

and not a lease and a sharing of sovereignty—and consequent sharing of trouble—with some other power. We now have these bases on a lease in exchange for which we have agreed to send 50 destroyers abroad. This is the same as saying that we agreed to send a part of our Navy. Let us call things by their true names.

The Consequences of Giving Away Part of Our Fleet

I ask you to consider some of the consequences of this act. First, we deplete our own admittedly inadequate one-ocean Navy.

It is said that we were not using these ships. I point out that we are not using the Army and Navy. We hope never to use them. We have them so that we shall not have to use them.

It is said that these ships were obsolete. I submit that they are not obsolete for the training of men in all the arts of seamanship, navigation, gunnery and engineering. We do not know how many officers and men are being deprived of important training because of the loss of these destroyers, but there must be many. And in active battle service in the fleet they are far better than no ships at all.

Our Need for "Obsolete" Equipment

A short time ago, as a Reserve Officer, I served a tour in a company of tanks. Some of these vehicles were obsolete. But men could be taught driving, repairing, tactics, gunnery and signal communication in these tanks. And these tanks are better than no tanks at all.

Moreover, our 400 tanks here are worth more than 400 tanks in the battle of Flanders. In that battle 400 tanks were destroyed in a day. They can be used over and over here to train separate sets of men.

Keep Our Weapons for Defense of America

I urge that our weapons be kept for our own defense. That is my personal plea. I submit further, however, that if weapons are to be sent abroad, it should be done in the open, after debate, with public participation by consent of Congress. If we really want to send weapons abroad, let us do it wholeheartedly and consciously—not slip sideways into the chasm.

Let the People Decide on War or Peace

Of course this is not the only aspect of the matter which should have been submitted to Congress. The sending of destroyers makes us a partner in the hostilities. Whether or not you agree with this, should not the people have a say in so vital a matter?

It makes the American people a partner in the enforcement of the blockade. Whether or not you agree with this, should not the people have a say in so vital a matter?

I submit not only that they should have a say, but that we should know what more weapons of ours it is planned to send. With rumors current that two-thirds of our aircraft production is going abroad, the time has come for us to settle this question. Either we want to train American boys to fly military planes or we do not. If we do, the planes must be here.

We Vitally Need Every Flying Fortress

We also hear of a plan to send 32 of our 4-engined bombers—the so-called flying fortress—abroad. We have 46 of these planes. No one has ever suggested that these ships were obsolete. They are so modern and up-to-date as to be almost unique. European nations, having to fight in congested areas, have not set so much store by the long range plane as we have who are situated between two vast oceans. We must, of course, look towards Europe, but we must also look towards the Pacific and towards the Caribbean. These are areas in which long-range planes are of the utmost value.

I pass over the fact that we do not allow a man to fly one of these planes until he has been flying for four years. If these ships were sent abroad, they would almost inevitably be flown by inexperienced crews with a consequently greater risk of destruction or of falling into enemy hands. Very few pilots in Europe have flown a 4-engined ship, or have had experience as a member of a crew of a 4-engined ship. It is a very complex job and we cannot train men in the operation of these ships unless we have the ships. We ought to have a thousand of them; we only have 46. It would indeed be deplorable if we found ourselves left with only 14.

One Quarter Million Dollars— One Year to Build

Nor should we forget that these planes cost about one quarter of a million dollars and that when pro-