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

Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt's Political Ascension

File No. 215

1920 October 18

Grand Haven, MI - Campaign Speech


CIHCLHIATI, WIO. 00. B6, 1020

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There is one phase of the present campaign that is likely to be overlooked in the intensive days just preceding the election, but the effects of which will be far-eaching. I refer to the continued and persistent efforts of the Republican camcatering paign managers in wietitig to that type of voter which is not yet fully Americanize. Under a guise of patriotism, with a great waving of flags and trite phrases of petty oratory, Ropublican spell-bindera for weeks have been making an appeal to racial hatreds and prejudices.

By these appeals, in mary instances based on false promises and misstatements of fact, they are stirring up a tumult of hostile felling toward other countries that will continue to bear evil fruit long after the present election has become a memory. In many instances these speakers are deliberately inflameIng the passions of their hearers, orating oneraity toward those countires with whose soldiers our boys fought side by side in the late war, countries that are still our Allies, and countries that will, God willing, continue to be our Allies in the great work that confronts the civilized nations in rebuilding the world after the storms of the great war.

WIld charges are banded about by Republican orators, who, reit raving with "internationalising, would lead the 111-informed to believe that all other countries are plotting against us. Foolish appeals are made for us to live our own life and let Trope go hang; to attend to our own affairs and not meade with those of other countries, Just as though it were possible for us
or any other nation to live a life of national isolation. How utterly impossible suoh a national oxistence in the present age is too apparent to require any explanation, but carried out to Its logial conslusion, the present Republican anti-league policy would lead to just that.

It is haraly conceivable how the more progreasive element anong the Ropubliean Party Leaders can continue their support of Senator Harding. Were he oven a standpatter - a congervative of conservatives, it seems to me it would be aasier for them to follow him. His apparent inability to say what he means, or to mean what he says, should make him absolutely hopeless as a standard bearer from a prograssive point of view. Day after day his indeciaion and vacillation becomes more apparent. Since the time he firat ywlded openly to to Borah's thrests and came out flatly against the League of Nations, the Sonator's troubles have been increasing daily and his tagk of keeping the pro and anti-leaguers of his own party in ine has become a desperate problem - In fact so desperate has it become that there are gigns that near panio reigns in the Republican eamp. Desertions Irom the Rapubliaan ranks by indopendent thinking voters, dimgusted with the atradaling policy of their standard-bearer, has brought a forceful realization to the Republican Leaders of the tremendous spread of sentiment from hembagrise cosat to coast for Cox and the League. So marized is this turn in the tide as reports asme in from sil parts of the Country, the leaders in desperation have teken a new tack and are making a frantio appeal to the hundreds of thousands of pro-leaguers in their ranks to atand firm for Harding. This is illustrated by the wtatement a couple of day ago of thirty-
one prominent Republicans in reitorating their intention to *upport Harding. On record as being unalterably opposed to the League of Mations, Senator Heraing last night, evidentiy under pressure from snother source, tried to hedge a littie on his "irreconcilable" stand, but so deeply has he committed. himself to an open eupport of Borah and his "Berep the league" plan that it is imposible for him to sgain fool his followert by meaningiesa phrases that can be interpreted any way the reader desires.

In this oonnection I want to call your attention to a good turn which young Mr. Will Hays and the Republioan National Coumittee have done for us. In faot, they have done us atend a good turn that I am inolinod, to think "something wes put over" on them from the inside. It rooks as though some good Denoorat might have been working around their headquarters. I refer, of course, to the numberless hutige mignbearde, erected from the epparently 11 mitless fund which the Ropublicans have, which are seattered all over the Country. They bear the likeness of Senstor Haraing and hie runningmate and elongaide of the Senator ${ }^{\prime}$ e picture are the words which we oan deoided to adopt as one of the Democratic slogans - "Lat us have done with wiggle and wobble". With Senator Harding roveraing himselif more a dosen times during the past two weoks in his attitude on the League of Hations, it is highly fitting thet we Demoorats should ery from the house-tops - "Iat us have done with wiggle and wobble".

Were we willing evon for a moment to sidetrack the great isgue of the carapaign now se clean out there can be no more

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question about 14 , whother the United States ahail onter the existing League of Hations or not, it seems that the paramount quention that the Amarican voting public then would heve to dealde would be - IE senator Harding fitted for the Presidency of the United States? Is a man who reversea his position on the neck most vital. Issue before the American public twelve times in as many days the type of man the American publio wants as 1 ts Chief Executive? Is a man who after oight yoarg in the United States Senato and two years a momber of the Toreign Affairs Commstteo adrits that he has no definite construotive foreign witary programme, though he aspires to the higheat office in the land, Ifted to be the peoplo 's ohoice? In a man who hag proven before election vacillating and weak onough to yield to the opportanitios of the last influence brought to boar upon him, fitted to be ohosen to guide the dastinios of a hundred miliion people.

Senator Harding has done more in the peit two weoks to injure his own cause. Most of us reaileo thst the American public likes a clean-eupt, straight from the shoulder fightor, and that it does not $12 k$ men in public lifo who may one thing and mean another - tho take an attitule one dey and "rilpmilop" out of it the next. Senator Harding has made his own bed, and to hire goes muoh of the eredit for the influz of independent Republicams voters in to the Democratio camp. Friends of the League among the Republioans, realising the gupreme impertance of the iasue and appraciating that they can regain thoir party affiliations after this elestion, are Rlying by the thousands to the support of Governer Cox, disguinted with Senator Harding's aligmaent with

Senator Borah and the "irreconcilables" and his aubsequent attempts to placate the 06 promeague sentiment in his party, although unwilling or afraid to throw overboard Borah's plans to "sarsp" the Leagre.

If Senator Harding is correctly quoted in dispatohes from St. Louis, he lays himself open to the severest criticism. He is quoted as saying that "Prance has sent her spokesman to me, informally asking America in its new realization of the situation to lead the way for an association of Nations". As he always does, Senator Harding clothes this statement in language that leaves loopholes for escape. It fo benenolity interpreted by
 proval from the French Government of his nebulous scheme of a new association of nations which he proposes to offer as a substitute after he has "scrapped" the present League, to which forty-one of the world's great powers already belong. It would be expecting too much of Senator Harding, of course, to expect him to make his statement unequivocsily and in plain English, for he does not seem to have the formula for doing that.

On the face of it, there seems to be but two interpretations that can be placed upon this statement which is accredit$\theta$ ed to Senator Harding. The first of these is that some accredited representative of the French Government has made representations to Senator Harding. If this be true, and I for one have no hesitancy in saying that I do not belleve it is, Senator Harding has been guilty as a private citizen of an autocratic usurpation of the powers thet belong only to accreditad officials of the United States French Goveryent places pimself in a pojition which yould automatically pake him peraghaty non grata with the Uny-ed States Government. It is a hord and fast rule lof diplomedey in this
country that no सlplomatic representative of another country s shall interest himself in the Internal political affairs of the United prates, and there fo at least one potable instance I recall of ap Ambassador of a friendly power be ing summarily yithdfawn from his post in Washington for taking part in a political campaign.

The second interpretation that can be put upon this statement is that some person, a private individual without credentials and without any right to speak for France or the French Government, has been communicating with Senator Harding.

Where it not possible that some easily disturbed soul might accuse me of indulging in personalities, I would go here farther and suggest the possibility that the amiable Senator had been victimized by some adventurer.

Of course, there is still another possible explanation, but it is inconceivable that Senator Harding, even in the days of threatened defeat, would stoop to an actual deliberate deception. It is not so inconceivable, however, in view of the campaign that has been waged to date by the Republican leaders, that certain of them have not done this very thing and arranged, may I call it "freme-up" on their own standard bearer.

Whatever the explanation, there is one outstanding fact that I am sure all fair-minded people, (Democrats and Republicans alike, will agree upon - that is that Senator Harding owes it to the American people, of any political faith, to elaborate on the St. Louis statement.

This is a question, the answer to which the American
public will demand. There can be no evading it - no cloaking a reply in phrases ospable of any interpretation. Our people are In no temper for any deception or further sidestepping in this campaign. The "wiggle-wobble" policy will not serve.

In the same speech Senstor Harding is also quoted as saying that England has said through Premiar lizoyd George and Viscount Grey that Americs should revise and amend so as to make the Leag'e of Nations possible?

Of course, this is a preposterous statement, as all of us who have been keeping track of current events know. It is one of those apparently carelessly thrown in bits of deception evidentIy used in an attempt to bolster up the other more direct statement regarding France's attitude.

With the Republican leaders confronted by the gigantic swing of sentiment toward Governor Cox and the League of Iations and in dire straits, unable to anything to check this swing but realizing that it means defeat, desperate messures seem their only hope. Full well has the Democratic campaign of information about the League of Nations done its work. The public is ho ionger dif being fooled by the bugaboos with which the political opponents of the League have tried to frighten them. The Country is realizing that instead of being a menace and a breader of wars, as the Republicans would have them belleve, that it is the only hope of the world for a speedy restoration of peace to the world and a guarantee against wars in the future.

It will take something more than a vague statement by Senator Harding that other countries favor his plan to stem the tide
of desertion from the Republican ranks by voters disgusted with the filp-flops of their Leader and the unsavory tactics of the Republican campaign. There are probably not a hundred people in the United States who believe what apperently Senator Harding would have them believe - that he has received assurances of support from the French Government for his imaginary association of nations.

He has done too much saying one thing one day and retracting it the next to have people take any statement from him seriously.

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