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

Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Political Ascension

File No. 526

1932 September 24

Hollywood Bowl - Campaign Speech

0526
This is a transcript made by the
Hollywood Bowl from the speech
made by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt
on September 24, 1932.
The speech was made at the
Hollywood Bowl and was heard
by a large audience.
The speech was made at the
Hollywood Bowl and was heard
by a large audience.

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Hollywood Bowl

September 24, 1932

Senator McAdoo (applause), Chairman Slane and you
young Democrats of Southern California (applause) -- I say
that because nobody ever grows old out here (applause):

We have had a wonderful trip. We have had everything
in the world -- enthusiasm and interest -- everything except
sleep, and that is because of the interest and the enthusiasm;
but it presents problems, my friends. What is a poor fellow
to do at four o'clock in the morning when he hears the crowd
waiting around the windows of the stateroom and hears them say,
"Come on out, Governor," and he opens one eye and starts to
turn over, and then the crowd says, "Come on out, Governor;
if you don't come out we'll vote for Hoover." (Laughter)

My friends, I have not made this long and speedy tour
for the primary purpose of making campaign speeches. I have
come out here and into some twenty-two states of the nation
with the intention of studying at first hand the conditions
and problems of every section -- to talk with people -- the
everyday people, the average people, the forgotten people.
(Applause) To talk to them about conditions and things in
order to obtain information at first hand, to learn about all
you have done in this commonwealth in the form of progressive

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

Senator McAdoo (applies), Chairman Egan and you
young Democrats of Southern California (applies) -- I say
that because nobody ever grows old out here (applies) : --
We have had a wonderful trip. We have had everything except
in the world -- enthusiasm and interest -- everything except
sleep, and that is because of the interest and the enthusiasm;
but it presents problems, my friends. What is a poor fellow
to do at four o'clock in the morning when he hears the crowd
waiting around the windows of the stateroom and hears them say,
"Come on out, Governor," and he opens one eye and starts to
turn over, and then the crowd says, "Come on out, Governor;
if you don't come out we'll vote for Hoover." (laughter)
My friends, I have not made this long and speedy tour
for the primary purpose of making campaign speeches. I have
come out here and into some twenty-two states of the nation
with the intention of studying at first hand the conditions
and problems of every section -- to talk with people -- the
everyday people, the average people, the forgotten people.
(applies) To talk to them about conditions and things in
order to obtain information at first hand, to learn about all
you have done in this commonwealth in the form of progressive

government for all who believe in those principles. (Applause)

It has been a long trip, my friends, but unlike most long trips those of us who have been making it have left behind any feeling of fatigue of the mind or body, and that is in spite of the unemployment, the poverty and the distress that has met us in every state. For we have found from the very beginning of the trip, even up to this moment, that faith which has made this country great. It is a strange thing, my friends, the extent of unemployment, the sore economic distress, that the people of the United States have carried on with a minimum of complaints and a maximum of patience. And that patience must rest on something -- it must rest upon a great faith -- a faith that means can be found out of the illimitable resources and ingenuity of America to solve the problems that perplex us. (Applause)

It seems to me that I have seen that faith in the faces of people stretched in an unending panorama. I saw it as we passed through the great Middle West, in Ohio and Indiana, and Illinois. I saw it on a never-to-be-forgotten night in Jefferson City, Missouri, where countless thousands thronged the capital of that state.

I saw it under the hot sun at Topeka where thousands of farmers stood and listened. I saw it in Denver; I saw it in the stretches of Wyoming, the cattle country; I saw it in the mining country of Montana and Idaho, where the miners too

have been caught -- caught like the farmer has been caught -- caught like the people in the industrial centers -- in something that they have been unable to get rid of yet. I have seen it in the Pacific ports -- Portland and San Francisco -- hit, as we know, by the failure of our trade with the Orient, and, indeed, with every other country of the world.

A great faith, my friends, -- a great faith in the possibility of restored prosperity, a restored prosperity that can come to this country only through leadership. A prosperity which will not come back to this country merely through the easy theory of some kind of economic recovery brought about of itself by the passage of years. (Applause)

As I look over this great country of yours I see a desert transformed into the greatest agricultural country in the world -- a land of unsurpassed beauty -- of unsurpassed possibilities. It was water that wrought the change, and I can see the difference. Since the first time that I came here twenty years ago, see what water has done. It was the sovereign right of government that insured the highest use of your water, and you understand that. And the necessity for it, as your population grows, continues and grows itself, for without additional supply your progress must cease. Second only to the demand for water itself in the development of this great section is the adequate supply of cheap hydro-electric power. And that power, my friends, is assured to you

forever under the protection of government, just so long as you own the government. (Applause)

The whole nation has watched the magnificent progress that your municipality and any other municipalities of this section have in the development of the use of water, and I am glad that the Federal government, through Congress, has already taken steps to assure to your municipalities and to this section not only an ample supply, but also hydro-electric power, the cheapest in the world, for the use of your people through government protection. (Applause)

I have spoken on several occasions of the interest of government in hydro-electric power. You know of one project at Boulder Dam, the project which for this whole section of the country is to act as a yard-stick for the generations to come. I congratulate and rejoice with you, but I want to point out to you that it is only one part of what the national government can do towards this same end. Up in the northeastern section of the country it so happens that there flows a great river, the St. Lawrence River, and its American section is capable of generating over a million horsepower, and we in the northeastern part of the country hope that that will be developed by government to act as a yard-stick on the charges and the service by private companies for the benefit of the whole section.

And then down in the southeast part of the country

nature has given us Muscle Shoals to act in exactly the same capacity for that part. And in the southwest we have Boulder Dam. In the northwest, the fourth corner, the fourth quarter of the country, nature has given us the Columbia River.

And so you see that our land is blessed with four great sources of power, all of them controlled by the people of the United States. (Applause) I rejoice with you in this gift of God. I intend to see that this great government work is expedited to the fullest extent; that the guarantees and the protections that are now thrown around you are never disturbed through legislation sought by selfish interests. (Applause)

I spoke the other day in Portland, and I said this, and I want to repeat it to you, as an important part of the national policy -- "the natural hydro-electric power resources belonging to the people of the United States or the several states shall remain forever in their possession." To the people of this country I have but one answer on that subject. Judge me by the enemies I have made. (Applause) Judge me by the selfish purposes of the Insulls and others who have talked of radicalism while they were selling watered stock to the people, and using our very schools to deceive the coming generation. My policy, my friends, is as radical as American liberty, as radical as the Constitution of the United States. (Applause)

I am glad to get back to a section of the country too that I have had a part in a certain line of development. When I first went to Washington in 1913, the Navy of the United States very rarely visited south of San Francisco, and it was during the administration of President Wilson, during those eight splendid years, that the National government recognized from the naval point of view the existence of Southern California. (Applause)

And I don't need to tell you, as a former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, that I thoroughly understand the great value of an adequate Navy toward commerce, not only in times of war, but in times of peace. (Applause)

We have faced them in many ways. I have spoken of leadership; we can only accomplish results if to leadership is given the support of men and women of all parties. I am not a great partisan, my friends, but I am happy of one thing in this campaign, and that is that the young men and women of the United States are seeming to realize more than I have ever known before, the duty which they owe to government.

It is their interest in these days that means the continuance of our form of government in the days to come. (Applause)

Results cannot be accomplished when fear or lack of interest causes us to lie dormant. They can be accomplished only through action, through courageous action, through progressive action, -- and, my friends, through definite action.

(Applause)

And that is why I am asking the people of this United States to stand for a new deal. (Applause)

I promise you an understanding heart. I promise you all my service. I promise you the best that is in me. I cannot give you more than that. I ask for your help (applause); for your help to lead the United States of America, not just to better days, but to a higher standard of morality, a higher standard of decency, a greater faith in God. (Applause) And, my friends, I ask this, not just for ourselves -- I ask it for our children -- for our grandchildren, and great grandchildren, that the one hundred and fifty years of our national existence may be followed by another century and a half of greater good to the average man and the average woman, so that our land may be a happier and a safer place for us to live in. In that spirit I am asking your suffrage. (Applause) Give me your help. (Applause, prolonged)

- - - - -

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
DELIVERED AT HOLLYWOOD BOWL

SEPTEMBER 24, 1932

Senator McAdoo, (applause), Chairman Slane and you young Democrats of Southern California (Applause) -- I say that because nobody every grows old out here -- (applause) We have had a wonderful trip. We have had everything in the world -- enthusiasm and interest -- everything except sleep, and that is because of the interest and the enthusiasm; but it presents problems, my friends. What is a poor fellow to do at four o'clock in the morning when he hears the crowd waiting around the windows of the stateroom and hears them say, "Come on out, Governor," and he opens one eye and starts to turn over, and then the crowd says, "Come on out Governor; if you don't come out we'll vote for Hoover." (Laughter)

My friends, I have not made this long and speedy tour for the primary purpose of making campaign speeches. I have come out here and into some twenty-two states of the nation with the intention of studying at first hand the conditions and problems of every section -- to talk with people -- the everyday people, the average people, the forgotten people. (Applause)

To talk to them about conditions and things in order to obtain information at first hand, to learn about all you have done in this commonwealth in the form of progressive government for all who believe in those principles.

(applause)

It has been a long trip, my friends, but unlike most long trips those of us who have been making it have left behind any feeling of fatigue of the mind or body, and that is in spite of the unemployment, the poverty and the distress that has met us in every state. For we have found from the very beginning of the trip, even up to this moment, that faith which has made this country great. It is a strange thing, my friends, the extent of ~~our~~ unemployment, the sore economic distress, that the people of the United States have carried on with a minimum of complaints and a maximum of patience. And that patience must rest on something -- it must rest upon a great faith -- a faith that means can be found out of the illimitable resources and ingenuity of America to solve the problems that perplex us.

(Applause)

It seems to me that I have seen that faith in the faces of people stretched in an unending panorama. I saw it as we passed through the great Middle West, in Ohio and Indiana, and Illinois. I saw it on a never-to-be-forgotten night in Jefferson City, Missouri, where countless thousands thronged

the capitol of that state.

I saw it under the hot sun at Topeka where thousands of farmers stood and listened. I saw it in Denver; I saw it in the stretches of Wyoming, the cattle country; I saw it in the mining country of Montana and Idaho, where the miners too have been caught -- caught like the farmer has been caught -- caught like the people in the industrial centers -- in something that they have been unable to get rid of yet. I have seen it in the Pacific ports -- Portland and San Francisco -- ~~xxx~~ hit, as we know, by the failure of our trade with the Orient, and, in deed, with every other country of the world.

A great faith, my friends, -- a great faith in the possibility of restored prosperity, a restored prosperity that can come to this country only through leadership. A prosperity which will not come back to this country merely through the easy theory of some kind of economic recovery brought about of itself by the passage of years. (Applause)

As I look over this great country of yours I see a desert transformed into the greatest agricultural country in the world -- a land of unsurpassed beauty -- of unsurpassed possibilities. It was water that wrought the change, and I can see the difference. Since the first time that I

came here twenty years ago, see what water has done. It was the sovereign right of government that insured the highest use of your water, and you understand that. And the necessity for it, as your population grows, continues and grows itself, for without additional supply your progress must cease. Secondly only ^{to} the demand for water itself in the development of this great section is the adequate supply of cheap hydro-electric power. And that Power, my friends, is assured to you forever under the protection of government, just so long as you own the government. (Applause)

The whole nation has watched the magnificent progress that your municipality and any other municipalities of this section have in the development of the use of water, and I am glad that the federal government through Congress has already taken steps to assure to your municipalities and to this section not only an ample supply, but also hydro-electric power, the cheapest in the world, for the use of your people through government protection. (applause)

I have spoken on several occasions of the interest of government in hydro-electric power. You know of one project at Boulder Dam, the project which for this whole section of the country is to act as a yard stick for the generations to come. I congratulate and rejoice with you, but I want to point out to you that it is only one part of what the national government can do to reach this same end. Up in the northeastern section of the country it so happens that there flows a great river, the St. Lawrence River, and its American section is capable of generating over a million horsepower, and we in the northeastern part of the country hope that that will be developed by government to act as a yard stick on the charges and the service by private companies for the benefit of the whole section.

And then down in the southeast part of the country nature has given us Muscle Shoals to act in exactly the same capacity for that part. And in the southwest we have Boulder Dam. In the northwest, the fourth corner, the fourth quarter

of the country, nature has given us the Columbia River.

And so you see that our land is blessed with four great sources of power, all of them controlled by the people of the United States. (applause) I rejoice with you in this gift of God. I intend to see that this great government work is expedited to the fullest extent; that the guarantees and the protections that are now thrown around you are never disturbed through legislation sought by selfish interests. (applause)

I spoke the other day in Portland, and I said this, and I want to repeat it to you, as an important part of the national policy -- "the natural hydro electric power resources belonging to the people of the United States or the several states shall remain forever in their possession." To the people of this country I have but one answer on that subject. Judge me by the enemies I have made. (applause) Judge me by the selfish purposes of the Insulls and others who have talked of radicalism while they were selling watered stock to the people, and using our very schools to deceive the coming generation. My policy, my friends, is as radical as American liberty, as radical as the Constitution of the United States. (applause)

I am glad to get back to a section of the country too that I have had a part in a certain line of development. When I first went to Washington in 1913, the navy of the

United States very rarely visited south of San Francisco, and it was during the administration of President Wilson, during those eight splendid years, that the National government recognized from the naval point of view the existence of Southern California (applause).

And I don't need to tell you as a former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, that I thoroughly understand the great value of an adequate navy toward commerce, not only in times of war, but in times of peace. (applause)

We have faced them in many ways. I have spoken of leadership; we can only accomplish results if too leadership is given the support of men and women of all parties. I am not a great partisan, my friends, but I am happy of one thing in this campaign, and that is that the young men and the young women of the United States are seeming to realize more than I have ever known before, the duty which they owe to government.

(Continued on next page)

~ IT IS THEIR INTEREST IN THESE DAYS THAT MEANS
THE CONTINUANCE OF OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN THE DAYS TO COME.
(APPLAUSE).

RESULTS CANNOT BE ACCOMPLISHED WHEN FEAR
OR LACK OF INTEREST CAUSES US TO LIE DORMANT. THEY
CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED ONLY THROUGH ACTION, THROUGH COURAGEOUS
ACTION, THROUGH PROGRESSIVE ACTION,--AND MY FRIENDS THROUGH
DEFINITE ACTION. ♪ (APPLAUSE) --

AND THAT IS WHY I AM ASKING THE PEOPLE OF
THIS UNITED STATES TO STAND FOR A NEW DEAL. (APPLAUSE)

I PROMISE YOU AN UNDERSTANDING HEART. I
PROMISE YOU ALL MY SERVICE. I PROMISE YOU THE BEST
THAT IS IN ME. I CANNOT GIVE YOU MORE THAN THAT. I
ASK FOR YOUR HELP; ~~KXXXXXXX~~ (APPLAUSE) -- FOR YOUR
HELP TO LEAD THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; NOT JUST TO
BETTER DAYS, BUT TO A HIGHER STANDARD OF MORALITY, A
HIGHER STANDARD OF DECENCY, A GREATER FAITH IN GOD.
(APPLAUSE) -- AND MY FRIENDS, I ASK THIS, NOT JUST
FOR OURSELVES -- I ASK IT FOR OUR CHILDREN -- FOR OUR
GRAND CHILDREN, AND GREAT GRAND CHILDREN, THAT THE ~~XX~~
ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OF OUR NATIONAL EXISTENCE MAY
BE FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER CENTURY AND A HALF OF GREATER GOOD
TO THE AVERAGE MAN AND THE AVERAGE WOMAN, SO THAT OUR
LAND MAY BE A HAPPIER AND A SAFER PLACE FOR US TO LIVE
IN. IN THAT SPIRIT I AM ASKING YOUR SUFFRAGE,--

GIVE ME YOUR HELP. (APPLAUSE--PROLONGED)

Stanz
Young people
SPEECH OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

DELIVERED HOLLYWOOD BOWL

SEPTEMBER 24TH, KM L932

FELLOW-CITIZENS, I HAVE NOT MADE THIS LONG AND SPEEDY TOUR FOR THE PRIMARY PURPOSE OF MAKING CAMPAIGN SPEECHES. I HAVE COME OUT HERE WITH THE INTENTION OF STUDYING AT FIRST HAND YOUR CONDITIONS AND YOUR PROBLEMS -- TO TALK WITH YOUR PEOPLE, -- YOUR EVERY-DAY PEOPLE, -- BOTH MEN AND WOMEN -- BECAUSE FROM THEM I ~~ME~~ MOST FREQUENTLY OBTAIN TRUE INFORMATION IN THE SINCEREST AND SIMPLEST FORM. I AM HERE TO OBTAIN YOUR VIEWS AND YOUR OPINIONS ON THE SERIOUS PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT THAT NOW CONFRONT US. I AM HERE TO ABSORB YOUR SENTIMENT TO SEEK YOUR AID AND INSPIRATION AND TO INVITE AND WELCOME THE ENLISTMENT IN THE CAUSE OF PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT, OF ALL THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN THOSE PRINCIPLES.

IT HAS BEEN A LONG TRIP, MY FRIENDS, BUT UNLIKE MOST LONG TRIPS THOSE OF US WHO HAVE BEEN MAKING IT HAVE LEFT BEHIND ANY FEELING OF FATIGUE OF THE MIND OR ^{or body} ~~OF THE~~ ~~SPIRIT THAT MAY HAVE EXISTED WHEN WE STARTED~~. THIS HAS COME BECAUSE, IN SPITE OF UNEMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND DISTRESS THAT WAS APPARENT EVERYWHERE, WE HAVE FOUND AMONG THE PEOPLE THAT I HAVE MET SEEN AND HEARD THAT FAITH WHICH HAS MADE THIS COUNTRY GREAT. IT IS A ^{moving} ~~STRANGE~~ THING MY

FRIENDS, THE EXTENT TO WHICH, IN SPITE OF GREAT UNEMPLOYMENT OF SORE ECONOMIC DISTRESS, THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE CARRIED ON WITH ~~A MINIMUM OF COMPLAINTS~~ AND A MAXIMUM OF PATIENCE. THIS PATIENCE MUST, IT SEEMS TO ME REST UPON A GREAT FAITH -- A FAITH THAT MEANS CAN BE FOUND OUT OF THE ILLIMITABLE RESOURCES AND INGENUITY OF MAN TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS THAT PERPLEX US.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT I HAVE SEEN THIS FAITH IN THE FACES OF PEOPLE STRETCHED OVER WHAT SEEMS TO ME NOW ONE UNENDING PANORAMA. XX I SAW IT AS WE PASSED THROUGH THE GREAT MIDDLE WEST, IN OHIO AND INDIANA, AND ILLINOIS; I SAW IT ON ~~AN~~ EVER-TO-BE-FORGOTTEN NIGHT IN JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI, WHERE IT SEEMED THAT COUNTLESS MULTITUDES FILLED THE CAPITOL BUILDING OF THAT STATE.

I SAW IT UNDER THE HOT SUN AT TOPEKA WHERE THOUSANDS OF FARMERS LISTENED, WITH WHAT I AM PERFECTLY WILLING TO ACKNOWLEDGE WITH PATIENCE BUT WITH UNDERSTANDING AND SYMPATHY TO MY LONG STATEMENT ON THE PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURE.

I SAW IT IN DENVER AND CHEYENNE AND IN THE STRETCHES OF WYOMING, -- UP IN THE MINING COUNTRY OF MONTANA AND IDAHO, WHERE THE MINERS WERE CAUGHT ~~XXXX~~ LIKE RATS IN A TRAP BY THE PROSTRATION OF THE MINING INDUSTRY. I HAVE SEEN IT IN THESE PACIFIC PORTS, HARD HIT BY THE FAILURE OF OUR TRADE WITH THE ORIENT *& indeed*

the whole world

A GREAT FAITH, MY FRIENDS, IN THE POSSIBILITY OF ORDERED RESTORATION OF PRESENT CONDITIONS -- IT WOULD BE A CRUEL THING TO TRIFLE WITH THIS FAITH, EITHER THROUGH CARELESS PROMISES OF EASY ECONOMIC RECOVERY OR THRU MERE PIOUS ADMONITIONS TO LIE DORMANT, TO BE ~~XXX~~ PATIENT FOR THE WORKING OUT OF SOME ECONOMIC LAW. EITHER OF THESE MEASURES ARE PRESENTING ON THE ONE HAND UN-THINKING *damaging* ~~RADICALISM~~, AND ON THE OTHER HAND FOSILIZED REACTION.

~~IN~~ I DEEPLY REGRET THAT THE PLAN FOR MEETING THE PEOPLE ON THIS TOUR DEPRIVES ME OF THE PLEASURE AND OPPORTUNITY OF DISCUSSING WITH YOU THE MANY GREAT NATIONAL PROBLEMS. AS I LOOK OVER THIS GREAT COUNTRY OF YOURS I SEE A DESERT TRANSFORMED INTO THE GREATEST AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY IN THE WORLD, OF UNSURPASSED BEAUTY AND COMFORT. IT WAS WATER THAT BROUGHT THE CHANGE IT WAS THE SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF GOVERNMENT THAT INSURED THE HIGHEST USE OF THAT WATER. THE NECESSITY FOR WATER, AS YOUR POPULATION GROWS, ALSO GROWS. WITHOUT ADDITIONAL SUPPLY YOUR PROGRESS MUST CEASE. SECOND ONLY TO THE DEMAND FOR ~~THIS POTABLE~~ WATER *itself* IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF YOUR SECTION IS AN ADEQUATE SUPPLY OF CHEAP HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER. THIS POWER IS ASSURED TO YOU FOREVER UNDER THE PROTECTING POWER OF GOVERNMENT.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THROUGH CONGRESS HAS ALREADY
TAKEN STEPS TO ASSURE TO YOUR MUNICIPALITY AND TO THIS
SECTION OF THE COUNTRY, NOT ONLY AN AMPLE WATER SUPPLY, BUT
HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER, THE CHEAPEST IN THE WORLD, FOR THE
USE OF YOUR PEOPLE THROUGH GOVERNMENTAL PROTECTION.
THE GREAT BOULDER DAM PROJECT IS NOW UNDER CONSTRUCTION.
IT WILL IMPOUND TO YOU WATER TO MEET YOUR REQUIREMENTS FOR
ALL TIMES. IT WILL SUPPLY TO YOUR MUNICIPALITIES AN ABUNDANCE
OF THE CHEAPEST OF POWER TO BE USED BY YOU FOREVER, WITHOUT
FEAR OF THE EXTORTION THAT FREQUENTLY ARISES FROM PRIVATE
MONOPOLY.

4 Cont 9

This great project, the largest of its kind in the world, is being constructed by the United States Government without cost to the people of the country and without the imposition of a single tax on those people who are to receive the direct benefit of it. All of the Power to be generated by the Government power house at the project has been contracted for in advance by states and municipalities, and particularly the municipality of Los Angeles and the Metropolitan water district at a price that will return to the Government all money investment, together with 4% interest within a period of 50 years. And this great undertaking has been accomplished while furnishing to the states and municipalities who had a preference under the act, the cheapest power in the United States.

I congratulate and rejoice with you. I intend to see that this great government work is expedited to the fullest extent, and that the guarantees and protections that are now thrown around you are never disturbed through legislation sought by selfish interests. I will be on guard for your interests. I will not sit idly by while destruction takes place. I will take and I will hold the initiative as your President in all matters that are for your welfare and the welfare of the people of this country.

-This wonderful faith, a heritage from the great souls who founded our government shall not be in vain. Our country is the richest and most powerful in the world. Its Government is so framed as to offer the greatest opportunity for individual liberty and initiative. We have within our borders everything to make for the comfort, the happiness and prosperity of our people. ^{What} ~~all that~~ is required is a readjustment of the existing dislocation of social and economic conditions. These things can be accomplished and they will be accomplished. It is evident that they cannot be accomplished through inaction. They cannot be accomplished when fear causes us to lie dormant. They can only be accomplished through action, through courageous action, through progressive action, *but through definite action*

Our people are ready to take this action through sympathetic and determined leadership. We must provide for the restoration of our foreign markets for our surplus production. This can be done through the overcoming of foreign retaliatory tariff walls, through negotiated tariff agreements and the re-establishment of normal money exchange. When this is done commodity prices within our country will rise, and with the rise of commodity prices the normal purchasing power of our people will be restored.

The agricultural problem is involved in all other great problems affecting the purchasing power of our people. Until the purchasing power of the farm dollar; that is, his products, is re-established, there can never be any real prosperity in industry in this country.

*I have
spoken of
farming
of
railroads
of
Lumber*

I THEREFORE AGAIN LAY DOWN THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLE;
THAT WHERE A COMMUNITY -- A CITY OR COUNTY OR A DISTRICT
IS NOT SATISFIED WITH THE SERVICE RENDERED OR THE
RATES CHARGED BY THE PRIVATE UTILITY, IT HAS THE UNDENIABLE
RIGHT AS ONE OF ITS FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT, ONE OF ITS FUNCTIONS
OF HOME RULE, TO SET UP AFTER A FAIR REFERENDUM HAS BEEN
TAKEN, ITS OWN GOVERNMENTALLY OWNED AND OPERATED SERVICE.
THAT RIGHT HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED IN MOST OF THE STATES OF
THE UNION. ITS GENERAL RECOGNITION BY EVERY STATE WILL
HASTEN THE DAY OF BETTER SERVICE, AND LOWER RATES. IT
IS PERFECTLY CLEAR TO ME, AND TO EVERY THINKING CITIZEN
THAT NO COMMUNITY WHICH IS SURE THAT IT IS NOW BEING SERVED
WELL, AND AT REASONABLE RATES BY A PRIVATE UTILITY COMPANY
WILL SEEK TO BUILD OR OPERATE ITS OWN PLANT. BUT ON THE
OTHER HAND THE VERY FACT THAT A COMMUNITY CAN, BY VOTE
OF THE ELECTORATE, CREATE A YARD STICK OF ITS OWN, WILL
IN MOST CASES GUARANTEE GOOD SERVICE, AND LOW RATES TO ITS
POPULATION. I ~~MIGHT~~ ^{have called} CALL THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO
OWN AND OPERATE THEIR OWN UTILITY ~~X~~ BIRCH ROD IN THE CUPBOARD
TO BE TAKEN OUT AND USED ONLY WHEN THE CHILD GETS BEYOND THE
POINT WHERE A MERE SCOLDING DOES ANY GOOD."

STATE OWNED OR FEDERAL OWNED POWER SITES CAN
AND SHOULD PROPERLY BE DEVELOPED BY GOVERNMENT ITSELF.

the distinguished President who
 I again repeat, ~~my distinguished opponent~~ is

against giving the Federal Government in any case the right to operate their own power business. I favor giving the people this right where and when it is essential to protect them against inefficient service or exorbitant charges.

As an important part of this policy, the natural hydro-electric power resources belonging to the people of the United States or the several states shall remain forever in their possession.

To the people of this country I have but one answer on this subject. Judge me by the enemies I have made. Judge me by the selfish purposes of these utility leaders who have talked of radicalism while they were selling watered stock to the people and using our schools to deceive the coming generation. My policy is as radical as American liberty! As radical as the constitution of the United States!

Never shall the Federal Government part with its sovereignty and control over its power resources while I am President of the United States.

There is too much to do in this country in the matter of the reorganization of our own federal administration to even think of, let alone interfere in the politics of foreign countries. We must interest ourselves alone in

foreign countries for the purpose of protecting our trade and commerce and in this particular may I say, as a former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, that I thoroughly understand the great value of an adequate Navy to our commerce, not only in times of war, but in times of peace. In my opinion an adequate navy is the most economic and efficient form of defense of our commerce throughout the world in times of peace, or war, and our borders against a foreign enemy at all times.

I am sorry that time will not permit me to develop these various thoughts, but again I must remind you that in the nature of the circumstances, our time is limited. I am happy to be here with you today. I appreciate the wonderful reception that you have given me. I am happy to be here with you. I will be happy to serve in our government with your great citizen and progressive statesman, who during the period of war, did such loyal and patriotic service for our country, my friend, William Gibbs McAdoo.

My friends, I promise you sympathy, service and a new deal.

WESTERN UNION PRESS MESSAGE

1985

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
