
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**

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 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 1935. 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.

Fred W. Hirschfeld

Brig. reading copy

F 1330

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 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. (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. (notes of readyness of briefer before att)

Denote indicate briefer or readyness of briefer need evad I tell you like
I forget I tell you this word print one myself (too) - copied at
one of second a guidig twofold original organization of mind of evad
the residual - thought has return to (--) estate removed out ya own
(meaning)

against third and at first

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the second third this - because organization now briefer organization is to
solitice partly via fifth one, galvily need evad, because that at
canceled last day

It is strange that when you say something fast out quickly need
- silence and explosive need evad briefer and spontaneous reaction to some
- man a as button need and easiest and fast in the country and
this see of benefit organization manipulation until after evad

(meaning) - most common - is at whose vicissitudes and how
are we fast again won era nothing and this need? (readyness)

etc now fast now of yes I - canceled last day two not enough about tea
(meaning) - briefer briefer fast

: that is all you want said by fast now

- canceled to call twice two in you two, well in
and once notwithstanding this fast again you not trouble

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.

know
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 Guardsmen, 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, 900,000 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.

(Applause)

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.

(Applause)

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 our 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 shenanani-

gans are these?

Can such people be trusted, trusted with national defense?

I say not (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)

(You)

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 producing 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. Knudsen, 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 were 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 agriculture (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 difficult
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 Adjustment Act (by), 84 to 15.

And even in 1940, this year, they voted against parity payments 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)

* * * * *

#1330

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

OCTOBER 30, 1940

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered in Boston Garden, Boston, Massachusetts, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:15 P.M., E.S.T., October 30, 1940. The announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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.

- 2 -

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 those?

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 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 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?

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 totalling 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 their 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 -- 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 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 slotted 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.G.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 Americans. 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.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

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

tonight to Washington, 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.

[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 ago, when the dangers to all forms of *free* democracy throughout the world ~~became~~ ^{has been acting only} obvious, the Republican team in the Congress ~~voted 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 side line critics are saying about our national defense,^{now}, we are going full speed ahead, [with defense]

We are using the full output of [existing] ^{our} industrial facilities for materials of defense

Additional facilities, [of all kinds] are coming into active operation.

Actual production is increasing [with] every passing week [day].

(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.

P In the interest of fact-finding, let us take a ^{together} look ~~together~~.

In seven years we raised the total of ~~one hundred~~ ¹⁹³
and ninety-three ships in commission to ~~three hundred and~~ ³³⁷
twenty four ships] in commission, today.

We have 119 ships under construction, today.

In seven years we raised the personnel of the Navy
~~106,000~~ ^{210,000}
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 ^{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.

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 [redacted].]

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 ~~can't~~^{can't} buy a battle ship
from a mail order catalogue. [P] We have not only added ships and men to
the navy. We have enormously increased the [redacted] effectiveness of
naval bases in our outlying territories -- the Aleutian Islands, Alaska,
the Panama Canal, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and other islands in the Pacific.

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

And within the past [six weeks]^{+ two months} 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,
~~and then with Africa just for company.~~
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.

DRAFT 2

*Speaking
particularity!*

- 5 -

*In 1933 a weak navy in 1940
a strong Navy.*

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. *Individual will put his first and
participation second.*

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 ^{any} additional battleships.

DRAFT 2

6 conditions we have no
need for a large army.

What about our Army? This Nation has never liked large armies.
We are also expanding our army. Under normal

Until recently we have never felt the need of these. 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 highway, 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.

6 1/2

~~personnel of the
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.~~

~~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.~~

~~The task of providing modern equipment for
our great new army is under the auspices of the
Defense Commission. And the equipment now being turned
out at a rapid rate is better than the best possessed by any
other army in the world.~~

INHERIT DRAFT 2

7

I say we are supplying
our army with the best
fighting equipment
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.]

P 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 set their words] to the [fairful necessity of solving these problems.]

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] is far ahead of schedule and that by [about our army needs] on two hundred and thirty-five Army housing projects. By

January fifth, next, [I am assured by the Chief of Staff that complete and adequate 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 ^{them} 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 alarms:]

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.]

(A)

The Republocan campaign
rators who moan and groan
about our army and navy are even
more monotonous about low strength
in the air

•9 We hear the same moans and groans from the same people about
our strength in the air. But only last year, 1939, they were ^{the big draw in the campaign}
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.

such you this morning?

Such can these people be trusted with national defense?

What kind of political shenanigans are these?

I stress furthermore that the purveyors of false information with political
malice aforethought overlooked -- and what every army and navy
flier tells us -- that counts ^{most in sustained} ~~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 ^{the} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~any~~ way.
of our airplane factories.

Day and night we are working and working ^{rapid} toward that goal.

DRAFT 2

← /6

The planes now being built for our army and navy are the finest and fastest military airplanes ^{now being} ~~that ever~~ 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 ^{Southern California} ~~Bee-ang-voles~~ can see the great 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.]

P And, ^{of course,} I don't need to tell you anything about the quality of the men who fly ~~these~~ ^{air plane} 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. A year ago this plant was producing ^{air plane} engines totalling one hundred thousand horsepower a month. Today this production has been stepped up tenfold, stepped up to one million horse-power a month.

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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.] P And [in addition] we are building brand new plants in centers in the Middle West, far from the coast.

for air planes and
air plane engines,

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. [intelligent 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] attack 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!*

INSERT A

→ 13

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
~~— Sweden, Norway, Ireland and~~
smaller independent nations of Europe have lived in terror
~~of the destruction of their independence by Nazi might~~
~~military might — 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 in-~~
~~evitably 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.

DRAFT 2

~~14~~ 14

[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* ~~our armed defenses~~ But build them up their highest peak of efficiency ~~and~~ ^{but} they will still be inadequate unless you 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 ~~strengthening~~ ^{strengthening steadily} ~~step by step~~ since 1933.

When this Administration came to office, that foundation ~~was crumbling~~ ^{was crumbling}, ~~had crumbled away~~. 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 Republican campaign orators ~~were~~ making about the economic condition of ~~business~~ the country — the condition of labor and the condition of business. They are even more ridiculous when they ~~said~~ Even-worse falsification has been made in this campaign about those old crocodile tears over the plight 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 the first one he ~~is~~ — where he ~~is~~ — he forgets completely after election day, ~~is~~ 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, they always ~~covered the world of~~ and spread it thick. ~~had plenty of soothing syrup in the form of bigger promises, on every~~ election day. ~~and you know from reading Republican campaign speeches,~~ that 1940 is no exception to that. ~~before~~

DRAFT 2

(16)

The farmers of America
Anyone interested in stating facts knows from

the record what the state of American agriculture is today.

P Here it is:

~~Farmers 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.~~ 36

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

P ~~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 buy in 1929.]

[~~Rise in farm prices~~ and ~~farm income~~ Rise in farm prices is only the beginning of the story of the farmer during the last eight years.] 34

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

P 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!] 35

Over a million farms have been electrified since 1933.

DRAFT 2

(17)

[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 ~~and automobiles~~, 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 ~~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... / that is a fact sufficient for Roberts. or rather to deny
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 mal-nutrition. And milk does those 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. *P* 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 ~~(in both houses)~~ voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act by 86 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 to farmers by ~~173 to 32~~.
~~by one hundred and forty-three to thirtytwo.~~

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

The American farmers will not be deceived by pictures of Old Guard candidates [and holding company executives], patting 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. *Rest assured,* For listen to this. Only a few weeks after *Republican National* the *Philadelphia Platform in June 1940*, had been adopted endorsing *for the farmers*, commodity loans, the Republican members of the House went right back into the Halls of Congress and voted against commodity loans. They voted *for the farmers* *106 to 37.* against them by a vote of ~~one hundred and six to thirty-sixen~~.

Among the Republican leaders who voted against that bill and against practically every other farm bill through all his years of service *in the Congress* 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* *the farmers' friend* *now* *bold* policies of the *Republican Party* — Congressman Joe Martin of Massachusetts.

He is of particular 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". *which* *handsome bouquet was* *most* *finest* pinned upon him:

DRAFT 2

- 20 -

Martin may if not for [unclear]
This shows that [unclear] must be slated for some Cabinet
post. So let's look at his record of votes to see what these
Republican leaders really mean when they refer to his record
as "all that is finest in American public life".

Martin
~~He~~ Martin voted against relief appropriations.
~~He~~ voted against the development of the Tennessee Valley
Authority. He voted against the extension of the ~~\$1 million~~
Conservation Corps. He voted against practically all relief
and work relief measures. *Martin* voted against the Public Utility
Holding Company Act. He voted against the appropriation of
one hundred million dollars for rural electrification.

Martin
~~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
National Champion
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 his 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".]

He is one of That
~~Among the other Republican leaders who during~~
~~great historic moments which the~~
~~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.

long live
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 Jewish
and Slav, we are Irish ~~and~~ we are American.
We are white - colored - in every church
And it seems to me that we are most completely, — we
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 labor
all the time.
We are free even to fight -- when we feel like it --
among ourselves.

* * * * *

DRAFT 3

P.3

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

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.

[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. ^P 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 that we
are not doing enough for our national defense, we are going full speed ahead! *I say*

[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.

[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 -- 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 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 those?

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 forty 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.

Ind 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] away defense and 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, [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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His best efforts
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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, 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 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. [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.

still more now
They will require ~~more~~ 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.

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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.

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this

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 [not only 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 ~~practical~~ ^{real} mind
of Henry Wallace. (practical)

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~~ ^{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 [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.

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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 -- ~~all the good will of the financiers~~
~~there assembled, all the throbings, 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
This expression is added
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".

orchid

Considering the source of that bouquet, 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] ^{and} 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 ~~appropriation of United~~
~~States Housing Act, [He voted against]~~ ^{National} ~~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~~
~~and Scandinavian~~
~~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 ~~thriving~~ going strong.

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

live and
~~We are free to love and laugh, and above all to~~
~~live~~ We are free to face the future
with confidence and courage & we
are Americans. ~~more~~

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
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In seven years, we have raised the total of 183 ships
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You good people here in Boston know of the enormous
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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.

-6-

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 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 850,000 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.

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We are free to live and love and laugh.

We face the future with confidence and courage.

We are American.

STATEMENTS FILE

ShorthandByKanner

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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OCTOBER 30, 1940

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered in Boston Garden, Boston, Massachusetts, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:15 P.M., P.S.T., October 30, 1940. The announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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

The 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 humoring 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.

Oct 30 1940

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

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

(1) And within the past two months your Government has acquired new naval and air bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean, ~~thus~~ 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.

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

This 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.

(1) 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? (1)

Can ~~such~~ people be trusted with national defense? (-)

(1) We're 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.

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

(1) 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.

Correction (1) The Defense Commission is getting things done with speed and efficiency. More than eight billion dollars of defense contracts have been let.

(1) I am afraid that these campaign orators will pretty soon be under the painful necessity of setting their words.

(1) The most inexplicably 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 mosquito 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.

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The purpose of our defense is defense.

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British are receiving a steady stream of airplanes. After three
months of blitzkrieg in the air, the strength of the Royal Air Force
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The productive capacity of the United States, which is
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Boston boy, beloved by all of Boston, my Ambassador to the Court of
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And the first one he forgets after election day is the farmer.

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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. L.A. 51.

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