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

**Series 2: “ You have nothing to fear but fear itself:” FDR  
and the New Deal**

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**File No. 856**

**1936 April 13**

**Baltimore, MD - Address -  
National Conference of Young Democrats**

Reading copy  
April 13 - 1936.  
Young Democrats

You in this great Armory tonight represent a cross section of millions of young people who have come to maturity since 1929. You are the symbol of young men and women living in every state of the Union, affiliated with every political party and belonging to every so-called stratum of society.

The world in which the millions of you have come of age is not the set old world of your fathers. Some of yesterday's certainties have vanished; many of yesterday's certainties are questioned. Why have some vanished and many been questioned? Because the facts and needs of civilization have changed more greatly in this generation than in the century that preceded us.

I need not press that point with you. You are measuring the present state of the world out of your own experiences. You have felt the rough hand of the depression. You have walked the streets looking for jobs that never turned up. Out of this has come physical hardship and, more serious, the scars of disillusionment.

The temper of our youth has become more restless, more critical, more challenging. Flaming youth has become a flaming question. And youth comes to us wanting to know what we propose to do about a society that hurts so many of them.

There is much to justify the inquiring attitude of youth. You have a right to ask these questions -- practical questions. No man who seeks to evade or to avoid deserves your confidence.

Many older people seem to take unmerited pride in the mere fact that they are adults. When youth comes crashing in on them with enthusiasm and ideals, they put on their most patronizing smiles and pat the young man or the young woman on the shoulder and in a worldly-wise sort of way send them out with what they call their blessing. But -- as every young person knows -- that is not a blessing; it is a cold shower. What they have really said to you is: "You're young. Enjoy your enthusiasms and your ideals while you can. When you grow up and get out in the world you will know better." And the tragedy is that so many young people do just that: they do grow up and, growing up, they grow away from their enthusiasms and from their ideals. That is one reason why

the world into which they go gets better so slowly.

Your objective in the widest sense is, I take it, this: an opportunity to make an honest living; a reasonable chance to improve your condition in life as you grow older; a practical assurance against want and suffering in your old age; and with it all the right to participate in the finer things of life - good health, clean amusement, and a part in the satisfactions of the arts, the sciences and religion.

Faced with that objective, it is clear that many of the old answers are not the right answers. No answer, new or old, is fit for your thought unless it is framed in terms of what you face and what you desire -- unless it carries some definite prospect of a practical down-to-earth solution of your problems.

For the next few months you are going to be thoroughly bored by so-called answers. There are two or three new panaceas in every day's paper. Here is one I picked out at random from three on the same page of one newspaper. The eminent author suggests a four-point cure for all our ills. I hope you will be as thrilled and excited by them as I was. Here they are:

1. Establish a monetary unit with a definite gold content, subject to change only by Congress.

3. Restore convertibility of money into gold coin and private ownership of gold.

3. Accept responsibility as the world's greatest creditor nation.

4. Put Federal finances in order.

No, I ask you, what do "panacea planks" like these offer to you as a way out of the problems that you had today and will get up to face tomorrow? Is there opportunity, is there work today, is there assurance for tomorrow, is this the practical, definite answer you are looking for? Most important of all, is there even a recognition in that type of panacea, of the fact that the youth of America has any problems at all?

No, my friends, you have a right to expect something better than that. You have a right to expect that those in authority will do everything within their power to help restore conditions that make employment and opportunity possible; more than that, that you will be protected, insofar as is humanly possible, from the physical and mental and spiritual ravages of economic and social maladjustment.

Some counsellors say "confidence and normal prosperity will cure everything - give everybody jobs." They generally mean by that the confidence and prosperity of 1928. But, my friends, 1928 was no millenium. You and I know the simple fact

that while production was increasing and profits were increasing in 1928 and 1929, unemployment was growing at an astounding rate. Return to the 1928 kind of prosperity is no sufficient answer. The best that the captains of the country could do for you before the depression was not good enough then and it is not good enough today.

And you and I know now, that while the total production of America is about back to the high point before the depression, only a little over 80% as many human beings are engaged in turning out that production. It does not matter very greatly what the cause of this is. It may be a greater efficiency; it may be the development of new machinery; it may be a variety of other causes. We cannot legislate against greater efficiency nor can we legislate against the use of new tools - nor would we if we could. But the fact remains. And that fact requires an answer.

Some people tell you that even with a completely restored prosperity there will be a vast permanent army of unemployed. I do not accept that. No man who is sensitive to human values dares to accept it. That is why we are not content, merely, to restore what is sometimes called prosperity. We propose to attack the problem from every conceivable angle.

*Admit*  
We readily admit that a greater purchasing power, far more widely distributed, will mean the consumption of more goods - industrial products and farm products. The production of these goods will mean more employment. Most business men, *the great majority*, believe with us in a greater purchasing power on the part of more people; they know that their businesses will be helped thereby.

To work in unity toward this end constitutes one form of attack, *but* there are others which we must not overlook.

Our working population increases every year, both because of population increase and because more and more women are working for wages. That is as it should be. But when we face your problems these increases raise the question as to whether it is not possible and right to limit the active working ages at both ends.

We in your Government are seeking to extend the school age in every state in the union and to make it easier for boys and girls to stay in school. Work out for yourselves what would happen if all the boys and all the girls of fourteen and fifteen and sixteen and seventeen who are now working in industry, found it possible to stay in school until they were at least

eighteen years old. How many jobs would that give to the young people of the nation who have graduated from high school and from college? And how much better equipped would be these youngsters who are now at work if they could stay in school to the completion of their education?

In the same way, ask yourselves how many jobs would be created if the great majority of people who are now over sixty-five - to take a figure at random - were in a position to retire in security for the balance of their days on earth. And how much greater happiness would such security give to their old age?

And there is another angle of re-employment which from the point of view of youth, is worth pursuing. I will point it by an illustration. In a certain manufacturing industry the average hours of weekly work were greatly curtailed under the operation of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and, curtailed, incidentally, with the complete support of the great majority of employers within the industry. When this Act came to an end the average hours of work were 36.4 per week. Since that time the great majority of employers in this particular industry continued the old NRA scale of hours. But gradually, first a

few and then a larger number of employers began lengthening the work week. The result today is that the average of employment in this industry is 39.9 hours per week. Not a serious difference you say. And yet if you figure it out on the assumption that there were 166,500 men and women in this industry, 10% or 16,650 people have either lost their jobs or, by working longer hours, are preventing 16,650 other people from getting employment.

*ip. This*  
Actually the records show that 1,400 people lost their jobs and  
A  
15,250 other people were kept from getting work.

It seems reasonable, therefore, that industry can contribute in great measure to the increase of employment if industry as a whole will undertake reasonable reductions of hours of work per week, while, at the same time, they keep the average individual's pay envelope at least as large as it is today.

Because the practices of employment definitely affect the problem of unemployment, the government must give and will give consideration to such subjects as the length of the working week, the stability of employment on an annual basis, and the payment of at least adequate minimum wages. A government doing that is a government that is working actively at the answers to your problem.

We do not yet know enough in a changing economic order to guarantee any nation permanently <sup>or completely</sup> against times of depression. We believe, however, that steps, like these, which we have taken and are taking will at least greatly cushion depressions - will prevent the up-curve from rushing to a violent, mad peak of false prosperity and prevent another violent, mad descent into another sink of suffering and disillusionment like the one from which for the last three and a half years we have been surely emerging.

And there is another aspect to the answer which you have a right to expect from us. What ~~do we propose to do~~ <sup>are we doing</sup> about the casualties of depression? Since 1929 those casualties, in America, have run into the millions. They are a charge upon us as a people. I have recognized that fact. And, by every reasonable means, we have sought to care for those casualties - to keep them from the physical suffering of hunger; to keep them from the mental suffering of a loss of morale.

*H* In regard to all these problems there are counsellors these days who say: "Do Nothing"; other counsellors who say: "Do everything." Common sense dictates an avoidance of both extremes. I say to you "do Something"; and when you have done that something, if it works, do it some more;

and if it does not work do something else.

And you young people want action. You believe, as I believe, that the something which needs to be done, can be done. ~~and how~~ significantly American it is to believe that.

The vigor of our history comes, largely, from the fact that, as a comparatively young nation we have gone fearlessly ahead doing things that were never done before. We subdued a wilderness that men said could never be conquered. We established a civilization where others insisted a civilization could not survive. Between 1776 and 1789 we built a government for which, in the extent of its democracy, there was no precedent - a government which Royalists declared could not endure.

We did all these things with zest. The very air was exhilarating. We were young - and we were getting things - worthwhile things - done. It is part of the spirit of America to believe that now, in our day, we can do equally well in getting things done. *(One again the very air of America is exhilarating.)*

I, for one, do not believe that the era of the pioneer is at an end; I only believe that the area for pioneering has changed. The period of geographical pioneering is largely finished. But, my friends, the period of social pioneering is

only at its beginning. And make no mistake about it - the same qualities of heroism and faith and vision that were required to bring the forces of nature into subjection will be required - in even greater measure - to bring under proper control the forces of modern society. There is a task which - for importance and for magnitude - calls for the best that you and I have to offer.

There cannot be too many Americans thinking about the future of America. Our country, richly endowed in body, mind and spirit, still has need of many things. But I am certain that one of its chief needs today is the releasing and the enlistment of the spirit of youth.

Do not underestimate the significance of that spirit. Yesterday Christendom celebrated Easter - the anniversary of the Resurrection of Our Lord Who, at the beginning of His ministry was thirty years of age and at His death was only thirty-three. Christianity began with youth and, through the last two thousand years, the spirit of youth repeatedly has revitalized it.

Our war for independence was a young man's crusade. Age was on the side of the Tories and the Tories were on the side of the old order. At the Revolution's outbreak

George Washington was forty-three, Patrick Henry thirty-eight,  
Thomas Jefferson thirty-two and Alexander Hamilton eighteen.

*It* Our Constitution, likewise, was the creation of young minds. The average age of the men who wrote the Constitution was about forty-four. The qualities of youth are not of a sort that self-satisfied people welcome in 1936 any more than self-satisfied people welcomed them in 1776. I have used the words "the qualities of youth." Be wise enough and tolerant enough, you who are young in years, to remember that millions of older people have kept and propose to keep these qualities of youth. You ought to thank God tonight if, regardless of your years, you are young enough in spirit to dream dreams and see visions - dreams and visions about a greater and a finer America that is to be; if you are young enough in spirit to believe that poverty can be greatly lessened; that the disgrace of involuntary unemployment can be wiped out; that class hatreds can be done away with; that peace at home and abroad can be maintained; and that one day a generation may possess this land, blessed beyond anything we now know, with those things - material and spiritual - that make man's life abundant. If that is the fashion of your dreaming then I say: "Hold fast to your dream. America needs it."

*Franklin D. Roosevelt*  
(Baltimore - reading copy)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUB OF MARYLAND  
FIFTH REGIMENT ARMORY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Monday, April 13, 1936

President Fenneman, President Wickham, and you, my friends,  
young and old of Baltimore and Maryland and lots of other  
places:

You (in) who fill this great Armory tonight, you repre-  
sent a cross section of millions of young people who have  
come to maturity since the year of grace 1929. (Applause)  
You are the symbol of young men and women living in every  
State of the Union, affiliated with every political party  
and belonging to every so-called stratum of society.

The world in which the millions of you have come of  
age is not the set old world of your fathers. Some of yester-  
day's certainties have vanished and many of yesterday's  
certainties are questioned. Why have some vanished, (and)  
why have many been questioned? Because the facts and because  
the needs of civilization have changed more greatly in this  
generation than in the century that preceded us. (Applause)

I need not press that point with you. You are measuring  
the present state of the world out of your own experiences.  
You have felt the rough hand of the depression. You have  
walked the streets looking for jobs that never turned up and

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

concerning our own particular government functions  
which we shall have faithfully and conscientiously done  
and which

were here, without great trouble and risk our (at) not  
avoiding any speech which would be construed as such  
(meaning). And again he uses the same vibration of voice  
where all previous names has been given to indicate self criticism  
which justifies what does definitely himself and to bring  
attention to another definite view of prolonged his  
to once again now to emphasize our desire of Africa and  
America, in most considerate way to allow the two and the one of the  
relationship to whom has been given and relationship of which  
(one), certainly more even than . Relationship can be summarized  
as follows that crowd and crowded. Relationship need whom are in the  
kind of persons who beyond any possibility to whom will  
(mean). In addition, there remains also as their assistance  
relationship with self. And this third and last "from whom I  
recommend who may be the better and to make known and  
and so on. Relationship of which is that about and that whom you  
will be present when and not allowed either the better

out of that (this) has come physical hardship; (and) more serious, out of that have come the scars of disillusionment.

The temper of our youth has become more restless, more critical, more challenging. Flaming youth has become a flaming question. And youth comes to us wanting to know what we propose to do about a society that hurts so many of them.

There is much to justify the inquiring attitude of youth. You have a right to ask these questions -- practical questions. No man who seeks to evade or (to) avoid deserves your confidence. (Applause)

Now, I take it that many older people seem to take unmerited pride in the mere fact that they are adults. When youth comes crashing in on them with enthusiasms and ideals, they put on their most patronizing smiles and pat the young man or the young woman on the shoulder and in a worldly-wise sort of way send them out with what they call their blessing. But -- as every young person knows -- that is not a blessing; it is a cold shower. (Applause) What they have really said to you is this: "You're young. Enjoy your enthusiasms and your ideals while you can. For when you grow up and get out in the world you will know better." And the tragedy is that so many young people do just that: they do grow up and, growing up, they grow away from their enthusiasms and from their ideals. That is one reason why

the world into which they go gets better so slowly.

Your objective, I take it, in the widest sense is this: (I take it, this:) an opportunity to make an honest living; a reasonable chance to improve your condition in life as you grow older; a practical assurance against want and suffering in your old age; and with it all the right to participate in the finer things of life -- good health, clean amusement, and (a part) your share in the satisfactions of the arts, the sciences and religion.

Faced with that objective, it is clear that many of the old answers are not the right answers. No answer, new or old, is fit for your thought unless it is framed in terms of what you face and what you desire -- unless it carries some definite prospect of a practical down-to-earth solution of your problems. (Applause)

(For) during the next few months you are going to read and hear and I think you are going to be thoroughly bored by many so-called answers. Why, there are two or three or four new panaceas in every day's papers. (Applause) Here is one that I picked out at random from three on the same page of one newspaper. The eminent author suggests a four-point cure for all our ills. I hope you will be as thrilled and excited by them as I was. Here they are:

1. Establish a monetary unit with a definite gold content, subject to change only by the Congress of the United States. (Laughter)

2. Restore convertibility of money into gold coin and restore private ownership of gold. (Laughter)
3. I hope you understand what this means, I don't:  
Accept responsibility as the world's greatest creditor nation. Isn't that pretty? (Laughter)  
(4.) And finally put Federal finances in order.

Now, I ask you what do panacea planks like these offer to you as a way out of the problems that you (had) have been facing today and will get up to face tomorrow morning? Is there opportunity, is there work today, is there assurance for tomorrow, is this the practical, definite answer for which you are looking (for)? Most important of all, in these panaceas, is there (even) a recognition in that type of panacea of the fact that the youth of America has any problems at all?

No, my friends, you have a right to expect something better than that. You have a right to expect that those in authority will do everything within their power to help restore conditions that make employment and opportunity possible; more than that, you have the right that you will be protected, insofar as (is) humanly possible, from the physical and mental and spiritual ravages of economic and social maladjustment. (Applause)

Some counsellors say "confidence and normal prosperity will (cure) restore everything -- (give everybody jobs) will

give us all jobs." They generally mean by that the confidence and prosperity of (1928) seven and eight years ago. But, my friends, 1928 and the first seven or eight months of 1929 was no millenium. You and I know the simple fact that while production in our nation was increasing and profits were increasing in 1928 and 1929, unemployment simultaneously was growing at an astounding rate. Return to the 1928 and 1929 kind of prosperity is no sufficient answer for us. The best that the captains of industry and the captains of the country could do for you before the depression was not good enough then and it is not good enough today. (Applause)

And you and I know now, that while the total production of America is about back to the high point before the depression, only a little over 80% as many human beings are engaged in turning out that production. It does not matter very greatly what the cause of this is. It may be a greater efficiency; it may be the development of new machinery; it may be a variety of other causes as well. We cannot legislate against a greater efficiency nor can we legislate against the use of new tools -- nor would we if we could. But the fact remains. And that fact requires an answer.

Some people tell you that even with a completely restored prosperity there will be a vast permanent army of the unemployed. I do not accept that. No man who is sensitive to human values dares to accept (it) that (applause)

and that is why we are not content, merely, to restore what is sometimes called prosperity. We propose to attack the problem from every conceivable angle.

We readily admit that a greater purchasing power, far more widely distributed, will mean the consumption of more goods -- industrial products and farm products, and we know that the production of (these) more goods will mean more employment. Most business men, the great majority of them, believe with us (in) that a greater purchasing power on the part of more people will help; they know that their own businesses will be helped thereby.

To work in unity toward that -- towards that (this) end constitutes one form of attack, an important one, but (and) there are others which we must not overlook.

Our working population in almost every part of the country increases every year. They increase both because of population increase and because more and more women are working for wages. And that is as it should be. (Applause) But when we face your problems these increases raise the question as to whether it is not possible and right to limit the active working ages at both ends. (Applause)

We in your Government are seeking to extend the school age of America, to extend it in every state in the Union and to make it easier for boys and girls to stay in school. Work out for yourselves what would happen if all the boys

and all the girls of fourteen and fifteen and sixteen and seventeen who are now working in industry, if all of them found it possible to stay in school until they were at least eighteen years old. (Applause) How many jobs would that give to the young people of the nation who have graduated from high school and graduated from college? And, by no means the less important, how much better equipped (would be) will these youngsters be, these youngsters who are now at work if they could stay in school to the completion of their education?

And, at the other end of life, in the same way, ask yourselves how many jobs would be created if the great majority of people who are now over some age -- 65 -- to take a figure at random -- if all of them were in a position to retire in security for the balance of their days on earth. (Applause) And how much greater happiness would such security give to their old age?

And there is another angle of re-employment which from the point of view of youth, is worth pursuing. I will point it by an illustration. In a certain manufacturing industry, comparatively a small industry, the average hours of weekly work were greatly curtailed under the operation of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and curtailed, incidentally, with the complete support of the great majority of employers within the industry. When this Act came to an end -- I will not describe its decease -- when it came to an end, the

average hours of work in that industry were a little over 36.4 per week. But, since that time the great majority of employers in this particular industry continued the old NRA scale of hours. But, gradually, first a few and then a larger number of employers began lengthening the work week. And the result today is that the average of employment in this industry is (39.9) nearly 40 hours per week. Not a serious difference you say. And yet if you figure it out on the assumption that there were 166,000 men and women in this industry, 10% or 16,000 people have either lost their jobs or, by working longer hours, are actually preventing 16,000 other people from getting employment. (Applause) (Actually the records show that 1,400 people lost their jobs and 15,250 other people were kept from getting work.)

It seems reasonable, therefore, that industry can contribute in great measure to the increase of employment if industry as a whole will undertake reasonable reductions of hours of work per week, while, at the same time, they keep the average individual's pay envelope at least as large as it is today. (Applause)

It has always seemed to me that because the practices of employment definitely affect the problems of unemployment, the government must (give) and the government will give consideration to such subjects as the length of the working

week, the stability of employment on an annual basis, and the payment of at least adequate minimum wages. A government doing that is a government that is working actively at the answers to your problem.

We do not yet know enough in a changing economic order to guarantee any nation permanently or completely against times of depression. We believe, however, that steps, like these, which we have taken and are taking will at least greatly cushion depressions -- will prevent the up-curve from rushing to a violent, mad peak of false prosperity and prevent another violent, mad descent into another sink of suffering and disillusionment like the one from which for the last three and a half years we have been surely emerging.

(Applause)

And there is another aspect to the answer which you have a right to expect from us. What are we doing? -- that is your question. What are we doing (What do we propose to do) about the casualties of depression? Since 1929 those casualties, in America, have run into the millions. They are a charge upon us as a people. I have recognized that fact. And, by every reasonable means, we have sought to care for those casualties -- to keep them from the physical suffering of hunger; to keep them from the mental suffering of a loss of American morale.

In regard to all these problems, in regard to every problem that arises, there are counsellors these days who

say: "Do nothing"; other counsellors who say: "Do everything." Common sense dictates an avoidance of both extremes. I say to you "do something"; and when you have done that something, if it works, do it some more; and if it does not work then do something else. (Prolonged applause)

Yes, (And) you young people want action. You believe, as I believe, that the something which needs to be done, can be done. (And) How significantly American it is to believe that. (Applause)

The vigor of our history comes, largely, from the fact that, as a comparatively young nation we have gone fearlessly ahead doing things that were never done before. We subdued a wilderness that men said could never be conquered. We established a civilization where others insisted a civilization could not survive. Between 1776 and 1789 we built a Republic, a government for which, in the extent of its democracy, there(was) had been no precedent -- a government which Royalists declared could not endure.

We did all these things with zest. The very air was exhilarating. We were young -- (and) we were getting things done -- worthwhile things. (done) And it is part of the spirit of America to believe that now, in our day, we can do equally well in getting things done. Once again, the very air of America is exhilarating. (Applause)

I, for one, do not believe that the era of the pioneer is at an end; I only believe that the area for pioneering has changed. The period of geographical pioneering is largely finished. But, my friends, the period of social pioneering is only at its beginning. And make no mistake about it -- the same qualities of heroism and faith and vision that were required to bring the forces of nature into subjection will be required -- in even greater measure -- to bring under proper control the forces of modern society. There is a task which -- for importance and (for) magnitude -- calls for the best that you and I have to offer.

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Do not underestimate the significance of that spirit. Yesterday Christendom celebrated Easter -- the anniversary of the Resurrection of Our Lord who, at the beginning of His ministry was thirty years of age and at His death was only thirty-three. Christianity began with youth and, through the last two thousand years, the spirit of youth repeatedly has revitalized it.

In our war for independence, why that was a young

man's war, a young man's crusade. Age was on the side of the Tories and the Tories were on the side of the old order. At the Revolution's outbreak George Washington was forty-three, Patrick Henry thirty-eight, Thomas Jefferson whose birthday we are celebrating today was thirty-two and Alexander Hamilton was eighteen. Our Constitution, likewise, was the creation of young minds. The average age of the men who wrote the Constitution was about forty-four. The qualities of youth are not of a sort that self-satisfied people welcome in 1936 any more than self-satisfied people welcomed them in 1776. I have used the words "the qualities of youth." Be wise enough, (and) be tolerant enough, you who are young in years, to remember that millions of older people have kept and propose to keep these qualities of youth. You ought to thank God tonight if, regardless of your years, you are young enough in spirit to dream dreams and see visions -- dreams and visions about a greater and a finer America that is to be; if you are young enough in spirit to believe that poverty can be greatly lessened; that the disgrace of involuntary unemployment can be wiped out; that class hatreds can be done away with; that peace at home and peace abroad can be maintained; and that one day a generation may possess this land, blessed beyond anything we now know, blessed with those things -- material and spiritual -- that make man's life abundant. If that is the fashion of your dreaming then I say: "Hold fast to your dream. America needs it." (Prolonged applause)

This address of the President to the Young Democratic Club of Maryland, to be delivered at the Fifth Regiment Armory, Baltimore, Maryland, on Monday, April 13th, 1936, MUST BE HELD IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

Release upon delivery, expected about 10:30 P. M., Eastern Standard Time.

PLEASE BACTEGUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

M. H. McDONALD  
Assistant Secretary to the President

You in this great Armory tonight represent a cross section of millions of young people who have come to maturity since 1929. You are the symbol of young men and women living in every state of the Union, affiliated with every political party and belonging to every so-called stratum of society.

The world in which the millions of you have come of age is not the set old world of your fathers. Some of yesterday's certainties have vanished; many of yesterday's certainties are questioned. Why have some vanished and many been questioned? Because the facts and needs of civilization have changed more greatly in this generation than in the century that preceded us.

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Your objective in the widest sense is, I take it, this: an opportunity to make an honest living; a reasonable chance to improve your condition in life as you grow older; a practical assurance against want and suffering in your old age; and with it all the right to participate in the finer things of life - good health, clean amusement, and a part in the satisfactions of the arts, the sciences and religion.

Faced with that objective, it is clear that many of the old answers are not the right answers. No answer, new or old, is fit for your thought unless it is framed in terms of what you face and what you desire -- unless it carries some definite prospect of a practical down-to-earth solution of your problems.

For the next few months you are going to be thoroughly bored by so-called answers. There are two or three new panaceas in every day's paper. Here is one I picked out at random from three on the same page of one newspaper. The eminent author suggests a four-point cure for all our ills. I hope you will be as thrilled and excited by them as I was. Here they are:

1. Establish a monetary unit with a definite gold content, subject to change only by Congress.
2. Restore convertibility of money into gold coin and private ownership of gold.
3. Accept responsibility as the world's greatest creditor nation.
4. Put Federal finances in order.

I ask you what do panacea planks like these offer to you as a way out of the problems that you had today and will get up to face tomorrow? Is there opportunity, is there work today, is there assurance for tomorrow, is this the practical, definite answer you are looking for? Most important of all, is there even a recognition in that type of panacea of the fact that the youth of America has any problems at all?

No, my friends, you have a right to expect something better than that. You have a right to expect that those in authority will do everything within their power to help restore conditions that make employment and opportunity possible; more than that, that you will be protected, insofar as is humanly possible, from the physical and mental and spiritual ravages of economic and social mal-adjustment.

Some counsellors say "confidence and normal prosperity will cure everything - give everybody jobs." They generally mean by that the confidence and prosperity of 1928. But, my friends, 1928 was no millennium. You and I know the simple fact that while production was increasing and profits were increasing in 1928 and 1929, unemployment was growing at an astounding rate. Return to the 1928 kind of prosperity is no sufficient answer. The best that the captains of the country could do for you before the depression was not good enough then and it is not good enough today.

And you and I know now, that while the total production of America is about back to the high point before the depression, only a little over 80% as many human beings are engaged in turning out that production. It does not matter very greatly what the cause of this is. It may be a greater efficiency; it may be the development of new machinery; it may be a variety of other causes. We cannot legislate against greater efficiency nor can we legislate against the use of new tools - nor would we if we could. But the fact remains. And that fact requires an answer.

Some people tell you that even with a completely restored prosperity there will be a vast permanent army of unemployed. I do not accept that. No man who is sensitive to human values dares to accept it. That is why we are not content, merely, to restore what is sometimes called prosperity. We propose to attack the problem from every conceivable angle.

We readily admit that a greater purchasing power, far more widely distributed, will mean the consumption of more goods - industrial products and farm products. The production of these goods will mean more employment. Most business men believe with us in a greater purchasing power on the part of more people; they know that their businesses will be helped thereby.

To work in unity toward this end constitutes one form of attack and there are others which we must not overlook.

Our working population increases every year, both because of population increase and because more and more women are working for wages. That is as it should be. But when we face your problem these increases raise the question as to whether it is not possible and right to limit the active working ages at both ends.

We in your Government are seeking to extend the school age in every state in the Union and to make it easier for boys and girls to stay in school. Work out for yourselves what would happen if all the boys and all the girls of fourteen and fifteen and sixteen and seventeen who are now working in industry, found it possible to stay in school until they were at least eighteen years old. How many jobs could that give to the young people of the nation who have graduated from high school and from college? And how much better equipped would be these youngsters who are now at work if they could stay in school to the completion of their education?

In the same way, ask yourselves how many jobs would be created if the great majority of people who are now over sixty-five - to take a figure at random - were in a position to retire in security for the balance of their days on earth. And how much greater happiness would such security give to their old age?

And there is another angle of re-employment which from the point of view of youth, is worth pursuing. I will point it by an illustration. In a certain manufacturing industry the average hours of weekly work were greatly curtailed under the operation of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and, curtailed, incidentally, with the complete support of the great majority of employers within the industry. When this Act came to an end the average hours of work were 36.4 per week. Since that time the great majority of employers in this particular industry continued the old NRA scale of hours. But gradually, first a few and then a larger number of employers began lengthening the work week. The result today is that the average of employment in this industry is 39.9 hours per week. Not a serious difference you say. And yet if you figure it out on the assumption that there were 166,500 men and women in this industry, 10% or 16,650 people have either lost their jobs or, by working longer hours, are preventing 16,650 other people from getting employment. Actually the records show that 1,400 people lost their jobs and 15,250 other people were kept from getting work.

It seems reasonable, therefore, that industry can contribute in great measure to the increase of employment if industry as a whole will undertake reasonable reductions of hours of work per week, while, at the same time, they keep the average individual's pay envelope at least as large as it is today.

Because the practices of employment definitely affect the problem of unemployment, the government must give and will give consideration to such subjects as the length of the working week, the stability of employment on an annual basis, and the payment of at least adequate minimum wages. A government doing that is a government that is working actively at the answers to your problem.

We do not yet know enough in a changing economic order to guarantee any nation permanently against times of depression. We believe, however, that steps, like these, which we have taken and are taking will at least greatly cushion depressions - will prevent the up-curve from rushing to a violent, mad peak of false prosperity and prevent another violent, mad descent into another sink of suffering and disillusionment like the one from which for the last three and a half years we have been surely emerging.

And there is another aspect to the answer which you have a right to expect from us. What do we propose to do about the casualties of depression? Since 1929 those casualties, in America, have run into the millions. They are a charge upon us as a people. I have recognized that fact. And, by every reasonable means, we have sought to care for those casualties - to keep them from the physical suffering of hunger; to keep them from the mental suffering of a loss of morale.

In regard to all these problems there are counsellors these days who say: "Do nothing"; other counsellors who say: "Do everything." Common sense dictates an avoidance of both extremes. I say to you "do something"; and when you have done that something, if it works, do it some more; and if it does not work do something else.

And you young people want action. You believe, as I believe, that the something which needs to be done, can be done. And how significantly American it is to believe that.

The vigor of our history comes, largely, from the fact that, as a comparatively young nation we have gone fearlessly ahead doing things that were never done before. We subdued a wilderness that men said could never be conquered. We established a civilization where others insisted a civilization could not survive. Between 1776 and 1799 we built a government for which, in the extent of its democracy, there was no precedent - a government which Royalists declared could not endure.

We did all these things with zest. The very air was exhilarating. We were young - and we were setting things - worthwhile things - done. It is part of the spirit of America to believe that now, in our day, we can do equally well in getting things done.

I, for one, do not believe that the era of the pioneer is at an end; I only believe that the area for pioneering has changed. The period of geographical pioneering is largely finished. But, my friends, the period of social pioneering is only at its beginning. And make no mistake about it - the same qualities of heroism and faith and vision that were required to bring the forces of nature into subjection will be required - in even greater measure - to bring under proper control the forces of modern society. There is a task which - for importance and for magnitude - calls for the best that you and I have to offer.

There cannot be too many Americans thinking about the future of America. Our country richly endowed in body, mind and spirit still has need of many things. But I am certain that one of its chief needs today is the releasing and the enlistment of the spirit of youth.

Do not underestimate the significance of that spirit. Yesterday Christendom celebrated Easter - the anniversary of the Resurrection of Our Lord Who, at the beginning of His ministry was thirty years of age and at His death was only thirty-three. Christianity began with youth and, through the last two thousand years, the spirit of youth repeatedly has revitalized it.

Our war for independence was a young men's crusade. Age was on the side of the Tories and the Tories were on the side of the old order. At the Revolution's outbreak George Washington was forty-three, Patrick Henry thirty-eight, Thomas Jefferson thirty-two and Alexander Hamilton eighteen. Our Constitution, likewise, was the creation of young minds. The average age of the men who wrote the Constitution was about forty-four. The qualities of youth are not of a sort that self-satisfied people welcome in 1936 any more than self-satisfied people welcomed them in 1776. I have used the words "the qualities of youth." Be wise enough and tolerant enough, you who are young in years, to remember that millions of older people have kept and propose to keep these qualities of youth. You ought to thank God tonight if, regardless of your years, you are young enough in spirit to dream dreams and see visions - dreams and visions about a greater and a finer America that is to be; if you are young enough in spirit to believe that poverty can be greatly lessened; that the disgrace of involuntary unemployment can be wiped out; that class hatreds can be done away with; that peace at home and abroad can be maintained; and that one day a generation may possess this land, blessed beyond anything we now know, with those things - material and spiritual - that make man's life abundant. If that is the fashion of your dreaming, then I say: "Hold fast to your dream. America needs it."

- - - - -

*Bethune soft  
speed*  
1936

You in this great Armory tonight represent a cross section of millions of young people who have come to maturity since 1929. You are the symbol of young men and women living in every state of the Union, affiliated with with every political party and belonging to every so-called stratum of society.

The world in which the millions of you have ~~are~~ <sup>not old</sup> come of age is not the ~~dependable~~ world of your fathers. Some of yesterday's certainties have vanished; <sup>MANY</sup> ~~most~~ of yesterday's certainties are questioned. <sup>(A)</sup>

I need not press that point with you. <sup>the</sup> present state of the world You are measuring out of your own experiences. You have felt the rough hand of the depression. You have walked the streets looking for jobs that never turned up. Out of this has come physical hardship and, more serious, the scars of disillusionment.

The temper of our youth has become more restless, more critical, more challenging. Flaming youth has become a flaming question. And youth comes to us wanting to know

what we propose to do about a society that hurts so many of them.

There is much to justify the inquiring attitude of youth. You have a right to ask these questions -- practical questions. No man who seeks to evade deserves your confidence.

Many older people seem to take unmerited pride in the mere fact that they are adults. When youth comes crashing in on them with enthusiasm and ideals, they put on their most patronizing smiles and pat the young man or the young woman on the shoulder and in a worldly-wise sort of way send them out with what they call their blessing. But -- as every young person knows -- that is not a blessing; it is a cold shower. What they have really said to you is: "You're young. Enjoy your enthusiasms and your ideals while you can. When you grow up and get out in the world you will know better." And the tragedy is that so many young people do just that: they do grow up and, growing up, they grow away from their enthusiasms and from their ideals. That is one reason why the world in which they go gets better so slowly.  
*↑*

Your objective in the widest sense is, I take it, this: an opportunity to make an honest living; a reasonable chance to improve your condition in life as you grow older; a practical assurance against want and suffering in your old age; and with it all the right to participate in the finer things of life - good health, clean amusement, and a part in the satisfactions of the arts, the sciences and religion.

Faced with that objective, it is clear that many of the old answers are not the right answers. No answer, new or old, is fit for your thought unless it is framed in terms of what you face and what you desire - unless it carries some definite prospect of a <sup>practical</sup> down-to-earth solution of your problems.

For the next few months you are going to be thoroughly bored by ~~so-called~~ /  
~~newspapers~~ <sup>practical day</sup> ~~newspapers~~. There are two or three new <sup>newspapers</sup> in every ~~morning~~ paper. Here is one I picked out at random from three on the same page of <sup>Ch. 1</sup> ~~a great~~ newspaper. The eminent author suggests a four-point cure for all our ills. I hope you will be as thrilled and excited by them as I was. Here they are:

1. Establish a monetary unit with a definite gold content, subject to change only by Congress.

2. Restore convertibility of money into gold coin and private ownership of gold.
3. Accept responsibility as the world's greatest creditor nation.
4. Put Federal finances in order.

~~Now~~ I ask you what, ~~specifically~~, do panacea planks like  
these offer to you as a way out of the problems that you ~~are in through~~  
today and will get up to face tomorrow? Is there opportunity, ~~is there~~  
~~is there authority for tomorrow~~, ~~is this the~~  
~~way to have a practical, definite answer in these four points for~~  
~~those of you who are out of work today or may be out of work tomorrow?~~  
You are looking for?

Most important of all, is there even a recognition in that type of panacea of the fact that the youth of America has any problems at all?

No, my friends, you have a right to expect something better than that. You have a right to expect that those in authority will do everything within their power to help restore conditions that make employment and opportunity possible; more than that, that you will be protected, insofar as is humanly possible, from the physical and mental and spiritual ravages of economic and social maladjustment.

Some counsellors say "confidence and normal prosperity will cure everything - give everybody jobs". They generally mean by that the confidence and prosperity of 1928. But, my friends, 1928 was no millenium. You and I know the simple fact that while production was increasing and profits were increasing in 1928 and 1929, unemployment was growing at an astounding rate.  
*Return to the 1928 kind of prosperity to*  
~~there~~ is no sufficient answer. ~~to you~~. The best that the captains of the country could do for you before the depression was not good enough then and it is not good enough ~~for you~~ today.

And you and I know now, that while the total production of America is about back to the high point before the depression, only a little over 80% as many human beings are engaged in turning out that production. It does not matter very greatly what the cause of this is. It may be a greater efficiency; it may be the development of new machinery; it may be a variety of other causes. We cannot legislate against greater efficiency nor can we legislate against the use of new tools - ~~now~~ would we if we could. But the fact remains. And that fact requires an answer.

Some people tell you that even with a completely restored prosperity there will be a vast permanent army of unemployed. I do not accept

that. No man who is sensitive to human values dares to accept it. That is why we are not content, merely, to restore what is sometimes called prosperity. We propose to attack the problem from every ~~other~~ conceivable angle.

B.

*both because of population increase and financial*  
Our working population increases every year. Today, for example, ~~when men face~~  
~~your problems there is more than~~  
~~now we are asking~~ the question as to whether it is not possible and right

A. *In your government*  
to limit the working ages at both ends. *We are seeking to extend the school*

age in every state in the union and to make it easier for boys and girls to stay in school. Work out for yourselves what would happen if all the boys and all the girls of fourteen and fifteen and sixteen and seventeen who are now working in industry, found it possible to stay in school until they were at least eighteen years old. How many jobs would that give to the young people of the nation who have graduated from High School and College? And how much better equipped would be these youngsters who are now at work if they could stay in school to the completion of their education.

In the same way, ask yourselves how many jobs would be created if the great majority of people who are now over sixty-five - to take a figure

at random - were in a position to retire in security for the balance of their days on earth. And how much greater happiness would such security give to their old age?

And there is another angle of re-employment which from the point of view of youth, is ~~still~~ worth pursuing. I will point it by an illustration.

In a certain ~~service~~ industry the average hours of weekly work were greatly curtailed under the operation of the ~~law~~ National Industrial Recovery Act, and, curtailed, incidentally, with the complete support of the great majority of employers within the industry. When this Act came to an end the average hours of work were ~~forty-eight~~ 36.4 per week. Since that time the great majority of employers in this particular industry continued the old NRA scale of hours.

But gradually, first a few and then a larger number of employers began lengthening the work week. The result today is that the average of employment in this industry is ~~sixty-one~~ 39.9 hours per week. Not a serious difference you say. And

yet if you figure it out on the assumption that there were 500,000 men and

women in this industry, ~~or~~ 10% or 166,500 people have either lost their jobs or,

16,600 other

by working longer hours, are preventing 20,000 people from getting employment.

Actually the records show that 14,000 people lost their jobs and 15,250 other

It seems reasonable, therefore, that industry can contribute in

great measure to the increase of employment if industry as a whole will under-take reasonable reductions of hours of work per week, while, at the same time, they keep the average individual's pay envelope at least as large as it is today.

~~problems~~ <sup>platters</sup>  
Because the ~~problem~~ of employment ~~is~~ definitely affected by the ~~problems~~ <sup>of</sup> employment, the government must give and will give consideration to such subjects as the length of the working week, the stability of employment on an annual basis, and the payment of at least adequate minimum wages. A <sup>doing</sup> <sup>dutifully</sup> government ~~that does~~ that is a government that is working at the answers to your problem.

We do not yet know enough in a changing economic order to guarantee any nation permanently against times of depression. We believe, however, that steps, like these, which we have taken and are taking will at least greatly cushion depressions - will prevent the up-curve from rushing to a violent, mad peak of false prosperity and prevent another violent, mad descent into another sink of suffering and disillusionment like the one from which for the last three and a half years we have been surely emerging.

And there is another aspect to the answer which you have a right to expect from us. What do we propose to do about the casualties of depression.

Since 1929 those casualties, in America, have run into the millions. They  
are a charge upon us as a ~~people~~. I have recognized that fact. And, by  
every reasonable means, we have sought to care for those casualties - to  
keep from the physical suffering of hunger; to keep them from the mental  
suffering of a loss of morale.

*In regard to all these problems*  
There are counsellors these days who say: "Do Nothing"; other  
counsellors say: "Do everything". Common sense dictates an avoidance of  
both extremes. I say to you "do something"; and you have done that some-  
thing, if it works, do it some more; and if it does not work do something  
else.

And you young people want action. You believe, as I believe,  
that the something which needs to be done, can be done. And how signifi-  
cantly American it is to believe that.  
*L. M. H. —*

10

The vigor of our history comes, largely, from the fact that, as a comparatively young nation we have gone fearlessly ahead doing things that were never done before. We subdued a wilderness that men said could never

~~be subdued~~ <sup>subjugated</sup>. We established a civilization where others insisted a civiliza-

<sup>tion</sup> ~~could not survive.~~ We built a government for which <sup>in</sup> the extent

<sup>of its democracy,</sup> ~~there was no precedent~~ <sup>and which observers</sup> ~~only~~ declared

could not endure.

We invited into our midst men and women of all lands with complete disregard for the distinctions and the discriminations of the Old World.

Many profound heads were shaken over that. We built an industrial order - the like of which had never before been seen. And doing it, we established life for the common man at a level above any that the world had known.

We did all these things with zest. The very air was exhilarating.

11

~~3/2~~

We were young - and we were getting things - worth while things done. It

is part of the spirit of America to believe that now, in our day, ~~especially we can~~  
~~do equally well in getting things done~~  
~~significant movements can be brought to pass.~~

I, for one, do not believe that the era of the pioneer is at an end; I only believe that the area for pioneering has changed. The period of geographical pioneering is largely finished. But, my friends, the period of social pioneering is only at its beginning. And make no mistake about it - the same qualities of heroism and faith and vision that were required to bring the forces of nature into subjection will be required - in even greater measure - to bring under proper control the forces of modern society. There is a task which - for importance and for magnitude - calls for the best that you and I have to offer.

12

There cannot be too many Americans thinking about the future of America. Our country richly endowed in body, mind and spirit still has need of many things. But I am certain that one of its chief needs <sup>right now</sup> is the releasing and the enlistment of the spirit of youth.

Do not underestimate the significance of that spirit. Yesterday

~~13~~ / 3

Christendom celebrated Easter -- the anniversary of the Resurrection of Our Lord Who, at the beginning of His ministry was thirty years of age and at His death was only thirty-three. Christianity began with youth and, through the last two thousand years, the spirit of youth repeatedly has revitalized it.

Our war for independence was a young man's crusade. Age was on the side of the Tories and the Tories were on the side of the old order. At the Revolution's outbreak George Washington was forty-three, Patrick Henry thirty-eight, Thomas Jefferson thirty-two and Alexander Hamilton eighteen. Our Constitution, likewise, was the creation of young minds. The average age of the men who wrote the Constitution was . The qualities of youth are not of a sort that self-satisfied people welcome in 1936 any more than self-satisfied people welcomed them in 1776. You ought to thank God tonight regardless of your <sup>young</sup> <sup>spirit</sup> if you are young enough to dream dreams and see visions -- dreams and visions about a greater and a finer America that is to be; ~~that~~ you are young enough to believe that poverty can be greatly lessened; that the disgrace of involuntary unemployment can be wiped out; that class hatreds can be done

~~14~~ 14

away with; that peace at home and abroad can be maintained; and that one day  
a generation may possess this land, blessed beyond anything we now know,  
with those things - material and spiritual - that make man's life abundant.  
If that is the fashion of your dreaming than I say: "Hold fast to your dream.  
America needs it."

The most challenging fact with which all who are vested with responsibility or authority in these days is what answers we should give to those young people who have come to maturity since the beginning of the depression. There are millions of them, and they have become the most restless, the most challenging, the most critical and the most insistent upon realities among our population.

The temper of our youth has changed since the excesses of ten years ago. Flaming youth has become a flaming question. Their question is what are you doing and what are you going to do to make this civilization a more humane, a more efficient, a more just place for us and for our children. The inference that is carried by that question is that we fail to answer in deeds, as well as in words, youth will turn to other leadership for help. if we fail it must turn to itself for help.

And there is much to justify this critical attitude of youth. The older generation, it is true, built magnificent means of education. But educated men of this generation found the emptiness of mere education in a world that could not use the products of education. We built a world of great material prosperity but this prosperity has not had the balance and organization necessary to prevent confusion and destruction. It has achieved the materials out of which security might be built but it did not find the way to build it. The youth of all parties and of no parties ask us to turn to their more basic questions.

They ask us this year to turn to these basic questions - to turn from the customary forms of political campaigns and meet vital issues.

I believe these young men and women of the Democratic Party are particularly insistent upon this. It is true that the critics of the present Administration and Congressional majority are fairly badly divided. There is much in what they say and do that in an ordinary political campaign we could point out: We could in fact by silence let them defeat themselves.

But that is not sufficient for such a year as this. The youth in the parties questioning challenging youth will not permit this. We of the Democratic party must be positive, forward looking, sincerely desirous of answering the challenge of a new generation.

The best test of our sincerity is the record of our performance. As I look back over three years past, I would rather think that the thing to which ~~sincerity~~ the most credit attaches is what we have done is not so much that we have created new ideas in the field of Government but that we have dared to try new things when it was clear that the old would not work.

It is our will to do that judges us, not our wish to do.

Looking back to the individual achievements of these years we see clearly how much of what we did came from the wisdom or the lessons of the past. We discriminated, it is true, but we

accepted ideas when we felt that they were good for the country.

in the field of Agriculture, for example, the general idea back of our policy was not new. The trouble was that the people then in power did not have the courage to put it into effect. They hesitated, delayed while the ~~house~~ burned. In fact, the Republican Platform of 1932 came much closer to our policies than the Republican candidate of that year would have you believe. He was afraid of his own platform. We were not afraid to act upon an idea even if our opponents' platform did affirm it. And now that the idea has succeeded and the farmer has been immeasurably benefited, all Republican candidates are for it. They dare to favor a thing after someone else has tried it out.

And so in the industrial field. half-hearted efforts toward cooperation had been the order of the day for twelve years. But nothing positive emerged. We had the courage to try something in the NRA and however imperfect the effort, it was a step toward the fulfilment of a great and necessary purpose -- and the benefits remain in large part.

And so in the field of labor relations - there have been pious platitudes from public officials and candidates for office about the right of labor. We gave reality and substance to our belief in these rights by positive legislation.

There were pious platitudes too about protecting investors but while these men talked smooth men fished our pockets. We dare again to put into positive law the old rule that the investor deserves the truth. We cannot keep him from cheating himself but we can give him the chance to know the truth.

There was vague talk about banking reform - but when the black days came the banks were helpless. We enacted banking reform.

For years great natural resources of wealth ~~inx~~, like Muscle Shoals, lay unused. We broke through the log jam and turned its wealth producing power over to the people.

For years a(dominant - dormant; party stuck its head in the sand and refused to recognize that national prohibition was a failure and worse than a failure. We had the courage to face this issue and to settle it.

These are only a few of the items in the record but they illustrate a policy of positive action, of trying and trying and trying again.

And let the record show further when the history of these times is written that in the midst of confusion Americans did not fall into panic. We kept our heads and used old and tried means to solve new and unprecedented problems. Panic has ruled too much of the world these past few years. It explains many of the fantastic things that have happened. Dictatorship is humanity in panic. We stayed on the old roads but we did not stand still.

That it seems is the fulfilment of the more reasonable of the younger generation. They demand not miracles but positive and sincere efforts. It is on that basis that those of us who have had the responsibility of government these years rest their case. I, for one, have no fear of the verdict.

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And so in the field of labor relations - there have been pious platitudes from public officials and candidates for office about the right of labor. We gave reality and substance to our belief in these rights by positive legislation.

There were pious platitudes too about protecting investors but while these men talked smooth men rifled our pockets. We dared again to put into positive law the old rule that the investor deserves the truth. We cannot keep him from cheating himself but we can give him the chance to know the truth.

There was vague talk about banking reform - but when the black days came the banks were helpless. We enacted banking reform.

For years great natural resources of wealth ~~lay~~, like Muscle Shoals, lay unused. We broke through the log jam and turned its wealth producing power over to the people.

For years a(dominant - dormant) party stuck its head in the sand and refused to recognize that national prohibition was a failure and worse than a failure. We had the courage to face this issue and to settle it.

These are only a few of the items in the record but they illustrate a policy of positive action, of trying and trying and trying again.

And let the record show further when the history of these times is written that in the midst of confusion Americans did not fall into panic. We kept our heads and used old and tried means to solve new and unprecedented problems. Panic has ruled too much of the world these past few years. It explains many of the fantastic things that have happened. Dictatorship is humanity in panic. We stayed on the old roads but we did not stand still.

That it seems is the fulfilment of the more reasonable of the younger generation. They demand not miracles but positive and sincere efforts. It is on that basis that those of us who have had the responsibility of government these years rest their case. I, for one, have no fear of the verdict.

1  
دیکھ دے جائے۔  
پر مذکور  
ہے جو اسی  
جس دیکھ دے  
بند کر دے۔  
تینوں قریب  
اک پانچ سو  
لیکے ہے ①  
لیکے ہے  
لیکے ہے  
ڈیکھ دے۔  
ڈیکھ دے ②

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STATEMENTS FILE

Shorthand By Kannee

coastal areas  
near sea shore  
or coastal

or fresh water  
in streams  
rivers  
lakes  
or ponds  
or (80)

NB ⑥ sun set  
as usual  
CV, ⑥

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

FOR THE PRESS

This address of the President to the Young Democratic Club of Maryland, to be delivered at the Fifth Regiment Armory, Baltimore, Maryland, on Monday, April 13th, 1936, MUST BE HELD IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

Release upon delivery, expected about 10:30 P. M., Eastern Standard Time.

PLEASE ENSURE AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

M. H. McINTYRE  
Assistant Secretary to the President

To-morrow this great Armory tonight represent a cross section of millions of young people who have come to maturity since 1929. You are the symbol of young men and women living in every state of the Union, affiliated with every political party and belonging to every so-called stratum of society.

The world in which the millions of you have come of age is not the set old world of your fathers. Some of yesterday's certainties have vanished; many of yesterday's certainties are questioned. Why have some vanished and many been questioned? Because the facts and needs of civilization have changed more greatly in this generation than in the century that preceded us.

I need not press that point with you. You are measuring the present state of the world out of your own experiences. You have felt the rough hand of the depression. You have walked the streets looking for jobs that never turned up. Out of this has come physical hardship, and, more serious, the scourge of disillusionment.

The temper of our youth has become more restless, more critical, more challenging. Flaming youth has become a flaming question. And youth comes to us wanting to know what we propose to do about a society that hurts so many of them.

There is much to justify the inquiring attitude of youth. You have a right to ask these questions -- practical questions. No man who seeks to evade or to avoid deserves your confidence.

Many older people seem to take unmerited pride in the mere fact that they are adults. When youth comes crashing in on them with enthusiasm and ideals, they put on their most patronizing smiles and pat the young man or the young woman on the shoulder and in a worldly-wise sort of way send them out with what they call their blessing. But -- as every young person knows -- that is not a blessing; it is a cold shower. What they have really said to you is, "You're young. Enjoy your enthusiasm and your ideals while you can. When you grow up and get out in the world you will know better." And the tragedy is that so many young people do just that: they do grow up and, growing up, they grow away from their enthusiasm and from their ideals. That is one reason why the world into which they go gets better so slowly.

Your objective in the widest sense is ~~to take it,~~ ~~which~~: an opportunity to make an honest living; a reasonable chance to improve your condition in life as you grow older; a practical assurance against want and suffering in your old age; and with it all the right to participate in the finer things of life - good health, clean amusement, and ~~a part~~ in the satisfactions of the arts, the sciences and religion.

STATEMENTS FILE

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Faced with that objective, it is clear that many of the old answers are not the right answers. No answer, new or old, is fit for your thought unless it is framed in terms of what you face and what you desire -- unless it carries some definite prospect of a practical down-to-earth solution of your problems.

Now the next few months you are going to be thoroughly bored by so-called answers. There are two or three new panaceas in every day's paper. Here is one I picked out at random from three on the same page of one newspaper. The eminent author suggests a four-point cure for all our ills. I hope you will be as thrilled and excited by them as I was. Here they are:

1. Establish a monetary unit with a definite gold content, subject to change only by Congress.

2. Restore convertibility of money into gold coin and private ownership of gold.

3. Accept responsibility as the world's greatest creditor nation.

4. Put Federal finance in order.

I ask you what do panacea planks like these offer to you as a way out of the problems that you and today and will get up to face tomorrow? Is there opportunity, is there work today, is there assurance for tomorrow, is this the practical, definite answer you are looking for? Most important of all, is there even a recognition in that type of panacea of the fact that the youth of America has any problems at all?

No, my friends, you have a right to expect something better than that. You have a right to expect that those in authority will do everything within their power to help restore conditions that make employment and opportunity possible; more than that, that you will be protected, insofar as is humanly possible, from the physical and mental and spiritual ravages of economic and social maladjustment.

Some counsellors say "confidence and normal prosperity will give everybody jobs." They generally mean by that the confidence and prosperity of 1929. But, my friends, 1929 was no millenium. You and I know the simple fact that while production was increasing and profits were increasing in 1928 and 1929, unemployment was growing at an astounding rate. Return to the 1928 kind of prosperity is no sufficient answer. The best that the captains of the country could do for you before the depression was not good enough then and it is not good enough today.

And you and I know now, that while the total production of America is about back to the high point before the depression, only a little over 80% as many human beings are engaged in turning out that production. It does not matter very greatly what the cause of this is. It may be a greater efficiency; it may be the development of new machinery; it may be a variety of other causes. We cannot legislate against greater efficiency nor can we legislate against the use of new tools - nor would we if we could. But the fact remains. And that fact requires an answer.

Some people tell you that even with a completely restored prosperity there will be a vast permanent army of unemployed. I do not accept that. No man who is sensitive to human values dares to accept that. That is why we are not content, merely, to restore what is sometimes called prosperity. We propose to attack the problem from every conceivable angle.

We readily admit that a greater purchasing power, far more widely distributed, will mean the consumption of more goods - industrial products and farm products. The production of these goods will mean more employment. Most business men believe with us that a greater purchasing power on the part of more people, they know that their businesses will be helped thereby.

To work in unity toward this end constitutes one form of attack, and there are others which we must not overlook.

Our working population increases every year, both because of population increase and because more and more women are working for wages. That is as it should be. But when we face your problems these increases raise the question as to whether it is not possible and right to limit the active working ages at both ends.

We in your Government are seeking to extend the school age in every state in the Union and to make it easier - for boys and girls to stay in school. Work out for yourselves what would happen if all the boys and all the girls of fourteen and fifteen and sixteen and seventeen who are now working in industry, found it possible to stay in school until they were at least eighteen years old. How many jobs would that give to the young people of the nation who have graduated from high school and from college? And how much better equipped would be these youngsters who are now at work if they could stay in school to the completion of their education?

In the same way, ask yourselves how many jobs would be created if the great majority of people who are now over forty-sixty-five - to take a figure at random - were in a position to retire in security for the balance of their days on earth. And how much greater happiness would such security give to their old age?

And there is another angle of re-employment which from the point of view of youth, is worth pursuing. I will point it by an illustration. In a certain manufacturing industry the average hours of weekly work were greatly curtailed under the operation of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and, curtailed, incidentally, with the complete support of the great majority of employers within the industry. When this Act came to an end the average hours of work were 36.4 per week. Since that time the great majority of employers in this particular industry continued the old NRA scale of hours. But gradually, first a few and then a larger number of employers began lengthening the work week. The result today is that the average of employment in this industry is 40 hours per week. Not a serious difference you say. And yet if you figure it out on the assumption that there were 156,000 men and women in this industry, 10% or 16,000 people have either lost their jobs or, by working longer hours, are preventing 16,000 other people from getting employment. Actually the records show that 1,400 people lost their jobs and 16,250 other people were kept from getting work.

It seems reasonable, therefore, that industry can contribute in great measure to the increase of employment if industry as a whole will undertake reasonable reductions of hours of work per week, while, at the same time, they keep the average individual's pay envelope at least as large as it is today.

Because the practices of employment definitely affect the problem of unemployment, the government must give and will give consideration to such subjects as the length of the working week, the stability of employment on an annual basis, and the payment of at least adequate minimum wages. A government doing that is a government that is working actively at the answer to your problem.

We do not yet know enough in a changing economic order to guarantee any nation permanently against times of depression. We believe, however, that steps, like these, which we have taken and are taking will at least greatly cushion depressions - will prevent the up-curve from rushing to a violent, mad peak of false prosperity and prevent another violent, mad descent into another sink of suffering and disillusionment like the one from which for the last three and a half years we have been surely emerging.

And there is another aspect to the answer which you have a right to expect from us. What do we propose to do about the casualties of depression? Since 1929 those casualties, in America, have run into the millions. They are a charge upon us as a people. I have recognized that fact. And, by every reasonable means, we have sought to care for those casualties - to keep them from the physical suffering of hunger; to keep them from the mental suffering of a loss of morale.

In regard to all these problems there are counsellors these days who say: "Do nothing"; other counsellors who say: "Do everything". Common sense dictates an avoidance of both extremes. I say to you "do something". And when you have done that something, if it works, do it some more. And if it does not work do something else.

And you young people want action. You believe, as I believe, that the something which needs to be done, can be done. And how significantly American it is to believe that.

The vigor of our history comes, largely, from the fact that, as a comparatively young nation we have gone fearlessly ahead doing things that were never done before. We subdued a wilderness that men said could never be conquered. We established a civilization where others insisted a civilization could not survive. Between 1776 and 1799 we built a government for which, in the extent of its democracy, there was no precedent - a government which Royalists declared could not endure.

We did all these things with zest. The very air was exhilarating. We were young - and we were getting things - worthwhile things. It is part of the spirit of America to believe that now, in our day, we can do equally well in getting things done.

I, for one, do not believe that the era of the pioneer is at an end; I only believe that the area for pioneering has changed. The period of geographical pioneering is largely finished. But, my friends, the period of social pioneering is only at its beginning. And make no mistake about it - the same qualities of heroism and faith and vision that were required to bring the forces of nature into subjection will be required - in even greater measure - to bring under proper control the forces of modern society. There is a task which - for importance and magnitude - calls for the best that you and I have to offer.

There cannot be too many Americans thinking about the future of America. Our country richly endowed in body, mind and spirit, still has need of many things. But I am certain that one of its chief needs today is the releasing and the enlistment of the spirit of youth.

Do not underestimate the significance of that spirit. Yesterday Christendom celebrated Easter - the anniversary of the Resurrection of Our Lord who, at the beginning of His ministry was thirty years of age and at His death was only thirty-three. Christianity began with youth and, through the last two thousand years, the spirit of youth repeatedly has revitalized it.

Our war for independence, was a young man's crusade. Age was on the side of the Tories and the Tories were on the side of the old order. At the Revolution's outbreak George Washington was forty-three, Patrick Henry thirty-eight, Thomas Jefferson, thirty-two and Alexander Hamilton eighteen. Our Constitution, likewise, was the creation of young minds. The average age of the men who wrote the Constitution was about forty-four. The qualities of youth are not of a sort that self-satisfied people welcome in 1936 any more than self-satisfied people welcomed them in 1776. I have used the words "the qualities of youth." Be wise enough and tolerant enough, you who are young in years, to remember that millions of older people have kept and propose to keep these qualities of youth. You ought to thank God tonight if, regardless of your years, you are young enough in spirit to dream dreams and see visions - dreams and visions about a greater and a finer America that is to be; if you are young enough in spirit to believe that poverty can be greatly lessened; that the disgrace of involuntary unemployment can be wiped out; that class hatreds can be done away with; that peace at home and abroad can be maintained; and that one day a generation may possess this land, blessed beyond anything we now know, with those things - material and spiritual - that make man's life abundant. If that is the fashion of your dreaming, then I say: "Hold fast to your dream. America needs it."



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