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Motion Picture

Vol. 10

In the last ten days I have had, speaking personally, a glorious time.

I do like to put on the gloves.

And I certainly have had a lot of fun with Tony Galante's chin!

But as President of the United States, conscious of desperate need for national unity, I have been very sorry for some of the things that have had to be said -- and still have to be said.

Falsifications of fact -- I have had to answer them, and call them for what they are -- falsifications.

I wish that had not been necessary. I wish the enemies of this Administration -- for all their hating -- had seen fit to recognize -- as I have tried so hard to recognize -- that the people should be allowed to make their choices in a year like this without having to participate in a shell game at the polls.

Mudslinging and trapze work and snake-oil ballyhoo have always been part of the boisterous fun of American political life -- at the times when elections didn't make too much difference and we could afford to have some fun. Normally we can take the falsifications of fact and the personal smearing with a grain of salt, to be laughed at or apologized for the morning after election.

But these are superheated nervous days. In particular, racial and religious appeals that in the easy years gone by might have been laughed off the day after election today hurt too much to be laughed off.



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William A. Rosenblatt, Director

Harry L. Hopkins
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The Republican Party's outrageous appeal to racial and religious bigotry in 1926 has left a scar on American life which even yet has not completely healed. I arose from a sickness to fight that bigotry then -- and I will fight that sort of thing all my life.

I have steadily refused to believe that there is such a thing as an English vote or an Irish vote or a German vote or an Italian vote or a Polish vote, or a vote of any religious denomination. I steadily believe that such voting blocs are the creation of designing politicians who profess to be able to deliver them -- and that on election day every American citizen -- realizing how precious a right his voting franchise is -- will scorn those politicians and vote as an American and only as an American. But I do think that the attempt of designing politicians to create such racial and religious blocs is doing incalculable harm to American unity today.

In the last four speeches I have stuck to the hum-drum business of placing a plain array of facts against the falsifications of fact made by the other side -- have confined myself to meeting the issues on which the other side has taken the initiative.

But I feel it necessary for the protection of our democracy, and in order that all of us may have clear heads the day after election, to point out just what the forces are that are carrying on this reak-



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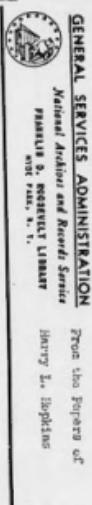
less campaign against the unity of the country -- who they are, and what they think they are headed for.

What I charge I charge in sorrow, not in anger, for I believe that the campaign of the Republican Party is being directed by agents of hate and fear and frustration who really do not know what they are doing.

I charge that this Republican campaign is a deliberate attempt to seize control of the United States government by the same kind of shortsighted big money groups whose concern for their own concentrated property interests betrayed the democracy of France into slavery to a dictator.

I charge that this Republican campaign is a deliberate attempt to seize control of the United States government by the same kind of shortsighted big money interests whose concern for their own concentrated property interests held England to a fatal policy of appeasement until when she had to fight, she fought with her back to the wall.

I am not making that charge against the great majority of Republicans and sympathizers. I charge that purpose only to the little group which has seized direction of the Republican campaign, before and after Philadelphia. And I say to the great majority of Republicans workers and sympathizers in the Republican Party -- in the deepest



sincerity -- that they are being made the unwitting tools of a little group that is ready to promise and is promising all things to all men as a way of seizing power.

Any man who went to the Republican Convention as a delegate pledged to any candidate but the ultimately successful one knows exactly what I mean.

I have been accused of many things. But I cannot be accused of evading the critical eye of the democratic process by refusing to give the voters of the country a chance to look me over in the primaries.

Our whole history is a continuing struggle between the spiritual ideal of real freedom for the average man and woman and a few seeking economic power over those free men and women.

In essence the American revolution was a struggle of colonists who wanted to be free from the economic power of chartered monopolies.

The rise of Andrew Jackson was essentially a second revolt -- this time of the frontiersmen who had taken up land in the West, on which big Easterners had taken usurious mortgages.

The War Between the States was a struggle of free farmers to save the West from the unfair competition of big plantations and slave labor.

The Bryan uprising of the agrarian West was a fourth phase of the same revolt -- an uprising against Eastern economic power.



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The uprising of 1932, against the farm foreclosures in the Middle West, against the deflation of credit in the industrial East, was the fifth battle in the same war. It was a revolt against the Hoover-Morgan spirit that the great mass of American men and women should periodically be put through the wringer so that a few men in flat-topped derby's, with hoarded gold, could go down to Wall Street the next day and buy up the enterprise of the country at a bankrupt bargain sale.

Today battle looms again with the stakes bigger than ever! For today billions of defense contracts are being let, the burden of taxation to pay for defense is yet to be allocated, and the moral sense of the community is demanding patriotic service by capital as well as by men. The blind and greedy forces that we loosely call Wall Street -- which ruled and ruined after 1920 -- are taking no chances that they may not be in power to direct those great events to their own economic advantage.

Because the stakes are so high they have for the first time boldly stepped out and taken a chance they never have taken at any other time in American history.

In the days of Andrew Jackson the money power would never have dared to nominate Nicholas Biddle for President.



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In the days of Bryan, Mark Hanna would never have dared to name
a railroad magnate for President.

In the days of 1932, the Republican Party would never have dared
to nominate a Morgan director of a Stock Exchange manipulator for
President.

Up to now they have always operated through an understanding
politician -- a Warren Harding, a Calvin Coolidge,

But in 1940 the pot is just too big. And those incompetent ad-
ministrators, those terrible Democrats, haven't let Wall Street get
into the pot! There hasn't been a Teapot Dome opportunity; there
haven't been a defense scandal. The boys just haven't got a break!
And despite desperate research, the worst they have been able even to
charge against the Administration is that a member of the Cabinet who
has administered $\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars of public works contracts without
a penny of graft was allowed by Jim Farley to buy two hundred unguessed
six-cent postage stamps.

Oh! yes. I forgot.

There is one other slip the Administration made. The T.V.A. paid
25 million dollars more for the Commonwealth & Southern properties
than the properties were worth!

By all the standards of Republican administration these Democrats
just don't know how to run a government.



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So Wall Street drops the mask.

This time its candidate is not



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a genial politician. This time Wall Street takes no chances. This time it nominates its own flesh and blood -- one of their own who has handled the government for Wall Street before, -- the perfect champion of that force in business and politics which is the successor to Nicholas Nickleby, to the railroad barons, to the international bankers, to the stock exchanges -- the champion of the public utilities holding company monopoly, the chief source of corruption in American politics and public life for a whole generation!

And for every American who wants to be a free American -- that bold challenge of money power is the basic issue in this campaign. I repeat, and only the Communists completely distort, the Republican philosophy. They

I hope many of you heard the other night the broadcast of Miss Dorothy Thompson. Miss Thompson supports this Administration. But as a syndicated columnist of the New York Herald-Tribune, one of the chief supporters of the Republican campaign, she must have known what she spoke when she remarked the other night "There is more hot money running around this year than in any election I ever remember".

Look all around you and you can see that "hot money":

billboards -- thousands of them all over the country!
stores and store windows -- thousands of them all over
the country!

stickers and buttons and pamphlets and chain letters and
telephone calls and telegrams and free movies and free
luncheons and free beers -- millions of them all over the
country (the broad and circuses of Lentil Rome all over
again).



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Harry L. Hopkins

full page after full page of newspaper advertisements --
advertisements that cost as much as \$3,000 a page --
advertisements in a free press that not only suppresses
Democratic news but refuses even to accept some of the
few modest advertisements we are able to pay for in reply;

radio broadcast after radio broadcast -- and a national
hook-up on a single chain these days, for a speech such
as I am making tonight, costs \$_____.

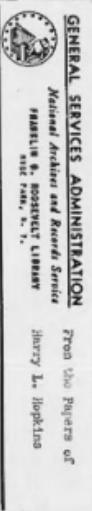
The Hatch Act is supposed to limit the expense of a political
campaign to three million dollars.

But what deceptions, what subterfuges have been employed to evade
the provisions of the Hatch Act.

For example:

There is the National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government.
That improved 1940 model of the DuPont's American
Liberty League is distributing no one knows how many millions
of letters attacking this Administration.

Those of you who have received those letters must be surprised
to learn that a few days ago, before a Senate Committee Investigating
Election Expenditures, that Committee solemnly avowed
that it is not supporting any political candidate or political
party -- and is therefore exempt from the Hatch Act. Fortified
with the opinion of a most eminent Morgan lawyer (who, by
the way, is also counsel for the Edison Electric Institute --
the streamlined propaganda agency of the utility holding
companies) the chairman of this non-partisan, non-political
organization boldly asserted that committees like his are
not covered by and need make no accounting under either the
Hatch Act or the Federal Corrupt Practices Act.



I have heard it said that it is impossible to unscrubble an egg, but I am not so sure since the Republican Finance Committee has unscrubbed the Hatch Act.

Let me give you another example:

The New Deal in 1933 saved the life insurance companies of the country from sharing the fate of the banks in the 1932 debacle. But what today?

Out of thin air appears a committee totally unconnected with the life insurance companies -- for life insurance companies are forbidden by law to take part in political campaigns -- but out of thin air appears a committee to save life insurance policies from the New Deal. This committee, too, is spending its three million dollars -- if it recognizes that limit -- in the hope that the Republican Party will turn life insurance policies back to the control of the Old Deal from which the New Deal rescued them.

Where does the money come from? Well, if you knew Wall Street and you knew holding companies, you'd know, wouldn't you, that as much as possible would be "other people's money." And so it is!

It has not been enough for the fat cats of the Republican Party, and the fat cats who have gone from the Democratic Party over to the Republican Party, to put up their own money. By the time they have given the Hatch Act limit of \$5,000 to the national committee, and \$5,000 to the state committee, and \$5,000 to save the Constitution, and \$5,000 to save the



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life insurance policies, and \$5,000 to the committee to prevent billboards from going to waste -- by that time they found that writing so many checks had given them writer's cramp.

So they began to advertise for funds. And did they advertise! One newspaper advertisement for funds to help the Republicans save the country appeared in identical terms in the New York Times and -- where do you suppose -- in the Daily Worker, the official organ of the Communist Party.

That seems to be the latest American variation of the Stalin-Hitler Post!

But I'm not worried.

For I have more confidence than the Republican advertising agencies in the fundamental intelligence of the American people. I'm sure you can't buy the votes of Americans when they know you're trying to buy them. I am sure the American people know that if they let themselves be sold a President the way they're sold a headache powder, they'll need a headache powder for journeys after.

The kind of campaign the Republicans are waging can be explained logically enough, if one credits to the directors of it the deliberate intenties of subverting our democracy and destroying capitalism. For it employs the precise methods by which that was done in Germany -- get men of wealth to finance the campaign, as did the unhappy Thyssen -- promise something to everybody, invoke the destructive forces of hate and fear,



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Harry L. Hopkins
John J. McCloy

elle

get into power and then use guns.

But I do not credit the organizers of this campaign with thinking things through that far. I think they are solely interested in getting at that honey pot -- at getting into power and using that power to re-establish the influence -- and the profiteering -- of the reactionary forces which ruled and exploited the country up to 1932. They are using the propaganda techniques of the Nazi Revolution without any notion of how they are going to deal with the country's problems after they get in, for they have shown in a thousand ways that they have learned nothing since 1932.

I tell you that the Republican Party today is not an organized party with any definite program to offer this country or even a definite sense of direction for itself. It is a little core of Wall Street haters who want power without knowing what they want to do with it -- plus all the "outs" of every stripe who want to be the "ins." Only this explains the otherwise incredible confusion of thought in the campaign addresses of Republican speakers. It explains why they say one thing at one time and place, the opposite at another time and place.

Let us take a stroll up and down the two-lane highway of Republican political oratory, and gaze upon a few things that you won't find on the billboards. I shall confine myself to quotations from the speeches of the Republican nominees for President.

Example fil



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From the Papers of

If you are testifying before a Congressional Committee in 1936 you say: "I do not want anybody to misunderstand my position -- I am not in favor of expansion of a program such as the Tennessee Valley Authority. I am not. I would be lying and dissembling and misrepresenting my views if I said so."

If you are reaching out for public power votes in the Northwest, you say of Bonneville and Grand Coulee, the Western counterparts of T.V.A., that if you are elected President you "will see to it not alone that that investment is not lost but that it is completed and that it is operated for the full benefit of the people of this and adjoining areas."

Example #28

Does it appear that the American people are solidly behind the foreign policies of this Administration? Then the candidate says: "The Administration has done a pretty good job with reference to the foreign problem."

Does an opening appear, or can an opening be made, to disturb this confidence? Then you say: "The loneliness of the United States is a direct result of the foreign policies of the last eight years."

Example #29

Are you talking to farmers, who know that their income has doubled under seven years of the New Deal? Then you say: "If elected President, I will not take away any of the benefits gained by agriculture during the



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From the
Archives
for
circulating
to
the
President

last few years. I do not favor changing the present farm program unless a better one can be evolved". (Sound like Henry Wallace, doesn't it?)

But if you get a little bit ascent-minded two weeks later you say this: " * * * the New Deal has failed in its program of economic rehabilitation * * *. The farmers are victims because many of them are forced to subsist on what is virtually a dole, under centralized direction from Washington."

It must have been on the first of these two days that the Republican candidate said: "I own five farms in Indiana, and I make a modest profit on them."

And it must have been on the second day that he said: "I do own five farms, and I have almost gone broke owning them."

"There are Farmers and Farmers. There are strike unions. Example #41 and #44 are strike unions. I don't know if they stand very far a communist strike. Far from it. "almost go broke." If you are talking in an open-shop city on the Pacific Coast you says: "It is my considered opinion that labor has been the chief sufferer from the policies of the New Deal".

But if, a few days later, you are addressing union labor in a union labor city on that same West Coast, you warble this kind of a song: "I stand for every one of the social gains labor has made. * * * if the New Deal wants to claim credit for those minimum safeguards, I say let it have just as much as it deserves."

How to buy the word
Communist
by
John L. Hopkins

"Nobody would ever say of the Republican nominee for President what Theodore Wilson said of himself -- that he had a single-track mind. This is the first time in my life I have ever agreed with fifty percent of what a Republican orator said.

I won't go on with examples, from five to five hundred-assorted.

There isn't time. But I think an old friend of mine out in the Booneville country had the right way of summing it all up.

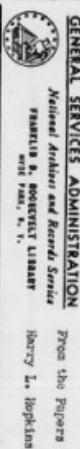
He said: "Mr. President, once I had one of those little lizards, the ones you call chameleons -- the kind that are supposed to be able to change their color to be the same as whatever they're standing on.

"Well, I got one of them and put him on a piece of red paper. And by gosh, he did turn red.

"And then I put him on a piece of green paper. And by gosh he did turn green.

"And then do you know what I did? -- Just to see what he'd do, I put him on a piece of Scotch plaid. And by gosh he busted himself trying to accommodate."

I have faith that the common sense of the American people has by this time told them that the Republican candidate will have to bust this country and bust himself too if the Republican Party is going to try to keep all the promises that have been made, or all the expectations that have been recklessly aroused during this campaign.



Now don't think that what I have quoted contains any deliberate misrepresentations. It is something much more serious. It reflects the complete absence of an affirmative program to which either the Republican Party or its candidate for president is committed, and it explains their total failure to set down one item of constructive policy aside from a 50 percent pledge to phase out the New Deal, coupled with a 50 per cent pledge to destroy it.

If you want to know which 50 per cent pledge they will keep, answer this question which half produced the Republican campaign fund:

The future of our country will be determined by something more fundamental than the question whether some particular act of social legislation shall be stripped from the statute books for a four-year period, something more fundamental than a shift of the cost of national defence away from the income surtax, away from the excess profits tax, and onto the back of the little taxpayer. Things like that, if nothing else interferes, can be corrected in four years' time.

But we are living in a time when powerful forces are convulsing the human race. We are living in a world war. And we are living in a world revolution.

We must keep out of that war.

We must keep out of the revolution.



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Let me ask you first a question about keeping out of war; a question for you to think about tomorrow as you sit in the quiet of your homes weighing what war means to you. Do you think that the men of Wall Street, whose financial power is dominating the Republican campaign, will be better able to keep us out of war than the men of England's Wall Streets, who ran the Chamberlain government were able to keep England out of war? Have these men of Wall Street the heart to keep us out of war? Have they the brains to keep us out of revolution?

I do not say, for I do not believe, that these men would deliberately lead a country into war for the sake of financial profit. But I do say they are the sort of men whose blind devotion to invested property makes them stumble into war, blinded by tears and fears. Under existing world conditions they would stumble even more easily into revolution.

Not volition, but an overruling force, makes men fall on the unseen sword of self-destruction to avoid the pinpricks of misfortune. As the Republican candidate for president said to the TVA investigating committee: "Where your treasure is, there is your heart also", and you work that way and think that way."

I am an owner of property. I am a believer in private enterprise and in private profit. I am a believer in the opportunity of the individual to rise in private enterprise and private profit.

But I know that private property, private enterprise, private opportunity or private profit are none of them safe unless they are diffused to the



Harry S. Truman
President of the United States

point where the average man and woman -- and not simply a few supermen -- have some of all these things as part of their own individual satisfaction in life.

And I say that diffusion of private opportunity, private enterprise and private property are utterly inconsistent with the things for which the Republican Party stands, as revealed by its past record and as symbolized in the public utility holding company monopoly.

That symbol of the holding company is not free enterprise. That symbol is not opportunity for the common man. It is rather the concentration of private power and ancient privilege of money. And it is fear, blind fear of change.

We have seen great nations go down in ruin or come to the very brink of ruin because the men who led them could not see the danger to the threatened. And they could not see because they were afraid of losing their power and had little faith in their own people. They feared the forward surge of their own common people more than they feared the menacing might of foreign dictators.

Let us take warning. The men in our country who have opposed the forward surge of the common people have not suddenly become their friends. They may say that they approve the social gains of the last seven years, but they have yet to prove that they even understand them.



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ARMED FORCES
REHABILITATION
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From the Papers of

Henry L. Hopkins

They may say that they approve our objectives. But the objectives which these men can never understand, and on which they would put the kiss of death is the ordering by the common man of his own world.

I say this, and I say it deliberately. If you put into the hands of men whose unconscious instincts are not democratic the decisions whether this country gets into war or is sold down the river to future destruction, those decisions will be determined -- unconsciously, mind you, nonetheless fatally -- not by how they affect the common man and woman of America, but by how they affect the personal power and the personal privileges of those undemocratic men. And those decisions will determine not only the fate of this Democracy -- but the fate of democracy all over the world.

I tell you that no party so confused in its thinking and disorganized in its moral and intellectual leadership as the Republicans Party can keep a democracy strong and free in a world of war and revolution. You cannot organize the industrial defense of a country, and above all, you cannot organize the confidence of a country -- its spiritual defense -- around a political party which has recklessly done everything possible to make this country fear itself; everything possible to make this country and other countries think that we are weak when we are strong; everything possible to make our people race-conscious and religious-conscious; everything possible to



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help the dictators realize their prophecy that too strong for attack without, we can be ruined by division from within. I charge and I charge solemnly that the tactics of the Republican Party in this campaign are the very tactics by which the German republic was destroyed and the German nation ultimately swept into dictatorship.

The Democratic party has made no promises in this campaign, and I have made no promises, that conflict with the pattern of progress of the past seven and one-half years. We take the lead today in driving toward national security as we took it in 1933. In that critical year, the woeful condition we inherited from the Hoover administration made our internal affairs the first consideration in national security, but we did not overlook the external side, even in that day of lesser peril from abroad.

Today the tragic and dangerous state of the world makes national defense - defense against external enemies - the first consideration, but we do not forget the need to make the nation stronger from within, by carrying on what we began in 1933. National security is more than military defense.

National security is rooted in love of country, but what is it that makes our love of America extend to every barren rock and desert, as well as the fertile lands and forest that sustain our people? It is because beneath our feet the land is a symbol of our way of life.



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There is the real fertility of our soil, in our way of life, and the deeper and richer we make that soil, the more secure our nation will be.

The world of the poet, "This is my own, my native land," pull at the heartstrings of Americans. But the love which native born Americans feel for their native soil is not all there is to love of country. In the United States, more than any other country in the world, we have a love of country which has other roots, the love of America which is felt by men and women born in other lands. The feeling for America of an immigrant from Sweden, or Poland, or Germany, or Italy is not based on nativity, but on the meaning to him of the American way of life. In naming those who have this love for America I mention the German people and the Italian people particularly, because today, as in the sad days of the World War, there are some native Americans who are such poor Americans that they can see no difference between a European dictator and American citizens who happen to be of his racial stock.

If we could know what is the most fundamental part of that way of life which enriches and strengthens the United States, let us ask these people who have left their native homes in Europe to make a new home in America. They will tell us that it is the American principle of equality, equality of one man with another in citizenship, and a unity of opportunity,



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You have heard a great deal said, by Republican orators in this campaign, about equality of opportunity as something they seek to re-establish. And as you listen, you learn that what they have in mind is opportunity for any aspiring youth to rise to the head of some great industry, or to a high place in finance - and, after getting there, to have a free hand to do anything he pleases to prevent anyone else from rising.

I too believe in the opportunity to rise from the bottom to the top, but I see something more in equality of opportunity, and when I state what it is, you will see more clearly what I hope the future of the New Deal will be.

I want an opportunity for every child in America to be born into this land, with a chance for health, with a chance to romp and play in the sunshine, with a chance for an education, with a chance to go to work, with a chance to marry and raise a family of his own, and to look forward to old age without dreading it as a time of homelessness and suffering, or of total dependence upon other people who themselves are too poor to offer aid.

The equality of opportunity I am most interested in is not the opportunity of the exceptional individual to join the ranks of millionaires, but the opportunity of the average man and woman -- those



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who do the plain work of the country -- to live a life of decency
and find America a land worth living in.

It is this kind of an America that we must make and keep as a
living reality for all of us. To make it so and keep it so is the
object of what we have come to call the New Deal, and if America is
to survive as a land of freedom, a land of opportunity, we must not
depart from the course we charted in 1933. National security,
national security on all fronts, outer defense and inner defense,
and total defense demand that we go ahead the way we are going now.

Because of the vigor with which a reckless Republican Party
has attempted to divide us on racial and religious lines, this
election will be a test in some degree of whether we are what we
believe we are, a united country of 130,000,000 people with an un-
questioning first allegiance to each other -- or whether, as the
dictators say, we are only a mixture of peoples with divided loy-
alties.



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I have complete confidence that whatever our origins, every man, woman and child who is today an American citizen, with exceptions as few that they only prove the rule, give unquestioning allegiance to this country and what it stands for, irrespective of the effect upon the land of his fathers' origin or this country's stand. I do not believe, despite all that has been done by the Republican Party to divide us in the last three months, that any racial or religious group will be revealed on November 6th to have voted in any other way than as individual, loyal citizens.

I have respected the loyalty and the integrity and the patriotism of the American people by acting on the assumption that all they were interested in, in these months of peril, was the defense of their country and of their democracy.

I have, therefore, spoken freely of the actions of European dictators, as I judged it served the interests of all America to speak, without feeling that in any way was I impugning the loyalty to America or the high character of American citizens whose origins trace back to those dictator-ridden nations. And when any vote-seeking politician tries to create a resentment that anything I have said about any European dictator has an application to any racial group of American citizens, that vote-seeking Republican politician slanders the American citizens he pretends



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Kelvin Adair and Donald Smith
Franklin D. Roosevelt
President
and Vice, V. T.

Henry L. Hopkins
Administrator
for the People of
the United States

to defend. But the politician who resorts to such a stroke of political desperation does more than that -- by thus setting a group of American citizens apart he falsely impugns their loyalty in the eyes of other citizens and strikes a blow at national unity. That has been done by the Republican Party, not only in radio addresses, but in newspaper advertisements concealed from the general public because they were printed in a foreign language.

I charge that playing politics with the loyalties of American citizens is playing politics with the very heart of the defense of this nation. I have refused and I will refuse to play politics with defense in that respect and I have refused to play politics with defense in every other respect.

Many advisers have told me, for instance, that it was bad politics to advocate the Selective Service bill before election, to have the selective service numbers drawn within a week of the election. I rejected that advice because what they advised as good politics was inconsistent with what our military commanders deemed the best interests of the safety of the United States; and because those commanders advised me that the sooner an effective army is in training and the sooner we are strong in that regard, the less likely is it that the army so trained will ever have to be used for our defense.

Likewise I have refused to play politics with the anti-democratic



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forces which are trying to play politics with national defense.

I have always refused to let the forces of Big Business on the Right push the American people around.

But equally I have refused to let ambitious men on the Left push me or the American people around. If those totalitarian forces of the Left and Right are to be combined against the American democracy as they have been combined against democracy in every attempt at its destruction abroad, then the sooner we know that as part of national defense we must face and beat such an unwholesome alliance, the better.

When I let my turn be submitted for reelection as President of the United States, the things most in my heart were the safeguarding of national security and the preservation of all that I have worked for through preservation of peace. But peace for us cannot be sure and lasting unless we share it with the rest of the world. Peace for the rest of the world cannot be sure and lasting unless it is the right kind of peace, unless it be a peace based not on force but on self-restraint, on a readiness to give to others what we demand for ourselves.

War is now destroying the civilized world, but I want to see the kind of peace that is not in itself the death of civilization. For that kind of peace I shall work, as I have worked in the past, with all my heart. The kind of peace I do not want to see is that which dictators are always ready to offer, a peace of conquest or a deceptive and enslaving compromise.



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But even if dictators are overthrown, there remains a choice between peace for the big men or the little men of this world. A peace for the big men deals with oceans and continents and raw materials and markets. A peace for the little men is one which makes the fireside, in all nations, a place without anxiety; a peace which allows men and women to enjoy the simple things of life, with liberty to go where they please, to work as they please, think as they please, say what they please, write what they please, and worship their God as their conscience bids them; a peace in which the political prison, the concentration camp, the ghettos and the Pale will be only memories of a hideous past.

In a war with such an ending, the victors will be Englishmen and Germans, Frenchmen and Italians, Czechoslovakians and Slovaks, and the vanquished will be war itself and the lords of war.

That kind of peace is worth all a man can give of the powers of his body and his mind, worth all the loneliness, all the criticism, all the demands to achieve the impossible.

While we are waiting for that kind of a peace in Europe, and doing what we can to make it possible, let us see that we maintain it for ourselves, among ourselves, by the simple process of making ourselves too strong for attack from the outside, and too firmly united in neighborly friendship to be torn apart from within.



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HARRY L. Hopkins
From the People to
P. O.

Second Draft

I propose to compare the United States Navy of 1940 with the United States Navy which was left to us in 1933. I shall make this comparison between 1933 and 1940 in three ways: Ships in commission, ships under construction and total personnel in the naval forces.

On June 30, 1933, our Navy had 193 ships in commission. On June 30, 1940 we had 324 ships in commission.

On June 30, 1933, there were 17 ships under construction.

On June 30, 1940 there were 70 ships under construction.

On June 30, 1933, the United States Navy total personnel was 106,261 men. On June 30, 1940 that personnel was 176,518 and today it is over 190,000.

Let me put it now in another way, in terms of the naval building program under way in 1933 and in 1940. In June 1933 we had only 17 warships under construction. In June 1940 we had 70 -- an increase of 53, and within 3 days after June 30, 1940, construction was begun on 49 new combatant vessels, bringing the total of ships under construction to 119.

Observe that in June 1940 we had four times as many warships under construction as we had in June 1933. The pace with which construction was proceeding at these two dates is indicated by the fact that six times as many men were employed in shipbuilding in our Navy yards as were employed there in 1933.



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From the Papers of
John

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That is one comparison. But let there be the cry that our ships are all abuilding and none afloat, let me state the strength of our Navy in another way, the way that counts most in a world where wars are launched overnight, without formalities.

Let me measure the strength of our Navy in terms of warships in commission, warships built and afloat, warships fully manned and ready for action - in other words, the (hitting) striking fleet.

In June 1933, warships in commission numbered 195. In June 1940, they numbered 325. In seven years, an increase of 132, an increase of over two-thirds in the number of warships ready for action.

That is the record comparison. You will observe that every comparison tells the same story: in 1933, a weak Navy; in 1940, a strong Navy. And if it be measured by personnel, the story is still the same.

When I became President, the Navy had many warships capable of use, but out of commission, with no officers or crews, and many of them needing repairs and reconstruction. It takes many months, or even years, to train and assemble crews, and one of the first things my Administration did was to undertake the vitally important task of building up the personnel of the Navy. We not only undertook it; we did it, and we did it well!

We built up the personnel of the Navy; we built it from



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90,000 officers and men in 1933 to 76,513 in 1940. And that increase made it possible to add 132 warships to the fully commissioned, ready-to-fight force of the United States.



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SECOND DRAFT

We have not only added ships and men to the Navy. We have enormously increased its effectiveness by the building of new naval bases in our outlying territories. And within the past six weeks, as you all know, we have acquired eight new sites for naval bases in British territory in the Western Hemisphere, stretching from Newfoundland south to Guyana.



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Construction of these bases is already under way and is being speeded to completion. They will double the effective strength of our Navy.

This is our record on the Navy. It is the record of growth -- steady and quick.

What about our Air Force? That is our next line of defense. In this field have come the most outrageous misrepresentations of all. Misstatements are being made which are intended to create the impression that "all but a few hundred of our airplanes are obsolete, that we are deficient in all the essential items of defense and even the facilities to make them".

Misstatements like that, we know, are intended only to strike false fear among our own people. The only effect they can have on foreign nations who might be casting eyes in our direction would be to give them encouragement and more encouragement.

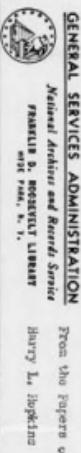
SECOND DRAFT -

The fact is that we are turning out military planes now
— at the rate of almost 4,000 a month. We consider that only a fair
start on the road, but it is already a record of quick expansion
never before equalled by any country.

The first steps in this expansion are always the most difficult — the setting up of the assembly lines and tools and machinery. The assembly lines are beginning to roll. 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.

It is a reckless falsification to speak about our airplanes as obsolete. Ever since the first flight of the Wright brothers, our country has led the world in pioneering in the air. It is American genius and designing which is always improving and improving the airplanes and the airplane engines of the world. But even as the assembly line turns out planes, the genius of American engineers plan more efficient ones. It is true of every air force in the world — the British or the German — that new experience, new facts, lead to better designs.

It was our most obsolete airplanes which were sold to Great Britain early in the war. They were vitally useful to the British for training purposes.



SECOND DRAFT

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

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

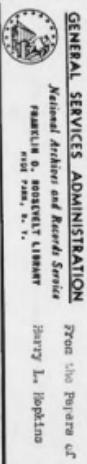
You citizens of Buffalo and St. Louis can see the Curtiss
plants in your cities. Their output has jumped to twelve times its
level of a year ago.

Los Angeles
You citizens of *A* you can see the Douglas factories
in Santa Monica and El Segundo. They have doubled their output in that
period. Any foreign power, or combination of powers, will have to
think more than twice before putting its forces within range of *our fighting*
planes.

I don't need to tell you anything about the quality of
the men who fly them.

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

OK



SECOND DRAFT

And you citizens of Paterson, New Jersey, you can see the Curtiss-Wright plant which a year ago produced two hundred seventy horsepower a month and this October is producing ~~850,000~~ horsepower.

OK
Eight hundred fifty nine thousand!

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

GIC
and are now approaching a level of 2,000 engines a month.

The planes which we are supplying to the British, these do not represent meddling in affairs with which we have no concern, as some would have you believe. It does not represent merely our warm sympathy for the British people sorely beset in their fight to maintain the democratic liberties which are our common heritage.

It represents also hardheaded self-interest, intelligent self-interest. For these planes help the British to keep the dictatorships with their hands full 3,000 miles from our shores. And this gives us the time to build up more planes and the time to build the plants with which to turn out more planes still.



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From the Papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

Second Draft

In 1941 we shall be so strong that our security will be absolute,
our peace will be guaranteed.

What about our Army? This Nation has never liked large
armies. Until recently we have never felt the need of them. But
unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the
peace of America against unprecedented threats. And so we are build-
ing up our army and supplying it with the best fighting equipment.
It is an army not for aggression, not for participation in foreign
disputes, or for intervention in foreign wars. It is an army to
keep America at peace - an army which tells the world that the
Americas will not tolerate acts of aggression in this Hemisphere.
In July of 1943 we began to use PWA funds and later we used WPA
funds to increase ordnance for the Army, arsenals for the Army, and
to motorize [redacted] the Army. And whenever we have had occasion
to use monies in our Works program we have always kept constantly in
mind our needs for defense and our military requirements. With that in
mind, we have built military airports, miles of strategic highway,
bridges, viaducts, Army posts, armories, docks, military hospitals and
a host of other things now so valuable to our defense.

encl
Five weeks ago we called out 65,000 officers and men of the
National Guard; a week ago we called out 37,000; and next month we
shall call out 35,000 more.

Since the day when Poland was invaded, we have more than



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Harry L. Hopkins
Administrator

Second Draft

doubled the size of our regular Army from 176,000 enlisted men on
September 1, 1939 to 354,000 enlisted men on October 15, 1940.

BT
Adding to this the Federalized National Guardsmen, our armed land
forces now equal more than 436,000 enlisted men.

Now that the greater Army for defense is being created,
republican campaign orators are attempting to tear down its morale
and the morale of the American people by making false statements
about its equipment.

Let us nail those falsifications now. The facts are that
per
the Army has on hand 2,000,000 Enfield and Springfield rifles -- as
shorter weapons
fine ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~can~~ ^{can} be used in Europe. We are now building up a
supply of the new Garand automatic rifles at the rate of ~~11,300~~
11,300 ~~per month~~
By January first that will increase to ~~11,300~~ a month. *12,700*

██████████ →
They charge that the Defense Commission cannot get things
done and are tied up in red tape. That charge is false. I tell you
that the Defense Commission has been operating swiftly and efficiently
with the full cooperation of every Government Agency. Eight billion
dollars of defense contracts have been let.

It is a pity that a political campaign will be used as the
means of sowing seeds of discord among those patriotic citizens who
are working together to speed our defense program without regard to
politics.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

SECOND DRAFT

SPECH FOR BOSTON - OCTOBER 30th

Tonight, for the third time, I take up again the public duty — the far from disagreeable duty — of answering major campaign falsifications with facts.

Last Monday night, in New York City, I showed by the cold print of the Congressional Record, how, with their votes and with their words, they had played one brand of politics with defense during 1936 and 1938, and how they are now playing another brand of politics with defense in this election year of 1940. I showed how they had obstructed, had opposed, and had tried to sabotage our major efforts to build up national defense.

Even after the grim reality of European and Asiatic aggression became obvious in 1938, the Republican team in Congress interfered, blocked, made false passes, and fumbled the ball. In spite of their opposition, we picked up the ball and have been carrying it toward the goal of an invincible defense.

Tonight, they say we are not carrying the ball fast enough. I brand that charge as false. I say to those side-line critics that the building up of our national defense is proceeding in a swift, sound and efficient manner.

We are now turning out the essential implements of war



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not only for our own use but for use in helping other democracies
keep the aggressor away from our shores.

But, more than that, I make the definite statement that
we are building up entire factories, plant facilities, and new assembly
lines which will soon be able to turn out implements of defense at
a speed unparalleled in any other country or at any other time in
the history of the world.

I want to take with you a good look at all of our
defenses, - our Army, Navy and Air defenses. I want to give you
the facts and figures of what we have been able to do in spite of
the stubborn Republican opposition, which I detailed to you on Monday,
to build up our armed defenses.

Our Navy comes first. It has always been recognized as
our most vital line of armed defense. The lessons of this war in
Europe prove the continued importance of sea power. In very narrow
waters, air power may gain an advantage over sea power. But the
waters about our own continents are broad, thank God!

It is in the Navy that foresight is most essential,



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

Second Draft

- 3 -

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. It began immediately to build the Navy up - to build a bigger Navy.

I want to give you the figures, as they stand in the official published records. In each case I shall use the figure for June 30th, the closing day of the fiscal year.

And lest there be some persons who persist in misrepresenting that our defense activities have come only since the fall of France, I shall not include any figures after June 30th of this year.

In speaking of the Navy I shall speak only of warships, which include battleships, cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
BOSTON, MASS.
OCTOBER 30, 1940

Navy
Corrections

tonight, I take up for the third time the public duty of answering major campaign falsifications with facts. It is not a disagreeable duty to speak from the record.

The night before last, in New York City, I showed by the cold print of the Congressional Record how, with votes and words, Republican leaders have played one brand of politics with defense in 1938 and 1939, and now -- another brand of politics with defense just because we are approaching election day. Then when the dangers of all forms of democracy became obvious two years ago, the Republican team in the Congress acted solely as a Party team. By their obstruction, the Democrats were forced to pick up the ball and carry it forward. Republican leadership refused to see, time after time, that what America needs is an all-American team.

We are making a mighty all-American effort to carry the ball of defense faster. It is high time that sideline critics stop their carping and sheer the team forward.



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I make the definite statement that today we are using the full output of existing industrial facilities which are useful and necessary to national defense; that additional facilities of all kinds, which we started to create last Spring, last Summer, last Fall and last Winter -- going back, indeed, to the Summer of 1939, are now coming into active operation and that, therefore, actual production is increasing with every passing week.

I make the definite statement, furthermore, that additions to plants -- even entire factories -- plant facilities and new assembly lines, are today in process of construction to an extent unparalleled in any other nation.

Take a good look with me at all of our defenses. See what we have been able to do in spite of Republican opposition and sabotage.

Our Navy comes first because it is our outer line of defense. The present wars in Europe confirm the importance of sea power. In the very narrow waters over there, air power may gain local advantages over sea power. But, thank God, the waters about our own Continents are broad.



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In the Navy foresight is essential because, as every child knows, naval armaments take a long time to build. When I went back to Washington in 1933, I found a Navy infinitely weaker than the Navy I had left in 1920.

Today the situation is infinitely better — not a paper situation jotted down in 1940 -- but a comparison of what actually was done between June 30, 1933 and June 30, 1940.

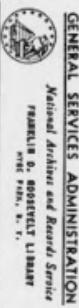
In seven years we raised the total of one hundred and ninety-three ships in commission to three hundred and twenty four ships in commission.

In seven years we raised the total of seventeen ships under construction to seventy ships under construction. Three days after June 30, 1940, construction was started on 49 additional ships, bringing the total to 119, or 102 more combatant ships than were being built in 1933.

Those increases flowed steadily forward -- steady annual increases in ships, in commission, in ships under construction, and in personnel in each one of those seven years.

You in Boston know what began to happen to the Boston Navy Yard in 1933. You know of the increase of productive work year by year. We know that the same story is true for every Navy Yard and for every private ship building yard on the whole of the seacoast of the United States. Even last June there were six times as many men employed in the navy yards as there were in 1933. An even better figure hold true in the case of workers in private yards. Let 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 twenty-five of them last June, compared with one hundred and ninety-three of them seven years before. In other words, in 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy.

One further word about the Navy. Since June 30, 1940 -- (figures) ~~thirteen~~ ^{thirteen} navy war vessels have been put into commission over and above the figures I quoted. ~~Forty-nine~~ ^{Forty-nine} navy war vessels are now on the stocks -- on ways in navy and private yards, some almost ready to commission, but all of them actually under construction.



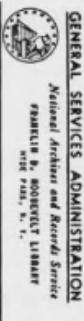
Harry L. Hopkins
Administrator
for War
and Emergency
Services

Materials are now being manufactured for an additional number of ships whose keels will be laid as soon as the manufactured material comes in.

If you decide today to lay the keel of a ship, it is more of a job than going to Filene's tomorrow and having the material delivered tomorrow.

In addition to this splendid increase in ships and men, we have increased the defense effectiveness of naval bases in our outlying territories -- all with the objective of keeping potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can -- the Aleutian Islands, Alaska, Hawaii, and other Islands in the Pacific. The Panama Canal, Puerto Rico are even more useful than ever before.

And within the past six weeks it took a Government with vision and common sense to put through the acquisition of eight new naval bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean, extending all the way from Newfoundland in the north to that part of South America which begins to stick out in the direction of Africa. Utilization of these bases is already under way and we shall all breathe more freely when soon we can base our ships and planes upon them.



2000 110 200000
JERRY L. HOPKINS

That is the record of growth of the Navy -- steady and

rapid in the face of Republican sabotage.

Draft X

Airplanes can be turned out much faster than ships --

but before production begins you have to build machinery

tools in vast quantities; you have to train great numbers of

men to use them; you have to put up plants to turn out the

material, and you have to put up other plants to assemble

the material. That goes for the plane itself and for the

engines that make it fly.

I charge that the Republican leadership has sought
in this particular item also to strike fear into American
breasts. You are told that "all but a few hundred of our
airplanes are obsolete". That is a misrepresentation
intended to deceive because, strictly speaking, every
airplane that flies is technically obsolete in the sense
that if it is being produced in quantity production,
other newer and better planes are just about ready to
go into production for the first time.

I assert that the American military and naval planes
of all types that are now in production are just as up-to-
date as, and I believe better than, any similar planes in
production in any other nation.



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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. I was glad to hear his splendid
words last night on the air. I was glad to hear from his own lips
in the White House, three hours after he landed on the Clipper,
the firsthand reports which he brought.

Actually on the scene where planes were fighting and
bombs dropping, for many months he has been telling me just what
you and I have visualized from afar -- that the smaller independent
nations of Europe have lived in terror of the destruction of their
independence by Nazi might -- military might. That Democracy after
Democracy has been wiped out as a form of government, and that the
democracies that remain live, not only in fear of their independence,
but in fear of the actual killing of their men, women and children.

He tells me what we have sensed over here, that
if Britain goes every other democracy in Europe will go, and I
need not enlarge to you in Boston on the implications of that fact.
You and I know that if England goes, Ireland, in spite of its
bravery, but because of its size, must inevitably fall under the
heel of goosestepping soldiers. If England goes the Christian



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peoples of England and Ireland fall under the domination of an autocratic leadership that regards religion as a plaything of dictators -- un-Christian dictators.

That simple fact is well understood by the government of Ireland itself though the appeasers of Germany in our midst soft pedal it because they might lose more votes.

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 sons trained in case they are needed. That is what we are doing today.

For the last seven years the army -- a shell of its former self -- was built up year by year by regular appropriations and by other funds -- military airports, strategic highways, army posts, arsenals, armories, hospitals and a host of other things now proving so valuable to our defense.

In spite of increases in personnel the armed land forces now equal less than 500,000 enlisted men. 500,000 men will shortly be given a year's training. Each year a little less than a million men will be given training. Thus shall we build trained manpower to utilize modern equipments.



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Let us nail falsifications about modern equipment.

We have on hand two million modern rifles -- as fine as any weapon used in Europe. We are building the new automatic rifles at the rate of two thousand ^{1/2} a week _{month}. And new factory equipment is stepping up that production with every passing week.

Campaign orators seek in practical fact to turn 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. And the Defense Commission is getting things done with speed and efficiency in spite of unsupported and unsupportable glittering generalities that things are tied up by red tape. After November fifth I shall invite some of them to Washington to set their words.



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INSERT X

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What about our air force? Let me reduce millions
of words of nonsense that have been written about military
and naval planes to a simple statement. Last year, and
the years that preceded it, the Republican leaders in the
Congress were trying to keep us, by every known parliamentary
trick, from building as many planes as we asked for.



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Henry L. Hopkins
July 1, 1946

I believe that American plane designers and engine makers are making improvements and inventions that are keeping and will keep us ahead of any other nation.

During the past year American output of military and naval planes has been going up on a vast rising curve, and the steepness of that rising curve is in itself going up because every month sees new production from new factories.

The assembly lines are beginning to roll, for the tools and machinery are being delivered with increasing rapidity.

We intend to be the strongest air power in the world, and we are on the way.

In the light of the war experience, too many of our plants with planes and engines were located in ~~coastal~~ areas. All of them are running full time -- many of them are adding facilities. But in addition we are recommending brand new plants in centers in the Middle West, far from the coast.

The same thing is true of engines. We are standardizing types and it would startle you if I were to tell you the increase in horsepower production of American airplane engines in the course of every week.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

Last Spring and Winter this great production capacity program was stepped up by order from overseas. Those orders are being delivered today, and still greater orders are coming to us, especially from Britain.

I stress what the purveyors of false information with political malice ~~and~~ forsooth overlook -- that every Army and Navy flier tells us that what counts is productive capacity. We still aim for and expect to attain, in accordance with a definite program actually under way, a productive capacity of fifty thousand planes a year in the United States alone. In taking these orders for planes to go overseas, we are following the military advice -- advice aimed at our own self defense. It is hard-headed, self-interest, intelligent self-interest. For the planes that we are delivering, and will continue to deliver, help the British to keep dictatorships at bay, three thousand miles from our shores.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
BOSTON, MASS.
OCTOBER 30, 1940

Tonight, I take up for the third time the public duty of answering major campaign falsifications with facts. It is not a disagreeable duty to speak from the record.

The night before last, in New York City, I showed by the cold print of the Congressional Record how, with votes and words, Republican leaders have played one brand of politics with defense in 1938 and 1939, and now — another brand of politics with defense just because we are approaching election day. Then when the dangers of all forms of democracy became obvious two years ago, the Republican team in the Congress acted solely as a Party team. By their obstruction, the Democrats were forced to pick up the ball and carry it forward. Republican leadership refused to see, time after time, that what America needs is an all-American team.

We are making a mighty all-American effort to carry the ball of defense faster. It is high time that sideline critics stop their carping and cheer the team forward.



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WICHITA, KANSAS

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

I make the definite statement that today we are using the full output of existing industrial facilities which are useful and necessary to national defense; that additional facilities of all kinds, which we started to create last Spring, last Summer, last Fall and last Winter -- going back, indeed, to the Summer of 1939, are now coming into active operation and that, therefore, actual production is increasing with every passing week.

I make the definite statement, furthermore, that additions to plants -- even entire factoriess -- plant facilities and new assembly lines, are today in process of construction to an extent unparalleled in any other nation.

Take a good look with me at all of our defenses. See what we have been able to do in spite of Republican opposition and sabotage.

Our Navy comes first because it is our outer line of defense. The present wars in Europe confirm the importance of sea power. In the very narrow waters over there, air power may gain local advantages over sea power. But, thank God, the waters about our own Continents are broad.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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W.H.C., N.Y.

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

In the Navy foresight is essential because, as every child knows, naval armaments take a long time to build. When I went back to Washington in 1933, I found a Navy infinitely weaker than the Navy I had left in 1920.

Today the situation is infinitely better -- not a paper situation jotted down in 1940 -- but a comparison of what actually was done between June 30, 1933 and June 30, 1940.

In seven years we raised the total of one hundred and ninety-three ships in commission to three hundred and twenty-four ships in commission.

In seven years we raised the total of seventeen ships under construction to seventy ships under construction.

In seven years we raised the personnel of the Navy from one hundred and six thousand to one hundred and seventy-six thousand. And I may add that since June thirtieth of this year it has gone up from one hundred and seventy-six thousand to one hundred and ninety thousand today.

Those increases flowed steadily forward -- steady annual increases in ships in commission, in ships under construction, and in personnel in each one of those seven years.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service
Records of Postwar Library
and Film, etc.

From the Papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

You in Boston know what began to happen to the Boston Navy Yard in 1933. You know of the increase of productive work year by year. We know that the same story is true for every Navy Yard and for every private ship building yard on the whole of the seacoast of the United States. Even last June there were six times as many men employed in the navy yards as there were in 1933. An even better figure hold true in the case of workers in private yards. 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 twenty-five of them last June, compared with one hundred and ninety-three of them seven years before. In other words, in 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy.

One further word about the Navy. Since June 30, 1940 --
(figure)
this year -- navy war vessels have been put into commission over and above the figures I quoted. _____ navy war vessels are now on the stocks -- on ways in navy and private yards, some almost ready to commission, but all of them actually under construction.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service
Washington, D. C.
1940

Library of Congress
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Materials are now being manufactured for an additional number of ships whose keels will be laid as soon as the manufactured material comes in.

If you decide today to lay the keel of a ship, it is more of a job than going to Filene's tomorrow and having the material delivered tomorrow.

In addition to this splendid increase in ships and men, we have increased the defense effectiveness of naval bases in our outlying territories -- all with the objective of keeping potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can -- the Aleutian Islands, Alaska, Hawaii, and other Islands in the Pacific. The Panama Canal, Puerto Rico are even more useful than ever before.

And within the past six weeks it took a Government with vision and common sense to put through the acquisition of eight new naval bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean, extending all the way from Newfoundland in the north to that part of South America which begins to stick out in the direction of Africa. Utilization of these bases is already under way and we shall all breathe more freely when soon we can base our ships and planes upon them.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

From the Papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

That is the record of growth of the Navy -- steady and rapid in the face of Republican sabotage. *Next X*

Airplanes can be turned out much faster than ships -- but before production begins you have to build machinery tools in vast quantities; you have to train great numbers of men to use them; you have to put up plants to turn out the material, and you have to put up other plants to assemble the material. That goes for the plane itself and for the engines that make it fly.

I charge that the Republican leadership has sought in this particular item also to strike fear into American breasts. You are told that "all but a few hundred of our airplanes are obsolete". That is a misrepresentation intended to deceive because, strictly speaking, every airplane that flies is technically obsolete in the sense that if it is being produced in quantity production, other newer and better planes are just about ready to go into production for the first time.

I assert that the American military and naval planes of all types that are now in production are just as up-to-date as, and I believe better than, any similar planes in production in any other nation.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Archival Archives and Records Service

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WEST PARK, N.Y.

From the files of
Harry L. Hopkins

I believe that American plane designers and engine makers are making improvements and inventions that are keeping and will keep us ahead of any other nation.

During the past year American output of military and naval planes has been going up on a vast rising curve, and the steepness of that rising curve is in itself going up because every month sees new production from new factories.

The assembly lines are beginning to roll, for the tools and machinery are being delivered with increasing rapidity.

We intend to be the strongest air power in the world, and we are on the way.

In the light of the war experience, too many of our plants with planes and engines were located in coastal areas. All of them are running full time -- many of them are adding facilities. But in addition we are ^{building} recommending brand new plants in centers in the Middle West, far from the coast.

The same thing is true of engines. We are standardizing types and it would startle you if I were to tell you the increase in horsepower production of American airplane engines in the course of every week.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
West Point, N. Y.
Reference Library

From the Points of

HARRY L. Hopkins

Last Spring and Winter this great production capacity program was stepped up by order from overseas. Those orders are being delivered today, and still greater orders are coming to us, especially from Britain.

I stress what the purveyors of false information with political malice of forethought overlook -- that every Army and Navy flier tells us that what counts is productive capacity. We still aim for and expect to attain, in accordance with a definite program actually under way, a productive capacity of fifty thousand planes a year in the United States alone. In taking these orders for planes to go overseas, we are following the military advice -- advice aimed at our own self defense.

It is hard-headed, self-interest, intelligent self-interest. For the planes that we deliver, ^{are} delivering, and will continue to deliver, help the British to keep dictatorships at bay, three thousand miles from our shores.



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WITH MRS. E. F.

HARRY L. Hopkins
From the Papers of

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10-29-40



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WASH. PARK, N. Y.
HARRY L. Hopkins

From the Office of

Corrections in paper which Major Ginsburg
left with Secretary Hopkins

1. Page 3, line 7

Begins as follows: "Last month the weekly output had risen to 2,000. (Scratch out rest of sentence which reads "By January 1st it will have arisen to three thousand".) Substitute "The current week will be 2700. Next week we expect 3000. The Garlands are coming."

2. Page 3, second paragraph

Begins "Military Airplanes. We are turning out 950 a month." (Scratch out 950 and substitute 900, and add following to first sentence, "and the production rate is rapidly increasing".

3. On insert sheet 4, following line 4 -

Second line. Insert before last word, which is 240, the preposition "to." The correction will read "We increased our engine output to 240%".

4. Page 6, line 3.

Change the figure "\$25,000,000" smokeless powder to \$35,000,000.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

BOULTON, MASS.

OCTOBER 30, 1940

Tonight, I take up for the third time the public duty of answering major campaign falsifications with facts. It is not a disagreeable duty to speak from the record.

The night before last, in New York City, I showed by the cold print of the Congressional Record how, with votes and words, Republican leaders have played one brand of politics with defense in 1938 and 1939, and now -- another brand of politics with defense just because we are approaching election day. Then when the dangers to all forms of democracy became obvious two years ago, the Republican team in the Congress acted solely as a Party team. By their obstruction, the Democrats were forced to pick up the ball and carry it forward. Republican leadership refused to see, time after time, that ^{This Country} ~~what~~ needs is an all-American team.

We are making a mighty all-American effort to carry the ball of defense faster. It is high time that sideline critics stop their carping and cheer the team forward.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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ALBANY, N. Y.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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I make the definite statement, furthermore, that additions to plants -- even entire factories -- plant facilities and new assembly lines, are today in process of construction to an extent unparalleled in any other nation.

Take a good look with me at all of our defenses. See what we have been able to do in spite of ~~the~~ opposition and sabotage from leaders of the Republican party.

Our Navy comes first because it is our outer line of defense. The present wars in Europe confirm the importance of sea power. In the very narrow waters over there, air power may gain local advantages over sea power. But, thank God, the waters about our own Continents are broad.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Historical Archives and Records Service

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NEW YORK, N.Y.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman



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National Archives and Record Service
FRANCIS B. HENRY LIBRARY
WASH. D. C.

From the Papers of
Samuel L. Rosman

-3-

In the Navy foresight is essential because, as every child knows, naval armaments take a long time to build.

When I went back to Washington in 1933, I found a Navy infinitely weaker than the Navy I had left in 1920.

Today the situation is infinitely better -- not a paper situation jotted down in 1940 -- but a comparison of what actually was done between June 30, 1933 and June 30, 1940.

In seven years we raised the total of one hundred and ninety-three ships in commission to three hundred and ~~two~~^{thirty} ~~two~~^{C. S. A. M.} ships in commission.

In seven years we raised the total of seventeen ships under construction to seventy ships under construction.

In seven years we raised the personnel of the Navy from one hundred and six thousand to one hundred and seventy-six thousand. And I may add that since June thirtieth of this year it has gone up from one hundred and seventy-six thousand to one hundred and ninety thousand today.

~~These increases flowed steadily forward - steady annual increases in ships in commission, in ships under construction, and in personnel in each end-of-those seven years.~~



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Record Service
Washington, D. C.From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

-4-

good people here in [redacted] of the enormous increase [redacted] in [redacted]
You in Boston know what [redacted] Boston Navy
The past twenty years.
Yard in [redacted] [redacted] productive work
~~you know~~ We know that the same story is true for every

Navy Yard and for every private ship building yard on the
East Coast + on the West Coast. There are now
[redacted] of the seacoast of the United States. ~~now~~
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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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MAY 1, 1941

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

In addition to this ~~enormous~~ increase in ships and men, we have increased the defense effectiveness of naval bases in our outlying territories -- all with the objective of keeping potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can, -- the Aleutian Islands, Alaska, Hawaii, and other Islands in the Pacific. The Panama Canal, Puerto Rico are even more useful than ever before.

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INSERT A

(1)

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. [I was glad to hear his splendid
words last night on the air.] I was glad to hear from his own lips
in the White House, three hours after he landed on the Clipper,
the firsthand reports which he brought.

[Actually on the scene where planes were fighting and
bombs dropping, for many months he has been telling me just what
you and I have visualized from afar -- that the smaller independent
nations of Europe have lived in terror of the destruction of their
independence by Nazi might -- military might. That Democracy after
Democracy has been wiped out as a form of government, and that the
democracies that remain live, not only in fear of their independence,
but in fear of the actual killing of their men, women and children.]

He tells me what we have sensed over here, that
if Britain goes every other democracy in Europe will go, and I
need not enlarge to you in Boston on the implications of that fact.
You and I know that if England goes, Ireland, in spite of its
bravery, but because of its size, must inevitably fall under the
heel of goosestepping soldiers. If England goes the Christian



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
AND MUSEUM

From the Papers of
Samuel L. Bonsuam

Second Draft

doubled the size of our regular Army from 176,000 enlisted men on September 1, 1939 to 354,000 enlisted men on October 15, 1940.

Adding to this the Federalized National Guardsmen, our armed land forces now equal more than 435,000 enlisted men.

Now that the greater Army for defense is being created, Republican campaign orators are attempting to tear down its morale and the morale of the American people by making false statements about its equipment.

Let us nail those falsifications now. The facts are that the Army has on hand 2,000,000 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 ~~1,700~~^{11,700} a month, By January first that will increase to 3,000 a month and by that will increase to _____ a month.

They charge that the Defense Commission cannot get things done and are tied up in red tape. That charge is false. I tell you that the Defense Commission has been operating swiftly and efficiently with the full cooperation of every Government Agency. Eight billion dollars of defense contracts have been let.

It is a pity that a political campaign will be used as the means of sowing seeds of discord among those patriotic citizens who are working together to speed our defense program without regard to politics.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Arms, Ammunition and Records Service

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STATE PARK, N. Y.

From the files of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
NEW YORK, N.Y.

From the Papers of

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Second Draft

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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
West Point, N.Y.

From the Projects of
Samuel I. Rosenman

Second Draft

In 1941 we shall be so strong that our security will be absolute,
our peace will be guaranteed.

What about our Army? This Nation has never liked large
armies. Until recently we have never felt the need of them. But
unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the
peace of America against unprecedented threats. And so we are build-
ing up our army and supplying it with the best fighting equipment.

[It is an army not for aggression, not for participation in foreign
disputes, or for intervention in foreign wars. It is an army to
keep America at peace - an army which tells the world that the
Americas will not tolerate acts of aggression in this Hemisphere.]

In July of 1933 we began to use PWA funds and later we used WPA
funds to increase ordnance for the Army, arsenals for the Army, and
to motorize ~~the~~ the Army. And whenever we have had occasion
to use money in our Works Program we have always kept constantly in
mind our needs for defense and our military requirements. With that in
mind, we have built military airports, miles of strategic highway,
bridges, viaducts, Army posts, armories, docks, military hospitals and
a host of other things ~~which~~ ^{which} contribute to our defense.

Five weeks ago we called out 65,000 officers and men of the
National Guard; a week ago we called out 37,000; and next month we
shall call out 35,000 more.

Since the day when Poland was invaded, we have more than



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service

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1941-1945

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

INSERT

- 10 -

peoples of England and Ireland fall under the domination of an autocratic leadership that regards religion as a plaything of dictators -- un-Christian dictators.

That simple fact is well understood by the government of Ireland itself though the appeasers of Germany in our midst soft pedal it because they might lose more votes.

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 ~~now~~ trained, ^{properly} ~~in case they are needed~~. That is what we are doing today.

For the last seven years the army -- a shell of its former self -- was built up year by year by regular appropriations and by other funds -- military airports, strategic highways, army posts, arsenals, armories, hospitals and a host of other things now proving so valuable to our defense.

In spite of increases in personnel the armed land forces now equal less than 500,000 enlisted men. 800,000 men will shortly be given a year's training. Each year a little less than a million men will be given training. Thus shall we build trained manpower to utilize modern equipment.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Museum Archives and Record Service

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NOT PUBL. IN U. S. LIBRARY

From the Papers of
SENATOR I. B. BOEHRINGER

INSPRT

- // -

Let us nail falsifications about modern equipment.
We have on hand two million modern rifles -- as fine as any weapon
used in Europe. We are building the new automatic rifles at the
rate of two thousand a month. And now factory equipment is
stepping up that production with every passing week.

Campaign orators seek in practical fact to turn
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. And the Defense Commission is getting things done with speed
and efficiency in spite of unsupported and unsupportable glittering
generalities that things are tied up by red tape. After November
fifth I shall invite some of them to Washington to eat their words.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service
Washington 25, D. C.

Samuel L. Rosenman
From the Papers of

INSERT X

What about our air force? Let me reduce millions of words of nonsense that have been written about military and naval planes to a simple statement. Last year, and the years that preceded it, the Republican leaders in the Congress were trying to keep us, by every known parliamentary trick, from building as many planes as we asked for.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

That is the record of growth of the Navy -- steady and rapid in the face of Republican sabotage.

Doesn't X

Airplanes can be turned out much faster than ships --

but before production begins you have to build machinery tools in vast quantities; you have to train great numbers of men to use them; you have to put up plants to turn out the material, and you have to put up other plants to assemble the material. That goes for the plane itself and for the engines that make it fly.

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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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WILLIAM J. BYRNE, JR.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Patent Analysis and Records Service

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WHITE HOUSE, W. C.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

When these campaign orators criticize our national defense plans they are really indicting not only their Government but American industry as well. Here in America we do not have a munitions industry like the Krupps or the Skoda Works. Instead we have an industrial system geared to production of peace-time needs.

It is the greatest industrial system in the world.

I do not think that even in a campaign anyone is justified in stating that on defense it will let America down.

The most inexcusable misstatement of fact is the brazen charge that the men called to training will not be properly housed. This charge is not only false; it is unpatriotic in that it is intended to create anxiety and resentment on the part of fathers and mothers of America whose boys are going to serve in the Army.

The plain fact is that construction is now in progress on two hundred and thirty-five Army housing projects. By January fifth, next, I am assured by the Chief of Staff that there will be housing for nine hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, ~~most of which will be completed by December fifteenth~~. There has never been such quick,



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
West Point, N.Y.

Samuel L. Rosenberg
From the papers of

speedy construction of adequate new housing for men called to service. I give you this solemn assurance; that the United States of America is not going to fall down on the job of caring for the comfort and health of those who stand ready to defend their native land.

These are the three lines of fighting defense -- the Navy, the Air Force, the Army. But build them up to their highest peak of efficiency and 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 institutions not only because they are free but because they are able to supply them with the satisfaction of legitimate human needs. There is the foundation upon which all military strength must rest. And that foundation we have been building, step by step, since 1933.

When this Administration came to office, that foundation had crumbled away. In the panic and misery of those days no democracy could have built up an adequate armed defense.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

From the Papers of
National Archives and Records Service

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
West Park, N. Y.

Samuel I. Rosenman

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 the country -- the condition of labor and the condition of business.

Even worse falsification has been made in this campaign about 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. If there is anyone he forgets completely after election day, it 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 twenty cent corn, thirty cent wheat, five cent cotton, three cent hogs.

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



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WALD PLAZA, N. Y.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

The truth of the matter is that the farmers' income in 1929 in terms of purchasing power was ____% below parity.

Today the farmers' income represents ____% of parity.

The people of New England know that if the farmers' income had remained what it was in the 1920's, they would be buying fewer shoes, fewer automobiles, less woolen goods and iceboxes, than they are buying now. Prosperous farmers mean more employment, more prosperity for the workers and business men of New England, and of every industrial city in America.

The industrialists and the workers of New England have shared and supported our objective, knowing that the welfare of the farmer has a very definite relationship to the welfare of the industrial worker.

Anyone interested in stating facts [instead of merely seeking votes] knows from the record what the state of American agriculture is today. X

This year the six million farmers of the country will receive about 90% more money for the sale of their crops than they got in 1932.



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INSERT X

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

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



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Instead of getting four and a half cents for cotton, the American farmer is getting nine and a half; instead of selling thirty-seven cent wheat, he is selling sixty-seven cent wheat; instead of twenty-nine cent corn, he is selling sixty-three cent corn; instead of eight cent tobacco, he is selling thirteen cent tobacco.

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

Thousands of farms have been saved from foreclosure through the Farm Security Administration.

Farm mortgages now carry three and a half per cent interest instead of nine per cent.

A quarter of a million miles of rural electric power lines have been built to carry electricity to farms. Over a million farms have been electrified since 1938.

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.



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Under the Soil Conservation Act and its predecessor acts, farmers have received benefit payments of more than three and a half billion dollars, and soil estimated at [redacted] has been saved.

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.

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. [It was not an accident that the farm leaders, congressional leaders and I agreed on the first farm measure in 1933 as the "Agricultural Adjustment Act". We have been maintaining and developing the program begun then, adjusting the program,

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Samuel I. Rosenman



ever since. We will continue to maintain and develop that program for the farmer.

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

These surpluses are now being used to feed the hungry and the ill-nourished. Direct distribution of surplus foods ^{all the families} will reach eleven-million persons on relief this fiscal year.

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

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.

Crop insurance is no longer a matter of mere talk. It is a working reality on four hundred thousand wheat farms.

Farm tenancy is no longer merely a subject of discussion. For the first time in American history we are doing something about it. We are helping the problem



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Samuel I. Rosenman
From the Papers of

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 voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act by _____ to _____.

In 1935 they voted against the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act by seventy-five to twenty-five.

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

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

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



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Samuel I. Rosenman

benevolence to agriculture -- they were not worth the paper
they were written on. Only a few weeks after the Philadelphia
in June, 1940,
Platform had been adopted, to endorse commodity loans, the
Republican members of the House of Representatives dared to
vote against commodity loans. They voted against them by
a vote of one hundred and six to thirty-eight.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

DRAFT 2

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 --
^{To-night to Washington}

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 Mod -- namely Martin, Barton and Fish.

Three years ago, when the dangers to all forms of
democracy throughout the world became obvious, the Republican
team in the Congress acted solely as a Party team. Republican
leadership refused to see, time after time, that what this
country needs is an all-American team.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

William B. Roosevelt Library
General Services Administration

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

about our national
d

Today despite what the side line critics are saying,

we are going full speed ahead with defense.

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

Additional facilities ~~of which many~~ are coming into
active operation.

Actual production is increasing ^{every day.} ~~with many passing weeks~~

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~~ to build a bigger Navy.



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Reference Library

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From the Papers of
Harry S. Truman

In seven years we raised the total of one hundred and ninety-three ships in commission to three hundred and Thirty Seven ships in commission, today.

We have 119 ships under construction, today.

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

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

Last there be another false cry -- that our ships are all building 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.



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FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
NEW YORK, N. Y.

HARRY L. Hopkins
From the Papers of

In 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy.

The construction of this navy has been a monumental job.

It has demanded expert craftsmanship and engineering genius. In spite of what some campaign orators may tell you, you can't buy a battle ship from a mail order catalogue. We have not only added ships and men to the navy. We have enormously increased the ~~defensive~~ effectiveness of naval bases in our outlying territories — the Aleutian Islands, Alaska, the Panama Canal, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and other islands in the Pacific. Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

This line is for
And within the past administration 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.
~~Construction of these important military bases~~

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



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From the Program of
Henry L. Hopkins

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. Americans will put the U.S. first and ~~partisanship~~ second.
And I ~~want~~ remind you ~~of~~ ~~that~~ ~~old~~ ~~dead~~ ~~nowhere~~. When the Naval Expansion Bill came up in 1938 the vast majority of Republican members of the Congress voted against building additional battleships.

We hear the same moans and groans from the same people about our strength in the air. But only last year, 1939, they were voting against increasing the authorized number of planes in the Navy. They were even voting in favor of reducing appropriations for the army air corps.

I ask you this blunt question:

Can these people be trusted with national defense?

What kind of political shenanigans are these?

I stress what the purveyors of false information with political malice aforthought overlooked -- and what every army and navy flier tells us -- that what counts in air power is productive capacity. We are determined to attain a productive capacity of 50,000 planes a year in the United States alone. This is in accordance with a definite program actually under way.



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From the Papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

DRAFT 3

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



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ROOSEVELT PARK, N. Y.
LIBRARY IN BOSTON

From the papers of
Franklin D. Roosevelt

Despite what the side line critics are now saying about our national defense, we are going full speed ahead.

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

Additional facilities are coming into active operation.

Actual production is increasing every day.]

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

Our navy is our outer line of defense.

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

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

We have 119 more ships under construction, today.

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

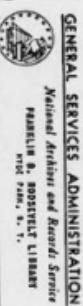


GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Military Archives and Records Service

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

From the Folders of
Harry L. Hopkins



DRAFT #3

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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.

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.

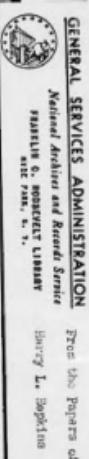
That is the record of the growth of our Navy. In 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy. Side-line critics may carp in a campaign. But Americans are mighty proud of that record. Americans will put their country first and partisanship second.

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 there?

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 unprecedent dangers require unprecedent action to guard the peace of America against unprecedent threats.



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

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

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

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

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



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
National Archives and Records Service

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and MUSEUM

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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.

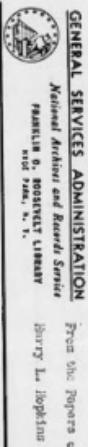
I am afraid that these campaign orators will pretty soon be under the painful necessity of eating their words.

The most inexcusable 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. 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.

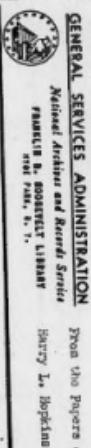
The purpose of our defense is defense.

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.

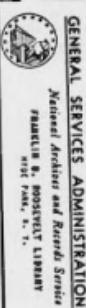
The planes now being built for our army and navy are the finest and fastest military airplanes now being built in any country.

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!



From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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

And you citizens of Paterson, New Jersey, you can see the Curtiss-Bright 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.]



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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 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 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!



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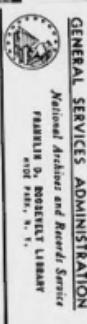
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Henry L. Hopkins

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.



From the Papers of

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

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

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

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

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

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



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

ARMED FORCES RECORD SERVICE

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HAROLD L. HARRIS

PROBLEMS OF THE

JO

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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:



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE
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1933

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 \$600,000 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.

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

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

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

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

Our school luncheon program will this year reach three million children with milk and other foods which ward off the threat of mal-nutrition. And milk does those children much more good than political soothing syrup.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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West Park, N. Y.

Printed at the
Harry L. Hopkins



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service
REAGAN LIBRARY
1933-1940

HARRY S. TRUMAN
PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
1945-1953

DRAFT 3

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- 15 -

We are helping the problem of farm tenancy by improving farm income; we are helping it more directly by assisting tenants to buy good farms.

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

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

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

In 1936, they voted against the second Agricultural Adjustment Act by 84 to 13.

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

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

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

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All the sweet words of the Republican leaders in Philadelphia last June -- all the good will of the financiers there assembled, all the throbbing protests of benevolence to agriculture -- they were not worth the paper they were written on.

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

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

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



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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WHITE HOUSE, W. C.

From the Library of
Henry L. Hopkins

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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 the extension of the C.C.C. He voted against practically all relief and work relief measures. He voted against the appropriation of one hundred million dollars for rural electrification.

Martin voted against the ~~Americanization~~ United States Housing Act. He voted against the Guffey Coal Bill. He voted against the Civil Service Extension Act.

What I particularly want to say to the farmers of the Nation is that Republican 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.



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WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

From the Papers of
Harry J. Hopkins

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 colored. We belong to many churches-- we are Americans.



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From: Mrs. Frances B.
Frances B. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY
West Park, N. Y.
Harry L. Hopkins

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

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

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

*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!*



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From the Papers of
HARRY L. HOPKINS

I named some prominent Republican leaders including
Senators孤立ary, Vandenberg, Taft, Key and others.

And that reminds me: There were, in a great American
poem, three beautiful characters who suggest nothing but sleep,
and sleep, and sleep -- and their names were, Winken, Blinken
and Nod. They weren't against anything, they were just asleep.

And I know of three Republican Congressional leaders
who were against everything when they were awake. But they seem
to have been asleep at the switch when American defense needed
to go full speed ahead. I hope some day these three Republican
leaders will be as famous as Winken, Blinken and Nod.

Their names are, Martin, Barton and Fish.



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AND MUSEUM

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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



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1940 P-1

From the Papers of
HARRY L. Hopkins

Despite what the side line critics are now saying about our national defense, we are going full speed ahead.

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

Additional facilities are coming into active operation.

Actual production is increasing every day.]

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

Our navy is our outer line of defense.

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

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

We have 119 more ships under construction, today.

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



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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.]



[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.

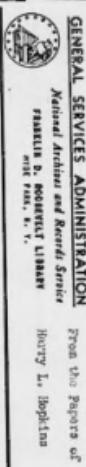
That is the record of the growth of our Navy. In 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy. Side-line critics may carp in a campaign. But Americans are mighty proud of that record. Americans will put their country first and partisanship second.

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 have been trained -- remarkably well trained -- in the higher traditions of our democratic service.

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

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

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



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins



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MEMORANDUM TO: ROBERT M. LEE

HARRY L. DODD
27th Infantry Division

DRAFT 3

- 6 -

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.

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

The most inexcusable 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. [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.



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WHITE HOUSE, W. C.

From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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!



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Print this Report of
Harry L. Hopkins

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 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.]



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From the Papers of Harry L. Hopkins

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 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 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.]



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Press and Publicity of

Harry L. Hopkins

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

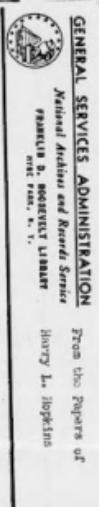
I have discussed the falsifications which Republican campaign orators have been making about the economic condition of the country -- the condition of labor and the condition of business.

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

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

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

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



this

They did nothing to stop the slides. 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.



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

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

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

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

Our school luncheon program will this year reach three million children with milk and other foods [which ward off the threat of mal-nutrition.] And milk does those children much more good than political soothing syrup.



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HARRY L. Hopkins
Administrator
Provisional President

We are helping the problem of farm tenancy by improving
^{the situation}
 farm income] we are helping [more directly] by assisting tenants to
 buy good farms.

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



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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
 Adjustment Act by 79 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.

From the Pictures of
 Harry L. Hopkins

All the sweet words of the Republican leaders in Philadelphia last June -- [all the good will of the financiers there assembled,] all the throbbing protests of benevolence to agriculture -- they were not worth the paper they were written on.

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

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

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



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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 the extension of the C.C.C. He voted against practically all relief and work relief measures. 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 the Guffey Coal Bill. He voted against the Civil Service Extension Act.

What I particularly want to say to the farmers of the Nation is that Republican 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.



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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.

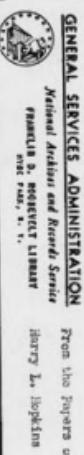
I think you know that the Office of President has not been an easy one during the past years.

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 ~~old~~ world.

We are Anglo-Saxon and Latin, we are Irish and Teuton and Jewish and Slav -- we are American. We are white 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 kicking.

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

We are free to love and laugh -- and above all to
live.

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Betty L. Hopkins

From the People of

GILBERT DRAFT OF SPEECH FOR OCTOBER 30 (BOSTON)

[1940]

Tonight I propose to go on from where I left off last Monday night in Madison Square Garden. Last Monday I pulled the Republican record out of the closet where they had hoped we would forget to look for it. And by their words and by their votes I showed them to have played politics with defense throughout the whole period since 1933. I showed them, upon their public record, to have obstructed, to have opposed, to have sabotaged our every effort to build up the national defenses.

Tonight I want to take up the charge that we, having overcome their obstruction and opposition, that we, who have been carrying the ball, are dawdling.

Tonight I want to report upon the condition of our armed forces. I want to report upon our entire defense. They cry that our Navy is anemic, that our Army is puny, and they shed tears for the pitiful condition of our air forces. Let's look at the record.

Let's look at the facts and figures which show what we have been able to do, in spite of Republican opposition, in building up our Navy, our Army, our air forces.

I shall speak first of our Navy, our protection against armed invasion from the sea, which we have long recognized as our most vital line of defense.

Because naval armaments require the longest time to build, it is in the naval branch of the service that foresight is most



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HARRY L. Hopkins
From the People to

essential. Let me go back, then, to the time I became President, and present, very briefly, the story of what has happened to the Navy since then.

The attempt to impose a "new world order" — the rule of force and aggression — began in 1931, when Japan invaded Manchuria. In that year, the nations which loved peace were first put on notice that safety lies only in strength. And from 1931 onward the issue of national defense has been between those who faced up to the unpleasant realities of the "new world order" and those who buried their heads in the sand.

Let me give you the strength of the Navy as it was in 1933, two years after the forces of aggression were unleashed in the world, and its strength in the present year, 1940. In each case I shall use the figure for June 30, the closing day of the fiscal year. Thus anyone may check my figures against the published records of the Navy Department. And by stopping with June 30 this year, we shall exclude all the emergency naval construction authorized by the Congress after the collapse of the French army last June. I shall speak only of warships, by which I mean battleships, cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines, and nothing else. I shall make this comparison between 1933 and 1940 in three ways: ships built and building, ships under construction, ships in commission.

On June 30, 1933, our Navy consisted of 343 warships, built and building. By June 1940, our Navy had increased to 465 warships, 122 more than in 1933. That is one comparison.



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From the papers of

Let me put it now in another way, in terms of the naval building program under way in 1933 and in 1940. In June 1933, we had only 17 warships under construction. In June 1940, we had 70 — an increase of 53. At the present moment, in October 1940, we are building 325 warships, but I do not include these.

Observe that in June 1940 we had four times as many warships under construction as we had in June 1933. The pace with which construction was proceeding at these two dates is indicated by the fact that 6 times as many men were employed in shipbuilding in our Navy Yards as were employed there in 1933.

That is a second comparison. But lest there be the cry that our ships are all abuilding and none afloat, let me state the strength of our Navy in a third way, the way that counts most in a world where wars are launched overnight, without formalities.

Let me measure the strength of our Navy in terms of warships in commission, warships built and afloat, warships fully manned and ready for action.

In June 1933, warships in commission numbered 193. In June 1940, they numbered 315. In seven years, an increase of 132, an increase of over two-thirds, in the number of warships ready for action.

That is the third comparison. You will observe that every comparison tells the same story: in 1933, a weak Navy; in 1940, a strong Navy. And if it be measured by personnel, the story is still the same.



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From the Papers of

When I became President, the Navy had many warships capable of use, but out of commission, with no officers or crews, and many of them needing repairs and reconstruction. It takes many months, or even years, to train and assemble crews, and one of the first things my administration did was to undertake the vitally important task of building up the personnel of the Navy. We not only undertook it; we did it, and we did it well!

We built up the personnel of the Navy; we built it up from 90,000 officers and men in 1933 to 150,000 in 1940. And that increase made it possible to add 132 warships to the fully commissioned, ready-to-fight force of the United States.

We have not only added ships and men to the Navy, but we have enormously increased its effectiveness by the building of new naval bases in our outlying territories. And within the past six weeks, as you all know, we have acquired eight new sites for naval bases in British territory in the Western Hemisphere, stretching from Newfoundland south to Guiana.

Construction of these bases is already under way and is being speeded to completion. Once completed, they will double the effective strength of our Navy. The Navy, based upon these points, will be able to hang a curtain of death which no aggressor can penetrate. We shall be in position to seize danger by the throat while it is still a thousand miles from our shore, and stop it there.

This is our record on the Navy. No amount of falsification can alter or conceal its simple outlines. It is not a record of decay;



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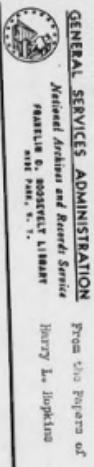
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Harry L. Hopkins

decay ended in 1933. It is not a record of "stagnation"; "stagnation" is the dishonest cry of partisan politics. It is the record of growth; that is the simple truth. Our Navy today is "an incomparably efficient Navy." Those are not my words; these are the words of Senator Vandenberg, words which every Republican leader repeated right down to the beginning of this campaign.

So much for the charge that our Navy is anemic. What, then, about our air power, our next line of defense? Are the Republican charges here any better founded? Is it really true that here they have us "where the hair is short"?

It has been charged that "all but a few hundred of our airplanes are obsolete." This is a half-truth — I had better say a quarter-truth — which is far more dangerous and far more vicious in intent, than many of the completely false charges which are being made so recklessly by those who have permitted their partisanship to smother their patriotism.

This charge has an element of truth for the reason that aircraft design and technology advance so rapidly that every plane quite literally is obsolete before it has come from the factory. It is obsolete because, before it has been put into quantity production, the blueprints for a better plane are already available. In this sense our air force is indeed obsolete. It is rendered obsolete by the very genius of our designing, a genius in which we have always excelled and in which we today lead the world.



But those who make this charge dishonestly neglect to tell you that in this sense the British air force is obsolete, or that the German is obsolete too. Those who make this charge intend — as you and I know — to frighten, to terrify the American people. They intend to create the impression that the modern aircraft of our Army and Navy are inferior to those of our potential enemies and are therefore worthless. In this sense, the statement that we have only a few hundred planes that are not obsolete is deliberately, viciously, and completely false.

The quality of our air forces, taken as a whole, is superior to that of any other on earth. Our most obsolete airplanes were disposed of to Great Britain early in the war. If they had been worthless, would the British have purchased them so eagerly? These have been vitally useful to the British for training purposes.

Our somewhat less obsolete planes, obsolete only by the high standards of our Army and Navy, we disposed of to the British for fighting purposes. These planes proved a match, and more than a match, for the best that the German Luftwaffe could send against them. These planes helped Britain hold off the threat of invasion. These planes, in British hands, have given us time to multiply our defenses.

The planes that American industry is producing and shipping to Britain month by month are the best planes being built anywhere in the world. It is these planes which before long will enable the British not merely to hold the line but to take the offensive. You have but to tune



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BARRY L. BODDIE
FROM THE PAPERS OF

in on a news broadcast, you have but to read your daily newspaper, to learn how these planes are performing in combat. These are the planes which take a toll of 3 or 4 to one.

Our production of military airplanes is being swiftly expanded. The progress of our aviation is visible to all of you who care to see.

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 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 horsepower a month and this October is producing 859,000 horsepower. Eight hundred fifty nine thousand!

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

There is the same story then we speak of military airplanes themselves.

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 12 times its level of



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From the papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

a year ago.

Today, for the country as a whole, we are turning out military planes at the rate of almost 12,000 a year, of almost 1,000 a month. And under the drive of the Defense Commission, every effort of government, of industry, of labor, is being bent to increase and still to increase our production. We have already hung up a record for swift expansion never before equalled by any country. We have done in less than a year what it took Germany more than two years to accomplish. And, as you all know, the first steps are the most difficult. We are just beginning to roll. The magnificent productive capacity of the greatest industrial country in the world will not fail us.

About one-third (?) of our current production is going to the British. About two-thirds we retain. When it is charged that we have only a few hundred modern planes, remember that every month we add more than a "few hundred" planes to our air forces, planes of the latest design and the finest quality. And every month we add more planes than we did the month before. That charge is not only false, it is downright silly when to come to look it over. And the men who make it cannot be particularly bright.

And the planes which we are supplying to the British, these do not represent meddling in affairs with which we have no concern, as some would have you believe. It does not represent merely our warm sympathy for the British people sorely beset in their fight to maintain the democratic liberties which are our common heritage.



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HARRY L. HOPKINS
DIRECTOR OF THE PLANE

It represents also hardheaded self-interest, intelligent self-interest. For these planes are not only paid for in "cash on the barrelhead", but they enable the British to keep the dictatorships with their hands full 3000 miles from our shores. And this gives us the time to build up more planes and the time to build the plants with which to turn out more planes still. And time is beyond price. One year, and we shall be so strong that our security will be absolute, our peace will be guaranteed.

Our fleet and our air force are designed to keep an enemy from our shores, to engage him while he is still far at sea. But our security requires that we be prepared for even the most improbable of eventualities, that we be prepared to meet and destroy any enemy that sets foot in this hemisphere. This is the task of the Army.

As early as 1933 this administration sought to build up the Army. In July of that year we began a program to increase Army ordnance, to expand Army arsenals, and to motorize and mechanize the Army. From that time to this we have kept constantly in mind our military requirements. Thanks in no small part to our works programs, we have built military airports, miles of strategic highways, viaducts, army posts, armories, military hospitals, rifle ranges and a host of other things which are now of great value to our home defense.

This Nation has never liked large armies in time of peace. Until recently we have never felt the need of one. But unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the peace of America.



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And so we are building up our Army and supplying it with the best fighting equipment.

Since the invasion of Poland we have more than doubled the size of the Regular Army, raising it from 176,000 enlisted men on September 1, 1939, to 354,000 on October 15, 1940. Five weeks ago we called out 65,000 officers and men of the National Guard. A week ago we called out 37,000. And next month we shall call out 35,000 more. Our land forces now total more than 436,000 enlisted men.

In view of the unprecedented dangers confronting us, we have embarked upon the selective military training of our young men. Under this program, _____ men will be called to training _____ (spell out as desired) _____

We are not building this Army for aggression; we are building it for defense. We are not building it for participation in foreign disputes or for intervention in foreign wars. We are building this Army to keep America at peace; not peace through submission, but peace through strength. It is an Army which already puts the world on notice that the Americas will not tolerate any aggression against this hemisphere.

Those who today charge this administration with neglect of the building of our Army, what is their record? For years their chief activity was to complain, long and loudly, that the defense expenditures were unnecessary and a waste of the taxpayers' money. After the fall of France, they recognized that danger was knocking at our door,



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and they withdrew their opposition to defense expenditures. In spite of this recognition of danger, however, they opposed the mobilization of the National Guard and they opposed selective training. Remember this record as you hear the charges that are being brought today against this administration.



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The rest of the speech to follow these lines:

The charge that the Army lacks equipment, housing, etc.

Refutation

This is not the whole of our defense.

Hemisphere defense

Joint action with Canada

Cooperation with republics to the south

Behind the armaments

The strength of agriculture, industry, and labor

Back of that's the morale of the Nation

Those who strike at defense by striking at morale

There are the paid agents

There are those who hate democracy and prefer the dictatorship of the Right or the Left.

There are those who in the heat of partisan politics lend themselves to use by the others.

These I propose to discuss next Friday at Brooklyn.



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if not better, than the best that is being turned out in the nations at war in Europe. They are the finest and fastest military airplanes that human beings can now produce.

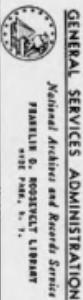
It is a reckless falsification to speak about our airplanes as obsolete. It is American genius and designing which is always improving and improving our airplanes and our engines. But even as the assembly line turns out planes, the genius of American engineers plan more efficient ones. It is true of every air force in the world, - the British or the German - that new experience, new facts, lead to better design. It was our most obsolete airplanes which were sold to Great Britain early in the war. They were vitally useful to the British for training purposes.

[The planes which we are now producing and shipping to Britain are as fine as those being built anywhere in the world. Those are the planes which are helping to hold the line in Britain. [Those are the planes which are now taking their toll of three or four to one.]

While Great Britain is getting some of these planes to hold back the dictators, we are keeping one-half of the planes. But more important than that, we are keeping the facilities for production; we are keeping the skill and the experience and the machinery to turn them out. The fact is that our increase in airplane production would have been begun a year earlier and would be running at even a higher speed if the Congress had passed my recommendation that the arms embargo be lifted before it was.

*
These are cold figures. But they only express the increased tempo, which you can see for yourselves.

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



HARRY L. Hopkins
From the Papers of Harry L. Hopkins

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 Douglas factories in Santa Monica and El Segundo. They have doubled their output in that period.

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 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 horsepower a month and this October is producing 859,000 horsepower. Eight hundred fifty nine thousand!

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

The planes which we are supplying to the British, these do not represent meddling in affairs with which we have no concern, as some would have you believe. It does not represent merely our warm sympathy for the British people sorely beset in their fight to maintain the democratic liberties which are our common heritage.

It represents also hardheaded self-interest, intelligent self-interest. For these planes are not only paid for in "cash on the barrelhead", but they enable the British to keep the dictatorships with their hands full 3000 miles from our shores. And this gives us the time to build up more planes and the time to build the plants with which to turn out more planes still. And time is beyond price. One year.



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and we shall be so strong that our security will be absolute
our peace will be guaranteed.]

What about our third line of defense -- our Army? In July of 1933 we began to use NRA funds [and later we used WPA funds] to increase ordnance for the Army, arsenals for the Army, and to motorize and mechanize the Army. [And whenever we have had occasion to use money in our Works Program we have always kept constantly in mind our needs for defense and our military requirements.] [With that in mind,] we have built military airports, miles of strategic highway, bridges, viaducts, Army posts, armories, docks, military hospitals and a host of other things [now so] valuable to our defense.

[And what were these Republican leaders, who now make false charges about our defense program, doing while this was going on? Their chief activity was to complain that we were making unnecessary defense expenditures and wasting the taxpayers' money.]

This Nation has never liked large armies. [Until recently] we have never felt the need of them. But unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the peace of America against unprecedented threats. And so we are building up our army and supplying it with the best fighting equipment. It is an army not for aggression, not for participation in foreign disputes, or for intervention in foreign wars. It is an army to keep America at peace, but it is an army which tells the world that the Americas will not tolerate acts of aggression in this Hemisphere.

Five weeks ago we called out 65,000 officers and men of the National Guard; a week ago we called out 37,000; and next month we shall call out 35,000 more.

Since the first crash in Poland we have more than



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doubled the size of our regular Army from 176,000 enlisted men on September 1, 1939 to 354,000 enlisted men on October 15, 1940. Adding to this the Federalized National Guardsmen, our armed land forces now equal more than 436,000 enlisted men.

Now that the Army for defense is being created, Republican campaign orators are attempting to tear down its own morale and the morale of the American people by making false statements about its equipment. The only purpose of this is to instill [terror] in American voters. They falsely state that the Army is not equipped with the rifles we need. [That is false.]

The facts are that the Army has on hand 2,000,000 Enfield and Springfield rifles -- as fine a weapon as is being used in Europe. We are now building up a supply of the new Garand rifles at the rate of 2,000 a month. By January first that will increase to 3,000 a month.

They charge that the Defense Commission cannot get things done and are tied up in red tape. That charge is false. [I tell you that the Defense Commission has been operating swiftly and efficiently with the full cooperation of every Government Agency. Eight billion dollars of defense contracts have been let.]

It is a pity that a political campaign will be used as the means of sowing seeds of discord among those patriotic citizens who are working together to speed our defense program without regard to politics.

[They charge that we are not creating production facilities fast enough. That charge is false. The RFC has placed its resources at the disposal of private industry engaging in national defense.]

We have advanced \$20,000,000 for the construction of 4 machine gun plants. We have advanced \$20,000,000 for the construction of a tank factory. At Radford,



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Virginia, we are erecting a \$25,000,000 smokeless powder plant and at Charlestown, Indiana, another plant costing \$51,000,000. At Ravenna, Ohio, we are constructing an ammunition loading plant costing \$14,000,000.

We are building up the largest possible stock piles of strategic raw materials which we cannot obtain in North America, such as manganese, tin.

When these campaign orators criticize our national defense plans they are really indicting American industry. Here in America we do not have a munitions industry like the Krupps or the Skoda Works. Instead we have an industrial system geared to production of peacetime needs, and to this industrial ~~plan~~^{plan} system has been turned over the defense program. The vast bulk of our needs is made by private industry. [We have given industry the green light to go ahead and it is working with might and main to carry out the defense program.] It is the same industry which has made us the greatest industrial nation in the world. I do not think that it is going to let America down.

[I do not think that even in a campaign anyone is justified in falsely stating that it will let America down.]

The most inexcusable misstatement of fact [in connection with the defense] is the brazen charge that the ~~Army~~ will not be properly housed when they are called up for training. This charge is not only false, it is unpatriotic in that it is intended to create dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of fathers and mothers of America whose boys are going to serve in the Army.

The plain fact is that construction is now in progress on 235 Army housing projects. By January fifth, next, I am assured by the Chief of Staff that there will be housing for 930,000 soldiers, most of which will be completed by December 15th. There has never been such quick, speedy



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construction of adequate new housing for men called to service. I give you this solemn assurance: that the United States of America is not going to fall down on the job of caring for the comfort and health of those who stand ready to defend their native land.

These are the three lines of fighting defense -- the Navy, the Air Force, the Army. But build them up to their highest peak of efficiency and they will still be ~~inefficient~~ 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 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 built up, step by step, since 1933.

When this Administration came ~~first~~ to office, that foundation 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 increased strength, of increased prosperity, of increased security.

I discussed in Philadelphia last week the falsifications which Republican campaign orators were making about the economic condition of the Country -- the condition of labor and the condition of business.

Even worse falsification has been made in this campaign about 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. If there is anyone he



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forgets completely after election day, it is the farmer.

*C*o~~x~~ As I have watched the Republican record on agriculture, over the last twenty years, I can well understand why the farmer must look upon the G.O.P. as the Grand Old Promiser. But they have never been good on performances.]

Do I have to remind you of the plight of the farmer during the period between 1920 and 1935, -- declining income, accumulating surpluses, rising farm debts. The Government did nothing to help. They let things slide and slide until we had 20 cent corn, 30 cent wheat, 5 cent cotton, 3 cent hogs.

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

Against these promises of the past, this Administration has a record of performances. Listen to this:

CITE RECORD

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

These surpluses are now being used to feed the hungry and the ill-nourished. Direct distribution of surplus foods will reach eleven million persons on ~~if~~ relief this fiscal year.

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



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NOTICE

HARRY L. Hopkins
From the Papers of

million persons of scant means.

Our school luncheon program will this year reach 43,000 schools and three million children with milk and other foods which ward off the threat of malnutrition.

Crop insurance is no longer a matter of mere talk. It is a working reality on 400,000 wheat farms. Farm tenancy is no longer merely a subject of discussion. For the first time in American history we are doing something about it. We are helping the problem by improving farm income; we are helping it more directly by assisting qualified tenants to buy good farms.

While this was being done, what were the Republican leaders -- the G.O.P. -- the Grand Old Promisers -- doing? ~~thoroughly~~
Here is the record:

✗ In 1933 Republicans in Congress voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act by 62 per cent.

✗ In 1936 they voted against the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act by 75 per cent.

✗ In 1938 they voted against the second Agricultural Adjustment Act by 65 per cent.

Both in 1939 and 1940 they voted against parity payments by 62 per cent.

In the spring of this year they voted 56 per cent against the Stamp Plan to distribute ~~ex~~ food through the normal business channels to needy people.

The American farmers will not be deceived by pictures of Old Guard candidates and holding company executives, by pictures of 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. Only a few weeks after the Philadelphia Platform had been adopted, to endorse commodity



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loans, the Republican members of the House of Representatives dared to vote against commodity loans. They voted against them by a vote of 106 to 36.



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