Franklin D. Roosevelt — "The Great Communicator" The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

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FROM PUBLICITY BUREAU DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

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> W.J.Cochran, Director of Publicity.

Speech of Hon.Franklin L. Roosevelt, of New York, Accepting Demonstric Nomination for the Vice-Presidency At Hyde Park,N. Y., on Aug.Sth,1820. Mr. Cummings and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Committee:

I accept the nomination for the office of Vice-President with humbleness and with a deep wish to give to our beloved country the best that is in me. We one could receive a higher privilege or opportunity than to be thus associated with men and ideals which I am confident will soon receive the support of the majority of our citizens.

In fact, I could not conscientiously accept it if I had not come to know by the closest intimacy that he who is our selection for the Presidency, and who is my chief and yours, is a man possessed of ideals which are also mine. He will give to Amèrica that kind of leadership which will make us respect him and bring further greatness to our land. In James M. Cox I recognize one who can lead this nation forward in an unhalting march of progress.

Two great problems will confront the next administration; our relations with the world and the pressing need of organized progress at home. The latter includes a systematized and intensified development of our resources and a progressive betwerment of our citizenship. These matters will require the guiding hard of a President who can see his country above his party, and who, having a clear vision of things as they are, has also the independence, courage and skill to guide us along the road to things as they should be without swerving one footstep at the dictation of narrow partisens who whisper "party" or of selfish interests that murmur "profits".

In our world problems, we must either shut our eyes, sell our newly built merchant marine to more far-seeing foreign powers, crush utterly by embargo and harassing legislation our foreign trade, close our ports, build an impregnable wall of costly armaments and live, as the Orient used to live, a hermit nation, dreaming of the past: or, we must open our eyes and see that modern civilization has become so complex and the lives of civilized men so interwoven with the lives of other men in other countries as to make it impossible to be in this world and not of it. We must see that it is impossible to avoid except by monastic seclusion those honorable and intimate foreign relations which the fearful-hearted shudderingly miscoll by that Devil's catchword "international complications".

As for our home proble.., we have been awakened by this war into a startled realization of the archaic shortcomings of our governmental machinery and of the meed for the kind of re-organization which only a clear thinking business man, experienced in the technicalities of governmental procedure, can carry out. Such a man we have. One who has so successfully reformed the business management of his own great State is obviously capable of doing greater things. This is not time to experiment with men who believe that their party can do no wrong and that what is good for the selfish interests of a political party is of necessity good for the nation as well. I as citizen believe that this year we should choose as President a proved executive. We need to do things; not to talk about them.

Much has been said of late about good Americanism. It is right that it should have been said, and it is right that every ohance should be seized to repeat the basic truths underlying our prosperity and our national existence itself. But it would be an unusual and much to be wished for thing if in the coming presentation of the issues a new note of fairness and generosity could be struck. Littleness, meanness, falsehood, extreme partisanship - these are not in accord with the American spirit. I like to think that in this respect also we are moving forward,

Let us be definite. We have passed through a great war, and armed conflict which called forth every effort on the part of the whole population. The war was won by Republicans as well as by Democrats. Men of all parties served in our armed. forces. Men and women of all parties served the government at nome. They strived honestly as Americans, not as mere partisans. Republicans and Democrats alike worked in administrative positions, raised Liberty loans, administered food control, toiled in munition plants, built ships. The wer was brought to a successful conclusion by a glorious common effort- one which in the years to come will be a national pride. I feel very certain that our children will come to regard our participation as memorable for the broad honor am honesty which marked it, for the absence of

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Pfortunate scandal, and for the splendid unity of action which extended to every position of the nation. It would, therefore, not only serve little purpose, but would conform ill to our high standards if any person should in the heat of political rivalry sek to manufacture political advantage out of a nationally conuted struggle. We have seen things on too large a scale to ston in this day to trifles, or to believe in the adequacy of filing men.

It is that same vision of the bigger outlook of national id individual life which will, I am sure, lead us to demand that ... e men who represent us in the affairs of our government shall be .ore than politicans or the errand boys of politicians - that they hall subordinate always the individual ambition and the party .vantage to the national good. In the long run the true statesman id the honestly forward looking party will prevail.

Even as the Nation entered the war for an ideal, so it has emerged from the war with the determination that the ideal hall not die. It is idle to pretend that the war declaration of April 6th,1917, was a mere act of self-defense, or that the object of our participation was solely to defeat the military power of two Central Nations of Europe. We knew then as a Nation, even as the know today, that success on land and sea could xmx be but half a victory. The other half is not won yet. To the cry of the French at Verdun; "They shall not pass"; the cheer of our own men in the Argonne: "We shall go through" - we must add this: "It shall not occur again." This is the positive declaration of our own wills: that the world shall be saved from a repetition of this crime.

To this end the democratic party offers a treaty of peace, which, to make it a real treaty for a real peace MUST include a beague of Nations; because Ass peace treaty, if our best and bravest are not to have died in vain, must be no thinly disguised immistice devised by cynical statesmen to mask their preparations or a renewal of greed-dusphred conquests later on. "Peace" must mean peace that will last. A practical, workable, permanent, enforcible kind of a peace that will hold as tightly as the business contracts of the individual. We must indeed be, above all things,

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businesslike and practical in this peace treaty making all " " " " " business of ours. The League of Nations is a practical solution of a practical situation. It is no more perfect than our original 'onstitution, which has been amended 18 times and will soon, we hope se amended the 19th, was perfect. It is not anti-national, it is anti-war. No supernation, binding us to the decisions of its tibunals, is suggested, but the method and machinery by which .e opinion of civilization may become effective against those who isk war is at last within the reach of humanity. Through it we with nearly every other duly constituted government iss the . ley throw our moral force and our potential power into the scale peace. That such an object should be contrary to American .icy is unthinkable; but if there be any citizen who has honest is that it may be perverted from its plain intent so as to con-.ict with our established form of government, it will be simple to plare to him and to the other nations that the Constitution of the ited States is in every way supreme. There must be no equivotion, no vagueness, no double dealing with the people on this ssue. The League will not die. An idea does not die which me eta e call of the hearts of our mothers.

So,too, with peace. War may be "declared"l peace cannot. Must be established by mutual consent, by a meeting of the minds the parties in interest. From the practical point of view alone eace by resolution of Congress is unworkable. From the point view of the millions of splendid Americane who served in that wirlwind of war, and of those other millions at home who saw, if our part of the conflict, the splendid hope of days of peace or future generations, a peace by resolution of Congress is an isult and a denial of our national purpose.

Today we are offered a seat at the table of the family i nations to the end that smaller peoples may be truly safe to "rk out their own destiny, to the end that the sword shall not illow on the heels of the merchant, to the end that the burden

increasing armies and navies shall be lifted from the shoulders t a world already staggering under the weight of taxation. We hill take that place. I say so because I have faith -- faith that is nation has no selfish destiny, faith that our people are

looking into the years beyond for better things, and that they are not afraid to do their part.

The fundamental outlook on the associations between this Republic and the other Nations can never be very different in character from the principles which one applies to our own purely internal affairs. A man who opposes concrete reforms and improvements in international relations is of necessity a reactionary, or at least a conservative in viewing his home problems.

We can well rejoice in our great land, in our great oitizenship brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues, but to fulfill our true destiny we must be glad also for the opportunity ity for greater service. So much calls to us for action, and the need is so pressing that the slacker of peace is a greater menace than the slacker of war. Progress will come not through the talkers, but through the doers.

It is for this reason that I am especially happyin in the pledges given in the platform of the Democratic party. That document is definite. It is a solemn pledge that, given the authority, our party will accomplish clear aims.

Among the most pressing of these national needs I place the bettering of our citizenship, the extension of teaching to over 5,000,000 of our population above the age of ten who are illiterate, the strengthening of our **imigration** laws to exclude the physically and morally unfit, the improvement of working conditions especially in the congested centers, the extension of communications to make rural life more attractive, the further protection of child life and of women in **didustry**. All of these demand action. If we raise the standard of edupation, of physical fitness, of moral sense, the generations to come will have no difficulty in coping with the problems of material economice.

So also with regard to the further development of our natural resources we offer a constructive and definite objective. We begin to appreciate that as a nation we have been wasteful of our opportunities. We need not merely thrift by saving, but thrift by the proper use of what we have at hand.

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urn efforts in the past have been scattered. It is now time to undertake a well considered, co-ordinated plan of development, so that each year will see progress along definite lines. The days of "pork-barrel" legislation are over. Every dollar of our expenditures for port facilities, for inland waterways, for flood control, for the reclamation of swamp and arid lands, for high-"ays, for public buildings, shall be expended only by trained ren in accordance with a continuing plan.

The golden rule of the true public servant is to give to his work the same or even higher interest and efficiency than he would give to his private affairs. There is no reason why the effectiveness of the National Government should not at least approximate that of well conducted private business. Today this is not the case, I may be pardoned if I draw on my experience of over seven years in an administrative position to state unequivocally that the government machinery requires reorganization. The system, especially since the war, **has** become antiquated. No mere budget system, much as we need that, will correct the faults.

First of all the methods of the legislative branch of the National Government, especially in the upper House require drastic changes. It is safe to say that the procedure of the Congress has progressed less with the times than in **apy** other business body in the country. Yet it is upon the Congress that every executive department must wait. Appeals to the House and Senate in the last session fell on apparently deaf ears.

In the administrative branch also great changes must take place. The functions of the departments should be redistributed along common-sense lines and methods provided to standardize and prevent duplication of effort. Further, it is high time that Government dmployment be placed upon a proper level. Under the safeguard of civil service the salaries must approximate those paid in private employ. Today we are faced with the fact that the majority of the most efficient Government employes leave the service when they are becoming most valuable. The less useful remain. Many millions of dollars could be saved to the tax-payers by reclassification of the service, by the payment of adequate compensation and by the vigid elimination of those who fail to measure up to a high standard. All of this also has been called to the attention of the present Congress without mesult, and Congress only can authorize the remedy.

It is a particular pleasure to know that if we are sustained by the people in the election, the country will have as its chief executive a man who has already amply established his reputation as a successful administrator by the reorganization of the business methods of a great state. He is an engineerstatesman. The task before the National Government can also be assisted by a sympathetic co-operation between the executive and the legislative branches, and in this work partisanship must not enter.

In the consideration of the needs of the country and the conduct of its affairs I like to dwell particularly on that part of Lincoln's immortal phrase which speaks of "Government for the People." Service on the part of men and women in the Government is not enough; it must be unselfish service, it must be service with sufficient breadth of view to include the needs and conditions of every kind of citizen, of every section of the land.Such a body of workers would make impossible a return to the conditions of twenty years ago when men in the halls of the Congress and in the executive branches almost openly represented special interests or considered the obtaining of approxpriations for their own localities as of more weight than the welfare of the United States as a whole. Such a spirit of unselfishness would prevent also the formation of cliques or oligarchies in the Senate for the retaiding of public business.

Some people have been saying of late: "We are tired of progress, we want to go back to where we were before; to go about Our own business; to restore 'normal' conditions." They are wrong, This is not the wish of America. We can never go back. The "good old days" are gone past forever; we have no regrets. For our eyes are trained ahead---forward to better new days. In this faith I am strengthened by the firm belief that the -

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women of this nation, now about to receive the National franchise, will throw their weight into the scale of progress and will be unbound by partisan prejudices and a too narrow outlook on national problems. We cannot anchor our ship of state in this world tempest, nor can we return to the placid harbour of long years ago. We must go forward or founder.

America's opportunity is at hand. We can lead the world by a great example, we can prove this nation a living, growing thing, with policies that are adequate to new conditions. In a thousand ways this is our hour of test. The Democratic program offers a larger life for our country, a richer destiny for our people. It is a plan of hope. In this, chiefly let it be our aim to build up, not to tear down. Our opposition is to the things which once existed, in order that they may never return. We oppose money in politics, we oppose the private control of national finances, we oppose the treating of human beings as commodities, we oppose the salcon-bossed city, we oppose starvation wages, we oppose rule by groups or cliques. In the same way we oppose a mere period of coma in our national life.

A greater America is our objective. Definite and continuing study shall be made of our industrial, fiscal and social problems. Definite and continuing action shall result therefrom, and neither the study nor the action shall be left to emotional caprice or the opportunism of any groups of men. We need a co-operation of the ablest and the wisest heads in the land, irrespective of their polites. So we shall grow -sanely, humanly,honorably,happily -- conscious at the end that we handed on to those that follow us the knowledge that we have not allowed to grow dim the light of the American spirit brought hither three hundred years ago by the Pilgrim Fathers.

The coming years are laden with significance, and much will depend on the immediate decision of America. This is the time when men and women must determine for themselves wherein our future lies. I look to that future for progress: in the

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establishment of good will and mutual help among nations, in the ending of wars and the miseries that wars bring, in the extension of honorable commerce, in the international settlement which will make it unnecessary to send again two million. of our men across the sea. I look to our future for progress; in better citizenship, in less wasts, in fairer remuneration for our labor, in more efficient governing, in higher standards of living.

To this future I dedicate myself, willing whatever may be the choice of the people to continue to help as best I em able. It is the faith which is in me that makes me very certain that America will choose the path of progress and set aside the doctrines of despair, the whispering of cowardice, the narrow road to yesterday. May the Guiding Spirit of our land keep our feet on the broad road that leads to a better tomorrow and give to us strength to carry on. ######