June 28, 1934

Fireside Speech #5. Subject: General
It has been several months since I have talked
with you concerning the problems of government. Since
January, those of us in whom you have vested responsibility
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which had been widely discussed in previous months. It
seemed to us our duty not only to make the right path
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As we review the achievements of this session of
the Seventy-Third Congress, it is made increasingly clear
that its task was essentially that of completing and
fortifying the work it had begun in March, 1933. That
was no easy task, but the Congress was equal to it. It
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this Congress displayed a greater freedom from mere partisanship than any other peace-time Congress since the Administration of President Washington himself.

The session was distinguished by the extent and variety of legislation enacted and by the intelligence and good will of debate upon these measures.

I mention only a few of the major enactments:

It provided for the readjustment of the debt burden through the corporate and municipal bankruptcy acts and the farm relief act. It lent a hand to industry by encouraging loans to solvent industries unable to secure adequate help from banking institutions. It strengthened the integrity of finance through the regulation of
- 3 -

securities exchanges. It provided a rational method of increasing our volume of foreign trade through reciprocal trading agreements. It strengthened our naval forces to conform with the intentions and permissions of existing treaty rights. It made further advances towards peace in industry through the labor adjustment act.

It supplemented our agricultural policy through measures widely demanded by farmers themselves and intended to avert price destroying surpluses. It strengthened the hand of the Federal Government in its attempts to suppress gangster crime. It took definite steps towards a national housing program through an act which I signed today designed to encourage private capital in the rebuilding of the homes of the Nation. It created a permanent
Federal body for the just regulation of all forms of communication, including the telephone, the telegraph and the radio. Finally, and I believe most important, it reorganized, simplified and made more fair and just our monetary system, setting up standards and policies adequate to meet the necessities of modern, economic life, doing justice to both gold and silver as the metal bases behind the currency of the United States.

In the consistent development of our previous efforts toward the saving and safeguarding of our national life, I have continued to recognize three related steps: The first was relief, because the primary concern of any government dominated by the humane ideals
of democracy is the simple principle that in a land of vast resources no one should be permitted to starve.

Relief was and continues to be our first consideration.

It calls for large expenditures and will continue in modified form to do so for a long time to come. We may as well recognize that fact. It comes from the paralysis that arose as the after-effect of that unfortunate decade characterized by a mad chase for unearned riches and an unwillingness of leaders in almost every walk of life to look beyond their own schemes and speculations. In our administration of relief we follow two principles: First, that direct giving shall, wherever possible, be supplemented by provision for useful and remunerative work and, second,
that where families in their existing surroundings will in all human probability never find an opportunity for full self-maintenance, happiness and enjoyment, we will try to give them a new chance in new surroundings.

The second step was recovery, and it is sufficient for me to ask each and every one of you to compare the situation in agriculture and in industry today with what it was fifteen months ago.

At the same time we have recognized the necessity of reform and reconstruction -- reform because much of our trouble today and in the past few years has been due to a lack of understanding of the elementary principles of justice and fairness by those in whom
leadership in business and finance was placed in reconstruction because new conditions in our economic life as well as old but neglected conditions had to be corrected.

Substantial gains well known to all of you have justified our course. I could cite statistics to you as unanswerable measures of our national progress — statistics to show the gain in the average weekly pay envelope of workers in the great majority of industries —

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statistics to show hundreds of thousands reemployed in private industries and other hundreds of thousands given new employment through the expansion of direct and indirect government assistance of many kinds,

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But the simplest way for each of you to judge recovery lies in the plain facts of your own individual situation. Are you better off than you were last year? Are your debts less burdensome? Is your bank account
more secure? Are your working conditions better? Is your faith in your own individual future more firmly grounded?

Also, let me put to you another simple question: Have you as an individual paid too high a price for these gains? Plausible self-seekers and theoretical die-hards will tell you of the loss of individual liberty. Answer this question also out of the facts of your own life. Have you lost any of your rights or liberty or constitutional freedom of action and choice? Turn to the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, which I have solemnly sworn to maintain and under which your freedom rests secure. Read each provision of that Bill of Rights and ask yourself whether you personally
have suffered the impairment of a single jot of these
great assurances. I have no question in my mind as to
what your answer will be. The record is written in the
experiences of your own personal lives.

In other words, it is not the overwhelming majority
of the farmers or manufacturers or workers who deny the
substantial gains of the past year. The most vociferous
of the doubting Thomases may be divided roughly into
two groups; First, those who seek special political
privilege and, second, those who seek special financial
privilege. About a year ago I used as an illustration
the 90% of the cotton manufacturers of the United States
who wanted to do the right thing by their employees and
by the public but were prevented from doing so by the
10% who undercut them by unfair practices and un-American standards. It is well for us to remember that humanity is a long way from being perfect and that a selfish minority in every walk of life -- farming, business, finance and even Government service itself -- will always continue to think of themselves first and their fellow-being second.

In the working out of a great national program which seeks the primary good of the greater number, it is true that the toes of some people are being stepped on and are going to be stepped on. But those toes belong to the comparative few who seek to retain or to gain position or riches or both by some short cut which is harmful to the greater good.
In the execution of the powers conferred on it by Congress, the Administration needs and will tirelessly seek the best ability that the country affords. Public service offers better rewards in the opportunity for service than ever before in our history -- not great salaries, but enough to live on. In the building of this service there are coming to us men and women with ability and courage from every part of the Union. The days of the seeking of mere party advantage through the misuse of public power are drawing to a close. We are increasingly demanding and getting devotion to the public service on the part of every member of the Administration, high and low.

The program of the past year is definitely in operation and that operation month by month is being made to fit into
the web of old and new conditions. This process of evolution is well illustrated by the constant changes in detailed organization and method going on in the National Recovery Administration. With every passing month we are making strides in the orderly handling of the relationship between employees and employers. Conditions differ, of course, in almost every part of the country and in almost every industry. Temporary methods of adjustment are being replaced by more permanent machinery and, I am glad to say, by a growing recognition on the part of employers and employees of the desirability of maintaining fair relationships all around.

So also, while almost everybody has recognized the tremendous strides in the elimination of child labor, in the payment of not less than fair minimum wages and in the shortening of hours, we are still feeling our way in solving problems which relate to self-government in industry, especially where such self-government tends to eliminate the fair operation of competition.
In this same process of evolution we are keeping
before us the objectives of protecting on the one
hand industry against chislers within its own ranks,
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maintenance of reasonable competition for the prevention
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But, in addition to this our immediate task, we must
still look to the larger future. I have pointed out to
the Congress that we are seeking to find the way once
more to well-known, long established but to some degree
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the men, women and children of the nation.

That security involves added means of providing
better homes for the people of the Nation. That is the
first principle of our future program.
The second is to plan the use of land and water resources of this country to the end that the means of livelihood of our citizens may be more adequate to meet their daily needs.

And, finally, the third principle is to use the agencies of government to assist in the establishment of means to provide sound and adequate protection against the vicissitudes of modern life, in other words, social insurance.

Later in the year I hope to talk with you more fully about these plans.

A few timid people, who fear progress, will try to give you new and strange names for what we are doing. Sometimes they will call it "Fascism", sometimes "Communism", sometimes "Regimentation", sometimes "Socialism." But, in so doing, they are trying to make very complex and
theoretical something that is really very simple and very practical.

I believe in practical explanations and in practical policies. I believe that what we are doing today is a necessary fulfillment of what Americans have always been doing -- a fulfillment of old and tested American ideals.

Let me give you a simple illustration:

While I am away from Washington this summer, a long needed renovation of and addition to our White House office building is to be started. The architects have planned a few new rooms built into the present all too small one-story structure. We are going to include in this addition and in this renovation modern electric wiring and modern plumbing and modern means of keeping the offices cool in the hot Washington summers. But the structural lines of
the old Executive Office Building will remain. The artistic lines of the White House buildings were the creation of master builders when our Republic was young. The simplicity and the strength of the structure remain in the face of every modern test. But within this magnificent pattern, the necessities of modern government business require constant reorganization and rebuilding.

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tastes. They know that the principles of harmony and of necessity itself require that the building of the new structure shall blend with the essential lines of the old. It is this combination of the old and the new that marks orderly peaceful progress -- not only in building buildings but in building government itself.

Our new structure is a part of and a fulfillment of the old.

All that we do seeks to fulfill the historic traditions of the American people. Other nations may sacrifice democracy for the transitory stimulation of old and discredited autocracies. We are restoring confidence and well-being under the rule of the people themselves. We remain, as John Marshall said a century ago, "emphatically and truly, a government of the people". Our government "in form and in substance ... emanates from them. Its
powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them, and for their benefits."

Before I close, I want to tell you of the interest and pleasure with which I look forward to the trip on which I hope to start in a few days. It is a good thing for everyone who can possibly do so to get away at least once a year for a change of scene. I do not want to get into the position of not being able to see the forest because of the thickness of the trees.

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port in our Pacific northwest, and then will come the best part of the whole trip, for I am hoping to inspect a number of our new great national projects on the Columbia, Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, to see some of our national parks and, incidentally, to know much of actual conditions during the trip across the continent back to Washington.

While I was in France during the War our boys used to call the United States "God's country". Let us make it and keep it "God's Country."
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
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I mention only a few of the major enactments. It provided for the readjustment of the debt burden through the
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.

As we review the situation at the beginning of the Seventy-Fifth Congress, it is easy to appreciate that in the atmosphere of the depression the Congress is under heavy pressure to do something.

The same situation has always been present in the Congress since the Administration of President Roosevelt presented the necessity of major legislation under the banner of the new Americanism.

I mentioned only a few of the many suggestions.
corporate and municipal bankruptcy acts and the farm relief act. It lent a hand to industry by encouraging loans to solvent industries unable to secure adequate help from banking institutions. It strengthened the integrity of finance through the regulation of securities exchanges. It provided a rational method of increasing our volume of foreign trade through reciprocal trading agreements. It strengthened our naval forces to conform with the intentions and permission of existing treaty rights. It made further advances towards peace in industry through the labor adjustment act. It supplemented our agricultural policy through measures widely demanded by farmers themselves and intended to avert price destroying surpluses. It strengthened the hand of the Federal Government in its attempts to suppress gangster crime. It took definite steps towards a national housing program through an act which I signed today designed to encourage private capital in the rebuilding of the homes of the Nation. It created a permanent Federal body for the just regulation of all forms of communication, including the telephone, the telegraph and the radio. Finally, and I believe most important, it reorganized, simplified and made more fair and just our monetary system, setting up standards and policies adequate to meet the necessities of modern, economic
life, doing justice to both gold and silver as the metal bases behind the currency of the United States.

In the consistent development of our previous efforts toward the saving and safeguarding of our national life, I have continued to recognize three related steps: The first was relief, because the primary concern of any Government dominated by the humane ideals of democracy is the simple principle that in a land of vast resources no one should be permitted to starve. Relief was and continues to be our first consideration. It calls for large expenditures and will continue in modified form to do so for a long time to come. We may as well recognize that fact. It comes from the paralysis that arose as the after-effect of that unfortunate decade characterized by a mad chase for unearned riches and an unwillingness of leaders in almost every walk of life to look beyond their own schemes and speculations. In our administration of relief we follow two principles: First, that direct giving shall, wherever possible, be supplemented by provision for useful and remunerative work and, second, that where families in their existing surroundings will in all human probability never find an opportunity for full self-maintenance, happiness and enjoyment, we will try to give them a new chance in new surroundings.
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At the same time we have recognized the necessity of reform and reconstruction -- reform because much of our trouble today and in the past few years has been due to a lack of understanding of the elementary principles of justice and fairness by those in whom leadership in business and finance was placed -- reconstruction because new conditions in our economic life as well as old but neglected conditions had to be corrected.

Substantial gains well known to all of you have justified our course. I could cite statistics to you as unanswerable measures of our national progress -- statistics to show the gain in the average weekly pay envelope of workers in the great majority of industries -- statistics to show hundreds of thousands reemployed in private industries and other hundreds of thousands given new employment through the expansion of direct and indirect government assistance of many kinds, although, of course, there are those exceptions in professional pursuits whose economic improvement, of necessity, will be delayed. I also could cite statistics to
show the great rise in the value of farm products -- statistics to prove the demand for consumers' goods, ranging all the way from food and clothing to automobiles and of late to prove the rise in the demand for durable goods -- statistics to cover the great increase in bank deposits and to show the scores of thousands of homes and of farms which have been saved from foreclosure.

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In other words, it is not the overwhelming majority of the farmers or manufacturers or workers who deny the substantial gains of the past year. The most vociferous of the doubting Thomases may be divided roughly into two groups: First, those who seek special political privilege and, second, those who seek special financial privilege. About a year ago I used as an illustration the 90% of the cotton manufacturers of the United States who wanted to do the right thing by their employees and by the public but were prevented from doing so by the 10% who undercut them by unfair practices and un-American standards. It is well for us to remember that humanity is a long way from being perfect and that a selfish minority in every walk of life -- farming, business, finance and even Government service itself -- will always continue to think of themselves first and their fellow-being second.

In the working out of a great national program which seeks the primary good of the greater number, it is true that the toes of some people are being stepped on and are going to be stepped on. But these toes belong to the comparative few
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So also, while almost everybody has recognized the tremendous strides in the elimination of child labor, in the payment of not less than fair minimum wages and in the shortening of hours, we are still feeling our way in solving problems which relate to self-government in industry, especially where such self-government tends to eliminate the fair operation of competition.

In this same process of evolution we are keeping before us the objectives of protecting on the one hand industry against chisellers within its own ranks, and on the other hand, the consumer through the maintenance of reasonable competition for the prevention of the unfair sky-rocketing of retail prices.

But, in addition to this our immediate task, we must still look to the larger future. I have pointed out to the Congress that we are seeking to find the way once more to well-known, long-established but to some degree forgotten ideals and values. We seek the security of the men, women and children of the Nation.

That security involves added means of providing better homes for the people of the Nation. That is the first principle of our future program.

The second is to plan the use of land and water resources of this country to the end that the means of livelihood of our citizens may be more adequate to meet their daily needs.
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In the workings out of a great national program which seeks the primary good or the greater number, it is true that the toes of some people are being stepped on and are going to be stepped on. But these toes belong to the comparative few who seek to retain or to gain position or riches or both by some short cut which is harmful to the greater good.

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That security involves added means of providing better homes for the people of the Nation. That is the first principle of our future program.

The second is to plan the use of land and water resources of this country to the end that the means of livelihood of our citizens may be more adequate to meet their daily needs.

And, finally, the third principle is to use the agencies of government to assist in the establishment of means to provide sound and adequate protection against the vicissitudes of modern life -- in other words, social insurance.

Later in the year I hope to talk with you more fully about these plans.

A few timid people, who fear progress, will try to give you new and strange names for what we are doing. Sometimes they will call it "Fascism", sometimes "Communism", sometimes "Regimentation", sometimes "Socialism." But, in so doing, they are trying to make very complex and theoretical something that is really very simple and very practical.

I believe in practical explanations and in practical policies. I believe that what we are doing today is a necessary fulfillment of what Americans have always been doing -- a fulfillment of old and tested American ideals.

Let me give you a simple illustration:

While I am away from Washington this summer, a long needed renovation of and addition to our White House office building is to be started. The architects have planned a few new rooms built into the present all too small one-story structure. We are going to include in this addition and in this renovation modern electric wiring and modern plumbing and modern means of keeping the offices cool in the hot Washington summers. But the structural lines of the old Executive Office Building will remain. The artistic lines of the White House buildings were the creation of master builders when our Republic was young. The simplicity and the strength of the structure remain in the face of every modern test. But within this magnificent pattern, the necessities of modern government business require constant reorganization and rebuilding.
If I were to listen to the arguments of some prophets of calamity who are talking these days, I should hesitate to make these alterations. I should fear that while I am away for a few weeks the architects might build some strange new Gothic tower or a factory building or perhaps a replica of the Kremlin or of the Potdum Palace. But I have no such fears. The architects and builders are men of common sense and of artistic American tastes. They know that the principles of harmony and of necessity itself require that the building of the new structure shall blend with the essential lines of the old. It is this combination of the old and the new that marks orderly peaceful progress — not only in building buildings but in building government itself.

Our new structure is a part of and a fulfillment of the old.

All that we do seeks to fulfill the historic traditions of the American people. Other nations may sacrifice democracy for the transitory stimulation of old and discredited autocracies. We are restoring confidence and well-being under the rule of the people themselves. We remain, as John Marshall said a century ago, "enthusiastically and truly, a government of the people." Our government "in form and in substance ... emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them, and for their benefit."

Before I close, I want to tell you of the interest and pleasure with which I look forward to the trip on which I hope to start in a few days. It is a good thing for everyone who can possibly do so to get away at least once a year for a change of scene. I do not want to get into the position of not being able to see the forest because of the thickness of the trees.

I hope to visit our fellow-Americans in Puerto Rico, in the Virgin Islands, in the Canal Zone and in Hawaii. And, incidentally, it will give me an opportunity to exchange a friendly word of greeting to the Presidents of our sister Republics, Haiti and Columbia and Panama.

After four weeks on board ship, I plan to land at a port in our Pacific northwest, and there will come the best part of the whole trip, for I am hoping to inspect a number of our great national projects on the Columbia, Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, to see some of our national parks and, incidentally, to learn much of actual conditions during the trip across the continent back to Washington.

While I was in France during the war our boys used to call the United States "God's country". Let us make it and keep it "God's Country".
CONFIDENTIAL UNTIL RELEASED

CAUTION: This address of the President is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:30 P. M., Eastern Standard Time today. Care must be exercised to prevent premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY
Assistant Secretary to the President.
EXCEIIPTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S RADIO ADDRESS FOR USE BY THE NEWSREELS.

It has been several months since I have talked with you concerning the problems of government. Since January, those of us in whom you have vested responsibility have been engaged in the fulfillment of plans and policies which had been widely discussed in previous months. It seemed to us our duty not only to make the right path clear but also to tread that path.

As we review the achievements of this session of the Seventy-Third Congress, it is made increasingly clear that its task was essentially that of completing and fortifying the work it had begun in March, 1933. That was no easy task, but the Congress was equal to it. It has been well said that while there were a few exceptions, this congress displayed a greater freedom from mere partisanship than any other peace-time Congress since the Administration of President Washington himself.

Substantial gains well known to all of you have justified our course. I could cite statistics to you as unanswerable measures of our national progress — statistics to show the gain in the average weekly pay envelope of workers in the great majority of industries — statistics to show hundreds of thousands reemployed in private industries and other hundreds of thousands given new employment through the expansion of direct and indirect government assistance of many kinds.

In the working out of a great national program which seeks the primary good of the greater number, it is true that the toes
of some people are being stepped on and are going to be stepped on.
But these toes belong to the comparative few who seek to retain
or to gain position or riches or both by some short cut which is
harmful to the greater good.

The program of the past year is definitely in operation
and that operation month by month is being made to fit into the
web of old and new conditions. This process of evolution is well
illustrated by the constant changes in detailed organization and
method going on in the National Recovery Administration. With every
passing month we are making strides in the orderly handling of the
relationship between employees and employers. Conditions differ,
of course, in almost every part of the country and in almost every
industry. Temporary methods of adjustment are being replaced by
more permanent machinery and, I am glad to say, by a growing recog-
nition on the part of employers and employees of the desirability
of maintaining fair relationships all around. (STOP)

But, in addition to this our immediate task, we must still
look to the larger future. I have pointed out to the Congress that we
are seeking to find the way once more to well-known, long established
but to some degree forgotten ideals and values. We seek the security
of the men, women and children of the nation.

A few timid people, who fear progress, will try to give you
new and strange names for what we are doing. Sometimes they will call it
"Fascism", sometimes "Communism", sometimes "Regimentation", sometimes
"Socialism." But, in so doing, they are trying to make very complex and
and theoretical something that is really very simple and very practical.

I believe in practical explanations and in practical policies. I believe that what we are doing today is a necessary fulfillment of what American have always been doing — a fulfillment of old and tested American ideals.

Moreover, I want to tell you of the interest and pleasure with which I look forward to the trip on which I hope to visit our fellow-Americans in Puerto Rico, in the Virgin Islands, in the Canal Zone and in Hawaii. After four weeks on board ship, I plan to inspect a number of our new great national projects on the Columbia, Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, to see some of our national parks and learn much of actual conditions during the trip across the continent back to Washington.

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As we review the achievements of this session of the 73rd Congress, it is made increasingly clear that its task was essentially that of completing and fortifying the work it had begun in March, 1933. That was no easy task, but the Congress was equal to it. It has been well said that while there were a few exceptions, this Congress displayed a greater freedom from mere partisanship than any other peace-
time Congress in the whole of our history since the administration of President Washington himself. This session was thus distinguished by the extent and variety of legislation enacted and by the intelligence and good will of debate upon these measures.

To touch only a few of the major enactments of this Congress, I mention that it provided for the readjustment of the debt burden through the corporate and municipal bankruptcy acts and the farm mortgage acts. It lent a hand to industry by encouraging loans to solvent industries unable to secure adequate help from regular banking institutions. It strengthened the integrity of finance through the regulation of securities exchanges. It provided a rational method of increasing our volume of foreign trade
through reciprocal trading agreements. It strengthened our naval forces to conform with the intentions and permissions of existing treaty rights. It made further advances towards peace and industry through the labor adjustment act. It supplemented our agricultural policy through measures widely demanded by farmers themselves and intended to avert price destroying surpluses. It strengthened the hand of the Federal Government in its attempts to suppress gangster crime. It took definite steps towards a national housing program through an act designed to encourage private capital in the rebuilding of the homes of the Nation. It created a permanent Federal body for the just regulation of all forms of communication, including the telephone, the telegraph and the radio. Finally, and I believe most important, it reorganized, simplified and made more fair
and just our monetary system, setting up standards and policies adequate to meet the necessities of modern, economic life, doing justice to both gold and silver as the bullion bases behind the currency of the United States and the security of the liquid assets of our people.

In the consistent development of our previous efforts toward the saving and safeguarding of our national life, I have continued to recognize three distinct steps: The first was relief, because the primary concern of any government dominated by the humane ideals of democracy is the simple principle that in a land of vast resources no one should be permitted to starve (where the fault does not lie with him). Relief was and continues to be our first consideration. It calls for large expenditures and will continue to do so for a long time to come. We might as well
recognize that fact, which comes from the paralysis that arose from the continuing after-effect of that unfortunate decade where every kind of maladjustment grew up out of the mad chase for unearned riches and the unwillingness of leaders in every walk of life to look beyond their own schemes and speculations, of the moment. In our administration of relief we follow two principles: First, that direct giving shall, wherever possible, be supplemented by provision for useful and remunerative work and, secondly, that where families in their existing surroundings will in all human probability never find an opportunity for full self-maintenance, happiness and enjoyment, we will try to give them a new chance in surroundings where such opportunity will exist.

The second step in recovery, and it is sufficient for
me to ask each and every one of you to compare the situation in agriculture and in industry today with what it was fifteen months ago.

At the same time we have recognized the necessity of reform and reconstruction -- reform because much of our trouble today and in the past few years has been due to a lack of understanding and fairness by those in whom leadership in business and finance was unfortunately misplaced -- reconstruction because new conditions in our economic life as well as old conditions whose seriousness we had never suspected had to be met and corrected by wise readjustments in many lines.

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statistics to show the gain in the average weekly pay envelope of workers in the great majority of industries -- statistics to show hundreds of thousands re-employed in private industries and other hundreds of thousands given new employment through the expansion of direct and indirect government assistance of many kinds -- statistics to show the great rise in the value of farm products --

To prove the rise in the demand for consumers' goods ranging all the way from automobiles to food and clothing -- statistics covering the great increase in bank deposits and to show the scores of thousands of homes and of farms which have been saved from foreclosure.

But the simplest way for each of
you to judge recovery lies in the simple facts that apply to your own individual situation. Are you better off than you were last year? Are your debts less burdensome? Is your bank account more secure? Are your working conditions better? Is your faith in your own individual future more firmly grounded?

Also, let me put to you another simple question: Have you as an individual paid too high a price for these gains? Plausible self-seekers and theoretical die-hards will tell you of the loss of individual liberty. Answer this question also out of the facts of your own life. Have you lost any of your rights or liberty or constitutional freedom of action and choice? Turn to the bill of rights of the Constitution, which I have solemnly sworn to maintain and under which your freedom rests secure. Read each provision
of that bill of rights and ask yourself whether you personally have suffered the impairment of a single jot of these great assurances. I have no question in my mind as to what your answer will be. The record is written in the experiences of your own personal lives. To that record I appeal from the selfish clamor of the hysteria of disappointed egotism and the play-acting staged for a few months for purely partisan reasons.
In other words, it is not the overwhelming majority of the farmers or manufacturers or workers who deny the substantial gains of the past year. The most vociferous of the doubting Thomases may be divided roughly into two groups: First, those who seek special political privilege and, second, those who seek special financial privilege.

About a year ago I used as an illustration the 90% of the cotton manufacturers of the United States who wanted to do the right thing by their employees and by the public but who were prevented from doing so by the 10% who undercut them by unfair practices and un-American standards.

It is well for us to remember that humanity is a long way from being perfect and that a selfish minority in every walk of life -- farming, business, finance and even Government service itself -- will always continue to think
of themselves first and their fellow-beings second.

In the working out of a great national program which seeks the primary good of the greater number, it is true that the toes of some people are being stepped on and are going to be stepped on. But those toes belong to the comparative few who seek to retain or to gain position or riches by some short cut which is harmful to the greater good. Those who have honorably come by position or riches can feel secure in the present and future. Today we are engaged in an orderly and definite course. We have made gains. We seek further gains. We seek above all to make these gains more solid, more permanent.

In the execution of the powers conferred on it by Congress, the Administration needs and will tirelessly
seek the best ability that the country affords. Public service offers better rewards in the opportunity for service than ever before in our history -- not great salaries, but enough to live on. In the building of this service are coming men and women with ability and courage from every part of the Union. The days of the seeking of mere party advantage through the misuse of public power are drawing to a close. We are increasingly demanding devotion to the public service on the part of every member of the Administration, high and low.

The program of the past year is definitely in operation and that operation month by month is being made to fit into the web of old and new conditions. This process of evolution is well illustrated by the constant changes going on in the methods of the National Recovery
Administration. With every passing month we are making
great strides in the orderly handling of the relationship
between employees and employers. Conditions differ, of
course, in almost every part of the country and in almost
every industry. Temporary methods of adjustment are
being replaced by more permanent machinery and, I am glad
to say, by a growing recognition on the part of industry
of the necessity for restoring order in its own household.

So also, while almost everybody has recognized
the tremendous strides in the elimination of child labor,
in the payment of minimum wages and in the shortening of
hours, we are still feeling our way in solving problems
which relate to self-government in industry, where such
self-government tends to eliminate a fair operation of
competition.
Through this same process of evolution we are keeping before us the objective of protecting, on the one hand, working towards the protection of industry against chisellers within its own ranks while at the same time we protect the consumer by insisting on the maintenance of competition for the prevention of the unfair skyrocketing of retail prices.

But, in addition to this, our immediate task, we must still look to the larger future. I have pointed out to the Congress that we are seeking to find the way once more to well-known, long established but to some degree forgotten ideals and values. We seek the security of the men, women and children of the nation.

That security involves added means of providing better homes for the people of the Nation. That is the first principle of our future program.
The second is to plan the use of land and water resources of this country to the end that the means of livelihood of our citizens may be more adequate to meet their daily needs.

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After a little over three weeks on board ship, I
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It has been several months since I have talked with you concerning the problems of government. Since January, those of us in whom you have vested responsibility have been engaged in the fulfillment of plans and policies which had been widely discussed in previous months. It seemed to us our duty not only to make the right path clear but also to tread that path.

As we review the achievements of this session of the Seventy-Third Congress, it is made increasingly clear that its task was essentially that of completing and fortifying the work it had begun in March, 1953. That was no easy task, but the Congress was equal to it. It has been well said that while there were a few exceptions, this Congress displayed a greater freedom from mere partisanship than any other peace-time Congress since the Administration of President Washington himself. This session was distinguished by the extent and variety of legislation enacted and by the intelligence and good will of debate upon these measures.
I mention only a few of the major enactments of this Congress.

It provided for the readjustment of the debt burden through the corporate and municipal bankruptcy acts and the farm mortgage act. It lent a hand to industry by encouraging loans to solvent industries unable to secure adequate help from banking institutions. It strengthened the integrity of finance through the regulation of securities exchanges. It provided a rational method of increasing our volume of foreign trade through reciprocal trading agreements. It strengthened our naval forces to conform with the intentions and permissions of existing treaty rights. It made further advances towards peace and industry through the labor adjustment act. It supplemented our agricultural policy through measures widely demanded by farmers themselves and intended to avert price destroying surpluses. It strengthened the hand of the Federal Government in its attempts to suppress gangster crime. It took definite steps towards a national housing program through an act designed to encourage private capital in the rebuilding of the homes of the Nation. It created a permanent Federal body for the
just regulation of all forms of communication, including the telephone, the telegraph and the radio. Finally, and I believe most important, it reorganized, simplified and made more fair and just our monetary system, setting up standards and policies adequate to meet the necessities of modern, economic life, doing justice to both gold and silver as the metal bases behind the currency of the United States and the security of the bank deposits of our people.

In the consistent development of our previous efforts toward the saving and safeguarding of our national life, I have continued to recognize three related steps: The first was relief, because the primary concern of any government dominated by the humane ideals of democracy is the simple principle that in a land of vast resources no one should be permitted to starve. Relief was and continues to be our first consideration. It calls for large expenditures and will continue in modified form to do so for a long time to come. We may as well recognize that fact.
It comes from the paralysis that arose as the after-effect of that unfortunate decade characterized by a mad chase for unearned riches and an unwillingness of leaders in almost every walk of life to look beyond their own schemes and speculations. In our administration of relief we follow two principles: First, that direct giving shall, wherever possible, be supplemented by provision for useful and remunerative work and, second, that where families in their existing surroundings will in all human probability never find an opportunity for full self-maintenance, happiness and enjoyment, we will try to give them a new chance in new surroundings.

The second step was recovery, and it is sufficient for me to ask each and every one of you to compare the situation in agriculture and in industry today with what it was fifteen months ago.

At the same time we have recognized the necessity of reform and reconstruction — reform because much of our trouble today and in the past few years has been due to a lack of understanding of the elementary
principles of justice and fairness by those in whom leadership in business
and finance was placed — reconstruction because new conditions in our
economic life as well as old but neglected conditions had to be corrected.

Substantial gains well known to all of you have justified our
course. I could cite statistics to you as unanswerable measures of our
national progress — statistics to show the gain in the average weekly pay
envelope of workers in the great majority of industries — statistics to show
hundreds of thousands reemployed in private industries and other
hundreds of thousands given new employment through the expansion of direct
and indirect government assistance of many kinds, although, of course, there are those exceptions in professional, literary,
artistic pursuits whose improvement, of necessity, will be delayed.

Moreover, I also could cite statistics to show the great rise in the value
of farm products — statistics to prove the demand for consumers' goods,
ranging all the way from food and clothing to automobiles and of late to prove
the rise in the demand for durable goods — statistics to cover the great
increase in bank deposits and to show the scores of thousands of homes and of farms which have been saved from foreclosure.

But the simplest way for each of you to judge recovery lies in the facts of your own individual situation. Are you better off than you were last year? Are your debts less burdensome? Is your bank account more secure? Are your working conditions better? Is your faith in your own individual future more firmly grounded?

Also, let me put to you another simple question: Have you as an individual paid too high a price for these gains? Plausible self-seekers and theoretical die-hards will tell you of the loss of individual liberty. Answer this question also out of the facts of your own life. Have you lost any of your rights or liberty or constitutional freedom of action and choice? Turn to the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, which I have solemnly sworn to maintain and under which your freedom rests secure. Read each provision of that Bill of Rights and ask yourself whether you personally have suffered the impairment of a single jot of
these great assurances. I have no question in my mind as to what your
answer will be. The record is written in the experiences of your own
personal lives. (To that record I appeal from the hysteria of disappointed
egotism stared like a puppet show for a few months for purely partisan reasons.)
In other words, it is not the overwhelming majority of the farmers or manufacturers or workers who deny the substantial gains of the past year. The most vociferous of the doubting Thomases may be divided roughly into two groups; First, those who seek special political privilege and, second, those who seek special financial privilege. About a year ago I used as an illustration the 90% of the cotton manufacturers of the United States who wanted to do the right thing by their employees and by the public but were prevented from doing so by the 10% who undercut them by unfair practices and un-American standards. It is well for us to remember that humanity is a long way from being perfect and that a selfish minority in every walk of life — farming, business, finance and even Government service itself — will always continue to think of themselves first and their fellow-being second.

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So also, while almost everybody has recognized the tremendous strides in the elimination of child labor, in the payment of not less than fair minimum wages and in the shortening of hours, we are still feeling our way in solving problems which relate to self-government in industry, especially where such self-government tends to eliminate the fair operation of competition.
In this same process of evolution we are keeping before us the objectives of protecting on the one hand industry against chislers within its own ranks, and on the other hand, the consumer through the maintenance of reasonable competition for the prevention of the unfair sky-rocketing of retail prices.

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If I were to listen to the arguments of some prophets of calamity who are talking these days, I should hesitate to make these alterations. I should fear that while I am away for a few weeks the architects might build some strange new Gothic tower, or a factory building or perhaps a replica of the Kremlin or of the Potsdam Palace. But I have no such
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