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**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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**File No. 408**

**1930 October 31**

**Brooklyn, NY - Campaign Speech**

ADDRESS OF  
GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Delivered at  
ACADEMY OF MUSIC  
Brooklyn, N.Y.  
October 31st, 1930.

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MRS. GOOD: Two years ago the Democratic Party nominated for Governor, a man of whom every member of our Party was proud. He did not seek this nomination, but accepted it from a sense of duty to his party, and loyalty to a friend. Tonight we are much prouder as we look at his record of two years of the most unselfish and devoted service that New York State has ever received from any man. We regard as part of the rich heritage of the Democratic Party, his nobility of character, his fearlessness of purpose, his sincere love of his fellow men. And I regard it as a high honor to present to you Franklin D. Roosevelt.  
(Applause)

GOV. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: Mrs. Good, my friends of Brooklyn, you know you make me feel quite quilty when you receive me like that. (Laughter) This is just about the nicest, homeist meeting that is ever held in the State of New York. (Applause)

Well, it is just two years ago, two years ago, and also on a Friday night before Election. (Laughter) Two years ago at this time I came before the people of Brooklyn and pledged to them, some of you will remember, that if I were elected, the State of New York would two years more maintain the same forward-looking, human and liberal government policies. For two years more, I say, those same policies that it had had during the splendid six years before that under the leadership of Alfred E. Smith. (Applause)

Well, the two years are nearly up, and since the first of January 1929, the people of this state have had daily opportunity to make up their minds as to whether this pledge on my part has been carried out or not. (Applause)

During this campaign, in the face of certain temptation, I have followed out a logical and orderly course as a candidate for re-election, (applause) and during the first part of my journeys around the State, I opened up and read from the record book that covers these past two years, and without heat or without exaggeration, I have tried to set forth that record in plain language. It is my belief that while this was the right and the fair thing to do, in order to summarize the daily and weekly happenings of the past two years, the actual record itself had already been learned and understood by the voters as each event occurred.

The average citizen that we talk about is fully aware of the proposals that have been made by my Party and by me when I first took office. The average voter is aware of the continued and the bitter opposition to these proposals by the Legislature of 1929, and he is aware of the consistent fight that we continued to wage, and aware of the driving force of public opinion that supported us, ending in the final surrender by the Legislative leaders on the greater part of our program this year. (Applause) And one of the factors in that surrender, I do not hesitate to say, was the fine leadership by a Brooklyn boy, the Minority Leader in the Senate of our State, Irwin Steingut. (Applause) And I think that I can whisper to you the secret that it is a distinct possibility and in the first week of January next Brother Steingut will not be the Minority Leader of the Assembly, but the Speaker of the Assembly. (Applause)

After I had made this summing up of the two years' history to the voters of the state in this campaign, I then took up in logical order the many claims for political preferment that had been made during the campaign by the Republican platform and the Republican candidates. I think that we have dissected those claims, these promises, these false statements; that we have dissected them with truth and at the same time with dignity.

Paragraph by paragraph the statements and pledges of the Republican platform have been taken apart by me, by former Governor Smith, and by the other candidates on the ticket, and summing up this analysis, summing up indeed the whole Republican campaign, it is enough for me to say this, that I am very certain that not alone the voters of the Democratic Party, but the voters belonging to the other parties understand this thoroughly by this time, that the Republican Campaign will fall and fail because the Republican leaders have not yet recognized the simple fact that truth pays and wins victories, and that over-statement and misrepresentation bring their own reward of defeat. (Applause)

And then, following the same logical, orderly procedure, the time has now come in this campaign to talk not about the record of the past, not about the statements of the opposition, but to speak of the most important consideration of all, that is, what of the next two years?

After all, the voters are not deciding next Tuesday anything but the final question, the big question, of who they want to have direct their State Government for them during the next two years, 1931 and 1932. You can approve or you can disapprove the past records of the candidates where they have records in the public service. You can approve or disapprove of their methods of conducting this particular campaign. But the bigger question that ought to influence you most is:

Which candidate will make the better Governor, the better Lieutenant Governor, the better Comptroller, and the better Attorney General during the next two years?

And on that I don't hesitate to accept the verdict of the electorate of this State. (applause)

For these reasons, looking to the future, I present to you the night the proposals of the Democratic Party and its candidates, proposals that will have a very definite effect upon the personal lives of every man, woman and child in the State, during the next two years.

Let me divide these problems, these problems of the immediate future, into a few broad heads.

First comes what business men would call the economic problems, but what most of us would call by the simpler term of the wage and income problem - whether we keep our job or lose it, whether we get a job or don't. Now, I am not going to go into a learned dissertation on the history of the present unemployment crisis. I must say, however, with all due modesty that the Democratic administration in Albany was not the cause of it. (Applause) I suppose every cloud has got its silver lining, and there is one silver lining to this cloud that overspreads the United States today. There is only one good thing that can be said of the present situation and that is that the people of this city and the people of this State and the people of this nation have

learned the lesson that will stay with them just as long as this present generation is alive, that the Republicans claim that it is the father and the mother of all prosperity has been so completely blown up that we cannot even find the shattered remnants of the child to give the remains decent burial. (Applause)

Not only is the famous dinner pail half empty, but millions of workers are eating out of it at home because there is no place of employment to carry it to. (Applause)

Of this I am very certain, that the voters of this State have got to the point where they would rather have their State government cooperate with the rest of the nation under a Democratic administration than under a Republican administration; that the measures that we take in this State will be more intelligently, more understandingly carried out under a Democratic State administration with its close sympathy for the individual citizens of the State than under Republican rule. (Applause)

It is a fair question to ask whether the voters of this state would rather entrust the handling of the suffering, the need and the want which will inevitably come to many of our people this winter to those who are the authors of all of the human and progressive measures for social welfare in this State, during the past dozen years, or to those leaders who during that same period have consistently blocked these measures and kept them from going into effect until

goaded and prodded into it by the driving forces of public opinion.

Now, regardless of its causes, we have the problem of unemployment and business depression to solve. It must be solved and it will be solved. As I have said on a number of occasions of late, its solution depends not so much on Governmental activity, as it does on the individual citizens of this state and of the country. The most necessary thing is that their confidence in this great state, in this great country, be restored; and that they be not misled any more by political fallacies. (Applause) As a part of this economic program of the Democratic party, we propose two measures which we hope will bring substantial and definite results for the good of the population as a whole. The first is a careful study and report on unemployment in its broadest features including employment exchanges, employment stabilization through planning ahead, and not after the horse is out of the barn, proper timing of public and private construction so as to take up the slack when things are not running full speed, and a final and scientific study of public and private unemployment insurance on the definite principle of contribution and the definite avoidance of any dole methods either by private employers or by the State itself. (Applause) The other proposal relates to the spread, as we call it, in the price of articles that are necessary in our daily lives, especially what we call food, that

spread between the price which the producer of food receives on his farm and the consumer pays in his home, a spread that has been growing, as we know, to serious proportions in this present generation. We believe that with the application of business principles, of co-operation and the getting rid of unnecessary waste, a substantial saving can be made. Why, even if as a result of this study we can save only 5 per cent. of this terrific spread between producer and consumer, that alone would save the households of the State many, many millions of dollars every year. It is at least worth going after, and most of us, I think, would rather leave this task to the Democratic leadership than to the Republican leadership.

And then we come to another great field of economic progress, which the leadership belongs wholly within our Party. There is hardly a man, woman or child who is not affected in some way in his or her daily life by some form of public utility. It is a small matter, this, a nickel. It is a small matter this, whether you pay a nickel or a dime for a ride in the subway. It is a small matter if you pay \$6. a month for your electric light instead of \$2.

But if you add up the figures at the end of the year you will see that the difference to you represents the difference to you between being in the red on the one hand or having money in the savings bank on the other.

(Applause)

I suppose that in times when everybody has plenty of work and wages are high the average individual, whether it be the man who works or the woman who runs the home, will do little figuring on the closeness of their electric light bills. That is one reason perhaps why in this year of depression there is so much evidence of interest in the problem of water power development and the regulation of public utilities. I do not need to say much about the St. Lawrence development. You and I are fully aware that the last Legislature finally surrendered, after fighting Governor Smith and me over a period of twelve years. But it is my hope, our hope, that from now on the development by a direct agency of the State will go forward, giving assurance that this water power will never for a single moment be taken away from the possession of the people of the State and that it will be developed primarily for the benefit of lower rates to the people themselves. Republican control of the executive branch of the Government means very clearly and very definitely and without any "ifs" or "buts", that the present plans for public development of the St. Lawrence will be scrapped, and the Republic plan for private development will be substituted.

The same proposition holds absolutely true of the regulation of public utilities. That was made clear last winter, for the Republic leaders tried to fool the people of the state by a lot of shadow-boxing, pretending to put

in legislation to change the admittedly weak existing laws. Remember that the present laws were passed twenty-three years ago when the Public Service Commission was first created, and that the conditions in this State have changed somewhat during that period and the Democratic platform contains in simple queer language definite proposals for the adequate regulation of public utilities.

For instance, it gave to municipalities the right, if the people of those municipalities want it and vote for it, to construct and operate public utility services within their borders. We oppose continued interference by the Federal courts with the regulatory powers that belong to the state, and we believe that the Public Service Commission should be an active vigilant protector of the public on its own initiative. (Applause)

So before you go into the booth on Election Day, I want you to ask yourselves this simple question: Would you rather have those declarations of the Democratic platform in regard to utilities that affect your lives and mine, or would you rather have the evasive, wishy-washy Republic declarations? I always remember an old line that is worth thinking about on Tuesday morning when you first wake up, "By their deeds ye shall know them." (Applause)

Another problem that has got to be solved during the next two years, if we can compel a solution of it, is prohibition. (Applause) We recognise, of course, that it

cannot be solved by the State of New York alone. We recognize its national character. But we base our appeal to the Congress for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment on the simple Democratic doctrine of restoring to the several states their control over what should always be a State matter and what has proved to be a tragic failure when taken away from the States control.

Our Party is and has been always sincere and straight forward in asking for the support of right-minded citizens who oppose corruption and disorder and believe that existing conditions can be greatly improved by State control following the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. This problem, my friends is one to be solved in the interests of good government. I have made it very clear to the voters of this State that the position of the Democratic party, and of its candidates, all of its candidates, is straight forward and honest. But that on the other hand the official position of the Republican party is based on -- well, I will be polite, opportunism. That it is not sincere or honest, my friends, is proved by the simple fact that two out of the four Republican candidates, fifty percent. of them - make little pretense of sympathy with the platform of their party.

I recognize fully that in this State and throughout this country there are a large number of sincere, honest, opponents of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. I urge these people to realize the fact that the question of

Prohibition today is no longer exclusively a question of liquor. It has become more and more a question of corruption and crime in this Nation, this state and every other state of the Union. (Applause)

Now we come to the third great division, the functions of the state government, the broad classification of administration and legislation that affect social welfare. Under this head come those many labor laws which Democratic leadership has placed on the statute books and those other labor laws for which we are still fighting. In spite of the Republican platform, in spite of the Republican orators, the electorate as a whole knows that it is leadership on the part of Democratic Governors and Democratic legislators which has made all the gains of the past few years, including the solid delegation from Kings. (Applause) Our Republican friends cannot laugh off the fact that the Democratic candidates have the support of the Federation of Labor of the State of New York and of the many of the leaders of labor throughout the nation as a whole. That is a fact. Along the same line is the recognition on the part of the public that they have the Democratic party and its leadership to thank for the law for the relief of old age want, a law which is today on the Statute books, a law which two months from midnight tonight goes into effect. (Applause)

Old age security is such an intimate personal subject that no person has the right to make it the football

of politics. When I think of the hundreds of old people, men and women whom I have met in the course of my life, old people who, through no fault of their own were in want and need and had nowhere to turn, I can only say that I have a very deep personal happiness and satisfaction in knowing that I have had some small part in placing on the statutes of our State a law which will take care of the aged, a law which will in the long run eliminate all of the horrors of the poorhouse, a law which will not only make the lives of tens of thousands of old people more happy, but will give assurance to millions of younger people that they need not fear the future as they have so often in the past.

Finally, in this broad group relating to social welfare, I want to say one last word in regard to the bond issue which will be submitted to the voters next Tuesday. This bond issue is made necessary because of 20 years of neglect of the state hospitals and prisons under Republican Governors during the first part of this century.

Under Governor Smith, tremendous strides were taken in rebuilding outworn structures and in adding facilities for the care of our wards, and I am bringing the program to a successful and definite conclusion. If this bond issue goes through we give assurance to the state that by the year 1935 five years from now, there will be adequate accommodations for every one of the prisoners and wards and patients in all of our state institutions. At least the end is in

sight and soon if this great policy is carried through we shall be able to look anybody in the face from any other state or nation in the world and say that the state of New York has fulfilled its obligations to its own wards. This is not the time to swop horses crossing this stream. I ask you all, Republicans and Democrats alike, to vote Yes on the bond issue and when you do so, to give a thought to those from every community who for one reason or another, are in the care of the State. With the advance of science, with the application of modern humane principles we are reclaiming today thousands upon thousands of those who in the old days could never have returned to normal lives. This is not a mere social experiment. It is actually a success today, a proven success only we want to broaden that success. You, the voters of the State, can help to accomplish that.

There is one other subject which is a part of the Democratic platform and it is entitled "government reforms" First, it speaks of the legislative interference on the part of Republican leaders with the constitutional procedure in regard to the budget and the finances of this state. I can only tell you that the great victory which was won by us in the courts sustaining the executive budget, has created a precedent in American government that will safeguard that form of government for generations to come; and I can give you assurance that as long as I am in Albany I shall continue to resent and defeat any attempt on the part of the Republican

leaders to tear down either the power or the responsibility of the executive branch of the government.

Our Party still -- sometimes it takes a great many years but we get there in the end (laughter) -- is fighting for a four-year term for Governor with election in a non-presidential year. (Applause)

I suppose anybody who looks at it will realize that the campaign this year in this State, is as good an illustration as we could get of the importance of making State issues the controlling factor in the election of State officers. And so in the same way, under the same policy of blockade, these Republican leaders have failed once more to give any recognition whatever to enabling legislation to permit under the home rule theory, the re-organization of local, county and town government. That, my friends, is one of the pressing needs of the State as a whole. Every month that goes by sees an added interest on the part of the citizens in many localities in our efforts, our Democratic efforts, to place county and town government on a more businesslike basis.

That, my friends, is not just the record, it is the promise for the future. The record for these two years past speaks for itself. There is the record of your State government. It is based on honesty. It is based on business efficiency; it is based on humanity; it is based on law.

So, too, with our campaign, our campaign for state officials which sets forth the pledges and the promises for

two years to come, that too, is based on honesty, on efficient administration, on humanity and on law. It is not based on falsification of the record. It is not based on hysteria, it is not based on slander, it is not based on promises and bombast which are incapable to fulfilment.

It involves issues which make themselves felt in the everyday lives of people in every home -- their work, their play, their safety, their dangers, their food, their clothing, their health, their happiness, the fathers and mothers and children of the state.

These are the things which the candidates of the Republican party have refused to talk about, They and their national allies have persisted in a campaign of misrepresentation and untruth. As long as those defamatory attacks were made only by candidates I deliberately passed them by unnoticed, (applause) satisfied that the people of this State would realize that they were instigated entirely by ambition for office.

Now, however, this campaign of falsification, coupled with an attack upon my integrity and motives, has been joined in by a person occupying the high office of Secretary of State of the United States. (Applause) To that challenge I give heed. (Applause) Tomorrow night in the Borough of Manhattan itself, I will depart from a discussion of the issues of this election long enough to expose the hypocrisy of the Republican campaign.

Let us here and now pledge ourselves, very solemnly, very deeply in our hearts, and our candidates that we shall continue the march forward because of social progress and of liberal thought; the march forward in the cause of honest government. We have blazed the way; the path lies clear ahead. Follow that path to the end. (applause)  
(Applause-prolonged)

END.

## The Governor Outlines the Democratic Proposals for Next Two Years

### CAMPAIGN ADDRESS

BROOKLYN, October 31, 1930.

Two years ago I came before the people of the Borough of Brooklyn on the Friday night before election. I then pledged to them that if I were elected the State of New York would for two years more maintain the same forward-looking, human and liberal government for another two years that it had had during those splendid six preceding years under the leadership of Governor Alfred E. Smith.

Since January 1st, 1929, the people of this State have had daily opportunity to make up their minds as to whether this pledge on my part has or has not been carried out.

During this campaign I have followed out a logical and orderly course as a candidate for re-election. During the first part of my journey through the State I have opened and read from the record book covering these past two years, and without heat and without exaggeration, have set forth that record in plain language. It is my belief, however, that while this was the right and the fair thing to do in order to summarize the daily and weekly happenings of the last two years, the actual record itself had already been learned and understood by the voters as each event occurred.

The average citizen is fully aware of the proposals made by my party and by me when I first took office. He is aware of the continued, bitter opposition to these proposals by the Legislature of 1929. He is aware of the consistent fight I continued to wage—and the driving force of public opinion which supported me, ending in the final surrender of the legislative leaders on the greater part of my program this year.

After I made this summing up of two years' history to the voters of the State during the first part of the campaign, I then took up in logical order the many claims for political preferment made during the campaign by the Republican platform and the Republican candidates. I think I have dissected these claims, these promises, and these false statements with truth and at the same time with dignity. Paragraph by paragraph the statements and pledges of the Republican platform have been dissected by me, by former Governor Smith and by the other candidates on our ticket. Summing up this analysis, summing up indeed the whole Republican campaign, it is enough for us to say this—I am very certain that not alone Democrats but voters belonging to other parties understand this thoroughly by this time—that the Republican campaign will fail because the Republican leaders have not yet recognized the simple fact that truth pays and wins victories, and that over-statement and misrepresentation bring their own reward of defeat.

Following the same logical, orderly procedure the time has now come in this campaign to talk not about the record of the past, not about the statements of our opponents, but to speak of the most important consideration of all—that is, what of the next two years? The voters after all are deciding next Tuesday the big question of who they want to have to direct their State government for them during the next two years, 1931 and 1932.

You can approve or disapprove of the past records of candidates where they have records in the public service. You can approve or disapprove of their methods of conducting this particular campaign. But the bigger question that ought to influence you is which candidates will make the better Governor, and Lieutenant Governor, and Comptroller and Attorney-General during the next two years.

For these reasons I present to you tonight the proposals of the Democratic party and its candidates—proposals that will have a very definite effect upon your personal lives during the next two years if we are elected.

Let me divide these problems of the immediate future under a few broad heads:

First comes what business men would call the economic problems—what most of us would call by the simpler term of the wage and income problem—whether we keep our job or lose it, whether we get a job or do not. I am not going into a learned dissertation on the history of the present unemployment crisis. I must say, however, with all due modesty, that the Democratic administration in Albany was not the cause of it. There is only one good thing which can be said for the present situation, and that is that the people of this country have learned the lesson that will stay with them just as long as the present generation is alive—that the Republican party's claim that it is the father and mother of all prosperity has been so completely exploded that we cannot even find the shattered remnants of the child, in order to give the remains decent burial.

Not only is the dinner pail half empty but millions of workers are eating out of it at home because there is no place of employment to carry it to.

Of this I am very certain—the voters of this State have got to the point where they would rather have their State government co-operate with the rest of the nation under a Democratic administration than under a Republican administration; that the measures we take in this State will be more intelligently and understandingly carried out under the Democratic State administration, with its close sympathy for the individual citizens, than under Republican rule.

It is a fair question to ask whether the voters of this State would rather entrust the handling of the suffering, the need and the want which will inevitably come to many of our people this winter, to those who are the authors of all of the human and progressive measures for social welfare in this State, during the past dozen years, or to those leaders who during that same period have consistently blocked these measures and kept them from going into effect until goaded and prodded into it by the driving forces of public opinion.

Regardless of its causes, we have the problem of unemployment and business depression to solve. It must be solved and it will be solved. As I have heretofore said, its solution depends, not so much on governmental activity, as on the individual citizens of this State and of this country. The most necessary thing is that their confidence in this great State and in this great country be restored and that they be not misled any more by political fallacies. [Be sure that the government of the State can and will assist, and the problem before the voters at this election is whether they wish to place that job in the hands of the Republican party, in view of its record during the past two years, or to let it remain in the hands of those who throughout their careers have shown the deepest understanding for and sympathy with the great mass of the people.]

As a part of the economic program of the party we propose two measures which we hope will bring substantial and definite results for the good of the population as a whole. The first is a careful study and report on unemployment in its broadest features, including employment exchanges, employment stabilization through planning ahead, and proper timing of public and private construction so as to take up the slack when things are not running full speed; a final and scientific study of public and private unemployment insurance on the definite principle of contribution and the definite avoidance of any dole methods, either by private employers or by the State itself.

Our other proposal relates to the spread in the prices of articles of food—that spread between the price which the producer of food receives on his farm and the consumer pays in his home—a spread which has been growing to serious proportions during the present generation. We believe that with the application of the business principles of co-operation and the getting rid of unnecessary waste, a substantial saving can be made. Even if as a result of this study we save only 5 per cent of this terrific spread between producer and consumer, it alone would save the householders of the State many millions of dollars every year. It is at least worth going after, and most of us I think would rather leave this task to Democratic than to Republican leadership.

Next we come to another great field of economic progress in which the leadership belongs wholly with our party in this State. There is hardly a man, woman or child who is not affected in some way in his or her daily life by some form of public utility. It is a small matter, this, of whether you pay five cents or ten cents for a ride on the subway, a small matter if you pay \$6 a month for your electric light instead of \$2; but if you add up the figures at the end of a year you will see that the difference to you represents being in the red on the one hand or having money in the savings bank on the other hand.

In times when everybody has plenty of work and wages are high the average individual, whether it be the man who works or the woman who runs the home, will do little figuring on their electric light bills. That is one reason perhaps why in this year of depression there is so much evidence of interest in the problem of water power development and the regulation of public utilities. I do not have to say much about the St. Lawrence development. You and I are fully aware that the last Legislature finally surrendered after fighting Governor Smith and me over a period of twelve long years. It is my hope that from now on the development by a direct agency of the State will go forward, thus giving assurance that this water power will never for a single moment be taken away from the possession of the people and that it will be developed primarily for the benefit of lower rates to the people. Republican control of the Executive branch of the government in Albany means very clearly and very definitely, and without any *ifs* or *buts*, that the present plan for public development of the St. Lawrence will be scrapped and the Republican plan for private development will be substituted.

The same proposition holds absolutely true of the regulation of public utilities. That was made clear last winter, for the Republican leaders tried to fool the people of the State by a lot of shadow-boxing, pretending to put in legislation to change the admittedly weak existing laws. Remember that the present law was passed twenty-three years ago, when the Public Service Commission was first created, and, therefore, does not apply to modern conditions.

Let me read to you the simple clear declarations of the Democratic platform in regard to adequate regulation of public utilities. It says:

Municipalities should be given the right to construct and operate public utility services upon the approval of the people within their borders, so that public competition may insure fair rates.

Interference by the Federal courts with the regulatory powers of our Public Service Commission should cease.

The Public Service Commission should be an active, vigilant protector of public interest; its efforts should be directed toward obtaining fair rates and adequate service.

Legislation should be passed which will:

- (a) prevent interminable litigation over valuations and accountings; (b) permit rate fixing by contract; (c) fix values for rates on investment basis; (d) prevent inordinate profits by manipulation of financial set-ups and security issues; and (e) effectively regulate and control holding corporations so that the consumer and the legitimate investor may be protected.

Before you go into the booth on election day ask yourself this simple question—would you rather have that declaration in regard to the utilities that affect your lives and mine, or would you rather have the evasive wishy washy Republican declaration? "By their deeds ye shall know them" [and it is perfectly obvious that power development and utility control means to the Republican leaders just one thing—this: if the specially privileged inside group of utility managers and owners are allowed by the State to make 100 per cent profit every year they will be in a position in the bigness of their hearts to hand out some part of this 100 per cent to an expectant and a grateful public. Personally that is one type of charity that I shall always oppose.]

Another problem to be solved during the next two years is Prohibition. On the one side this cannot be solved by the State of New York alone. We recognize its national character but we base our appeal to Congress for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment on the simple Democratic doctrine of restoring to the several States their control over what should always be a State matter and what has been proved to be a tragic failure when taken away from the State's control.

The Democratic Party in this State is sincere and straightforward in asking for the support of right-minded citizens who oppose corruption and disorder and believe that existing conditions can be greatly improved by State control following the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

This problem must be solved in the interests of good government. [The longer its solution is postponed; the longer people refuse to face it, the greater the problem grows.]

I have made it very clear to the voters of the State that the position of the Democratic Party and of all of the Democratic candidates is straightforward and honest, but that, on the other hand, the official position of the Republican Party is based on opportunism. That it is not sincere or honest is proved by the fact that two of the four Republican candidates make little pretense of sympathy with the platform of their party.

I recognize fully that in this State and throughout this country there are a large number of sincere, honest opponents of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. I urge those people to realize the fact that the question of Prohibition today is no longer exclusively a question of liquor, it is more a question of corruption and crime of which this country, this State and every other State must rid itself.

Now we come to the third great division, the functions of the State Government—the broad classification of administration and legislation affecting social welfare. Under this head come those many labor laws which Democratic leadership has placed on the statute books, and those other labor laws for which we are still fighting. In spite of the Republican platform and Republican orators, the electorate as a whole knows that it is leadership on the part of Democratic Governors and Democratic legislators which has made all the gains of the past few years and our Republican friends cannot laugh off the fact that the Democratic candidates have the support of the Federation of Labor in this State and of many of the leaders of labor throughout the nation.

Along this same line is the recognition on the part of the public that they have the Democratic Party and its leadership to thank for the law for the relief of old age want, which is today on the statute books and actually goes into effect just two months from now. Old age security is such an intimate personal subject that no person has the right to make it the football of politics. When I think of the hundreds of old people, men and women whom I have met in the course of my life; old people who, through no fault of their own were in want and need and had nowhere to turn, I can only say that I have a very deep personal happiness and satisfaction in knowing that I have had some small part in placing on the statutes of our State a law which will take care of the aged, a law which will in the long run eliminate all of the horrors of the poorhouse; a law which will not only make the lives of tens of thousands of old people more happy but will give assurance to millions of younger people that they need not fear the future as they have so often in the past.

That law, young as it is, is not yet perfected and must be strengthened, broadened in scope and made to cover many worthy cases which are now unprovided for.

[Then too, I am wondering whether the people of the State want to see the great park program turned over to Republican administration. So much has been accomplished in every part of the State; so much has been accomplished for men and women who but for this program would have no opportunity for recreation, for sunlight and air, that it is inconceivable to turn it over to those who in the past have had to have the program itself rammed down their throats.]

Finally, in this broad group relating to social welfare, I want to say one last word in regard to the bond issue which will be submitted to the voters next Tuesday. This bond issue is made necessary because of twenty years of neglect of the State hospitals and prisons under Republican Governors during the first part of this century. Under Governor Smith tremendous strides were taken in rebuilding outworn structures and in adding facilities for the care of our wards, and I am bringing the program to a successful and definite conclusion. If this bond issue goes through we give assurance to the State that by the year 1935 there will be adequate accommodations for every one of the prisoners and wards and patients in all of our State institutions. At last the end is in sight, and soon if this great policy is carried through we shall be able to look anybody in the face and say that the State of New York has fulfilled its obligations to its own wards. This is certainly the most inopportune time to swap horses while we are crossing this stream. I ask you all, Republicans and Democrats alike, to vote "yes" on the bond issue and when you do so, to give a thought to those from every community who for one reason or another are in the care of the State. With the advance of science, with the application of modern humane principles we are reclaiming thousands upon thousands of those who in the old days could never have returned to normal lives. This is not a mere social experiment. It is actually a success today, only we want to broaden that success. You, the voters of the State, can help to accomplish that.

There is one other subject which is a part of the Democratic platform and it is entitled "Government reforms." First, it speaks of the legislative interference on the part of Republican leaders with the constitutional procedure in regard to the budget and the finances of this State which was approved by the voters when they adopted the constitutional amendment under Governor Smith. I can only tell you that the great victory which was won by us in the courts sustaining the executive budget, has created a precedent in American Government that will safeguard that form of Government for generations to come; and I can give you assurance that as long as I am in Albany I shall continue to resent and defeat any attempt on the part of the Republican leaders to tear down either the power or the responsibility of the executive branch of the Government. Our party, furthermore, continues, in the interest of good Government, to fight for a four year term for Governor, with elections in non-presidential years. I suppose that the campaign this year is as good an illustration as we could get of the importance of making State issues the controlling factor in the election of State officers.

In exactly the same way these Republican leaders have failed to give any recognition whatever to enabling legislation to permit the reorganization of local county and town governments. This is one of the pressing needs of the State and every month that goes by sees an added interest on the part of citizens in many localities in our efforts to place county and town government on a more businesslike basis.

That is the record.

This record of two years speaks for itself. It is the record of your State government. It is based on honesty. It is based on business efficiency. It is based on humanity. It is based on law.

So too with our campaign for State officials which sets forth the pledges and promises for two years more. It too is based on honesty, on efficient administration, on humanity and on law.

It is not based on falsification of the record. It is not based on hysteria, it is not based on slander, it is not based on promises and bombast which are incapable of fulfillment.

It involves issues which make themselves felt in the everyday lives of people in every home, their work, their play, their safety, their dangers, their food, their clothing, their health, their happiness,—the fathers and mothers and children of the State.

These are the things which the candidates of the Republican Party have refused to talk about. They and their national allies have persisted in a campaign of misrepresentation and untruth. As long as these defamatory

attacks were made only by candidates I deliberately passed them by unnoticed, satisfied that the people would realize that they were instigated entirely by ambition for office. Now, however, this campaign of falsification, coupled with an attack upon my integrity and motives, has been joined in by a person occupying the high office of Secretary of State of the United States. To that challenge I give heed. Tomorrow night in the Borough of Manhattan itself, I will depart from a discussion of the issues of this election long enough to expose the hypocrisy of the Republican campaign.

Let us here and now pledge ourselves and our candidates that we shall continue to march forward in the cause of social progress and of liberal thought, in the cause of honest government. We have blazed the way; the path lies clear ahead. Follow that path to the end.