that is finest in public life".

Among the other Republican leaders who during their service in the Congress have voted consistently against every measure for the relief of agriculture have been the other two performers of that talented trio, Martin, Barton & Fish.

I have to let you in on a secret. It will come as a great surprise to you. It's this:

I'm enjoying this campaign. I'm really having a fine time.

I think you know that the Office of President has not been an easy one during the past years.

The tragedies of this distracted world have weighed heavily upon all of us.

But -- there is revival for every one of us in the sight of our own national community.

In our own American community we have submerged all of the old hatreds, all the old fears, of the old world.
We are Anglo-Saxon and Latin, we are Teuton and Slav, we are Irish and French; we are American. And it seems to me that we are most completely, most loudly, most proudly American around Election Day.

Because it is then that we can assert ourselves — voters and candidates alike. We can assert the most glorious, the most encouraging fact in the world today — the fact that democracy is alive — it is alive and kicking.

We are telling the world that we are free — and we intend to remain free and at peace.

We are free to live and love and laugh — and work and fight — and plan and build — and read and write — and think and dream — and even to fight — when we feel like it — among ourselves.

* * * * * * *
I've had a glorious day here in New England.

I've looked forward to coming here to Boston. But there's one thing about this trip that I regret. I have to return to Washington tonight, without getting a chance to go into my two favorite states -- Maine and Vermont.

The night before last, in New York City, I showed by the cold print of the Congressional Record how Republican leaders, with their votes and in their speeches, have been playing and still are playing politics with national defense.

Even during the past three years, when the dangers to all forms of democracy throughout the world have been obvious, the Republican team in the Congress has been acting only as a Party team. Time after time, Republican leadership refused to see that what this country needs is an all-American team.
Despite what the side line critics are now saying about our national defense, we are going full speed ahead.

We are using the full output of our industrial facilities for materials of defense.

Additional facilities are coming into active operation.

Actual production is increasing every day.

In the interest of fact-finding, let us together take a look at the progress of our navy, air and army defenses. See what we have been able to do, in spite of opposition and sabotage by leaders of the Republican party.

Our navy is our outer line of defense.

Almost the very minute that this Administration came into office we began to build the Navy up — to build a bigger Navy.

In seven years, we have raised the total of 193 ships in commission to 337 in commission, today.

We have 119 more ships under construction, today.

In seven years we raised the personnel of the Navy from 106,000 to 210,000, today.
You good people here in Boston know of the enormous increase of productive work in your Boston Navy Yard in the last seven years. There are now six times as many men employed in all our navy yards as there were in 1933. The private ship-building yards are also humming with activity -- building ships for our navy and for our expanding merchant marine.

[Last there be another false cry -- that our ships are all abuilding and none afloat -- I repeat that figure of war ships in commission -- fully manned and ready for action -- 337 of them, today.]

The construction of this navy has been a monumental job. In spite of what some campaign orators may tell you, you cannot buy a battleship from a mail order catalogue.

We have not only added ships and men to the navy. We have enormously increased the effectiveness of naval bases in our outlying territories, the Aleutian Islands, Alaska, the Panama Canal, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and other islands in the Pacific.]
We have not only added ships and men to the navy. We have enormously increased the effectiveness of naval bases in our outlying territories.

Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

And within the past two months your Government has acquired new naval and air bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean. They extend all the way from Newfoundland to that part of South America where the Atlantic Ocean begins to get narrow, with Africa not far away.

I repeat: Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

That is the record of the growth of our Navy. In 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy. Side-line critics may carp in a campaign. But Americans are mighty proud of that record. Americans will put their country first and patriotism second.

And speaking of patriotism, I remind you — when the Naval Expansion Bill came up in 1938 the vast majority of Republican members of the Congress voted against building any additional battleships.

What kind of political shenanigans are these?

Can such people be trusted with national defense?

We are also expanding our army. Under normal conditions we have no need for a large army. But unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the peace of America against unprecedented threats.

Since the day when Poland was invaded, we have more than doubled the size of our regular army. Adding to this the Federalized National Guard, our armed land forces now equal more than 436,000 enlisted men.

The officers and men of our Army and National Guard are the finest in the world.

They will be the nucleus for training the young men who are being called under the Selective Service Act.

General Marshall has said that the task of training these young men is a "profound privilege".

Campaign orators seek to tear down the morale of the American people, when they make false statements about the army's equipment. I say we are supplying our army with the best fighting equipment in the world.

The Defense Commission is getting things done with speed and efficiency. More than eight billion dollars of defense contracts have been let.

I am afraid that these campaign orators will pretty soon be under the painful necessity of eating their words.

The most inexcusable unpatriotic misstatement of fact about our army is the brazen charge that the men called to training will not be properly housed.

The plain fact is that construction on army housing is far ahead of schedule to meet all present needs, and that by January fifth, next, there will be complete and adequate housing for nine hundred and thirty thousand soldiers.
Since the day when Poland was invaded, we have more than doubled the size of our regular Army. Adding to this the Federalized National Guardsmen, our armed land forces now equal more than 436,000 enlisted men.

The officers and men of our Army and National Guard are the finest in the world. They have been trained -- remarkably well trained -- in the higher traditions of our democratic service.

They will be the nucleus for training. The officers will train the young men who are being called under the Selective Service Act. Their methods of training are not those of the pompous martinet -- the Prussian drill-master.

General Marshall has said that the task of training these young men is for our officers, a "profound privilege".

Campaign orators seek to tear down the morale of army defense and the morale of the American people, when they make false statements about its equipment. I say we are supplying our army with the best fighting equipment in the world.
The Defense Commission is getting things done with speed and efficiency, in spite of unsupported and unsupportable charges about red tape and delay. More than eight billion dollars of defense contracts have been let.

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The plain fact is that construction on army housing is far ahead of schedule to meet all present needs and that by January fifth, next, there will be complete and adequate housing for nine hundred and thirty thousand soldiers.

I give assurance to the mothers and fathers of America that each and every one of their boys in training will be well housed. They will live in modern quarters, designed and constructed by experts in housing.

Throughout the one year of their training, there will be constant promotion of their health and well being.
And while I am talking to you mothers and fathers, I give you one more assurance.

I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again, \textit{as long as a single shred of doubt may remain:}

Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores.

The purpose of our defense is defense.

The Republican campaign orators who moan and groan about our army and navy are even more mournful about our strength in the air. But only last year, 1939, the Republicans in the Congress were voting against increasing the authorized number of planes in the navy. They were even voting in favor of reducing appropriations for the army air corps.

What kind of political shenanigans are these?

Can such people be trusted with national defense?

I stress particularly what every army and navy flier tells us -- that what counts most in sustained air power is the productive capacity of our airplane factories.
We are determined to attain a production capacity of 50,000 planes a year in the United States. Day and night we are working and making rapid progress toward that goal.

The planes now being built for our army and navy are the finest and fastest military airplanes now being built in any country.

You citizens of Seattle who are listening tonight -- you have watched the Boeing plant grow. It is now producing four times as many planes each month as it was producing a year ago.

You citizens of Southern California can see the great Douglas factories. They have doubled their output in that period.

You citizens of Buffalo and St. Louis can see the Curtiss plants in your cities. Their output has jumped to twelve times its level of a year ago.

And, of course, I don't need to tell you anything about the quality of the men who fly these planes!
You citizens of Hartford who hear my words: look across the Connecticut River at the whirling wheels and the beehive of activity which is the Pratt and Whitney plant. A year ago this plant was producing airplane engines totaling one hundred thousand horsepower a month. Today this production has been stepped up tenfold, stepped up to one million horsepower a month.

And you citizens of Paterson, New Jersey, you can see the Curtiss-Wright plant which a year ago produced two hundred seventy thousand horsepower a month and this October is producing 869,000 horsepower.

In ten months we have increased our engine output 240 per cent.

And we are building brand new plants for airplanes and airplane engines in centers in the Middle West, far from the coast.

Last Spring and Winter this great production capacity program was stepped up by orders from overseas. In taking these orders for planes to go overseas, we are following hard-headed self-interest.

Building on the foundation provided by these orders, the British are now receiving a steady stream of airplanes. After three months of blitzkrieg in the air, the strength of the Royal Air Force is actually greater now than when the attack began. This increase in strength despite battle losses is due in part to the purchases made from American airplane industries. [These purchases will be of ever increasing importance.]
The British have now asked for permission to negotiate again with American manufacturers for 12,000 additional planes. I have asked that the request be given most sympathetic consideration by the Priorities Board consisting of William S. Knudsen, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., and Leon Henderson. When these additional orders are approved, they will bring Britain's present orders for military planes from the United States to more than 26,000. They will require plant facilities so that the present program of building planes for military purposes both for the United States and Great Britain will not be interrupted.

Also large additional orders are being negotiated for artillery, machine guns, rifles, and tanks with equipment and ammunition. The plant capacity necessary to produce all of this military equipment is and will be available to serve the needs of the United States in any emergency.

The productive capacity of the United States, which has made it the greatest industrial country in the world, will not fail now. It will make us the strongest air power in the world. And that is not just a campaign promise!
I have been glad to welcome back to our own shores that Boston boy, beloved by all of Boston, my Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Joe Kennedy.

Actually on the scene where planes were fighting and bombs dropping, for many months he has been telling me just what you and I have visualized from afar — that all the smaller independent nations of Europe — Sweden, Switzerland, Ireland and the others — have lived in terror of the destruction of their independence by Nazi military might.

We can build up our armed defenses to their highest peak of efficiency; but they will still be inadequate unless we support them with a strong national morale, a sound economy, a sense of solidarity and economic justice. This requires a people who feel that they have a real stake in their government, and who are determined to defend their free institutions. There is the foundation upon which all military strength must rest. And that foundation we have been strengthening steadily since 1933.

When this Administration came to office, that foundation was crumbling. In the panic and misery of those days no democracy could have built up an adequate armed defense.
What we have done since 1933 has been written in terms of improvement in the daily life and work of the common man.

I have discussed the falsifications which Republican campaign orators have been making about the economic condition of the country -- the condition of labor and the condition of business.

They are even more ridiculous when they shed those old crocodile tears over the plight of the farmer.

Now, if there is anyone that a Republican candidate loves more than the laboring man in November, it is the farmer.

And the first one he forgets after election day is the farmer.

Do I have to remind you of the plight of the farmer during the period between 1920 and 1933 -- declining income, accumulating surpluses, rising farm debts. The Government did nothing to help. They let things slide and slide until we had ten cent corn, twenty cent wheat, five cent cotton, three cent hogs.
They did nothing to stop the slide. But, of course, before every election day they always uncorked the old bottle of soothing syrup and spread it thick.

The farmers of America know from the record what the state of American agriculture is today.

Here it is:

Farm income this year is just about double what it was in 1932.

Farm buying power this year is greater than it was even in 1929.

Tens of thousands of farms have been saved from foreclosure.

More than 800,000 low income farmers have obtained credit from the government, which they could get nowhere else.

Over a million farms have been electrified since 1933.

Over 6,000,000 farmers have received benefit payments of more than three and a half billion dollars.

What does all this add up to? It means an agriculture which is now strong and vigorous, but one which can face the future with confidence.

And we all know how much this is due to the patient efforts and vision of Henry Wallace.
The people of New England know that if the farmers' income had remained what it was in 1932, they would be buying fewer shoes, fewer automobiles and ice boxes, less woolen goods and cotton goods, than they are buying now. Prosperous farmers mean more employment, more prosperity for the workers and business men of New England, and of every industrial area in America.

Parity -- the proper relationship between agriculture and the rest of our economy -- will continue to be our guiding principle.

We now have great stocks of wheat, corn and cotton -- in a sense really strategic materials in a world threatened with war.

Surpluses not needed for reserves are now being used to feed the hungry and the ill-nourished and that is a fact difficult for Republican orators to deny.

Our school luncheon program will this year reach three million children with milk and other foods which ward off the threat of mal-nutrition. And milk does those children much more good than political soothing syrup.
We are helping the problem of farm tenancy by improving farm income; we are helping it more directly by assisting tenants to buy good farms.

While this was being done, what were the Republican leaders doing? Here is the record:

In 1933, Republicans in the Congress, in both houses, voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act by 88 to 52.

In 1936, they voted against the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act by 75 to 25.

In 1938, they voted against the second Agricultural Adjustment Act by 84 to 15.

And even in 1940, they voted against parity payments to farmers by 143 to 32.

In the Spring of this year, they voted overwhelmingly against the Stamp Plan to distribute food to needy people through private grocery stores.

The American farmers will not be deceived by pictures of Old Guard candidates, petting cows and pitching hay in front of moving picture cameras.
All the sweet words of the Republican leaders in Philadelphia last June -- all the good will of the financiers there assembled, all the throbbing protests of benevolence to agriculture -- they were not worth the paper they were written on.

For listen to this. Last summer, only a few weeks after the Republican National Platform had been adopted endorsing commodity loans for the farmers, the Republican members of the House marched right back into the Halls of Congress and voted against commodity loans for the farmers. They voted against them by a vote of 106 to 37.

Among the Republican leaders who voted against that bill and against practically every other farm bill was the present Chairman of the Republican National Committee, the man who would become Speaker of the House if his party obtained control of the Congress, that peerless leader, the farmers' friend -- Congressman Joe Martin of Massachusetts.

He is of national interest now because at the time of his appointment as Republican National Chairman, this handsome verbal bouquet was pinned upon him: "In public life for many years Joe Martin has represented all that is finest in American public life".
Considering the source of that comment, Martin may be slated for some Cabinet post. So let's look at the voting record of this representative of, "all that is finest in American public life".

Martin voted against the Public Utility Holding Company Act. [Martin voted against] the Tennessee Valley Authority, [He voted against] the National Securities Exchange Act. [He voted against] the extension of the C.C.C. He voted against practically all relief and work relief measures, and [He voted against] the appropriation of one hundred million dollars for rural electrification.

Martin voted against the (Deleting) United States Housing Act. [He voted against] the Civil Service Extension Act and against the United States Housing Act. What I particularly want to say to the farmers of the Nation is that Republican National Chairman Martin voted against every single one of the farm measures recommended by this Administration. Perhaps he will be rewarded for this loyal service to the principles of his Party by being appointed Secretary of Agriculture.
He is one of that great historic trio which has voted consistently against every measure for the relief of agriculture, Martin, Barton & Fish.

I have to let you in on a secret. It will come as a great surprise to you. It's this:

I'm enjoying this campaign. I'm really having a fine time.

I think you know that the Office of President has not been an easy one during the past years.

The tragedies of this distracted world have weighed heavily upon all of us.

But -- there is revival for every one of us in the sight of our own national community.

In our own American community we have sought to submerge all of the old hatreds, all the old fears, of the old world.

We are Anglo-Saxon and Latin, we are Irish and Teuton and Jewish and Slav -- we are American. We are white, free and colored. We belong to many churches -- we are American.
And it seems to me that we are most completely, most loudly, most proudly American around Election Day.

Because it is then that we can assert ourselves -- voters and candidates alike. We can assert the most glorious the most encouraging fact in the world today -- the fact that democracy is alive -- it is alive and knowing.

We are telling the world that we are free -- and we intend to remain free and at peace.

We are free to love and laugh, and above all to
SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
BOSTON GARDEN
BOSTON, MASS.
OCTOBER 30, 1940

I've had a glorious day here in New England. I've looked forward to coming here to Boston. But there's one thing about this trip that I regret. I have to return to Washington tonight, without getting a chance to go into my two favorite states -- Maine and Vermont.

In New York City, I showed by the cold print of the Congressional Record how Republican leaders, with their votes and in their speeches, have been playing, and still are playing, politics with national defense.

Even during the past three years, when the dangers to all forms of democracy throughout the world have been obvious, the Republican team in the Congress has been acting only as a Party team.
Time after time, Republican leadership refused to see that what this country needs is an all-American team.

These side line critics are now saying that we are not doing enough for our national defense. I say we are going full speed ahead!

Our navy is our outer line of defense.

Almost the very minute that this Administration came into office we began to build the Navy up -- to build a bigger Navy.

In seven years, we have raised the total of 193 ships in commission to 337 in commission, today.

We have 119 more ships under construction, today.

In seven years we raised the personnel of the Navy from 106,000 to 210,000, today.

You good people here in Boston know of the enormous increase of productive work in your Boston Navy Yard.
There are now six times as many men employed in all our navy yards as there were in 1933. The private ship-building yards are also humming with activity — building ships for our navy and for our expanding merchant marine.

The construction of this navy has been a monumental job. In spite of what some campaign orators may tell you, you cannot buy a battleship from a mail order catalogue.

We have not only added ships and men to the navy. We have enormously increased the effectiveness of naval bases in our outlying territories.

Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

And within the past two months your Government has acquired new naval and air bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean. They extend all the way from Newfoundland to that part of South America where the Atlantic Ocean begins to get narrow, with Africa not far away.
I repeat: Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

That is the record of the growth of our Navy. In 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy. Side-line critics may carp in a campaign. But Americans are mighty proud of that record. Americans will put their country first and partisanship second.

And speaking of partisanship, I remind you — when the Naval Expansion Bill came up in 1936 the vast majority of Republican members of the Congress voted against building any additional battleships.

What kind of political shenanigans are these?

Can such people be trusted with national defense?

We are also expanding our Army. Under normal conditions we have no need for a large Army. But unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the peace of America against unprecedented threats.
Since the day when Poland was invaded, we have more than doubled the size of our regular Army. Adding to this the Federalized National Guardsmen, our armed land forces now equal more than 456,000 enlisted men.

The officers and men of our Army and National Guard are the finest in the world.

They will be the nucleus for training the young men who are being called under the Selective Service Act.

General Marshall has said that the task of training these young men is a "profound privilege".

Campaign orators seek to tear down the morale of the American people, when they make false statements about the Army's equipment. I say we are supplying our Army with the best fighting equipment in the world.

The Defense Commission is getting things done with speed and efficiency. More than eight billion dollars of defense contracts have been let.
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Throughout the one year of their training, there will be constant promotion of their health and well being.

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The purpose of our defense is defense.

The Republican campaign orators who moan and groan about our Army and Navy are even more mournful about our strength in the air. But only last year, 1939, the Republicans in the Congress were voting in favor of reducing appropriations for the Army air corps.

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I stress particularly what every Army and Navy flier tells us -- that what counts most in sustained air power is the productive capacity of our airplane factories.
We are determined to attain a production capacity of 50,000 planes a year in the United States. Day and night we are working and making rapid progress toward that goal.

You citizens of Seattle who are listening tonight -- you have watched the Boeing plant grow. It is now producing four times as many planes each month as it was producing a year ago.

You citizens of Southern California can see the great Douglas factories. They have doubled their output in that period.

You citizens of Buffale and St. Louis can see the Curtiss plants in your cities. Their output has jumped to twelve times its level of a year ago.

And, of course, I don't need to tell you anything about the quality of the men who fly these planes!
You citizens of Hartford who hear my words: look across the Connecticut River at the whirring wheels and the beehive of activity which is the Pratt and Whitney plant which I saw today. A year ago this plant was producing airplane engines totaling one hundred thousand horsepower a month. Today this production has been stepped up tenfold, stepped up to one million horsepower a month.

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The British have now asked for permission to negotiate again with American manufacturers for 12,000 additional planes. I have asked that the request be given most sympathetic consideration by the Priorities Board consisting of William S. Knudsen, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., and Leon Henderson. When these additional orders are approved,
they will bring Britain's present orders for military planes
from the United States to more than 26,000. They will
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program of building planes for military purposes both for
the United States and Great Britain will not be interrupted.

Also large additional orders are being negotiated for
artillery, machine guns, rifles, and tanks with equipment
and ammunition. The plant capacity necessary to produce
all of this military equipment is and will be available to
serve the needs of the United States in any emergency.

The productive capacity of the United States, which
has made it the greatest industrial country in the world,
will not fail now. It will make us the strongest air power
in the world. And that is not just a campaign promise!

I have been glad to welcome back to our own shores
that Boston boy, beloved by all of Boston, my Ambassador
to the Court of St. James, Joe Kennedy.
Actually on the scene where planes were fighting and bombs dropping, for many months he has been telling me just what you and I have visualized from afar -- that all the smaller independent nations of Europe -- Sweden, Switzerland, Greece, Ireland, and the others -- have lived in terror of the destruction of their independence by Nazi military might.

We can build up our armed defenses to their highest peak of efficiency; but they will still be inadequate unless we support them with a strong national morale, a sound economy, a sense of solidarity and economic justice.

When this Administration came to office, the foundation of our national morale was crumbling. In the panic and misery of those days no democracy could have built up an adequate armed defense.

What we have done since 1933 has been written in terms of improvement in the daily life and work of the common man.
I have discussed the falsifications which Republican campaign orators have been making about the economic condition of the country — the condition of labor and the condition of business.

They are even more ridiculous when they shed those old crocodile tears over the plight of the farmer.

Now, if there is anyone that a Republican candidate loves more than the laboring man in November, it is the farmer.

And the first one he forgets after election day is the farmer.

Do I have to remind you of the plight of the farmer during the period between 1920 and 1933 — declining income, accumulating surpluses, rising farm debts — ten cent corn, twenty cent wheat, five cent cotton, three cent hogs?

They did nothing to stop this slide. But, of course, before every election day they always uncorked the old bottle of soothing syrup and spread it thick.
The farmers of America know from the record what the state of American agriculture is today.

Here it is:

Farm income this year is just about double what it was in 1932.

Farm buying power this year is greater than it was even in 1929.

Tens of thousands of farms have been saved from foreclosure.

More than 800,000 low income farmers have obtained credit from the Government, which they could get nowhere else.

Over a million farms have been electrified since 1933.

Over 6,000,000 farmers have received benefit payments of more than three and a half billion dollars.

What does all this add up to? It means an agriculture which is strong and vigorous. And we all know how much this is due to the patient efforts and practical vision of Henry Wallace.
The people of New England know that if the farmers' income had remained what it was in 1932, they would be buying fewer shoes, fewer watches and ice boxes, less woolen goods and cotton goods, than they are buying now. Prosperous farmers mean more employment, more prosperity for the workers and business men of New England, and of every industrial area in America.

Parity -- the proper relationship between agriculture and the rest of our economy -- will continue to be our guiding principle.

We now have great stocks of wheat, corn and cotton -- in a sense really strategic materials in a world threatened with war.

Surpluses not needed for reserves are now being used to feed the hungry and the ill-nourished and that is a fact difficult for Republican orators to deny.
Our school luncheon program will this year reach three million children with milk and other foods. And milk does those children much more good than political soothing syrup.

While this was being done, what were the Republican leaders doing? Here is the record:

In 1933, Republicans in the Congress, in both Houses, voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act by 88 to 52.

In 1936, they voted against the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act by 76 to 26.

In 1938, they voted against the second Agricultural Adjustment Act by 84 to 15.

And even in 1940, they voted against parity payments to farmers by 143 to 32.

In the Spring of this year, they voted overwhelmingly against the Stemp Plan to distribute food to needy people through private grocery stores.
The American farmers will not be deceived by pictures of Old Guard candidates, patting cows and pitching hay in front of moving picture cameras.

All the sweet words of the Republican leaders in Philadelphia last June were not worth the paper they were written on.

For listen to this. Last Summer, only a few weeks after the Republican National Platform had been adopted endorsing commodity loans for the farmers, the Republican members of the House marched right back into the Halls of Congress and voted against commodity loans for the farmers. They voted against them by a vote of 106 to 37.

Among the Republican leaders who voted against that bill and against practically every other farm bill was the present Chairman of the Republican National Committee, that "peerless leader", the "farmers' friend" -- Congressman Joe Martin of Massachusetts.
He is of national interest now because at the time of his appointment as Republican National Chairman, this handsome verbal bouquet — this expensive orchid — was pinned upon him: "In public life for many years Joe Martin has represented all that is finest in American public life".

Considering the source of that orchid, Martin may be slated for some Cabinet post. So let's look at the voting record of this representative of what they call "all that is finest in American public life".

Martin voted against the Public Utility Holding Company Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the National Securities Exchange Act, and the extension of the Civilian Conservation Corps. He voted against practically all relief and work relief measures, and against the appropriation for rural electrification.

Martin voted against the Civil Service Extension Act and against the United States Housing Act.
What I particularly want to say on the radio to the farmers of the Nation, is that Republican National Chairman Martin voted against every single one of the farm measures recommended by this Administration. Perhaps he will be rewarded for this loyal service to the principles of his Party, by being appointed Secretary of Agriculture.

He is one of that great historic trio which has voted consistently against every measure for the relief of agriculture, Martin, Barton and Fish.

I have to let you in on a secret. It will come as a great surprise to you. It's this:

I'm enjoying this campaign. I'm really have a fine time.

I think you know that the Office of President has not been an easy one during the past years.

The tragedies of this distracted world have weighed heavily upon all of us.
But — there is revival for every one of us in the sight of our own national community.

In our own American community we have sought to submerge all of the old hatreds, all the old fears, of the old world.

We are Anglo-Saxon and Latin, we are Irish and Teuton and Jewish and Scandinavian and Slav — we are American. We belong to many races and colors and creeds — we are American.

And it seems to me that we are most completely, most loudly, most proudly American around Election Day.

Because it is then that we can assert ourselves — voters and candidates alike. We can assert the most glorious, the most encouraging fact in the world today — the fact that democracy is alive — it is alive and going strong.

We are telling the world that we are free — and we intend to remain free and at peace.
We are free to live and love and laugh.

We face the future with confidence and courage.

We are American.
I've had a glorious day here in New England. I've looked forward to coming here to Boston. But there's one thing about this trip that I regret. I have to return to Washington tonight, without getting a chance to go into my two favorite states, Maine and Vermont.

In New York City I showed by the cold print of the Congressional Record how Republican leaders, with their votes and in their speeches, have been playing, and still are playing politics with national defense.

Even during the past three years, when the dangers to all forms of democracy throughout the world have been obvious, the Republican team in the Congress has been acting only as a party team.

Time after time, Republican leadership refused to see that what this country needs is an all-American team.

These side line critics are now saying that we are not doing enough for our national defense. I say we are going full speed ahead.

Our navy is our outer line of defense. Almost the very minute that this administration came into office we began to build the Navy up -- to build a bigger Navy.

In seven years, we have raised the total of 193 ships in commission to 337 in commission, today.

We have 119 more ships under construction, today.

In seven years we raised the personnel of the Navy from 105,000 to 210,000, today.

You good people here in Boston know of the enormous increase of productive work in your Boston Navy Yard. There are now six times as many men employed in and our navy yards as there were in 1932. The private ship-building yards are also humming with activity -- building ships for our navy and for our expanding merchant marine.

The construction of this navy has been a monumental job. In spite of what some campaign orators may tell you you cannot buy a battleship from a mail order catalogue.
We have not only added ships and men to the navy. We have enormously increased the effectiveness of naval bases in outlying territories.

Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

And within the past two months your Government has acquired new naval and air bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean, extending all the way from Newfoundland to that part of South America where the Atlantic Ocean begins to get narrow, with Africa not far away.

I repeat, our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

That is the record of the growth of our Navy. In 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy. Side-line critics may carp in a campaign. But Americans are mighty proud of that record. Americans will put their country first and patriotism second.

Speaking of patriotism, I remind you — when the Naval Expansion Bill came up in 1938 the vast majority of Republican members of the Congress voted against building any battleships.

What kind of political shenanigans are these?

Can such people be trusted with national defense?

We are also expanding our navy. Under normal conditions we have no need for a large navy. But unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the peace of America against unprecedented threats.

Since the day when Poland was invaded, we have more than doubled the size of our regular Army. Adding to this the Federalized National Guard, our armed land forces now equal more than 436,000 enlisted men.

The officers and men of our Army and National Guard are the finest in the world.

They will be the nucleus for training the young men who are being called under the Selective Service Act.

General Marshall has said that the task of training these young men is a "profound privilege."

Campaign orators seek to tear down the morale of the American people, when they make false statements about the Army's equipment. I say we are supplying our Army with the best fighting equipment in the world.

The Defense Commission is getting things done with speed and efficiency. More than eight billion dollars of defense contracts have been let.

I am afraid that those campaign orators will pretty soon be under the painful necessity of eating their words.

The most inexcusable unpatriotic misstatement of fact about our Army is the brazen charge that the men called to training will not be properly housed.

The plain fact is that construction on Army housing is far ahead of schedule to meet all present needs, and that by January fifth, next, there will be complete and adequate housing for nine hundred and thirty thousand soldiers.
I give assurance to the mothers and fathers of America that each and every one of their boys in training will be well housed.

Throughout the one year of their training, there will be constant promotion of their health and well being.

And while I am talking to you mothers and fathers, I give you one more assurance.

I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again.

Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores.

The purpose of our defense is defense.

The Republican campaign orators who moan and groan about our army and navy are even more mournful about our strength in the air. But only last year, 1939, the Republicans in the Congress were voting in favor of reducing appropriations for the army air corps.

What kind of political shenanigans are these?

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I stress particularly what every army and navy flier tells us -- that what counts most in sustained air power is the productive capacity of our airplane factories.

We are determined to attain a production capacity of 50,000 planes a year in the United States. Day and night we are working and making rapid progress toward that goal.

You citizens of Seattle who are listening tonight -- you have watched the Boeing plant grow. It is now producing four times as many planes each month as it was producing a year ago.

You citizens of Southern California can see the great Douglas factories. They have doubled their output in that period.

You citizens of Buffalo and St. Louis can see the Curtiss plants in your cities. Their output has jumped twelve times its level of a year ago.

And, of course, I don't need to tell you anything about the quality of the men who fly these planes.

You citizens of Hartford who hear my words: look across the Connecticut River at the whirring wheels and the beehive of activity which is the Pratt and Whitney plant which I saw today. A year ago that plant was producing airplane engines totaling one hundred thousand horsepower a month. Today this production has been stepped up tenfold, stepped up to one million horsepower a month.

And you citizens of Paterson, New Jersey, you can see the Curtiss-Wright plant which a year ago produced two hundred seventy thousand horsepower a month and this October is producing 859,000 horsepower.
In ten months we increased our engine output 240 per cent, and we are building
new plants for airplanes and airplane engines in centers in the Middle
West, far from the coast.

Last spring and winter, this great production capacity program was stepped up by orders from overseas. In taking these orders for
planes to be overseas, we are following hard-headed self-interest.

Building on the foundation provided by these orders, the
British are receiving a steady stream of airplanes. After three
months of blitzkrieg in the air, the strength of the Royal Air Force
is actually greater now than when the attack began. This increase
in strength offsets battles lost in the in part to the purchase made
from American airplane manufacturers.

The British have asked for permission to negotiate
again with American manufacturers for 12,000 additional planes. I
have asked that the request be given every sympathetic consideration by
the Priorities Board, consisting of William S. Knudsen, Edward R.
Stettinius, Jr., and Jean Henderson. When these additional orders
are approved, they will bring Britain's present orders for military
planes from the United States to more than 26,000 planes which will require
still more new plant facilities so that the present process of
building planes for military purposes will not be
intercepted.

Large additional orders have been negotiated for
artillery, machine guns, rifles, and tanks with equipment and
ammunition. The plant capacity necessary to produce all of
this military equipment is and will be available to serve the needs of
the United States in any emergency.

The productive capacity of the United States, which has
made it the greatest industrial country in the world, is now.
and will be, the strongest air power in the world. And that
is not just a campaign promise.

I have been glad to welcome back to our own planes that
Boston boy, beloved by all of Boston, our Ambassador to the Court of
St. James, Joe Kennedy.

Actually on the scene where planes were fighting and bombs
crashing, for many months he has been telling me just what you and I
have visualized from afar -- that all the smaller independent nations of
Europe -- Sweden, Switzerland, Greece, Ireland, and the others --
have lived in terror of the destruction of their independence by Nazi
military might.

We must build up our armed defenses to their highest peak
of efficiency, and they will stand no chance unless we support them
with a strong national morale, a sound economy, a sense of solidarity
and economic justice.

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national morale was crumbling. In the panic of those
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He is of national interest now because at the time of his appointment as Republican National Chairman, this handsome verbal bouquet, this expensive oratory was placed upon him. "In public life for many years Joe Martin has represented all that is finest in American public life." No suggestion that he is a representative of what they call, "all that is finest in American public life".

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