
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Political Ascension

File No. 583

1932 November 3

**New York City, NY –
Address Republicans for Roosevelt League**

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
BEFORE THE "REPUBLICAN FOR ROOSEVELT LEAGUE",
NEW YORK CITY, METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE,
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1932.

I am here tonight at the invitation of a group of public-minded citizens who have placed principle above party. These citizens whose party affiliation has been Republican have publicly declared that they consider that a change in the administration of this government is necessary -- that it is, in fact, indispensable to a restoration to normal conditions. On such an occasion it is fitting to speak as a citizen rather than as a partisan.

In this campaign, indeed, the personal view I have had of the conditions of need and distress in every part of the Union has brought home to me the deep conviction that in this crisis the national and not the partisan objective must prevail.

To begin with, let me propose a text which, in my opinion, expresses a sentiment that is widely held this year. It is presented so clearly, so distinctly and so admirably that I would not change a word of it, even though it was spoken twelve years ago. Coming from a great figure in our national life it deserves serious consideration, and coming from a great Republican it deserves particular consideration from Republicans:

"For one reason or another even a wisely led political party, given a long enough tenure of office, finally fails to express any longer the will of the people, and when it does so fail to express the will of the people it ceases to be an effective instrument of government. It is far better for such a political party -- and certainly better for the state -- that it should be relegated to the role of the critic and that the opposing political party should assume the reins of government. This condition appears to have arrived in America."

That, my friends, is the sober conclusion of a cautious public man, not long ago President of the United States, Calvin Coolidge. With every word of it I heartily agree.

There are more reasons than that for a change this year. There are ten million or more reasons embodied in the blighted hopes of the ten million or more of the unemployed. No doubt seeking to extend the campaign of fear so foolishly and so wickedly put in motion, the present Republican leader, the President, the other night ^{made the statement} ~~referred to the fact~~ that if the policies he had so valiantly developed be not continued "the grass would grow on the streets of the cities". Well, the grass has little chance to grow in the

streets of our cities now. It would be trampled into the ground by the men who wander these streets in search of employment.

You have heard in this very city the President's exhortation that to abandon or to change one letter or one word of his policies would mean the destruction of this great Republic. But what do those policies boil down to when analyzed by the average citizen?

First, the President takes enormous credit for huge federal loans to prevent the industrial and banking situation from getting worse. Well and good. But that is a negative credit and does nothing positive to make things better.

Then he would exhort employers who have no markets for their wares to start their factories, to employ more labor, and thereby to increase production. I ask the simple question, what good is that if the purchasing power of the people to buy these products is not increased? And, especially I point to the fact that his program in no shape, manner or form calls for a restoration of the prices of farm products in order that the half of our

population which lives directly or indirectly by farming may have the wherewithal to buy the factory products.

Next he brings out a brand new suggestion. He would have us sit like Micawber and wait for something to turn up. He hints that some great invention, hidden away as he puts it in the "lockers of science" may appear overnight and put ten million people to work.

This is no new fantasy. Many people have been saying this for a long time. They hope for some new equivalent of the automobile or electric power, to pop out around the corner like magic.

The President asks that "the American government continue to be conducted in this faith and in this hope". I assert that the American government can not be conducted on the speculation of some new invention which has not yet been made.

Faith and hope are splendid things but the hunger and suffering of millions of unemployed men are too insistent to justify a governmental policy that pins its faith on such a mere, remote possibility. This expression is another example of the old gambling spirit

of the speculative boom that has so sorely mismanaged the country for the past few years. It is the attitude of mind that guessed in 1929 that we might escape the consequences of over-speculation. It is the gamble with fate that led to the foreign loans abroad. It is the gamble with fate that led the administration to guess in one budget after another that business would suddenly improve, and provide by that gamble the taxable means to meet an extravagant outlay of expenditure. It is this kind of government by guess and by gamble that the people of this country have resolved to put out of power. I rejoice that Republicans everywhere have decided to lay aside party, to put their shoulders to the wheel to achieve recovery, not by magic or gambling, but by hard commonsense and above all by serious and resolute action.

To condense the sum of all of the arguments of the President for his reelection, into two sentences, is not hard.

He asks a vote of confidence because he says that but for him the situation would have been worse. He asks the Nation to wait and hope for some miracle of invention to make things better.

As you who have followed the nationwide campaign which I have conducted for the past three months will fully appreciate, both my political philosophy and my chart of action for the country's future differ widely from those of President Hoover.

Throughout this campaign in every State, -- and I have been in thirty-seven of them, -- I have insisted upon the theme that there is a definite and distinct difference between his policies and mine. I have repeated that this program entrusted to me is essentially a national program. Its watchword is interdependence of all groups, of all sections, of all economic interests. Such a program permits of no yielding to sectional or immediate selfish special interests such as those represented by the clients and backers of Mr. Grundy. It represents a recognition of the fact that a neglected group, a submerged group, - be it agriculture, labor, or finance or industry, - will prevent the recovery of the entire nation. It is not in ignoring the fact that there are different interests and different parts of the country, and different people with different needs that we build a nation, it is in recognizing them, looking at

them, seeing them, consulting them, helping them, always with a view to the larger interest - the interest of the nation.

Now the President took occasion in this city to speak of the American system and then proceeded to demonstrate that he does not know what the American system really means.

The American system is not the special, exclusive, vested, patented possession of the Republican party or, for that matter, of the Democratic party. The rank and file of both great parties have deep-seated devotion to the essentials of that system. The rank and file of Democrats believe in the patriotism and loyalty to that system which exists among the rank and file of the Republican party. And the rank and file of the Republican party feel the same way about the rank and file of the Democratic party. In our century and a half of national life we have been ruled by Democrats and Republicans. We have had our ups and downs under both parties.

Therefore, the rank and file of the voters of both parties agree with me today that the most extraordinary,

the most amazing, and I believe the most un-American episode of this entire campaign of 1932 is the eleventh hour effort of the President to arrogate to himself and his handful of associates in Washington the right to claim an exclusive interpretation of and ownership in the American system of government. The American system is the common heritage and common possession of all Americans. Five days from today these Americans by overwhelming vote intend to deny and reject the exclusive patent sought by the President and his friends.

H > The interpretation which you give and I give to the American system of government certainly does not mean the combination of foreign and domestic gambling that the present leadership of the Republican party has sponsored. It does not mean inviting on one hand the trade of other countries and on the other declaring economic war against them. This is not an American system, as I understand the American system. You do not spell out America by combining the economics of John Law and his Mississippi Bubble with those of Mr. Grundy and his campaign contributors.

The American system, the American government itself, was founded on the principle that many men from many states with many economic views and many economic interests might, through the medium of a national government,

build for national harmony, national unity and interdependent well-being. This is the American system. And if the President will turn from his made-to-order statistics, which he so sadly misrepresents and misinterprets, if he will turn his eyes from his so-called "backward and crippled countries" and turn to the great and stricken markets of Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois and the other agricultural states, if he will cease his Utopian dreaming of inventions hidden in the "lockers of science" that are going to make us rich, and turn to the true lessons of American history and the real words of the founders of this Republic, he will know what the American system really is.

I offer as a witness, a man who sat and labored with incredible zeal for the making of the Federal Constitution, who participated in the deliberations of the convention that made it, who expended his inexhaustible labors in the writing of the record of this convention, and who in his defense of this Constitution set forth in "The Federalist" the most authentic and imperishable interpretation of the American system that the world has ever seen. Here is his interpretation:

"A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation."

This means that government is intended to be the means by which all these interests and policies are brought into equilibrium and harmony within a single Republic. This, my friends, is an expression of the American system at its best and I leave it to you to decide whether the most authentic, the most unselfish, the most unworried and dignified and true exponent of the American system is James Madison or Herbert Hoover.

I have sought during these months to emphasize a broad policy of construction, of national planning and of national building, constructed in harmony with the best traditions of the American system. I have concentrated of necessity upon the broad and immediately insistent problems of national scope.

At Topeka I outlined a complete national plan for the restoration of agriculture to its proper relationship to the Nation.

At Salt Lake City I outlined a definite program to give us a national transportation policy, including the rehabilitation of the railroads of the nation.

At Portland I set forth in definite terms a national policy for the conduct of utilities and especially those engaged in manufacturing and distributing electric power.

At Sioux City I proposed a tariff policy aimed to restore international trade and commerce not only with this nation but between all nations.

At Boston I championed the principle that the national government has a positive duty to see that no citizen shall starve.

At Columbus I proposed the protection of the investing public against the evils and the fraud perpetrated against them during the past ten years.

At Pittsburgh I proposed an honest, national budget system.

And now as to the actual conduct of government itself - what a business man would call the executive and operating task of the corporation.

It is necessary first of all to recognize the simple fact that, apart from the occasional judicial interpretations relating to government, we have in Washington as in all the states two constant factors which are working year in and year out, side by side and in constant contact with each other - in the case of states the Governor and the Legislature, and in Washington the President and The Congress.

Unthinking people have inveighed against The Congress in every generation of our Republic - little realizing that they are striking at the very fabric of our Constitution. If we were to eliminate The Congress of the United States, we would automatically cease to be a Republic.

The real purpose of the Constitution was based on the rightful assumption that the President and The Congress would be sufficiently right-minded, sufficiently practical and sufficiently patriotic to make every effort to cooperate the one with the other. It is not an overstatement either of the fact, or of the opinion of the American public to say that the present Chief Executive of our nation has shown

a singular lack of ability to cooperate with The Congress. I am not speaking only of the past eleven months since the House of Representatives became Democratic by the margin of a handful of votes. I am speaking also of the previous 2-1/2 years, during which time The Congress in both of its branches was controlled by the same party to which the President himself belongs. From the earliest days of the special session which he summoned in the spring of 1929, the relations between the Capitol and the White House have, to say the least, lacked cordiality, understanding and common national purpose.

Let me make it clear that I do not assert that a president and The Congress must on all points agree with each other. Many times in history there has been complete disagreement between the two branches of the government, and in these disagreements sometimes The Congress has won and sometimes the President has won. But during the administration of the present President, we have had neither agreement nor a clear-cut battle. Either would have cleared the atmosphere and would have been far preferable to the smouldering ill-feeling that has seemed to prevail.

I have the right to point out my own conception of the relationship between an executive and a legislative body. I have served as a legislator and as a chief executive. I

believe that from the point of view of a Governor or a President his relations with the legislative body can be based on cooperation. The fact is that with the great majority of problems mere partisanship should, in so far as possible, be kept in the background. In meeting this great majority of problems they can and should be treated primarily from the point of view of national good rather than of party good. And let me add that in the case of most reconstruction legislation there ought to be no great difference in the policy of the two great political parties.

We are all influenced by our personal experiences. For four long years, as Governor of New York, I have been faced by a Legislature Republican in both of its branches. From the beginning I have worked on the assumption that the members of this Legislature were human beings, that they were patriotic, and that most of our state problems could best be solved by cooperation between them and myself. We have differed on certain matters of fundamental policy. In those cases, I have given them battle; sometimes they have won -- sometimes, and I think in the majority of cases, I have won; but in all these cases we have had good, clean, open fights.

However, when the problem has been one affecting human welfare, the Legislature and I have always ended by

sitting around a table and getting something practical done. That was the history of the labor legislation in this state during the past four years - of the legislation for the improvement of our hospitals, and our prison system, of the legislation that enacted ^{the} ~~that~~ old-age-security law - of the legislation that made this state the leader among ^{more than a year ago} ~~that~~ all the states in providing unemployment relief. In the latter case, I called a special session, I proposed a bill, the Republican leaders proposed another bill, we had our fight, we sat around a table, I met them 20 per cent of the way, they met me 80 per cent of the way, they passed the bill, I signed the bill, the relief work was started - and all of this in the space of six weeks, while it took ^{present} The Congress six months to get the President to see that such measures were necessary in the nation as well.

I want to drive home the point that I have practiced what I preach -- that there can be cooperation between an executive and a legislative body in the interest of action, of getting things done.

And while I draw from my personal experience one part of my record in Albany well illustrates my point. Up to the time I was inaugurated as Governor, the record for vetoes belonged to former Governor Grover Cleveland. But in each of the last four years I have vetoed more legislative acts than did Cleveland himself, and the percentage of laws passed which received my executive disapproval has run from 25% to as high as 31% of all bills passed. That is not all. During those four years, not one single bill which received my disapproval has been passed by the legislature over my veto. And likewise with my record of appointments. As in the Federal Government, nearly all important administrative or judicial appointments require confirmation by the Senate. During my four years as Governor, not a single one of my appointments has been rejected by the Senate of the State of New York.

One final point on this subject. It seems of course fairly obvious that the next Congress of the United States will have a majority of Democrats in both its branches. Any child can understand that it will be easier for a Democratic President to cooperate with the next Congress than it would be if the present chief executive were re-elected. But, at the same time, I honestly believe that even if The Congress of the United States were to be Republican in one or both of its branches, I could get along with it better than the gentleman who is running for President on the Republican ticket.

The great issue this year is national, comprehensive and humane. I have painted it with broad lines because it is a program for a great nation. That is why, from the beginning, insisting upon the principle of a new deal I have invited to join our cause Republicans who believe that this country needs the tonic of a new alignment of party loyalties, a new and enlightened support of our national faith. This country needs the tonic effect of such a reiteration of American principles. It calls to its service with particular emphasis the independent and courageous spirits who are willing

to leave the household of a betrayed faith, who are asking for substance not shadows, who are seeking for truth, not names for truth.

In speaking for the common purposes of all of these forward-looking men and women I have, I believe, avoided the delusion that this is a campaign of persons or of personalities. To indulge in such a fantastic idea of my own individual importance would be to betray the common hope and the common cause that has brought us all together this year. A great man left a watch-word that we can well repeat.

"There is no indispensable man."

But there are indispensable principles - without which government cannot serve its purpose. These are the principles of fair and open dealing with the public, of using the great powers of the government to serve no mean party advantage, of keeping promises made to agriculture and labor, of friendly relations between the executive and the legislature, of economic peace with foreign nations, of protection for those who must entrust their savings to others, of social justice for all, and relief for those who are in need.

Reducing it all to the essentials of my speech of acceptance, we want to get for the American people, two great human values - work and security. To achieve this end I invite you all. It is no mere party slogan. It is a definition of national need. It is a philosophy of life. I repeat it with a courage lent by the knowledge that I speak a philosophy of government as well - the ideals which have made us and kept us a nation.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN-FOR-ROOSEVELT LEAGUE,
Metropolitan Opera House, New York City
Thursday, November 3, 1932

Mrs. Child (?), Mr. Young, my fellow-Americans:

I am here tonight at the invitation of a group of public-minded citizens who have placed principle above party. (Applause) These citizens, whose party affiliation has been Republican, have publicly declared that they consider that a change in the administration of this government is necessary -- that it is, in fact, indispensable to a restoration to normal conditions. (Applause) And so, on such an occasion it is fitting for me to speak as a citizen rather than as a partisan. (Applause)

In this campaign, my friends, indeed the personal view that I have had from coast to coast -- the view of the conditions of need and distress in every part of the Union, has brought home to me the deep conviction that in this crisis the national and not the partisan objective must prevail. (Applause)

And so, to begin with, let me propose a text which, in my opinion, expresses a sentiment that is widely held this year. It is presented so clearly, so distinctly and so admirably that I would not change a word of it even though it was

spoken twelve years ago. Coming from a great figure in our national life it deserves serious consideration, and coming from a great Republican it deserves particular consideration from Republicans. Here is the text:

"For one reason or another even a wisely led political party, given a long enough tenure of office, finally fails to express any longer the will of the people, and when it does so fail to express the will of the people it ceases to be an effective instrument of government. It is far better for such a political party -- and certainly better for the state -- that it should be relegated to the role of the critic and that the opposing political party should assume the reins of government. This condition appears to have arrived in America." (Applause)

That text, my friends, is the sober conclusion of a cautious public man, not long ago President of the United States, Calvin Coolidge. (Applause) With every word of it I heartily agree. (Applause)

But there are more reasons than that for a change this year. There are ten million or more reasons embodied in the blighted hopes of the ten million or more of the unemployed. No doubt seeking to extend the campaign of fear so

foolishly and so wickedly put in motion, the present Republican leader (the President) the other night (referred to) made the (fact) statement that if the policies he had so valiantly developed be not continued "the grass would grow on the streets of the cities." Well, my friends, the grass has little chance to grow in the streets of our cities now, because it would be trampled into the ground by the men who wander (these) those streets in search of employment. (Riotous applause)

You have heard in this very city the President's exhortation that to abandon or to change one letter or one word of his policies would mean the destruction of this great Republic. But what do those policies boil down to when analyzed by the average citizen?

First, the President takes enormous credit for huge (federal) industrial loans to prevent the industrial and banking situation from getting worse. Well and good. But that is a negative credit and does nothing positive to make things better. (Applause)

And then, he would exhort employers who have no markets for their wares to start their factories, to employ more labor, and thereby to increase production. And I ask the simple question, what good is that if the purchasing power of the people to buy these products is not increased? And,

especially I point to the fact that his program in no shape, manner or form calls for a restoration of the prices of farm products in order that the half of our population which lives directly or indirectly by farming may have the wherewithal to buy the (factory) products of our factories.

(Next) And then he brings out a brand new suggestion. He would have us sit like our old friend Micawber and wait for something to turn up. (Laughter) He hints that some great invention, hidden away, as he puts it, in the "lockers of science", may appear overnight and put ten million people to work. (Laughter)

(This) That is no new fantasy. Many people have been saying (this) that for a long time. They hope for some new equivalent of the automobile or electric power, or the radio, to pop out around the corner like magic. (Laughter)

And the President asks that "the American government continue to be conducted in this faith and in this hope." I assert that the American government cannot be conducted on the mere speculation of some new invention which has not yet been made. (Applause)

Yes, faith and hope are splendid things, but the hunger and suffering of millions of unemployed men are too insistent to justify a governmental policy that pins its

faith on such a mere remote possibility. It seems to me that this expression is another example of the old gambling spirit of the speculative boom that has so sorely mismanaged the country for the past (few) four years. It is the attitude of mind that guessed in 1929 that we might escape the consequences of over-speculation. It is the gamble with fate that led to the foreign loans abroad. It is the gamble with fate that led the administration to guess in one budget after another that business would suddenly improve -- that prosperity was just around the corner -- and provide by that gamble the taxable means to meet an extravagant outlay of expenditures. Yes, it is this kind of government by guess and by gamble that the people of this country have resolved to put out of power. (Applause) And I rejoice that Republicans everywhere have decided to lay aside party, to put their shoulders to the wheel to achieve recovery -- not by magic or gambling, but by hard common sense and above all by serious and resolute action. (Applause)

To condense the sum of all of the arguments of the President for his reelection into two sentences is not hard. He asks a vote of confidence because he says that but for him the situation would have been worse. (Laughter) And, secondly, he asks the Nation to wait and hope for some miracle of invention to make things better.

As you who have followed the nation-wide campaign which I have conducted for the past three months will fully appreciate, both my political philosophy and my chart of action for the country's future differ widely from those of the President (Hoover) himself. (Applause)

Throughout this campaign in every State -- and I have been in 37 of them -- I have insisted upon the theme that there is a definite and distinct difference between his policies and mine. I have repeated that this program entrusted to me is essentially a national program. Its watchword is interdependence of all groups, of all sections, of all economic interests. Such a program permits of no yielding to sectional or immediate selfish special interests such, for example, as those represented by the clients and backers of our old friend Mr. Grundy. (Applause) It represents a recognition of the fact that a neglected group, a submerged group, be it agriculture, labor, or finance or industry, will prevent the recovery of the entire Nation. It is not in ignoring the fact that there are different interests and different parts of the country, and different people with different needs that we build a nation; it is in recognizing them, looking at them, seeing them, consulting them, helping them, always with a view to the larger interest -- the interest of the Nation.

Now, the President took occasion in this city to speak of the American system, and then proceeded to demonstrate that he does not know what the American system really means. (Applause)

Let us be definite! The American system is not the special, exclusive, vested, patented possession of the Republican party or, for that matter, of the Democratic party. (Applause) The rank and file of both great parties have deep-seated devotion to the essentials of that system. The rank and file of Democrats believe in the patriotism and loyalty to that system which exists among the rank and file of the Republican party. And the rank and file of the Republican party feel the same way about the rank and file of the Democratic party. (Applause) We remember well that in our century and a half of national life we have been ruled by Democrats and Republicans. We have had our ups and downs under both parties. (Applause)

Therefore, the rank and file of the voters of both parties agree with me today that the most extraordinary, the most amazing, and I believe the most un-American episode of this entire campaign of 1932 is the eleventh-hour effort of the President to arrogate to himself and to his handful of associates in Washington the right to claim an exclusive

interpretation of and ownership in the American system of government. (Applause) The American system is the common heritage and common possession of all Americans. Five days from today these Americans by overwhelming vote intend to deny and reject the exclusive patent sought by the President and his friends. (Riotous applause)

It seems to me that the interpretation which you give and I give to the American system of government certainly does not mean the combination of foreign and domestic gambling that the present leadership of the Republican party has sponsored. (Applause) It does not mean inviting on one hand the trade of other countries and on the other declaring economic war against them. (Applause) This is not an American system, as I understand the American system. You do not spell out America by combining the economics of John Law and his Mississippi Bubble with those of Mr. Grundy and his campaign contributors. (Applause)

(The American) This system, the American government itself, was founded on the principle that many men from many states with many economic views and many economic interests might, through the medium of a national government, build for national harmony, national unity and interdependent well-being. (This) That is the American system. And if the President will

turn from his made-to-order statistics, which he so sadly misrepresents and misinterprets, if he will turn his eyes from his so-called "backward and crippled countries" and turn to the great and stricken markets of Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois and the other agricultural states -- if he will cease his Utopian dreaming of inventions hidden in the "locker of science" that are going to make us rich, and turn to the true lessons of American history and the real words of the founders of this Republic, he will know what the American system really is. (Riotous applause)

I offer as a witness, a man who sat and labored with incredible zeal for the making of the Federal Constitution, a man who participated in the deliberations of the convention that made it, who expended his inexhaustible labors in the writing of the record of this convention, and who in his defense of this Constitution set forth in "The Federalist" the most authentic and imperishable interpretation of the American system that the world has ever seen. Here is his interpretation:

"A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations and

divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation."

(This) That means that government is intended to be the means by which all these interests and policies are brought into equilibrium and harmony within a single Republic. This, my friends, is an expression of the American system at its best, and I leave it to you to decide whether the most authentic, the most unselfish, the most unworried and dignified and true exponent of the American system is James Madison or Herbert Hoover. (Applause)

I have sought during these months to emphasize a broad policy of construction, of national planning and of national building, constructed in harmony with the best traditions of the American system. I have concentrated of necessity upon the broad and immediately insistent problems of national scope.

At Topeka, in Kansas, I outlined a complete national plan for the restoration of agriculture to its proper relationship to the Nation, and to restore its buying power.

At Salt Lake City I outlined a definite program to give us a national transportation policy, including the rehabilitation of the railroads of the Nation.

At Portland I set forth in definite terms a national policy for the conduct of utilities and especially those engaged in manufacturing and distributing electric power.

At Sioux City I proposed a tariff policy aimed to restore international trade and commerce not only with this Nation but between all nations of the world. (Applause)

At Boston I championed the principle that the national government has a positive duty to see that no citizen shall starve. (Applause)

At Columbus, Ohio, I proposed the protection of the investing public against the evils and the fraud perpetrated against them during the past ten years. (Applause)

At Pittsburgh I proposed an honest, national budget system, and the balancing thereof. (Applause)

And now (as) I want to talk to you very simply from my own personal experience in regard to the actual conduct of government itself -- what a business man would call the executive and operating task of the corporation.

It is necessary first of all for us to recognize the simple fact that, apart from the occasional judicial interpretations relating to government, we have in Washington, as in all the states, two constant factors which are working

year in and year out, side by side and in constant contact with each other -- in the case of states the Governor and the Legislature, and in Washington the President and the Congress.

Many unthinking people have inveighed against the Congress in every generation of our Republic -- little realizing that they are striking at the very fabric of our Constitution. If we were to eliminate the Congress of the United States, we would automatically cease to be a Republic. If they would but think for a moment they would realize that if we were to eliminate the Congress of the United States we would automatically cease to be a Republic.

The real purpose of the Constitution was based on the rightful assumption that the President and the Congress would be sufficiently right-minded, sufficiently practical and sufficiently patriotic to make every effort to cooperate the one with the other. (Applause) It is not an overstatement either of the fact, or of the opinion of the American public, to say that the present Chief Executive of our Nation has shown a singular lack of ability to cooperate with the Congress. (Applause) I am speaking also only of the past eleven months since the House of Representatives became Democratic by the margin of a handful of votes. I am speaking

also of the previous two and one-half years, during which time the Congress in both of its branches was controlled by the same party to which the President himself belongs. (Applause) From the earliest days of the special session which he summoned in the spring of 1929, the relations between the Capitol and the White House have, to say the least, lacked cordiality, understanding and common national purpose. (Applause)

Now let me make it clear that I do not assert that a President and the Congress must on all points agree with each other at all times. Many times in history there has been complete disagreement between the two branches of the government, and in these disagreements sometimes the Congress has won and sometimes the President has won. But during the administration of the present President we have had neither agreement nor a clear-cut battle. Either would have cleared the atmosphere and would have been far preferable to the smouldering ill-feeling that has (seemed to) prevailed during the past three and one-half years in Washington. (Applause)

I believe that I have the right to point out my own conception of the relationship between an executive and a legislative body. I have served as a legislator and as a chief executive. I believe that from the point of view of a Governor

or a President his relations with the legislative body can be based on cooperation. The fact is that with the great majority of problems mere partisanship should, in so far as possible, be kept in the background. And in meeting this great majority of problems they can and should be treated primarily from the point of view of national good rather than of party good. And let me add that in the case of most reconstruction legislation there ought to be no great difference in the policy of the two great political parties. (Applause)

We are all influenced by our personal experiences. For four long years, as Governor of New York, I have been faced by a Legislature Republican in both of its branches. From the beginning I have worked on the assumption that the members of this Legislature were human beings, that they were patriotic, and that most of our state problems could best be solved by cooperation between them and myself. (Applause) We have differed on certain matters of fundamental policy. In those cases, I have given them battle. Sometimes they have won -- sometimes, and I think in the majority of cases, I have won; but in all these cases we have had good, clean open fights. And the people have known the story of the case.

(However) But, my friends, when the problem has been one affecting human welfare, the Legislature and I have

always ended by sitting around a table and getting something practical done. (Applause) That (was) has been the history of the labor legislation in this state during the past four years -- of the legislation for the improvement of our hospitals, and our prison system, of the legislation that enacted that old-age-security law -- (applause) -- of the legislation that made this state the leader among all the states in providing unemployment relief. (Applause) In the latter case, I called a special session. I proposed a bill, the Republican leaders proposed another bill, and we had (our) a good old-fashioned drag-down and knock-out fight. We sat around a table, and I met them twenty per cent of the way; they met me eighty per cent of the way; they passed the bill, I signed the bill, the relief work was started -- (and all of this in the space of six weeks, while) -- in less than a month. (Riotous applause) Contrast that with the fact that it took the Congress six months to get the President to see that such measures were necessary in the Nation as well. (Applause)

I want to drive home the point that I have practiced what I preach -- that there can be cooperation between an executive and a legislative body in the interest of action, of getting things done.

And while I draw from my personal experience one

part of my record in Albany well illustrates my point. Up to the time I was inaugurated as Governor, the record in this state for vetoes belonged to former Governor Grover Cleveland. But in each of the last four years I have vetoed more legislative acts than did Cleveland himself, and the percentage of laws passed which received my executive disapproval has run from 25% to as high as 31% of all bills passed. That is not all. During those four years, not one single bill which received my disapproval has been passed by the Legislature over my veto. (Applause) And likewise with my record of appointments. As in the Federal Government, nearly all important administrative or judicial appointments require confirmation by the Senate. During my four years as Governor, not a single one of my appointments has been rejected by the Senate of the State of New York. (Applause)

One final point on this subject of cooperation. It seems, of course, fairly obvious that the next Congress of the United States will have a majority of Democrats in both its branches. (Applause) Any child can understand that it will be easier for a Democratic President to cooperate with the next Congress than it would be if the present Chief Executive were reelected. But, let me add this, in all seriousness and from my heart, at the same time, I honestly believe that even

if the Congress of the United States were to be Republican in one or both of its branches I could get along with it better than the gentleman who is running for President on the Republican ticket. (Riotous applause)

My friends, the great issue this year is national, comprehensive and humane. I have painted it with broad lines because it is a program for a great nation. That is why, from the beginning, insisting upon the principle of a new deal, I have invited to join our cause Republicans who believe that this country needs the tonic of a new alignment of party loyalties, a new and enlightened support of our national faith. This country needs the tonic effect of such a reiteration of American principles. It calls to its service with particular emphasis the independent and courageous spirits who are willing to leave the household of a betrayed faith, who are asking for substance not shadows, who are seeking for truth, not names for truth. (Applause)

And in speaking for the common purposes of all of these forward-looking men and women I have, I believe, avoided the delusion that this is a campaign of persons or of personalities. To indulge in such a fantastic idea of my own individual importance would be to betray the common hope and the common cause that has brought us all together this year. (A

great man left a watch-word that we can well repeat:) And I am glad that Mr. Young spoke to you about the indispensable man. "There is no indispensable man." (Applause)

But there are indispensable principles -- without which government cannot serve its purpose. These are the principles of fair and open dealing with the public, of using the great powers of the government to serve no mean party advantage, of keeping promises made to agriculture and labor, of friendly relations between the Executive and the Legislature, of economic peace with foreign nations, of protection for those who must entrust their savings to others, of social justice for all, and relief for those who are in need.

Reducing it to all the essentials of my speech of acceptance, we want to get for the American people two great human values -- work and security. (Applause) To achieve this end I invite you all. It is no mere party slogan. It is a definition of national need. It is a philosophy of life. I repeat it with a courage lent by the knowledge that I speak a philosophy of government as well -- the ideals which have made us and kept us a nation. (Prolonged applause)