

October 30, 1940

[Boston, Mass]

13305

FDR Speech File

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In 1941 we shall be as 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 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 - 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 WPA funds and later war emergency 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 ports, armories, docks, military hospitals and a host of other things now so valuable 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

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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 18, 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

P [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 automatic rifles at the rate of 11,700 a month. That rate of production will increase. 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.

~~SECRET~~

⑧ 9

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 enunciate to you if Boston on the implications of that fact.

We all
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 fell 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 ^{trained} ~~some~~ 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. 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.]

[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,



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~~I say further that this charge is an insult to the high traditions of our Army in safeguarding the welfare of American~~

~~soldiers:~~

~~speedy construction of adequate new housing for men called to service.~~

I give solemn assurance to the mothers and fathers of

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

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

And while I am talking to you mothers and fathers, I give you one more assurance - lest you have been misled by my false alarmists:

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

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

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

The purpose of our defense is defense.

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



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aggressor nation.

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

We shall be invincible.



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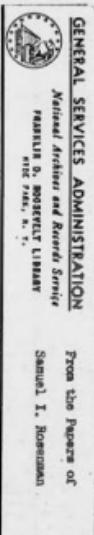
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If back in 1915, we had enacted a Selective Service Law, I firmly believe that the German Empire would not have ^{done to} declared ~~war~~ unrestricted submarine warfare. It was that violent action of 1917 which got us into ~~the~~ ~~war~~. was directly responsible for getting us into the world war.

And had the same armed defenses as we have now



[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.



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Senate, T. Roosevelt, Chairman
Senate, T. Roosevelt, Chairman
Senate, T. Roosevelt, Chairman
Senate, T. Roosevelt, Chairman

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 ^{ten} cent corn, ^{thirty-five} 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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Samuel J. Rosenman
From the People to
the People

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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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The truth of the matter is that the farmers' income in 1929 in terms of purchasing power was ~~is~~ below parity. ^{one to} ~~in~~ ¹⁹³³ ~~now~~ Today the farmers' income represents ~~is~~ ^{of} parity. ¹⁹³³ ~~now~~

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.

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1933
to
1934
1935
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.

This year the six million farmers of the country will receive about 50% more money for the sale of their crops than they got 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 this 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 and given terms of credit 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 1932.

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

More than 500,000 low income farmers have obtained credit from the government which they could get nowhere else—and better yet, farm management advice from the government, to boot!



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Under the Soil Conservation Act and its predecessor
~~now 600,000*~~
acts, farmers have received benefit payments of more than
three and a half billion dollars, ~~has well estimated~~
~~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.

A few > 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,

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

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

These Surpluses [not needed for re-serve] are now being used to feed the hungry and the ill-nourished. [Direct distribution of surplus foods 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 malnutrition.

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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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 88 to 52.
(fifth House)

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

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

And even in 1940 they voted against parity payments by 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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benevolence to agriculture -- they were not worth the paper
 For this, to this,
 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 ~~representatives~~ ~~and~~ voted against commodity loans. They voted against them by
 a vote of one hundred and six to thirty-eight.



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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 a month. And new factory equipment is stepping up that production with every passing week.

Campaign orators seek [in practical fact] to warn
to har 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.



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

Discr (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 statement 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 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.~~
~~Our airplane and engine plants~~
All of ~~these~~ are running full time, ~~and~~ 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 airplanes engines in the course of every week. ~~26%~~ (?) more

~~than - monthly ago.~~



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Last Spring and Winter this great production capacity program was stepped up by orders 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 delivering, and will continue to deliver, help the British to keep dictatorships at bay, three thousand miles from our shores.]

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SECOND DRAFT

SPEECH 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 falsehoods 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 1938 and 1939, 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 these 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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because naval armaments require the longest time to build.

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

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 least 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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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 374 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 con-
struction 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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That is one comparison. But last there be the way 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 (bitting) striking fleet.

In June 1933, warships in commission numbered 193. 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 176,518 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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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 Guiana.

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 gone 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.



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SECOND DRAFT -

The fact is that we are turning out military planes now at the rate of almost 1,000 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 by 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.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

SECOND DRAFT

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

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

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

You citizens of 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 these 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 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 horse-power a month.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

SIGNED 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 225,000 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 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
General J. Roosevelt

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 American 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,



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HIGH PARK, N. Y.

From the Pages of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.



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From the Papers of
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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Samuel I. Rosenman

The truth of the matter is that the farmers' income in 1920 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.

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 1938.



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From the Papers of
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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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SAMUEL I. BODMAN

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 \$_____ 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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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 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 malnutrition.

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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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 1936 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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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 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

BOSTON PREDICTION

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 year.

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

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

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

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

And it seems to me that we are most completely, most loyally, 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.



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

From the Pages of
Samuel I. Rosenman

BOSTON FEDERATION

- 2 -

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

We are free to live and love and laugh.

We are free even to fight - when we feel like it - among
ourselves.



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INSERT X

Farmers have received during this Administration twenty-five Millions 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 1932.

Farmers of the country can buy \$327,000,000 more of goods and services this year, than they could buy in 1932.



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1933-1945

From the Pages of
Samuel I. Rosenman

I named some prominent Republican leaders including
Senators McNary, 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 those three Republican
leaders will be as famous as Winken, Blinken and Nod.

Their names are, Martin, Barton and Fish.



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From the Papers of
Samuel L. Rosenberg

I named some prominent Republican leaders, including

in the Congress and
outside the Congress.

Senators Mahary, Vandenberg, Taft, Nye and others.

And that reminds me ^{of a famous} there were ~~three~~ great American poems, 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 I knew three Republican Congressional leaders
who were ~~against everything when they were awake~~ always ^{asleep} to
to have been asleep at the switch when American defense needed ~~this note~~,
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.

in particular
for anything in
particular or

who had dreams something they were
awake

Insert 2

[By these votes the farmers of the Nation will know what to expect from the Government of the United States in the way of assistance to agriculture if the Republican leaders were to obtain control of the Government. For, as I pointed out last Monday, these same Republican leaders will be the ones who will shape their party policy in Congress, whether they are the minority or the majority party.

I wish to name among those who took the lead in opposing some or all of these bills, Republican leaders Vandenberg, Lodge and Taft.]

But there is one Republican leader in the Congress in whom the people of Massachusetts have a particular interest. I mention him particularly because he is now the Chairman of the Republican National Committee and frames the policies of the Republican party. I mention him because if his party obtains control of the Congress he will become Speaker of the House of Representatives, with all of the power and influence and prestige which goes with that office.

I mention him particularly because when he was selected for the office of Chairman of the Republican National Committee, the



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following was said of him as the reason for his choice: "In public life for many years, Joe Martin has represented all that is finest in American public life".

I want to tell you, therefore, about some of the votes of Congressman Martin who seeks to become Speaker Martin or perhaps even Cabinet Officer Martin. I want to give you these votes in order that you may determine for yourself what is meant by the Republican leaders when they say that he represents the finest in American Public life.

Congressman Martin voted against relief appropriations.

He voted against the development of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

He voted against the extension of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

He voted against practically all relief and work relief measures.

He voted against the Public Utility Holding Company Act. [He voted against continuation of the electric home and farm authority.] He voted against the appropriation of one hundred million dollars for

[the] Rural Electrification [Authority]. He voted against the United

States Housing Act. He voted against the National Securities Exchange Act. He voted against the Guffey [Energy] Coal Bill. [He

voted against the repeal of the embargo to permit us to sell munitions to the democracies of Europe and Asia. [He voted against the



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SAMUEL I. ROSENSTEIN

Civil Service Extension Act.

But what I particularly want to say to the farmers of the Nation is that Republican leader Martin, who seeks to become Speaker Martin or perhaps even Secretary of Agriculture Martin, voted against every single one of the measures recommended by this Administration for the relief of the farmers of the Nation, [including all of those which I mentioned a short while ago.]

And I repeat, the reason I mention Joe Martin's votes particularly is that the Republican leaders have designated him as the man who has represented all that is finest in public life.

Among the other Republican leaders who [during their service in the Congress] have voted [almost] consistently against every measure for the relief of agriculture have been [Congressman Fish and Congressman Barton.] *The other two*

The record is crystal clear, that practically no relief would have been given to the farmers of this Nation if the decision had been left to Martin, Barton and Fish.



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Samuel L. Rosenman
From the Papers of

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 -- Maine and Vermont.

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

I named some of these prominent Republican Congressional leaders, including those modern counterparts of Winken, Blinken and Nod -- namely Martin, Barton and Fish.

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.



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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.

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

Actual production is increasing with every passing week.

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

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

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

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



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WITH INDEXES

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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

We have 119 ships under construction, today.

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

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

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



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West Park, L. I., N. Y.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 defense effectiveness of naval bases in our outlying territories — the Aleutian Islands, Alaska, the Panama Canal, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and other islands in the Pacific.

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

And within the past six weeks your Government has acquired eight new naval and air bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean. They extend all the way from Newfoundland in the north to that part of South America where the Atlantic Ocean begins to get narrow. Construction of these bases is already under way.

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



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WING PARK, N. Y.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

That is the record of the growth of our Navy. Side-line critics may carp in a campaign. But most Americans are mighty proud of that record.

And I must remind you of what I said last Monday. When the Naval Expansion Bill came up in 1938 the vast majority of Republican members of the Congress voted against building additional battleships.

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 aforethought 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 *President*
Samuel I. Rosenman

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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RECORDED IN REVERSE INDEX
MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

REGISTRATION NUMBER
RICHARD T. LEEHAN
FROM THE PAPERWORK OF
RICHARD T. LEEHAN

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.

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

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

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

Building on the foundation provided by orders placed last winter and in the spring, the British are now receiving a steady stream of airplanes. After three months of blitzkrieg in the air, the strength of the Royal Air Force is actually greater now than when the blitzkrieg began. And this increase in strength despite battle losses is due in part to the purchases made from American airplane industries. These purchases will be of ever increasing importance.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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

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

The productive capacity of the United States, which has made it the greatest industrial country in the world, will not fail now. It will make us the strongest air power in the world.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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

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

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

The facts about the building up of the Army are well known to you. Most certainly we do not want a large standing army. But the Nation does want its men trained. That is what we are doing today.



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WEST PARK, N. Y.

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Samuel I. Rosenman

What about our Army? This Nation has never liked large armises. Until recently we have never felt the need of them. But unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the peace of America against unprecedented threats.

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

Since the day when Poland was invaded, we have more than doubled the size of our regular Army from 176,000 enlisted men to 354,000 enlisted men. Adding to this the Federalized National Guardsmen, our armed land forces now equal more than 436,000 enlisted men.

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The Army has on hand 2,000,000 Lee-Enfield and Springfield rifles -- as fine a rifle as is being used in Europe. We are now building up a supply of the new Garand automatic rifles at the rate of 11,700 a month. That rate of production will increase.

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

After November fifth, I shall invite some of these orators to Washington to eat their words.

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

The plain fact is that construction is now in progress on two hundred and thirty-five Army housing projects. By January fifth, next, I am assured by the Chief of Staff that there will be housing for nine hundred and thirty thousand soldiers.



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WHITE HOUSE, W. C. T.

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There has never been such quick, speedy construction of
adequate new housing for men called to service.

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

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

And while I am talking to you mothers and fathers, I give you
one more assurance -- lest you have been misled by any false alarmists:

Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.
They are going into training to form a force so strong that,
by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from
our shores.

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

The purpose of our defense is defense.

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

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

We shall be invincible.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

If back in 1915, we had enacted a Selective Service Law, and had the same armed defenses as we have now, I firmly believe that the German Empire would not have dared to declare unrestricted submarine warfare. It was that violent action of 1917 which was directly responsible for getting us into the World War.

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



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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 discussed in Philadelphia last week the falsifications which Republican campaign orators were making about the economic 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 ten cent corn, twenty cent wheat, five cent cotton, three cent hogs.

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



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

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.

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

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

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

Over a million farms have been electrified since 1932.



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

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

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

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

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



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JULY 1 1940
RECORDED IN INDEX
JOHN T. HANNAH

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

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

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

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

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

Our school luncheon program will this year reach forty-threes thousand schools and three million children with milk and other foods which ward off the threat of mal-nutrition.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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

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

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

In 1933, Republicans in the Congress (both houses) voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act by 85 to 52.

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

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

And even in 1940, they voted against parity payments by 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.



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The American farmers will not be deceived by pictures of G.I.A.
Guard candidates and holding company executives, patting cows and pitching
hay in front of moving picture cameras.

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

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

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

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

Joe Martin voted against relief appropriations.

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

Joe voted against the United States Housing Act.

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

What I particularly want to say to the farmers of the Nation is that Republican leader Martin, who seeks to become Speaker Martin or perhaps even Secretary of Agriculture Martin, voted against every single one of the farm measures recommended by this Administration.



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And I repeat, the reason I mention Joe Martin's votes particularly is that the Republican leaders have designated him as the man "who has represented all that is finest in public life".

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

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

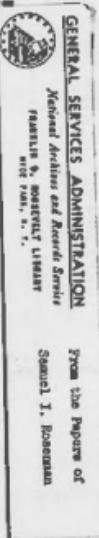
I'm enjoying this campaign. I'm really having a fine time.

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

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

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

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



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

We are free to live and love and laugh.

We are free even to fight -- when we feel like it -- among ourselves.

* * * * *



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(A)

Building on the foundation provided by orders placed last winter and in the spring, the British are now receiving a steady stream of airplanes. The strength of the Royal Air Force, after three months of Blitzkrieg of the air, is actually greater now than when the Blitzkrieg began. And this increase in strength despite battle losses is due in part to the contribution made by American airplane industries, and the American contribution will be of ever increasing importance.

The British have now asked for permission to negotiate again with American manufacturers for another 12,000 additional planes. I have directed 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 28,000, and require extra plant facilities so that the present program of building planes for military purposes both for the United States and Great Britain will not be interrupted. Also large additional orders are being negotiated for artillery, machine guns, rifles, and tanks with equipment and ammunition. The plant capacity necessary to produce all of this military equipment will be available to serve the needs of the United States in any emergency.

NOTES

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 first-
hand 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



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NOTES

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 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 single fact is well understood by the government of Ferdinand Thyssen, the tycoon of Germany in our midst soft pedal it because they might lose more control.



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