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

Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt's Political Ascension

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Bronx, NY -
Campaign Speech Reaction vs. Liberal

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apDress of covfraior franklin \(D_{0}\) ROOSEVETE AI HUNTS POINT PALACE, ERONX, REW YORX CIIT YONDAE EVERIDG, OCTOBER 27, 1930
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I have just returned from a trip around the State during which I hove been discussing in large cities, in small cities, in villages, and at the oross roads, problems of government. I have been speniding of fundemental matters of sdministretion at Albany, - I heve been discuasing the forwerd march which the government of the State has been making. I have also pointed out the obstacles met with during these last two years, and indeed over a period of the last eight years.

In any government, in any nation, and at any time from long before the days of ancient Greece down to the present there have been two arnies inned mplacing anch other, in constant combat. On the one side is the army of reaction, of do nothing, of special privilege and on the other the army of 1 ibersl thought and grogres ive action.

In ay own political experience I go beck to the many years when the goverament of the State of Ilew York was under the control of the aray of resction, - the days mhen year after year no progresaive legislation was pleced on our statute books and the actusl sethods of edainistering government remained archaic and out of date.

Toar artar year the governsent of the State grem in size with the growth of population but erew without any plan or system. Function wes ndded to function, bureau to bureeu, and the net reault was a scattored uncoosdinated mans of atate governoont meohinesy which was funotioning inefficiontly and in most enses for morely politiesl or partigan rescons.

Fo In the State of Few Yorik have been very fortunate that for the past elght years the old aupresacy of the aray of reaction has been removed. For eight yeare under progreasive lendership by the executave portions of the Albany goverasent the aray of liberal thought has been in control. The aredit for this belongs primarily to the active leadership of a wen who was the spokesman for the ilberal forces, the man who fron the days of the Constitutional Comvention of 1915 led the forces of reconstruction throughout the State - former Governor Alfred E. Saith.

I like to visualise this long struggle as a contest between tro exades. Every inch of the way we have had wariare - sometimes open, sometises hidden but all through these jeera the srigy which Governor Smith and I have led has been sniped at and shelled and obstructed by the legislative leaders who captained the opposing forces. I need not remind you how bitteriy all of the meanures for government reorganizethion, for social legislation, and for new messures to care for new conditions, have been opposed in the legialative halls at Albany, and how the Republicin terdere in many skimiswhes huve seemingly and on the surface proclaimed that there was no battie at all, but heve secretly and under cover sought to defest the proposals at the polls.

It is a notemorthy fact in the history of our state that the arey of liberal thought has been eble to sasntain the offensive, to carry the battle to their enemies with success year after your. What is the reason for thist It seems to me that it is becuuse the overwhelaing majority of voters in this state recognize the fact that the wsr in the cause of 11 bbor l thought mast, if mucesseful, be corried on by an smy fighting a contimuous battle over a wide front rathor than by a aeries
of regivents each fighting on its own front without any relationship to all the other regiments.

I do not have to ask you which army you belong to. Jou have given clear proof of your desire to continue in the ramks of libernal thought, clenr proof that you will continue to oppose any advance or attack by the worn out forces of reaction.

What I want to keep before you is this pleture of a united asay. What are the regiments which compose itt Each one along the miles of battle front is a regiment of economic thought in itself, each one carried with it the great force and utrongth of social approvel and the comsendation of intelligent public opinion. Sach one is armed and reinforced zith the double deteraination to adivance on its own front and at the sese time to help the regisents on either alde to sdvence sith it.

Let me call the roll of these regiments.
Here is the regisent of Libersl legisletion, - statute ofter statute providing more protection and more adequate division of the fruits of business and industiry for the laboring men, women, and chiliren of the State. Better factory conditions, - shorter hours for both men and women, comprehensive moricsen'a componsation for accidents and industerial disessea, stricter enforcement of protective lars, cereful factory inspection. Do you belang to thnt reginent? It is a unit in the vast army which every yenr makes a definite guin of ground. Opposed to this unit are the historic forces of blockede in Albany, - never ready to suggest anything new, - alway two or three or a dosen years late in rocognising the publie deand for onlightened advance.

Hext in line is the reglaent battling for ndequate hosplsal
facilities for the unfortunste wards of the State, - all of its unita aeeicing to and once and for all the conditions of overarowing that affect the day by day existence of fifty-five thousand of our follow citisens.

Next In inn is the reginent seeking a decent prison and correctional policy for the State. Here too are those growing numbers who understand that the crime and prison problems can be solved if we will recogulse that the prisoners of the State are human beings and that the overwhelwing majority of them will sone day come beck to our midst as part of our own commanities.

Then cosss thet splendid regiment of men and somen who have 30 zeeentiy won the notsble victory in behalf of old age security againat want, - a regiment which not content with this victory is seelding to gain additional ground.

Wow we come to tro great regiments recruited from all over the State, regiments composed of men and women who are fighting to end exceasaive and axorbitant rates for electricity in the homes, for telephones, sind other utilities, - people who are fighting for a great principle in behalf of this generation and all future generatione. And with then are the thousands who sre interested in and understand the drive we are meicing for the development of our mater power resources by a state sgency.

Ifext in the battle array are the hundreds of thousands of those who 1ive In the rural communities senttered from one ond of the State to the other. People who are glad of the reoent victory which relieves thea froes anequnl and owerpowering tazation $=$ people who appresiote the ereat
strides that have been made in the gtudy of their agriculturel and faza problems, and who want the same lexderahip gaintuined.

Stending next to them, shoulder to ahoulder with their brethern from the zursi comunitiea are those milions from the congested sreas of our cities battling for wore light and more air in their Living qunrters, proud of the victory which was accomplished when the smitiple dwellings law was signed by me and hoping to nceonplish still more in their struggle for decent menttary and ressonable living conditions.

Then a kitudred regiment, - the allifons who mpprove and ment an extension of the vast program of parics for the health and recreation of the citizens of the State, the people who go to Jones Beach nnd Beas Mountain and the other great playgrounde throughout the State.

Next in inne come those who want a continuation of the splead ad syaten of educationsl asaistance that has been developed in Albany during the pest few yemra.

Then we come to the reginent of the appreciative users of the great aysten of new highmays and new bridges that caver the State of Hew Foric IIse a net moris.

Finsily the regizent of those who want a continustion of the herlth sessures, the extension of public health work under the leudership of the Stinte and extending not only to the Cities but to every ruyal comeranity; the building up of the Stetemomed Spa st Saratoga Springs for the benefit of our citisens; the work for the oripplea, for the blind, for the deaf, for infured morlcman.

Mile after mile of these reginents are holding the battle front of 11 beyal thought and jorgressive government, Trery regiments
let me repent, has during these past eight years been geining around slowly bat surely and the advance could not have been posaible unless the whole army made up of these regiments hed been contimsouly fighting all along the lino not as individusi units but na a compect whole.

The principles for which these regiments have been fighting affect all the poople of this State. It may be thent certaln sections are more interested in some of these principles than are othera but in the advance of progressive government in the State, wo who have, can not and must not consider welfare only by sectiona. These regiseats are batiling in the intereat of state functions, not locsl functions. Opposed to this far-flung army stand those forces of inertia, of reection, of conservative opposition to the adoption of enything new, under the lesdarship of those same gentlewen sho today and for generations passed are in control of the Republican party. Let se repeat that I have so orten sald that it is the leadership and not the renk and rile of that party which we oppose. It is today as it has been for many years past in the State of Ilew Iork a lesdership of defentism or of complete miapprehension of cither the public will or the public good. It ia based on efther ignorance of the trend of the time or an unwillingness to give eredit to those who have eponsored and lebored for these progresaive measures.

You and I know of that opposition, - you and I know how Inch by inch it has been benten back slowly but positively. You cen take ench and every regisental battle, - the history of one is the history of all. Plak them out at random.

Sake the battle over water power for instance. Fver since

Governor Saith went to Albany each and every year he tried to get the Logislature to start a plan for the development of the water power resources of the State by a state agency. Yenr after year the RepubLican leaders refused to do 1to Tear after year the domand from the people of the Stste becsse more Insiatent, - year after year the Republican leaders ignared it. In 1929, when I first became Governor I renewred the demand on behalf of the people that their water power resources be preserved and developed for their benefite Again in 1929 the lesders of obstruction refused to do 1t. Mineliy, in 1930, they yielded. The Cosmission is now at woric. And so the idet of gublic development of water power is warching on. It still has a long way to go before it cnn resch a successful conclusion. The next Legislature and Governor must first approve any plan brought in by the comsission. Tou and I icnow that a Repabliean legialature and a Republican Goverinor will never look kindly upon a plan of public developeent. For yeare they have been ogenly comaitted to the theory of turning over the water power resources of the state to private corporntions under a lease for a long term of yeors. We heve only to look at the Republican platforms of the last eight years to see how definitely thoy have been comatted to develogment by private companies and even this year, even after the appointment of the comsasion they still refuse to come out definitely for development by a state agency. Even their candidates, who have said practically nothing on this grent aubject of water power when they do gpenk of its devolopment use indefinite snd insincere language. Mot a single one of them has come out for publie development. Mot a single one of thes is interested in chosper electericity for our hoass. The

1dea of public development will certainly get no sympathy from thelle The Demoerstie policy towerds the grent water power of this States does not contemplate the state going into the business of selling electricity to the homes, nor does it seek to deprive any legitisate Investor of his legitimate retura; but it does meek first to regulate public utilities so that they will make a fair return and aecondly to provide a great volume of cheap water made power to make lower rates possible, - and it proposes to control that water power continusuly and perpetually so that there cen be no question that that plan can bo carried out.

Take the batele for the eight-hour day and the forty-elght hour week for women and children in industry. Year after yesr this has appenged in our platform, - yesr after year we have asiced the Leghalature to give it to us, - jear after year, they have refused. Finally, goaded by the force of public opiaion and unsble to resiat the demand any leager they appointed a comission to look into the subject and thus delay it for another yeur. And when thet yesr rolled by and even efter voluainous hearings before the commisaion, the Republican legislative lenders still refused. They tried to deceive the people of the State by pasaing a law to which they gave the false title of a forty-aight hour law but which was really a forty-aine-and-a-half hour law: And so you see the march forward of that piece of sooial legislation was blocked and hindered and fought every foot of the way.

Take the bettie to prohibit injunctions in atrikes without proliminnry heaging. For years the Democratic Party advoceted thato Vor years the epposition leaders refused to give it to us, stronger
and stronger became the force of public opinion and innally this year they retreated at last and passed it.

Take the loag bettie for the bond issue to provide decent eccomodetions for the unfortunate wards of the State. The State had long since committed itself to the policy of taicing care of ite insane but for many perrs it has neglected to provide physieal facilities to keep pace with the great increase in the number of petients. In 1929 I nsked then for a bond iseue so that the State would no longer be ashrind of the overcorowing in its hospitals. They refused to give it to me. I called a conference in the sumser of 1929 and asked the Republican leaders whether they would authorize a bond issue if I celled a spectal session. Again they refused but instesd said they would appropriate Eighteen Million Dollars out of current revenues to build hospitals. Finslly in 1930, after I had appenied time and again to the people of the State by radio, the legislative leaders jlelted and agreed to submit the proposal to you voters this fall. But it took two years to do it. If they had not been the party of obatruction, if they hed been willing to go along with me, we could have saved thet Eighteen Million Dollars cut of current revenues and we could huve used it eselly this year either to reduce texntion or to provide more public morks for the employment of eitizens of our State who otherwise would be unamployed.

And so the battle line moves forward, - esch year a ittile further but eneh year as a closely serried consistent arroy. Marching slong with it es its ohief ally has boen public opinion helping it, urging it forward, laying down the barrage for it anch year on Election Day。

And after all the one great issue in thia eampaign is whether that march forward shall stop now. The one great question to be decided on Election Dey is whether the driving force of public opinion will desert the axny of sooial progress and liberal thought and surrender to that arny of Republican obstruction and blockade which has atood in its way for eight years.

These are the great metters that are of intereat to the people of this State. They will alrays continue to be so. They are and can be the oniy true issues in this eampaign and there is no posaibility of the public of this State being confured on thet.

Fith that in mind, I now cone to Iew Iork City, with respect to which I need make no defense and need no defenders of my conduct as the Covernor of this great State. I abice no reply to those who for obvious political purposes have viciously and maliciously attempted to nisrepresent ay position or to those who sithout knowledge of or practice in governsent, have set thesselves up as authorities on all questions, logal or othersise. Thoy have a personel ond to accomplish from which no statesent from ze could divert them. With thea it is that personal end and not any consideration of the well being of the State which controle.

I address myself to the faimanded eftizens of this State who roelly believe in clean governuent every day in the yenr regordless of politioal conaidorations, but who also realise that government must be run in ma orderly manner in aceoriance with well-established American principles not to plense the parsonal viows or ambitions of anyone. Folrninded people resilve that shere is a subatential difforence between
the position of a Governor of this State acting pursuant to his osth of office and a condidate seeking thint office on promises and propheries. Anyone can make prowises and prophesies but the oath of office compola any man fit to be Covernor of this State to perfora his duties according to his coascience and the law.

Without further evidence I an not convinced that the seven aillion people of Hew Iork City cannot handle their own affairs; and unleas by such evidence I an so convinced, I wlll not interfere with their affairs. Without sufficient evidence I have refused to bolieve that all juigen in New York Gity are corrupt. Without mafficient evidence I have refused to believe that all office holders in New Yoriz City are alathoneat. I hive refused a wholesal. investigation of New York City to an Attorney Cenersl, becsuas the request ande for it wes admittedly based on the mare statement thint, as they said, - "charges of office buying and niseonduct by judges and other officials, ........ sre numerous, repeeted and insistento" That type of conarges has slways oxisted and has by no meane siweys been confined to Sew York CIty. Whenever I have asiced for supporting evidence I have been informed that there wes none or I have been denied eccess to it.

Wherever and whenever there heve been presented to me facts which would warrant me in scting in an orderly manner and acconding to ay oath of office, I have acted promptly and vigorounily.

I continue and will continue to perfore to the full wy duty as the Covernor of the Empire State of Yow York.

## The Army of Reaction Versus the Army of Liberal Thought and Progressive Action CAIFPAIGN ADDRESE

Borough of Bronx, October 27, 1930.
I have just returned from a trip around the State during which I have been discussing in large cities, in small cities, in villages, and at the cross roads, problems of government. I have been speaking of fundamental matters of administration at Albany,-I have been discussing the forward march which the governneent of the State has been making. I have also pointed out the olstacles met with during these last two years, and indeed over a period of the last eight years.

In any government, in any nation, and at any time from long before the days of ancient Greece down to the present there have been two armies lined up facing each other, in constant combat. On the one side is the army of reaction, of do nothing, of special privilege and on the other the army of liberal thought and progressive action.

In my own political experience I go back to the many years when the government of the State of New York was under the control of the army of reaction,-the days when year after year no progressive legislation was placed on our statute books and the actual methods of administering government remained archaic and out of date.
Year after year the government of the State grew in size with the growth of population but grew without any plan or system. Function was added to function, bureau to bureau, and the net result was a scattered uncoordinated mass of state government machinery which was functioning inefficiently and in most cases for merely political or partisan reasons.
We in the State of New York have been very fortunate that for the past eight years the old supremacy of the army of reaction has been removed. For eight years, under progressive leadership by the executive portions of the

Albany government, the army of niberal thought has been in control. The credit for this belongs primarily to the active leadership of a man who was the spokesman for the liberal forces, the man who from the days of the Constitutional Convention of 1915 led the forces of reconstruction throughout the State-former Governor Alfred E. Smith.

I like to visualize this long struggle as a contest between two armies. Every inch of the way we have had warfare-sometimes open, sometimes hidden but all through these years the army which Governor Smith and I have led has been sniped at and shelled and obstructed by the legislative leaders who captained the opposing forces. I need not remind you how bitterly all of the measures for government reorganization, for social legislation, and for new measures to care for new conditions, have been opposed in the legislative halls at Albany, and how the Republican Leaders in many skirmishes have seemingly and on the surface proclaimed that there was no battle at all, but have secretly and under coyer sought to defeat the proposals at the polls.

It is a noteworthy fact in the history of our State that the army of liberal thought has been able to maintain the offensive, to carry the battle to their enemies with success year after year. What is the reason for this? It seems to me that it is because the overwhelming majority of voters in this State recognize the fact that the war in the cause of liberal thought must, if successful, be carried on by an army fighting a continuous battle over a wide front rather than by a series of regiments each fighting on its own front without any relationship to all the other regiments.

I do not have to ask you which army you belong to. You have given elear proof of your desire to continue in the ranks of liberal thought, clear proof that you will continue to oppose any advance or attack by the worn out forces of reaction.

What I want to keep before you is this picture of a united army. What are the regiments which compose it? Each one along the miles of battle front is a regiment of economic thought in itself, each one carried with it the great force and strength of social approval and the commendation of intelligent public opinion. Each one is armed and reinforced with the double determination to advance on its own front and at the same time to help the regiments on either side to advance with it.
Let me call the roll of these regiments.
Here is the regiment of liberal labor legislation,-statute after statute providing more protection and more adequate division of the fruits of business and industry for the laboring men, women, and children of the State. Better factory conditions.-shorter hours for both men and women.. comprehensive workmen's compensation for accidents and industrial diseases, stricter enforcement of protective laws, careful factory inspection. Do you belong to that regiment? It is a unit in the vast army which every year makes a definite gain of ground. Opposed to this unit are the historic forces of blockade in Albany,-never ready to suggest anything new,-always two or three or a dozen years late in recognizing the public demand for enlightened advance.

Next in line is the regiment battling for adequate hospital facilities for the unfortunate wards of the State,-all of its units seeking to end once and for all the conditions of overcrowding that affect the day by day existence of fifty-five thousand of our fellow citizens.
Next in line is the regiment seeking a decent prison and correctional policy for the State. Here too are those growing numbers who understand that the crime and prison problems can be solved if we will recognize that the prisoners of the State are human beings and that the overwhelming majority of them will some day come back to our midst as part of our own communities.
Then comes that splendid regiment of men and women who have so recently won the notable victory in behalf of old age security against want,-a regiment which not content with this victory is seeking to gain additional ground.

Now we come to two great regiments recruited from all over the State, regiments composed of men and women who are fighting to end excessive and exhorbitant rates for electricity in the homes, for telephones, and other
atilities,-people who are fighting for a great principle in behalf of this generation and all future generations. And with them are the thousands who are interested in and understand the drive we are making for the development of our water power resources by a state agency.
Next in the battle array are the hundreds of thousands of those who live
in the rural communities scattered from one end of the State to the other.
People who are glad of the recent victory which relieves them from unequal and overpowering taxation,-people who appreciate the great strides that have been made in the study of their agricultural and farm problems, and who want the same leadership maintained.
Standing next to them, shoulder to shoulder with their brethren from the rural communities are those millions from the congested areas of our cities battling for more light and more air in their living quarters, proud of the victory which was accomplished when the multiple dwellings law was signed by me and hoping to accomplish still more in their struggle for decent sanitary and reasonable living conditions.
Then a kindred regiment,- the millions who approve and want an extension of the vast program of parks for the health and recreation of the citizens of the State, the people who go to Jones Beach and Bear Mountain and the other great playgrounds throughout the State.

Next in line come those who want a continuation of the splendid system of educational assistance that has been developed in Albany during the past few years.

Then we come to the regiment of the appreciative users of the great system of new highways and new bridges that cover the State of New York like a network,

Finally, the regiment of those who want a continuation of the health measures, the extension of public health work under the leadership of the State and extending not only to the Cities but to every rural community; the building up of the State-owned Spa at Saratoga Springs for the benent of our citizens; the work for the cripples, for the blind, for the deaf, for injured workmen.
Mile after mile of these regiments are holding the battle front of liberal thought and progressive government. Every regiment, let me repeat, has during these past eight years been gaining ground slowly but surely and the advance could not have been possible unless the whole army made up of these regiments had been continuously fighting all along the line not as individual units but as a compact whole.
The principles for which these regiments have been fighting affect all the people of this State. It may be that certain sections are more interested in some of these principles than are others but in the advance of progressive government in the State, we who have, can not and must not consider welfare only by sections. These regiments are battling in the interest of state functions, not local functions.
Opposed to this far-flung army stand those forces of inertia, of reaction, of conservative opposition to the adoption of anything new, under the leadership of those same gentlemen who today and for generations past are in control of the Republican party. Let me repeat what I have so often said that it is the leadership and not the rank and file of that party which we oppose. It is today as it has been for many years past in the State of New York a leadership of defeatism or of complete misapprehension of either the public will or the public good. It is based on either ignorance of the trend of the time or an unwillingness to give credit to those who have sponsored and labored for these progressive measures.

You and I know of that opposition,-you and I know how inch by inch it has been beaten back slowly but positively. You can take each and every regimental battle,-the history of one is the history of all. Pick them out at random.

Take the battle over water power for instance. Ever since Governor Smith went to Albany each and every year he tried to get the Legislature to start a plan for the development of the water power resources of the State by a State agency. Year after year the Republican leaders refused to do it. Year
after year the demand from the people of the State became more insistent, year after year the Republican leaders ignored it. In 1929, when I firat became Governor I renewed the demand on behalf of the people that their water power resources be preserved and developed for their benefit. Again in 1929 the leaders of obstruction refused to do it. Finally, in 1930, they yielded. The Commission is now at work. And so the idea of public development of water power is marching on. It still has a long way to go before it can reach a successful conclusion. The next begislature and Governor must first approve any plan brought in by the commission. You and I know that a Republican legislature and a Republican Governor will never look kindly upon a plan of public development. For years they have been openly committed to the theory of turning over the water power resources of the State to private corporations under a lease for a long term of years. We have only to look at the Republican platiorms of the last eight years to see how definitely they have been committed to development by private companies refuse this year, even after the appointment of the commission they atill candidates, who lave said practically nothing on this great subject of tester nower when they do speak of its development use indefinite and insincere language. Not a single one of them has come out for public development. Not a single one of them is interested in cheaper electricity for our homes. The idea of public development will certainly get no sympathy from them.
The Democratic policy towards the great water power of this State does not contemplate the State going into the business of selling electricity to the homes, nor does it seek to deprive any legitimate investor of his legitimate return; but it does seek first to regulate public utilities so that they will make a fair return and secondly to provide a great volume of cheap watermade power to make lower rates possible,-and it proposes to control that water power continually and perpetually so that there can be no question that that plan can be carried out.

Take the battle for the eight-hour day and the forty-eight hour week for women and children in industry. Year after year this has appeared in our platform,-year after year we have asked the Legislature to give it to u8,year after year they have refused. Finally, goaded by the force of public opinion and unable to resist the demand any longer they appointed a commission to look into the subject and thus delay it for another year. And when that year rolled by and even after voluminous hearings before the commission, the Republican legislative leaders still refused. They tried to deceive the people of the State by passing a law to which they gave the false title of a forty-eight hour law but which was really a forty-nine-and-a-half-hour law. And so you see the march forward of that piece of social legislation was hlocked and hindered and fought every foot of the way.

Take the battle to prohihit injunctions in strikes without preliminary hearing. For years the Democratic Party advocated that. For years the opposition leaders refused to give it to us. Stronger and stronger became the force of public opinion and finally this year they retreated at last and passed it.

Take the long battle for the bond issue to provide decent accommodations for the unfortunate wards of the State. The State had long since committed itself to the policy of taking care of its insane but for many years it has neglected to provide physical facilities to keep pace with the great increase in the number of patients. In 1929 I asked them for a bond issue so that the State would no longer be ashamed of the oyercrowding in its hospitals. They refused to give it to me. I called a conference in the summer of 1929 and asked the Republican leaders whether they would authorize a bond issue if I called a special session. Again they refused but instead said they would appropriate eighteen million dollars out of current revenues to build hospitals. Finally in 1930, after I had appealed time and again to the people of the State by radio, the legislative leaders yielded and agreed to submit the proposal to you voters this fall. But it took two years to do it. If they had not been the party of obstruction, if they had been willing to go along with me, we could have saved that eighteen million dollars out of cur-

## Public Papers of Governor Rooseveris

rent revenues and we could have used it easily this year either to reduce taxation or to provide more public works for the employment of citizens of our State who otherwise would be unemployed.
And so the battle line moves forward, each year a little further but each year as a closely serried consistent army. Marching along with it as its chief ally has been public opinion helping it, urging it forward, laying down the barrage for it each year on Election Day.
And after all the one great issue in this campaign is whether that march forward shall stop now. The one great question to be decided on Election Day is whether the driving force of public opinion will desert the army of social progress and liberal thought and surrender to that srmy of Republican obstruction and blockade which has stood in its way for eight yesrs.
These are the great matters that are of interest to the people of this State. They will always continue to be so. They are snd can be the only true issues in this campaign and there is no possibility of the public of this State being confused on that.
With that in mind, I now come to New York City, with respect to which I need make no defense and need no defenders of my conduct as the Governor of this great State. I make no reply to those who for obvious political purposes have viciously and maliciously attempted to misrepresent my position or to those who without knowledge of or practice in government, have set themselves up as authorities on all questions, legal or otherwise. They have a personal end to accomplish from which no statement from me could divert them. With them it is that personal end and not any consideration of the well being of the State which controls.

I address myself to the fairminded citizens of this State who really believe in clean government every day in the year regardless of political considerations, but who also realize that government must be run in an orderly manner in accordance with well-established American principles not to please the personal views or ambitions of anyone. Fairminded people realize that there is a substantial difference between the position of a Governor of this State acting pursuant to his oath of office and a candidate seeking that office on promise and prophesies. Anyone can make promises and prophesies but the oath of office compels any man fit to be Governor of this State to perform his duties according to his conscience and the law.

Without further evidence $I$ am not convinced that the seven million people of New York City cannot handle their own affairs; and unless by such evidence I am so convinced, I will not interfere with their affairs. Without sufficient evidence I have refused to believe that all judges in New York City are corrupt. Without sufficient evidence I have refused to believe that all office holders in New York City are dishonest. I have refused a wholesale investigation of New York City to an Attorney-General because the request made for it was admittedly based on the mere statement that. as they said, "charges of office buying and misconduct by judges and other officials, . . . are numerous, repeated and insistent." That type of charges has always existed and has by no means always been confined to New York City. Whenever I have asked for supporting evidence I have been informed that there was none or I have been denied access to it.

Wherever and whenever there have been presented to me facts which would warrant me in acting in an orderly manner and according to my oath of office, I have acted promptly and vigorously. *

I continue and will continue to perform to the full my duty as the Governor of the Empire State of New York.
from the Papers of Louis Mc Henry Howe

# GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT 

HUNTS POINT PALACE
BRONX, NEW YORK CITY.
OCTOBER 27, 1930.

Geo. A. Glendon, Jr.
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# ADDRESS OF <br> GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT $T$ 

## HUNTS POINT PALACE

BRONX, NEW YORK CITY

OCTOBER 27, 1930
9:30 PM.
(The Govemor came on the platform amidst loud cheers, ringing of bells and the blowing of horns, with prolonged applause.)

A VOICE: "Three cheers for the next Governor." (applause prolonged)

CHATRMAN: We are on the air, so please keep quiet.

A VOICE: "Three cheers for our next President." (applause prolonged)

CHAL RMAN: Well now, if you will curb your enthusiasm, it won't be but a very few minutes more before you will have a chance to listen to the Governor. * * \%
(After the introduction by the Chairman of the Governor, the audience went wild in their cheers and applause for more than a minute).

GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: Mr. Ghairman: my Friends: I amawfully glad to come back to the Bronx, and it really touches my heart to have your Chairman tell me that there is love and affection in the Bronx for me. I have just returned, as you know, from a somewhat strenuous trip throughout the sta te, a trip during which I have discussed in the large oities, in the small oities, In the little villages, and at the oposs roads, problems of government, I have been spealing of fundamental matters
of administration at Albany, - and I have been discussing the forward march which the Government of the State has been making. And I have been pointing out not only the progress made, but I have been pointing out the obstacles that have been met with during these past two years, and indeed over a long period of the last eight years.

Tonight, I want to talk to you on the subjeet of war a battle between two great armies: for, in any government, in any nation, at any time, from long before the days of ancient Greece down to the present, there have been two armies lined up facing each other in constant mortal come bat. And on one side is the army of reaction, of doing nothing, of special privilege; and on the other, is the army of liberal thought and progress. (applause-prolonged)

Now I go back many, many years: In my political experience, I go back to these many years when the Government of the State of New York was dominated by the army of reaction, -- the days when, year after year, went by and no progressive legislation was placed on our statute books, and the actual methods of administering the government remained archaic and out-of-date.

Year after year, in those days, the government of the State grew in size only, -- grew with the growth of population, but grew without any plan or system whatsoever. Function was added to function; bureau to bureau and the net result was a scattered, uncoordinated mass -(I was going to say mess) - (laughter) - of govermment machinery that was functioning inefficiently, and in most cases only for political or partisan purposes.

Now, we in the State of New York, have been very fortunate that during these past 8 years the old supremacy of the army of reaction has been overthrown. For eight years, under the progressive leadership of the executive powers in Albany, the Army of Liberal thought has been in control. The credit for that, as we all know, and as history will write, belongs primarily to the active leadersh1p of a man who was the spokesman for liberal forces, -- the man who was the spokesman for the liberal forces, -- the man who from the days of the Constitutional Convention, way back in 1915, led the forces of reoonstruction throughout the State -- former Governor Alfred E. Smith. (applause-prolonged)

I like to visualize this long struggle as a contest between two armies. Every foot of the way, we have hed warfare -- sometimes open, sometimes h1dden, - but all through these years the army whioh Governor Smith
and I have lead has been sniped at and shelled and obstrueted by the legislative leaders who captained the opposing forces. I don't have to remind you people how bitterly all of the measures for Government reorganization, for social legislation, for the new measures to take care of new conditions, have been opposed in the Legislative Heil is in Albany, by the Repubiican leadership, and how the Republican leaders in many skirmishes have seemingly and on the surface proclaimed that there was no battle at all, but have seeretly and under cover sought to defeat the proposals at the polls.

Now, it is a noteworthy fact that in the history of our state, the army of liberal thought has been able to maintain the offensive, to carry the battle to their enemies with success year after year.

Hell, what is the reason for 1 t? It seems to me that it is because the overwhelming majority of voters in this state, recognize the fact that the war in the cause of liberal thought must, if successful, be carried on by an army fighting a continuous battle over a wide front, rather than by a series of regiments, each fighting on its own front without any relationship to all the other regiments.

I do not have to ask you what army you bel ong to. You have given proof -- year after year -- of your desire to continue in the progressive ranks, -- clear proof that you will continue to oppose any advance or attack by the worn out forces of reaction.

Now, what I want to keep before you is this picture of a united army. What are the regiments which compose it? Each one along the miles of battle front is a regiment of economic thought in itself, each one carried with it the great force and strength of social approval and the commendation of intelligent public opinion. (applause) Each one of these regiments is armed and reinforced with the double determination to advance on its own front, and at the same time to help the regiments on either side to advanoe with it.

Let me call the roll of these regiments: Here, on one plank, is the regiment of liberal labor legislation, -- statute after statute providing more protestion, more adequate division of the fruits of business and industry for the laboring men, women and children of the state. Better factory onditions, - shorter hours for both men and women, comprehensive workmen's compensation for acoidents and industrial diseases, strioter

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enforcement of protective laws, careful factory inspection.

Do you belong to that regiment? Why, it is a unit in the vast army that every year makes a definite gain of ground. Opposed to this unit are the historic forces of blockade in Albany, -- neger ready to suggest anything new, -- always two or three or a dozen years late in recognizing the public demand for enlightened advance.

Next in line, is the regiment that battles for adequate hospital facilities for the unfortunate wards of the state - all of its units seeking to end once and for all the conditions of overcrowding that affeat the day by day existence of fifty-five thousand of our fellowcitizens. -- 12,000 more human beings than we have got proper accomodations for.

And next in line is the regiment seeking to have a decent prison and correctional policy for the State. Here too are those growing numbers that understand that orime and prison problems can be solved if we will recognize that the prisoners of the state are human beings (applause)-- if we recognize that the overwhelming majority of these prisoners will some day come back to our midst as a part and parcel to our own communities.

Then comes that splendid regiment of men and women who have recently won the notable victory in behale of old age security against want (applause-prolonged) -a regiment, my friends, that has won its first great battle, but is not content with that victory, and is seeking to gain additional ground.

And now we came, on this battle front, to two eat regiments, reeruited from all over the state, on the farms and in the cities, -- regiments composed of men and women who are fighting to ond the excessive and exhorbitant rates for eleetricity in the homes, for telephones, and for other utilities, -- people who are fighting for a great principle in behalf of this generation, and all the generations to come. (applause-prolonged)

And with them too, are those millions who are interested in, and underetand the drive that we are making for the development of our own water power resources by a state agenoy. (applause)

And next in line, came other hundreds of thoussands of our state, who iive in the rural ocmunities,
scattered from one end of the state to the other. People who are glad of the recent victory that relieves them from unequal and overpowering taxation, -- people who appreciate the great atrides that have been made in the study of their agricultural and farm problems, and who want the same leadership continued. (applause)

And, standing next to them, right alongside, shoulder to shoulder are their brethern from the great centers of population; those of $u s$, , those millions from the congested areas, battling for more light and more air in their jiiving quarters, proud of the victory that was accomplished when the multiple dwellings law was si gned by me, and hoping to accomplish still more in their struggle for decent, sanitary and reasonable living conditions. (applause)

And then another regiment: - the millions that approve of and want an extension of the vast program of parks for the health and recreation of the citizens of the state, - the people who go to Jones Beach and Bear Mountain, and the other great playgrounds throughout the length and breadth of the state.

Next in line come those who want a continuation of thet splendid system of educational assistance that has been developed in Albany in the past few years. Think of it, in 10 years, a rise in expenditure for education from $\$ 10,000,000$ to $\$ 100,000,0001--$ (applause) Is it worth itp I think so. (applause)

And then, next in line, we come to the regiment of the appreciative users of that splendid system of new highways and new bridges that cover the state of New York like a net.

Finally, the regiment of those who want a continuation of the heal th messures, the extension of public health work, under the leadership of the state and extending to every corner of every city, and of every rural community; the building up, for exan ple, of the State-owned Spa at Saratoga Springs for the benefit of our citizons; (applause) the work for the cripples, for the blind, for the deaf, for injured workmen. (applause)

I could go on and tell you the names of a dozen more of these regiments that make up our battlefront.

Mile after mile of these regiments are holding that battle front -- that battle front of liberal thought and progressive government. Every regiment, let me repeat, has during these past 8 years been gaining ground slowly, but surely, and the advance could not have been possible unless the whole army, made up of these regiments, had been continuously fighting all along the line, not as individual units, but as a compact whole. (applause)

The principles, my friends, for which these regiments have been fighting affect all the poople of all the state, -- rich and poor, country and city, men, women and children.

And, opposed to this far-flung army stand those forces of inertia, of reaction, of conservative opposition to the adoption of anything new, under the leadership of those same gentlemen who to-day, and for generations passed, are in control of the Republican party. Let me repeat here what $I$ have so often said, that it is the leadership and not the rank and file of that party which we oppose. It is today, as it has been for a generation past in the State of New York, a leadership of defeatism, a leadership of complete misapprehension of ol ther the public will, or the public good. (applause)

It is a leadership based either on the ignorance of the trend of the time, or on unwillingness to give credit to those who have sponsored and labored for all of these progressive measures.

You and I know of that opposition, -- you and I know how inch by inch, foot by foot, it has been beaten back slowly but positively. You can take each and every regimental unit that $I$ ha ve been talking about -- the history of one is the history of all. Pick them out at random.

Take the battle over water power for instances Ever since Governor $S m$ th went to Albeny, each and overy
year he tried to get the Legislature to start a plan for the development of the water power resources of the State by a state agency for the benefit of the householders of the state. Year after year the Republican leaders refused to do it. Year after year, the demand from the people of the State became more insistent -- year after year the Republican leaders ignored it.

In 1929, when 1 first became Governor, I renewed that demand on behalf of the people that the ir own water power resources be preserved and develcped for their benefit. Again in 1929, the leaders of obstruction refused to do it.

Finally, this year, they gave in. The Commission that they authorized is now at work. And so the idea of public development of water power has started its advance. But it has not yet won the victory. It still has a long way to go before it can reach the goal it seeks.

The next Legislature, and the next Governor must first approve any plan that is brought in by the Commission. You and I know that a Republican Legislature and a Republican Governor will never look kindly upon any plan of public development. (epplause-prolonged) History, anscient and modern, proves that.

For years, they have been openly committed to the theory of turning over the water power resources of the state to private corporations under a lease for a long term of years.

We have only to look at the Republican platforms my friends for the past 8,10 , or 12 years, to see how definitely they have been committed to development by private companies; and even this jear, - even after the appointment of the Commiasion they still refuse to come out definitely for development by a state agency. Why, even their candidates, who ha ve said practically hothing on this great aubject of water power, when they do speak of its development, they $u s e$ indefinite and insincere language. Not one single one of them has come out in favor of public development of our water power. Not one single one of them is interested in cheaper electricity for our homes. Why, the ides of public developmont will
certainly get no sympathy from them. (applause)
Now, you people know that the Democratic policy towards the great water power of this state, does not contemplate the state going into the business of selling electricity in our homes, nor does it seek to deprive any legitimate return; butit does seek first to regulate public utility, or public utilities, so that they will make only a fair return, and secondly to provide a great volume of cheap water power to make lower rates possible, -- and it proposes to control thet water power continually and perpetually so that there can be no question that that plan can be carried out. (applause)

Take another example: Take the battle for the eight-hour day, and the 48 hour week for women and children in industry. Year after year this has appeared in our platform -- going way back to the days when I was first in the Senate of the State -- 19 years ago -- this policy has appeared in our platform, -- year after year, we have asked the Legislature to give it to us, -- year after year they haje refused.

Finally, goaded by the force of public opinion, and unable to resist the any longer the demand, they appointed a commission to look into the subject, and thus delay it for another year. And when that year rolled by, and even after thousands of pages of hearings before the commission, the Republican legislature still refused to do anything. They tried to deceive the people of the Sta te by passing a law, to which they gave the pretty, but false title, of a "forty-eight hour law"; but a law that was in reality nothing more than a forty-nine-and-a-half hour law.

So you see that the march forward of that piece of social legislation was blocked, hindered and fought in every way possible.

Take that great battle of labor to prohibit injunctions in strikes without preliminary hearings: For years the Democratic Party advocated that. For years the opposition leaders refuaed to have anything to do with it. Stronger and stronger became the force of public opinion end finally, at last this year they retreated and put it through.

Take finally this question of the long battle for the bond is sue -- the bond issue to provide decent accommodations for our unfortunate wards of the State: Why, the state had long since committed itself -- 50 years ago -- to the policy of taking care of the insane, but for many yeara it neglected to provide physical facilities to keep pace with the great increase in the number of our patients.

In 1929, I asked the Republican leadership for a bond is sue so that the State would no longer be ashamed of the overcrowding of its hospitals. They refused to give it to me. I salled a conference in the summer of 1929, and asked the Fepublican leaders whether they would authorize a bond issue if I called a special session. Again they refused. But instead, they sald they would a ppropriate $\$ 18,000,000$ out of current tax revenues to build hospitals.

Well, I had to take it. It was the best I could get. And finally, this year -- 1930 -- after I had appealed time and time again to the people of the State to make themselves heard -- and they had made themselves heard -- then the legislative leaders agreed to submit the proposal this fell. But it took two years to get by. And if they had not been the party of obstruction -- if they had been willing to go al ong with me last year, -- well, we could have saved that $\$ 18,000,000$ out of current revenues, and we could have used it easily this year, either to reduce arr taxes, or to use it to prom vide for public works for the employment of the citizens of our state who are now out of work. (applause-prolonged)

So my friends, the bettle line is moving for ward, -- each year a little further forward, -- but each year as a closely serried consistent army. Markhing along with that army, as its chief ally has been public opinion helping it, urging it forward, laying down the barrage for it every election day.

And after all, the one great issue in this campal gn is whether that march forward shall stop or not. The one great question to be decided a week from tomorrow is whether the great driving force of that publio opinion wlll desert the army of gocial progress and liberal thought
(applause) -- whether public opinion will surrender to that army of Republican obstruction, and hlockace that has stood in its way for 8 years. I know what the answer is going to be. (applau se)

These are the great matters that are of interest to the people of the state of New York. They will always continue to be the great matters. They are, and they only can be the true issues in this campaign, and there is no possibility of the public of this State being confused as to that. (applause)

## New York City issue

With that in mind, I now come down to New York City from up-state (applause-prolonged) - to New York City with respect to which I need make no defense (applause-prolonged) with respect to which I need no defense and need no defenders of my conduct as Governor of this State. (applauseprolonged)

I make no reply to those who for obvious political purposes have viciously and maliciously attempted to misrepresent my position or to those who without knowledge of or practice in govemment, have set themselves up as authorities (applause) on all questions, legal or otherwise. (applause-prolonged)

Those people heve a personal end to accomplish from which no statement from me could divert them. (applause) With those people, it is thet personal end, and not any consideration of the well being of their state which controls.

I address myself to the fairminded citizens of this State, who really believe in clean government every day of the year, in every part of the state, regardless of political considerations; (applause) but those fairminded citizens who also realize that government must be run in an orderly manner, and in accordance with well established American principles (applause-prolonged) (bells ringing, whistling and hurrahs) - a government mun not to please the personal views or ambitions of anyone. Fairminded people realize that the re is a abstantial difference between the position of a Govemor of this state acting in pursuance of his osth of office, and a oandidate seoking thet offioe
on promises. Anyone can make promises and prophesies, but the oath of office compels any man fit to be Governor of this State to perform his duties according to his conscience and the law. (applause-prolonged; bells and horns blowing).

And so, without further evidence, I am not convinced that 7,000,000 people of New York City cannot handle their own affaira; (applause) and unless by such evidence, I am so convinced, I will not interfere in their affairs. (applause-prolonged - horns blowing and bells ringing)

Without sufficient evidence, I he ve refused to belleve that all judges in New York City are corrupt. (applause) Without sufficient evidence I have refused to believe that all office holders in New York City are dishonest. I have refused a wholesale investigation of New York City to an Attorney-General because the request made for it was admittedly based on the mere statement that, as they said: - "charges of office buying and misconduct by judges and other offlcials $\% \%$ are numer ous, repeated and insi stent." That type of charges has always existed and has by no means always been confine do New York City. (applause-prolonged) And whenever I have asked for supporting evidence, I have been informed that there was none, or I have been denied access to it. (applause-prolonged)

Wherever, and whenever there have been presented to me facts which would warrant me in acting in an orderly manner and according to my oath of office, I have acted promptly and vigorously. (applause)

I continue, and will in the days to come continue to perform to the full my duty as Governor of the Empire State of New York. (applause-prolonged for more than a minute).

