
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**

File No. 879-B

1936 June 27

Philadelphia, PA - Acceptance of Re-nomination

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE
UNANIMOUS NOMINATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

June 27, 1936, 10 P.M.

Senator Robinson, Members of the Democratic Convention, my friends:

Here and in every community throughout the land we are (meet) met at a time of great moment to the future of the Nation. It is an occasion to be dedicated to the simple and sincere expression of an attitude towards problems, the determination of which will profoundly affect America.

I come not only as (the) a leader of a party -- not only as a candidate for high office, but as one upon whom many critical hours have imposed and still impose a grave responsibility.

For the sympathy, help and confidence with which Americans have sustained me in my task I am grateful. For their loyalty I salute the members of our great party, in and out of (official) political life in every part of the Union. I salute those of other parties, especially those in the Congress of the United States who on so many

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 added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

we must now all work together to defend our freedom

abroad

and our freedom of speech here at home

and not allow anyone trying to pull us to fan (team) up or
out of democracy or republicanism or socialism out to
done planned identify us to reactionaries across the Atlantic
feeling that they want to abolish our freedom

abroad

-- when a US troop is (sent) to the far east I

must not be too zealous not establish a good far
asymmetrical balance over armed reactionaries over soft

revolutionary elements

which do not have any real ideals and beliefs and convictions
but think we do not have any real ideals and beliefs and convictions
and when we do not have any real ideals and beliefs and convictions we will
not be able to give any real aid to the reactionaries in the far east
and we will not be able to give any real aid to the revolutionaries in the far east

which must be solved if we are to preserve to the United States the political and economic freedom for which Washington and Jefferson planned and fought.

Philadelphia is a good city in which to write American history. This is fitting ground on which to reaffirm the faith of our fathers; to pledge ourselves to restore to the people a wider freedom -- to give to 1936 as the founders gave to 1776 -- an American way of life.
(Applause)

(The) That very word freedom, in itself and of necessity, suggests freedom from some restraining power. In 1776 we sought freedom from the tyranny of a political autocracy -- from the eighteenth century royalists who held special privileges from the crown. It was to perpetuate their privilege that they governed without the consent of the governed; that they denied the right of free assembly and free speech; that they restricted the worship of God; that they put the average man's property and the average man's life in pawn to the mercenaries of dynastic power -- that they regimented the people.

And so it was to win freedom from the tyranny of political autocracy that the American Revolution was fought.

That victory gave the business of governing into the hands of the average man, who won the right with his neighbors to make and order his own destiny through his own Government. Political tyranny was wiped out at Philadelphia on July 4, 1776. (Applause)

But, since that struggle, (however) man's inventive genius released new forces in our land which re-ordered the lives of our people. The age of machinery, of railroads, of steam and electricity; the telegraph and the radio; mass production, mass distribution -- all of these combined to bring forward a new civilization and with it a (new) problem for those who (would) sought to remain free.

For out of this modern civilization economic royalists carved new dynasties. New Kingdoms were built upon concentration of control over material things. Through new uses of corporations, banks and securities, new machinery of industry and agriculture, of labor and capital -- all undreamed of by the fathers -- the whole structure of modern life was impressed into this royal service.

There was no place among this royalty for our many thousands of small business men and merchants who sought to make a worthy use of the American system of initiative and

profit. They were no more free than the worker or the farmer. Even honest and progressive-minded men of wealth, aware of their obligation to their generation, could never know just where they fitted into this dynastic scheme of things.

And so it was natural and (perhaps) perfectly human that the privileged princes of these new economic dynasties, thirsting for power, reached out for control over government itself. They created a new despotism and wrapped it in the robes of legal sanction. In its service new mercenaries sought to regiment the people, their labor, (and) their (properties) property. And as a result the average man once more confronts the problem that faced the Minute Man of seventy-six. (Applause)

The hours men and women worked, the wages they received, the conditions of their labor -- these had passed beyond the control of the people, and were imposed by this new industrial dictatorship. The savings of the average family, the capital of the small business man, the investments set aside for old age -- other people's money -- these were tools which the new economic royalty used to dig it-self in.

Those who tilled the soil no longer reaped the

rewards which were their right. The small measure of their gains was decreed by men in distant cities.

Throughout the Nation, opportunity was limited by monopoly. Individual initiative was crushed in the cogs of a great machine. The field open for free business was more and more restricted. Private enterprise, indeed, became too private. It became privileged enterprise, not free enterprise. (Applause)

An old English judge (once) said once upon a time: "Necessitous men are not free men." Liberty requires opportunity to make a living -- a living decent according to the standard of the time, a living which gives man not only enough to live by, but something to live for. (Applause)

For too many of us the political equality we once had won was meaningless in the face of economic inequality. A small group had concentrated into their own hands an almost complete control over other people's property, other people's money, other people's labor -- other people's lives. For too many of us life was no longer free; liberty no longer real; men could no longer follow the pursuit of happiness.

Against economic tyranny such as this, the American citizen could only appeal to the organized power of

government. (Applause) We will remember that the collapse of 1929 showed up the despotism for what it was. The election of 1932 was the people's mandate to end it. Under that mandate it is being ended. (Applause)

The royalists I have spoken of -- the royalists of the economic order have conceded that political freedom was the business of the government, but they have maintained that economic slavery was nobody's business. They granted that the government could protect the citizen in his right to vote but they denied that the government could do anything to protect the citizen in his right to work and his right to live.

Today we stand committed to the proposition that freedom is no half and half affair. If the average citizen is guaranteed equal opportunity in the polling place, he must have equal opportunity in the market place. (Applause)

(The) These economic royalists complain that we seek to overthrow the institutions of America. What they really complain of is that we seek to take away their power. Our allegiance to American institutions requires the overthrow of this kind of power. In vain they seek to hide behind the Flag and the Constitution. In their blindness

they forget what the Flag and the Constitution stand for. Now, as always, (they stand for democracy, not tyranny; for freedom, not subjection; and) for over a century and a half, the Flag, the Constitution, stand against a dictatorship by mob rule and the over-privileged alike, and the Flag and the Constitution stand for democracy, not tyranny; for freedom, but not subjection. (Applause)

The brave and clear platform adopted by this Convention, to which I heartily subscribe, sets forth that government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are protection of the family and the home, the establishment of a democracy of opportunity, and aid to those overtaken by disaster.

(Applause)

But the resolute enemy within our gates is ever ready to beat down our words unless in greater courage we will fight for them.

For more than three years we have fought for them. This Convention in every word and deed has pledged that that fight will go on. (Applause)

The defeats and victories of these years have given to us as a people a new understanding of our government

-- yes, and a new understanding (and) of ourselves. Never since the early days of the New England town meeting have the affairs of government been so widely discussed and so clearly appreciated. It has been brought home to us that the only effective guide for the safety of this most worldly of worlds, the greatest guide of all, is moral principle.

(Applause)

We do not see faith, hope and charity as unattainable ideals, but we use them as stout supports of a Nation fighting the fight for freedom in a modern civilization.

Faith -- in the soundness of democracy in the midst of dictatorships.

Hope -- renewed because we know so well the progress we have made.

Charity -- in the true spirit of that grand old word. For charity literally translated from the original means love, the love that understands, that does not merely share the wealth of the giver, but in true sympathy and wisdom helps men to help themselves. (Applause)

We seek not merely to make government a mechanical implement, but to give it the vibrant personal character that is the very embodiment of human charity.

We are poor indeed if this Nation cannot afford to lift from every recess of American life the dread fear of the unemployed that they are not needed in the world. (Applause) We cannot afford to accumulate a deficit in the books of human fortitude. (Applause)

And so in the place of the palace of privilege we seek to build a temple out of faith and hope and charity.

It is a sobering thing, my friends, to be a servant of this great cause. We try in our daily work to remember that the cause belongs not to us but to the people. The standard is not in the hands of you and me alone. It is carried by America. (Applause) We seek, all of us I hope, we seek daily to profit from experience, to learn to do better as our task proceeds.

Governments can err -- Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted in different scales. (Applause)

Better the occasional faults of a government that lives in a spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference. (Applause)

There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of (others) other genera-tions much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny. (Applause)

In this world of ours in other lands, there are some people, who, in times past, have lived and fought for freedom, and seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of freedom for the illusion of a living. They have yielded their democracy.

I believe in my heart that only our success can stir their ancient hope. They begin to know that here in America we are waging a great and successful war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic demoralization. It is more than that, it is a war for the survival of democracy. We are fighting, fighting to save a great and precious form of government for ourselves and for the world.

And so I accept the commission you have tendered me. (Applause) I join with you. (Prolonged applause)
(I am enlisted for the duration of the war.)

grief

We hold this truth to be self-evident -- that the test of a government is the ability of those who govern to produce results.

We hold this truth to be self-evident -- that twelve years of Republican leadership had left our nation ~~poverty-stricken~~ in body, mind and spirit; and that three years of Democratic leadership put it back on the road to restored prosperity.

We hold this truth to be self-evident -- that twelve years of Republican surrender to the dictatorship of a privileged few have been supplanted by a Democratic leadership which has returned the people to the places of authority, ~~and~~ ^{Thru them} ~~restored~~ has revived in them new faith and the hope which they had almost lost.

We hold this truth to be self-evident -- that this recovery in all the basic values of life and in the American way of living, in these three years, has been due to ~~the dismantling~~ ^{the liberalizing} of the policies of the Federal government toward ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~affection~~ personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.

Finally, we hold this truth to be self-evident --
that government in a modern civilization has certain ~~imperable~~
obligations to its citizens among which are:

- 11th Protection of the family and the home.
- 12th Establishment of a democracy of opportunity
for all the people.
- 13th Aid to those overtaken by disaster.

These obligations, neglected through twelve years
~~The old~~
of Republican leadership, have once more been given a place in
~~The new~~
American government. Under Democratic leadership they will ~~not~~
~~forget~~
~~again, be deflected~~ never to be neglected.

For the Protection of the Family and the Home:

11th We have begun and we shall continue the
successful drive to rid our land of kidnappers,
bandits and malefactors of great wealth.

12th We have safeguarded the thrift of our
citizens by restraining those who would gamble
with other people's money; by imposing requirements
of truth upon the sale of securities; by
putting brakes upon the use of credit for
speculation; by outlawing the manipulation of stock and commodity
markets; by curbing the unholy practices
by which some utility holding companies ~~stricken~~ ^{robbed} the
public; by insuring the bank accounts of
fifty million of our citizens.

13th We have provided foundations for the
security of those who are faced with the
hazards of unemployment and destitute old age;
for the orphaned, the crippled and the blind.
On these foundations we will continue to build
a structure in which life will be made more
secure.

14th We will ~~settled~~ ^{act to settle} ~~the~~ ^{to} problem
of the consumer; to secure for him fair value,
honest sales and a decreased spread between the
price he pays and the price the producer receives.

15th We maintain that our people are entitled
to decent, adequate housing at a price which they
can afford and we will assume the obligation to
assist them in that right wherever private enter-
prise fails to do so.

For the Establishment of a Democracy of Opportunity:

¶1) We have taken the farmers of the land off the Republican road to agricultural ruin. By federal legislation we have reduced the farmer's indebtedness; ^{and many hundred thousand} we are restoring parity to the price of his crops; in cooperation with the several states we are restoring the fertility of his land and checking the erosion of his soil. We are bringing electricity ^{one good ready} to his home, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} better ^{living} ~~public~~ ^{and} ~~private~~ facilities ^{and} ~~and~~ to his children.

This work to do.
These things we will continue. We will further build up the farmer's economic resources through the encouragement of cooperatives; the extension of farm ownership; the reduction of the evils of tenancy; and the increase of farm out-put by increasing consumption through a higher standard of living and a greater purchasing power for all the people.

The farmer has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him ~~there~~ ^{on that road}.

¶2) We have given the army of America's industrial workers something more substantial than the Republicans' full dinner pail of promises. We have ^{increased} ~~settled~~ the worker's pay envelope and shortened his hours; we have undertaken to put an end to the sweated labor of his wife and children; we have written into the law of the land his right to collective bargaining; we have provided federal machinery for the peaceful settlement of labor disputes; we have given him ^{and his workplace} legal protection from the unfair competition of wage-cutting and hour stretching.

We will continue to protect the worker and we will guard his rights, both as wage-earner and consumer, in the production and consumption of public utility

and of organization free from the interference of employers.

services and natural resources such as coal and water power.

The worker has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him ~~where~~ on that road

(3) We have taken the American businessman out of the red. We have saved his bank and given it a sounder foundation; we have extended credit; we have lowered interest rates; we have undertaken to free him from the ravages of cut-throat competition. The American businessman has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him ~~where~~ on that road

But we shall continue to oppose the Republican ~~opposition~~ tradition of concentrated economic power; to fight monopolies with more than phrases; to protect the right of every American citizen to become a property owner but to make him ~~saf~~, in his property rights, against the greed of special privilege; and to protect the small businessman against the aggression of predatory ~~interests~~ ^{Accumulated} ~~power~~.

(4) We have furnished our younger citizens with something more than sympathy. We ~~extended aid to education~~ and have aided them to stay in school; given them constructive occupation; opened, again, the door to opportunity which twelve years of Republican neglect had closed in their faces.

Our youth have been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep them thereon That road

Aid to those overtaken by disaster:

We have rejected the policy of the last Republican Administration that ~~starvation~~ ^{distortion} for those in need is preferable to federal relief.

We believe that unemployment is a national problem and that, to meet it nationally, is an inescapable obligation of our government. We reaffirm our belief that work at decent wages should be provided in cooperation with state and local governments for the needy unemployed on useful projects to the end that the skill and the energy of the worker may be utilized, his morale maintained and the unemployed assured the necessities of life.

We maintain that the first objective of a program of economic security is maximum employment. ^{Over} Five million people have gone back to private employment during this Administration and the Democratic Party will continue its determined effort to increase employment.

We have aided and will continue to aid those of our citizens who have been visited by wide-spread drought and floods.

To meet these obligations is and will continue to be the aim of this Administration.

The Republican platform proposes to meet many pressing national problems solely by action of the separate states. But these problems demand action, not empty gestures. We know that draught, dust storms, floods; minimum wages, maximum hours; child labor; monopolistic and unfair business practices cannot be adequately handled by 48 separate state ~~separately~~ ^{federally} ~~governments~~ ^{rightfully} ~~administrations~~ and state courts.

The founders of the Constitution intended no such
government limitations on the legislative powers of
~~the~~ government as would create a no man's
land where either State or the fed govt.
could operate

Transactions and activities which inevitably overflow state boundaries call for both state and federal treatment.

We have sought and will continue to seek to meet these problems through legislation within a reasonable interpretation of the Constitution.

A If, however, recent pronouncements of the Supreme Court are to be regarded as fixing permanent limitations on the legislative powers of both state and federal governments, it will be necessary to seek such ~~an~~ amendment or amendments to the federal constitution as will restore to the legislatures of the several states and to the Congress of the United States, each within its proper jurisdiction, the power to enact and have enforced those laws which the ~~State and Federal governments~~ ~~respective legislatures~~ shall from time to time find necessary, in order adequately to regulate commerce, to protect public health and safety, to safeguard economic security and to provide for the general welfare. This we shall do to maintain the spirit and the purpose of the Constitution. For the protection of government, itself, and promotion of its efficiency, we shall extend the ~~merit principle~~ principle -- as in the face of Republican opposition we have tried to do -- to all non-policy making positions in the federal service.

We shall continue to guard the civil rights and liberties which our Constitution guarantees; with equal rights to all and special privilege to none.

In our relationship with other nations, this government will continue ~~to~~ strive to extend the policy of the Good Neighbor. We shall continue to observe a true neutrality in the disputes of others; to be prepared, resolutely to resist aggression against ourselves; to work for peace and to take the profits out of war; to guard against being drawn by political commitments, international banking or private trading, into any war which may develop anywhere.

We shall continue to foster the increase in our foreign trade which has been achieved by this Administration; to seek by mutual agreement the lowering of those tariff barriers, quotas and embargoes which have been raised against our exports of agricultural and industrial products; but to continue, as in the past, to give the fullest protection to our farmers and manufacturers against the dumping on our shores of goods produced abroad by cheap labor or subsidized by foreign governments.

~~Maximally maintain the quality and character of our natural resources~~

We recognize that the fulfillment of the obligations of government requires a sound federal economy.

We shall continue the policies which rescued the nation from fiscal panic and have made our currency and our national credit the soundest in the world. By these policies we shall continue to shield our agriculture and industry against fluctuating prices, currency wars and the raids of international speculators.

~~We have faith in the destiny of our Nation as the pioneers conceived it.~~

8

End
D. W. P.

Lessons learned

Governments should use its power to restore equality of economic opportunity, to maintain and enhance educational advantages, and to abolish the extremes of concentrated wealth and dire poverty which ~~the~~ menace the preservation of the institutions of our Republic.

¶ We have faith in the destiny of our Nation as the pioneers conceived it. Our purpose is to restore to the average family a fair share in the abundant wealth which our natural resources and productive capacity under a sound and equitable system of distribution will provide. The outcome of this contest will determine whether we are to go forward to a higher standard of living or return to policies of government which sacrifice human values to corporate interests and speculative gain.

We appeal to men and women regardless of class, creed or former party ties to join us in rededicating government to American principles and to oppose the despotism of ^{other nations} Communism ~~and~~ Fascism, confident that our problems can best be solved under our democratic institutions of government.

that only a few of the people can fully find the profits interests in solving their problems.

Budget
Process

(The Budget Cycle)

To illustrate stages of process at the budget cycle (see attached diagram)
the four stages involved are initiation of financial process
which starts with the initiation of the financial process by the budget officer.
This stage involves preparation of budget estimates and details of the
activities and the nature and extent of resources available.
At this stage there is a general estimate of amount of resources available.
Evaluation has been made to determine the details of the funds available and
allowing for the availability of resources to meet the requirements of the organization.
At this stage the budget officer makes an estimate of the resources available and
the activities of the organization to fulfill its objectives and to meet
the financial requirements of the organization.
After evaluation
to meet the needs of the organization.

Initiation of financial process
Preparation of budget estimates
Evaluation of resources available
Allocation of resources available
Implementation of financial process

End of Platform
1936

Dedicated to a government of liberal American principles, we are determined to oppose, equally, the despotism of Communism and the menace of concealed Fascism.

We hold this final truth to be self-evident - that only

~~a government of the people themselves can fully guarantee the people's interests, an administration that protects their property and the happiness of the people of the United States and the continuance of the Government of America under the Republic, and~~
~~under their own rule, can only fix~~
~~the~~
~~can be made to be perpetuated~~
~~in~~
~~early under their~~
~~own rule,~~

For Stanley Nash
from Franklin D. Roosevelt
June 25th 1936

~~W 2066~~

~~3214 Sam~~

~~Jan 1911~~

~~NEW YORK~~

SENATOR ROBINSON, MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, MY FRIENDS:

We meet,

~~to~~ come at a time of great moment to the future of the Nation. It is an occasion to be dedicated to the simple and sincere expression of deep differences in underlying principles of Government, the determination of which will profoundly affect ~~the~~ America, ~~of our children.~~

I come not as the leader of a party -- not as a candidate ^{only} _{only} for high office but as one upon whom many critical hours have imposed and still impose a grave responsibility.

For the sympathy, help and confidence with which Americans have sustained me in my task I am grateful. For their loyalty I salute the members of our great party, in and out of official life in every part of the Union. I salute those of other parties, especially those in the Congress who on so many occasions put partisanship aside. I thank the Governors of the several States, their Legislatures, their state and local officials who participated unselfishly and regardless of party in our efforts to achieve recovery and destroy abuses. Above all I thank the millions of Americans who have borne disaster bravely and have dared to smile through the storm.

America will not forget these recent years -- will not forget that the rescue was not a mere party task -- it was the concern of all of us. In our strength we rose together, rallied our energies together, applied the old rules of common sense, and together survived.

In those days we feared fear. That was why we fought fear. And today, my friends, we have won against the most dangerous of our foes -- we have conquered fear.

But I come tonight to speak little of the past --
little even of the present. Chiefly, I come to speak to you of
the future.

But I cannot, with candor, tell you that all is well with the world. Clouds of suspicion, tides of ill-will and intolerance gather darkly ~~over many parts of the world~~. In our own land we enjoy indeed a fullness of life greater than that of ~~most~~ any other nation. But the rush of modern civilization itself has raised for us new difficulties, new problems which must be solved if we are to preserve to the United States the political and economic freedom for which Washington and Jefferson planned and fought.

Philadelphia is a good city in which to write American

history. This is fitting ground on which to reaffirm the faith of our fathers; to pledge ourselves to restore to the people a wider freedom -- to give to 1936 as the founders gave to 1776 -- an American way of life.

The very word freedom in itself and of necessity suggests freedom from some restraining power. ~~Throughout the centuries it has meant freedom from some form of political tyranny.~~ In 1776 we sought freedom from the tyranny of a political autocracy -- from the eighteenth century royalists who held special privileges from the crown. It was to perpetuate their privilege that they governed without the consent of the governed; that they denied the right of free assembly and free speech; that they restricted the worship of ~~Almighty~~ God; that they put the average man's property and the average man's life in pawn to the mercenaries of dynastic power -- that they regimented the people.

And so it was to win for ~~the plain people~~ freedom from the tyranny of political autocracy that the American Revolution was fought. ~~That victory destroyed sovereignty in the crown and transferred sovereignty to the people.~~ That victory gave the business of governing into the hands of the

average man, who won the right with his neighbors to make and order his own destiny through his own Government. Political

political freedom brought with it religious freedom and a way
to economic liberty.

Since that struggle, however, man's inventive genius ~~had~~
released new forces in our land which ~~had~~ re-ordered the lives
of our people. The age of machinery, of railroads, of steam
and electricity; the telegraph and the radio; mass production,
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a new civilization and with it a new problem for ~~freedom~~.
Those who would slay

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carved new dynasties. New Kingdoms were built upon concentration
of control over material things. Through new uses of corpora-
tions, banks and securities, new machinery of industry and
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thousands of small business men and merchants who sought to make
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The hours men and women worked, the wages they received,
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dictatorship. ~~there again was the old problem of another without~~
~~representation -- this time the taxing of men's bodies.~~ The
savings of the average family, the capital of the small business
man, the investments set aside for old age -- other people's
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royalty used to dig itself in.

Those who tilled the soil no longer reaped the rewards
which were their right. The small measure of their gains was
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For too many of ~~our~~ people the political equality we once had won ~~was~~ ^{was} meaningless in the face of economic inequality.

A For too many of ~~our~~ people life was no longer free; liberty no longer real; men could ~~not~~ ^{no longer} follow the pursuit the happiness.

Against ~~danger~~ ^{economic tyranny} such as ~~these~~ ^{the} the citizen could only appeal to the organized power of government. ~~No~~ ^{We were bound to} ~~we~~ ^{we} ~~were~~ ~~in~~ ~~it~~ The collapse of 1929 showed up the despotism for what it was. The election of 1932 was the people's mandate to end it. Under that mandate it is being ended.

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Page 6

INSERT A

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Today we stand committed to the proposition that freedom is no half and half affair. If the average citizen is guaranteed equal opportunity in the polling place, he must have equal opportunity in the market place.

[The royalists of the economic order declared that the amount of an individual's property should be made the measure of his political power. Today we stand committed to the proposition that a mere vested stake in industry and finance is not enough to buy a vested stake in governing.]

The economic royalists complain that we seek to overthrow the institutions of America. What they really complain of is that we seek to ~~take away their power~~ overthrew ~~their thrones~~. Our allegiance to American institutions requires the overthrow of ~~their thrones~~.

In vain they seek to hide behind the Flag and the Constitution.

* In their blindness they forget what the Flag and the Constitution stand for. Now, they stand for democracy, not tyranny; for freedom, not subjection; and against ~~dictatorship~~ ^{what} against a dictatorship by mob rule and equally in the defence of the Nation against a dictatorship by the over-privileged. Once more, the Flag and the Constitution take their place as

Instruments for freedom.

The brave and clear platform adopted by this Convention, to which I heartily subscribe, sets forth that Government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are protection of the family and the home, the establishment of a democracy of opportunity, and aid to those overtaken by disaster.

[More words will not fulfill these obligations.] But the
is a resolute enemy within our gates ever ready to beat down our
words unless we in greater courage ^{will} fight for them.
taught
For more than three years we have ~~named our courage by~~
~~fighting~~ for them. This Convention in every word and deed has
pledged that that fight will go on.

defeats and
The ~~most~~ victories of these years have given to us
as a people a new understanding of our government and of ourselves.
Never since the early days of the New England town meeting have
~~widely discussed~~ ^{so clearly} the affairs of government been so ~~clearly understood~~ and appre-
~~ciated. And we are beginning to understand that the only effective~~
guide for the safety of this most worldly of worlds is moral
principle.

B
We are poor indeed if this Nation cannot afford to lift
from every recess of American life the dread fear of the unemployed

B that they are not needed in the world. We cannot afford to
accumulate a deficit in the books of human fortitude.

6/15
in
Rutan

B In the place of the palace of privilege we seek to

build a temple out of faith and hope and charity. ~~These are~~

~~We do not see faith, hope and charity as~~ unattainable ideals, but ~~we~~ stout supports of a Nation
~~we use them as~~

fighting the fight for freedom in a modern civilization.

Faith -- in the soundness of democracy in ~~the world~~ of
dictatorships.

Hope -- renewed because we know so well the progress
we have made.

Charity -- in the true spirit of that grand old word.
For charity literally translated from the original means love,
the love that understands, that does not merely share the wealth
of the giver, but in true sympathy and wisdom helps men to help
themselves, ~~through government~~

~~We do not satisfy our sense of duty by seeing to it~~
~~only that men and women and children do not starve. We try to~~
~~give them the opportunity decently and honestly to earn their~~
~~bread. We claim for due reward for work -- for the profits to~~
~~which honorable human enterprise is rightly entitled.~~

We seek not merely to make government a mechanical
implement, but to give it the vibrant personal character that

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is the embodiment of human charity.

B7
It is a sobering thing to be a servant of this great cause. We try in our daily work to remember that the cause belongs not to us but to the people. The standard is not in the hands of ~~one man or one party~~. It is carried by America. We seek daily to profit from experience, to learn to do better as our task proceeds.

Presidente di male ministri,
Governments can err — but the immortal Dante tells *that* divine justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted in different scales.

Better the occasional faults of a government that lives in a spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference. There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of others much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny.

These are poor people
In this world of ours ~~some~~ peoples in other lands who in times past have lived and fought for freedom ^{and} seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of freedom for the illusion of a living. They have yielded their democracy.

I believe in my heart that only our success can stir

their ancient hope. They begin to know that here in America we are waging a great war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic demoralization. It is a war for the survival of democracy. We are ~~answering~~ fighting to save a great and precious ~~form of government~~ form of government ~~for ourselves~~ for ourselves and for the world.

I accept the commission you have tendered me. I join with you. I am enlisted for the duration of the war.

HAR

Senator Robinson, Members of the Democratic Convention, my

friends:

I come here at a time of great moment to the future of the Nation. It is an occasion not to be artfully arranged for plaudits but to be dedicated ~~rather~~ to the simple and sincere expression of deep differences in underlying principles of Government, the determination of which will profoundly affect the America of our children.

~~I come to speak not of the past~~--I come not as the leader of a party--not as a candidate for high office but as one upon whom many critical hours have imposed and still impose a grave responsibility.

It would be presumptuous to assume that this burden has rested upon me alone for that would imply that the necessities and the arduous labors of these past years were not shared by ~~the~~ millions of others. ^{This} sympathy, help and confidence with which America has sustained me in this task I am grateful.

For their loyalty I salute the members of this great party,

in and out of official life in every part of the Union. I salute those of other parties, especially those in the Congress who on so many occasions have put partisanship aside and fought as Americans, I thank the Governors of the several States, their administrations and their local officials regardless of party, ~~and~~ who participated unselfishly in our efforts to achieve recovery and destroy abuse. I thank the many millions of people in this time of stress who kept and are keeping the faith.

You and I need not rehearse the past. America~~s~~ will not forget these recent years--will not forget that/^{the} rescue was not/mere party task--it was the concern of all of us. In our strength we ~~faced~~ ^{rose} together, rallied our energies together, applied the old rules of common sense, ~~in-the-problems~~ and together survived.

In those days we feared fear. That was why we fought fear. And today, my friends, we have conquered fear -- we have won against the most dangerous of our foes.

But I come tonight to speak little of the past -- little even of the present. Chiefly, I come to speak to you of the future.

I cannot, with candor, tell you that all is well with the world. Clouds of suspicion, tides of ill-will gather darkly over many parts of the world. In our own land we enjoy indeed a fullness of life greater than that of any other nation. But the rush of modern civilization itself has raised for us new difficulties, new problems which must be solved if we are to preserve to the United States the political and economic freedom for which Jefferson planned and Washington fought.

Philadelphia is a good city in which to write American history. This is a fighting ground on which to reaffirm the faith of our fathers; to pledge ourselves to restore to the people that wider freedom -- to give in 1956 as the founders gave in 1776 -- an American way of life.

That word freedom means little in itself -- it suggests at once a freedom from something. In its relationship to government it has meant, through the centuries, freedom from some form of tyranny.

In 1776 we sought freedom from the tyranny of a political

autocracy — from the Eighteenth Century royalists who derived their
special privilege from the throne, ^{in the service of the Throne, therefore,} it was the ~~devoir~~ ^{wish} ~~that they sought to~~ ^{they sought to} follow ^{the} of the ~~devoir~~ sought to
regiment the people. It was to perpetuate that form of privilege
that they governed without the consent of the governed; that they
denied the right of free assemblage and free speech; that they put
restrictions on the ~~wish~~ ^{wish} of Almighty God; that they put the average
man's property ^{and the} _{of} average man's life in pawn to the mercenaries of
dynastic power.

5

Thus it was to win for the plain people freedom from the tyranny of political autocracy that the American Revolution was fought. ~~the sovereignity~~ ^{That action} ~~the crown to the sovereignty of the~~ ~~rightfully was transferred from the sovereign to the people and the~~
~~business of governing placed in the hands of the average man, who, with his neighbors, won the right to make and order his own destiny through his own Government.~~ Political tyranny was wiped out ~~from all time at~~
Philadelphia on July 4, 1776. *Then at that time full fledged came into life*
New forces came to the front in later days. Invented genius --
the age of machinery, of railroads, of steam and electricity; the telegraph and the radio; mass production, mass distribution -- all of these have combined to bring forward a new problem for freedom.

For out of this modern civilization economic royalists have carved a new dynasty. ~~and dimension~~ Without a full realization, either on their part or on the part of the people as a whole, a new throne was built of material things. Through a system of new instruments undreamed of by the fathers, corporations, banks, securities, the very machinery of industry and agriculture, of labor and capital and production and distribution -- the whole structure of modern industrial life -- became enthroned in an economic royalty.

It was natural, and perhaps very human, that this economic

6

royalty reached out for power over Government itself, made a new
despotism and wrapped in the robes of legal sanction. For the average
man this new despotism held dangers as great as the old. It was in the
service of a throne once more, that now monarchies sought to regiment
the people. The average man once more confronts the problem that faced
the minute men.
(1776)

An old English judge once said, "Necessitas non sacerdotum non est free
men." Liberty, therefore, requires democracy of opportunity to make a
living -- a living designed according to the standard of the time --
a living which gives men not only something to live by but also some-
thing to live for.

I am reminded of what Lincoln once said:

"The shepherd drives the wolf from the
sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks
the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf
denounces him for the same act as the destroyer
of liberty" * * * plainly the sheep and the
wolf are not agreed on the definition of the
word liberty."

The hours men and women worked, the wages they received, the
conditions of their labor -- these were beyond the control of the people --
they were imposed by this new industrial regimentation. Here again
entered taxation -- but this time the taxation of man's bodies -- taxation
without representation. In the process the savings of the average family,
the capital of the small business man, the investment set aside for old
age -- all these were among the tools which the new economic royalty seized
to dig itself in.

Those who tilled the soil no longer reaped the rewards which were their right. The measure of their rewards were decreed for them by men in distant cities.

Throughout the nation, [*for humanity*] was limited by monopoly. Individual initiative was crushed in the cogs of a great machine. [For to many of our people the] political equality we once had won was meaningless in the face of economic inequality. [For to many of our people] life was no longer free; liberty no longer real; freedom to follow the pursuit of happiness had fled.

Against dangers such as these the citizens' only means of security is the organised power of government. We were bound one day to rise in wrath. [The collapse of 1929 showed up the despotism for what it was.] *told us just that, J.P.*
The election of 1932 was the people's mandate to end it — and under that mandate we are winning the fight for the recovery of American freedom.

The royalists of the economic order have conceded that political freedom was the business of the government but they have maintained that economic slavery was nobody's business. They granted that the government could protect the citizen in his right to vote but they denied that the government could do anything to protect the citizen in his right to live.

Committed
Today we stand to the proposition that freedom is no half and half achievement. The average man and woman guaranteed equal opportunity in the polling place is on the road to equal opportunity in the market place.

The royalists of the economic order declared that the jungle law was law enough. Today we stand committed to the proposition that the foundation of Government is to protect the well-being of the whole people rather than to defend the privilege of a few people.

The royalists of the economic order have declared that the amount of an individual's property should be made the measure of his political power. Today we stand committed to the proposition that those who have a vested stake in industry and finance should not have a vested stake in governing.

The brave and clear platform adopted by this Convention, to which I heartily subscribe, has set forth that Government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens among which are protection of the family and the home, the establishment of a democracy of opportunity, and aid to those overtaken by disaster.

Mere words will not fulfill those obligations. There is a resolute enemy within our gates ever ready to beat down our words unless we in greater courage will fight for them.

For more than three years we have proved our courage by fighting for them. This Convention in every word and deed

These economic royalists complain that we seek to overthrow the institutions of America. What they really complain of is that we seek to overthrow their thrones.

Our allegiance to American institutions requires the overthrow of their thrones. In vain they seek to hide behind the Flag and the Constitution, for in their blindness they forget that the Flag and the Constitution are enlisted as always in the defense of the Nation against ^a dictatorship by mob rule and equally in the defense of the Nation against a dictatorship by the overprivileged. Thus, once more, the Flag and the Constitution take their place as instruments for freedom.

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unless we ~~in~~ greater courage ~~will~~ fight for them.

For more than three years we have proved our courage by fighting for them. This Convention in every word and deed has pledged that that fight will go on. I, myself, am enlisted for the duration

~~of the war.~~

Insert (E)

The [first] victories of these years [have] given us as a people, a new understanding of our government and of ourselves. It is essentially our concern and ~~we~~ have come more deeply to know that the only effective guide for safety [of] this most worldly of worlds is moral principle.

Insert 7 \$

We have seen faith and hope and charity not as unattainable ideals, but as the stout supports of a nation fighting the fight of civilization.

Faith in the soundness of democracy in a world of dictatorships.

Hope, renewed because we see progress towards the goal.

Charity - in the spirit of the true translation of that grand old word. For ~~charity~~ literally translated from the original means love, ^{the} love that understands, that does not merely share the wealth of the giver, but in true sympathy and wisdom helps men to help themselves.

We do not satisfy our sense of duty by seeing to it ~~only~~ that men and women and children do not starve. We try to give them the opportunity honorably and honestly to earn their bread.

We stand for the reward for work for the profits to which ^A honorable human enterprise is rightly entitled.

We ~~seek~~ not merely to make government a mechanical implement, but to give it the vibrant personal character that is the embodiment of human charity.

Governments can err - but divine justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-blooded in ~~Different~~ ^{the} Scales.

Inset E pg

It is a sobering thing to be a servant of this great cause. To serve it well calls for a humility born of the knowledge that this cause does not belong to us ~~men~~ but to the people. The standard is not in the hands of one man or of one party. It is carried by America. Individuals and parties, alike, are merely the instruments of the nation's purpose.

We have made mistakes. Through them we have learned and profited. But we have tried to keep the faith; and the faith has not deserted us. All that I am, all that I seek to be is a voice worthy to speak the aspirations of the people of the nation.

Better the occasional faults of a government that lives in a spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government ~~pressing~~
for 3-2-1
in the ~~sphere~~ ^{with} of its own self-interest. There is a mysterious cycle in human . To some generations much is given. Of others much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny.

In this world of ours some peoples ^{in other lands}, who in times past have lived and fought for freedom seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of freedom for ~~an~~ ^{The} illusion of living. They have yielded their democracy.

I believe in my heart that only our success can stir their ancient hope. They begin to know that here in America we are waging a great war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic and-financial demoralization. It is a war for the survival of democracy. We are saving a great and precious form of government for democracy for ourselves and for the world. Reenlist with me in that war.

For out of this modern civilization economic royalists have carved new dynasties. New thrones were built upon concentration of control over material things. Through new uses of corporations, banks and securities ~~undreamed~~ undreamed of by the fathers, new machinery of industry and agriculture, of labor and capital, of production and distribution, the whole structure of modern life was impressed into this royal service.

There was no place on
~~the seats of those thrones for our tens of thousands of~~
~~small business men and merchants who sought to make a~~
~~worthy use of the American system of initiative and profit.~~
~~Even~~
~~the honest and progressive-minded man of wealth,~~
~~of his obligation to~~
~~his generation, was uncertain of his place~~
~~in this dynastic scheme of things.~~

There was no place on these thrones for our ~~tens of~~ many thousands of small business men and merchants who sought to make a worthy use of the American system of initiative and profit . They were no more free than the worker or the farmer. Even ~~the honest and progressive-minded man of wealth,~~ aware ~~of his obligation to~~ ~~his generation, was uncertain of his place~~ ~~in this dynastic scheme of things.~~

An ~~insert~~ C

An old English judge once said: "Necessitous men are not free men". Liberty requires opportunity to make a living - a living decent according to the standard of the time, a living which gives man not only enough to live by but something to live for. Doctrinaires may spin legal cobwebs in the holy name of liberty; but there is no freedom if there is not freedom from want and that quality of life.

It was natural and perhaps human that privileged princes of these new economic dynasties, athirst for power reached out for control over government itself. They ~~mainly~~ created a new despotism and wrapped ~~thoroughly~~ it in the robes of legal sanction. In the service of these thrones new mercenaries sought to regiment the people. And as a result the average man once more confronts the problem that faced the Minute Man.

The hours men and women worked, the wages they received, the conditions of their labor -- these were beyond the control of the people, and ^{had passed} ~~dictatorship~~.
These were imposed by this new industrial ~~fragmentation~~. Here again was the despotism without representation -- ~~the taxation~~ this time the taxation entered taxation but this time the taxation of man's bodies -- taxation without representation. In the process ~~of~~ the savings of the average family, the capital of the small business man, the investments set aside for old age -- ~~and~~ these were ~~simply~~ the tools which the new economic royalty ~~seized~~ used to dig itself in.

I know, my friends, that in many instances and in
many localities, there has been room for well-merited criticism
of the way in which our task has been done. I am grateful for
the patience which has been shown for these shortcomings. I am
comforted by the thought that the people know the difficulty of
finding, on such short notice, personnel trained and experienced
for the many new kinds of work that had to be done. We are
making improvements where we can, and as fast as we can. Where
situations come to your attention in which improvement can be
made, I would consider it a kindness if you would write me and
give me the information. In this way you can all be of help
in the direct administration of the affairs of government.

Draft
June 18, 1936.

TENTATIVE PLATFORM DRAFT

Four years ago the Democratic Platform clearly outlined the disastrous policies pursued by our Government during the preceding twelve years, stressing the destruction of our trade and the values of our commodities and our products, the crippling of our banking system, the fostering of monopolies and the indefensible fluctuation of credit for private profit at the expense of the public.

Between June, 1932, and the Inauguration of the new Administration in March, 1933, the Nation, because of a complete lack of leadership in Government, faced starvation and chaos.

We hold this truth to be self-evident -- that in three years the Nation has proceeded far on the road to domestic happiness, and, through a drastic change in economic governmental policies, to financial, industrial and agricultural security.

We hold this truth to be self-evident -- that twelve years of surrender by Government to the pliant control of a dominant few has been superseded by a moral

leadership which has restored faith and stirred constructive intelligence in a people who had lost hope.

We hold this truth to be self-evident -- that in an era of unwonted world unrest and universal insistence on improved conditions of life and liberty for very large groups of underprivileged citizens and families, the success of Government must greatly depend on the ability of those who govern to produce results.

We hold this truth to be self-evident -- that in a continuing emergency, which affects the United States and, indeed, all Nations, an emergency as great as war because it affects the future of mankind, proven leadership which solves difficult problems by liberal action is to be greatly preferred to untried leadership sponsored in great part by those who have proven their failure to govern, or those who seek power for selfish ends.

We shall continue the sound currency and banking system and the various Acts which have saved homes, farms and industries; protected depositors, lowered interest rates, and re-established the good credit of municipalities, counties, states and the Federal Government itself.

We shall continue to seek a stable purchasing power for the American dollar, believing that the wide fluctuations of former years were of benefit only to speculators in securities and in the commodities and necessities of life; and that debts should be paid in a medium of exchange of approximately the same value as when they were incurred.

We shall continue to foster increases in our foreign trade; to seek a lowering of tariff barriers, quotas and embargoes raised against our exports of agricultural and industrial products; and to safeguard our farmers and manufacturers against the dumping on our shores of foreign food stuffs and goods produced by cheap labor or subsidized by governments.

We shall seek in our tax policy to reduce consumption taxes, avoid Federal sales' taxes and further close the loopholes through which owners of abnormally large incomes evade taxes which former Congresses intended them to pay.

We shall maintain and strengthen the successful prosecution of kidnappers, bandits and malefactors of great wealth who have violated Federal laws; and by pitiless publicity and reasonable regulation we shall continue to protect the public against fraudulent securities and the rigging of markets of all kinds.

In respect to the betterment and protection of the life of the average American family in its social and economic problems, we take direct issue with the Republican policy as set forth in their Platform. They have solemnly asserted that all of these problems can be and must be met by the States and by the States alone.

We do not agree that agriculture is a local problem; that crop and live stock surpluses or shortages can, as a matter of practical fact, be balanced by the independent action of forty-eight State Legislatures, Administrations and Courts.

We do not agree that the production and use of coal and other minerals, electricity, transportation and communications can be reasonably regulated in the public interest by State action alone.

We do not agree that monopolistic or unfair trade practices or the management of utilities, where the business involved crosses State lines, can be controlled by States alone.

We do not agree that the administration of and the policy toward relief of the destitute unemployed can be placed solely in the charge of local units of government without political discrimination, increased overhead and inadequate care.

We do not agree that old age security and unemployment insurance should be left solely to the discretion of the several States with the right to each State to set up no system or a system at variance with all the other States.

We do not agree that each State should have the sole right to enact or not to enact, as it sees fit, laws for the protection of children in industry, of fair wages for men and women, for proper working conditions and for the limitation of hours of work.

In adopting this policy the Republican Platform places itself squarely behind recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States --- decisions which in almost every major case were disputed by a minority of that Tribunal. The Republican Platform accepts the doctrine that the Interstate Commerce Clause of the Constitution applies only to goods in actual transit; the doctrine that the "due process of law" clause is a practical nullity so far as the Federal Government is concerned; and that the sanctity of contracts applies to every contract regardless of unfair compulsion, human needs, and a sound public policy.

The Republican Platform offers no escape from intolerable conditions except the pious and impossible hope that all the States will legislate simultaneously and uniformly on these great problems which of necessity are national.

We reaffirm our belief that local government must continue to act with full freedom in matters primarily of local concern; that county government must retain functions which logically belong to the county unit; that State governments must and shall retain State sovereignty over all those activities of government which effectively

and efficiently can be met by the States.

We assert, however, that activities of government which cannot adequately be met by localities, counties or States, are, and of right ought to be, the function of the Federal Government itself.

The Constitution provides the best instrument devised for the continuation of this fundamental principle. This was the intent of its framers. That is its clear intent as it exists today.

With clearer understanding of the broad principles of the Constitution and with a deeper belief in its broad powers than is evinced by the Republican Platform, we reassert our undertaking to proceed under the American form of government. The Republican Platform accepts without complaint near constructions of our Charter of Liberties.

We do not approve or accept such constructions and interpretations; for it is clear that majority opinions less narrow, more interpretative of modern conditions and problems, would prove that the Constitution can meet and fit the amazing physical, economic and social requirements that confront us in this generation.

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We propose to continue every constitutional effort
to make this Nation capable of self-government as a Nation.

I accept the nomination of the Democratic Party for President of the United States.

The years which are approaching may be years which will torture the bodies and test the souls of men. The clouds of war are gathered darkly over Europe and Asia. In our own land we enjoy again a fullness of life greater than that of any other nation; but economic change has raised for us new difficulties which must be conquered if we are to preserve our country as the land of political and economic freedom for which Jefferson dreamed and Washington fought.

In this city where our nation was founded, where the shots of Valley Forge and the notes of the Liberty Bell still ring in our ears, I ask you now to dedicate yourselves with me to a new and broader development of the freedom for which our fathers fought and died.

There were many elements in that freedom. And all of them are good. In America men found freedom from the dictates of State despotism, from arbitrary arrest and seizure of their property; freedom from the persecutions of a State

Church, freedom from fear that they and their children would be slaughtered in recurrent dynastic wars; freedom from the social shackles of class; freedom from the economic servitude imposed by lack of opportunity in the old world, which condemned them to live in fear that they and their children, even though they were eager to work with all the strength of their bodies and minds, might not earn their daily bread.

In America, men found for the first time freedom from these ancient burdens. A new race was born in liberty: the American people: Men and women who stood on their own feet, secure, and looked at the whole world with fearless eyes.

To see to it that those eyes remain fearless, to preserve the liberties our forefathers won, to attack and defeat any new fear which may arise from the chances and changes of life is the duty of the President of the United States.

Life takes many strange shapes and many things come to pass beyond our hopes or fears. The end men looked for does not come and there are paths where no man thought. I cannot pretend to foresee all the changes which may be brought to human life by the ceaseless progress of invention or by the cataclysm of war. To govern well is to foresee.

But full foreknowledge of the future belongs to God alone. I can tell you only what I think we have to learn as Americans from the world's disasters of the past two decades.

We must preserve at all costs that freedom from State despotism which is the foundation of all our liberties. We must preserve the liberty of the individual to worship God and enjoy his own life in his own way and to be secure from arbitrary arrest and seizure of his property.

The strain of the past two decades has driven many foreign nations to strange fanaticisms. Dictatorships, based on secret police and firing squads, have been set up in many lands. The noblest words that can issue from the mouth of man have been prostituted and the noblest sentiments of the heart of man have been played upon by propagands to conceal the simple truth -- that those dictatorships are tyrannies imposing their dogmas on an enslaved people.

Now and forever let us resolve that Americans will never allow themselves to be enslaved by any privileged and persecuting orthodoxy whether it calls itself by the name of Communism, Fascism, or any other name. When Thomas Jefferson said, "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of men", he uttered the creed which is, I believe, the true faith of America.

When Washington warned his countrymen against involvement in the disputes of foreign nations he stated what I believe to be the true policy of America.

We do not fear war, but we hate war. We do not fear war because we know that we are so strong that there can be but one outcome of a war in which we become engaged.

We hate war because it outrages our profoundest moral convictions and produces immeasurable human suffering. We believe in peace and in the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations as between men.

Except in defense of America, this Nation should never go to war.

To say that we desire to develop further the relations of the good neighbor with all the nations of the earth, and that we intend to stay out of war is easy. But to stay out of war, if another world conflict develops, will be a task which will strain all our intelligence, skill and wisdom. If war comes in Europe or Asia, I shall ask you to support me in every policy which can be designed to avoid our involvement in the conflict, even though such policies may mean momentary economic loss.

Let there be no doubt in the mind of this or any other nation that the people of the United States are united in an

absolute determination to stay out of war.

Among the liberties which our forefathers found when they came to America, none was more precious or more creative in forming the American character than the liberty of economic opportunity which freed them from the fear of want.

There was free land on the frontier. Any man who was dissatisfied with his place in the eastern settlements could have land on the frontier for the asking and make a good life by the toil of his own hands. There was a continent to settle.

Until this generation there was free land. Today there is no free land, and ten years ago, for the first time in our history, a fear of economic insecurity began to creep into our country. In the first months of 1933 that fear gripped the entire American people.

Since the 4th of March 1933 we have done much to restore a sense of economic security. But we have not done enough. There are thousands of young men and women eager to work, well educated, strong and of good character who are emerging from schools and colleges today with no certainty that the powers they have developed can be or will be used. There are millions of older men and women, capable and eager to work, who can find no work. This is intolerable.

I ask you to dedicate yourselves today to the task of banishing fear of economic insecurity forever from this land and of creating an even greater freedom of economic opportunity than existed in America when land was free.

The problem of establishing economic security and opportunity today is world-wide. It is complex. In the search for a solution many peoples have sacrificed whatever liberties they had and have submitted to dictatorship. In those lands men and women live in fear of an invisible hand behind their necks ready to seize them in the night and drag them to prison or exile or a firing squad. We Americans know the value of liberty and shall never set up a universal reign of fear in order to solve one problem. That recipe is like the recipe of the Chinese in Charles Lamb's tale, who could invent no better method to roast a pig than to burn down his house with the pig in it. We shall not burn down the house of our freedom in order to prepare economic security.

What then shall we do?

I believe that the collapse of 1929 and the mounting misery which reached its peak in March 1933 was caused by the flow of too great a portion of our national income into the hands of a few and too little a portion into the hands of the farmers, the

factory workers, the miners and the employees in trade communication and all forms of business.

When too small a proportion of the Nation's income goes into the hands of the many, who use money in large part for immediate purchases, they have no money to make those purchases. They need things but they cannot buy them. Then the few in whose hands money is accumulating, see that the many have not sufficient funds to buy the products of new enterprises and cease to invest their money in new projects. They keep it in the banks or lend it at fantastic rates of interest for stock market speculation, or speculate themselves. Economic progress stops. Unemployment grows. The Economic structure of the Nation collapses.

If we have recovered as far as we have from the collapse of 1933, it is, I believe, because we have turned a greater proportion of our national income into the hands of the average family of this country. If we are not only to recover fully but to march on, as we should, to new and ever higher standards of living for our whole people we must, I believe, turn an ever-increasing proportion of our national income into the hands of the many.

Even though we march steadily along this road with an absolute determination to eliminate from our national life the

stagnation and misery which is produced when too much goes into the pockets of the privileged and too little into the hands of the underprivileged, we shall for a certain period have many men and women unemployed in private enterprise.

The experience of every country in the world has proved that to care for the unemployed by a dole or charity is destructive of self-respect. The core of our nation is individual self-respect.

I believe that the only American way to handle the problem of those who can not find a place in private enterprises is by public works, so that men and women may labor honorably for their daily bread creating works of permanent value for the nation.

I am aware that it costs more to care for the unemployed by public works than by a dole, but I say that this price must be paid unless we are to rot our national fibre.

I am aware that there are many men today in this country sitting in the leather armchairs of their clubs mouthing hatred because their income taxes are larger and interest rates on their money are lower. They should be grateful that they have incomes when many of their fellow citizens have little bread. They consider themselves an aristocracy

in a country which wants no aristocracy save the aristocracy of Washington and Jefferson, the aristocracy of a devotion to the public good. They forgot that the essence of that aristocracy and of all others was and is service of the Nation, and that they compose not an aristocracy but a cheap plutocracy.

I am aware that there are also many men and women in this country today who are paying high taxes cheerfully, who are as opposed as I am to putting Americans on a dole, who believe with me that the only American solution of our economic problems is to increase vastly the purchasing power of the average American family.

There is as wide a difference between individual rich men and women as there is between the honest business who renders vital service to the Nation on the one hand, and the racketeer, gangster, and malefactor of great wealth on the other.

I am aware that there are many men with great incomes who agree with me that they and their families will be better off if the purchasing power of those of small incomes is greatly increased, who agree that only by this method can we establish permanently an ever-increasing market for the

products of our farms and factories and thus create such a demand for new enterprises that there will be a place waiting for every able-bodied man and woman in the working army of the Nation.

By our work of the past three years, we have restored democracy in opportunity. And only by restoring democracy in opportunity can we free Americans from fear of economic insecurity and fulfill the promise of American life.

To preserve our ancient liberties and to open wide the gates of opportunity and freedom to every young American is our aim. To its achievement I pledge you my life.

In all of this we are aiming at the reAmericanization of American life. That calls for a new conception of the duty of government toward our economic life.

Under that new conception we have made it the business of government to be concerned about the employment of women and children in industry and about wages, hours and conditions of labor. We have made it the business of government to protect the right of every American to work, to save and to be secured in his savings. We have made it the business of government to secure to the farmer a more equitable share in the national income. We have made it the business of government ^(to) to arouse again individual initiative by freeing opportunity both from the oppression of over-reaching monopolies and of cut-throat competitions. We have made it the business of government to provide security of all our citizens against the hazard of unemployment and the uncertainty of old age.

Under that conception the American people are once more on the way toward a fuller life, a ~~better~~ ^{finer} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~fuller~~ liberty and a more lasting happiness.

S + S

-1-

Tonight I come to you in person and without delay to accept the responsibility and the distinction which you have placed upon me.

I gather that you have had a good time. I am an old convention hand myself. Since 1882 I have made it my business not to miss a single national convention of our party. On one occasion, as you may remember, I had to take an airplane to get there in time. When I heard that a Convention was going on only three hours away from Washington I [redacted] had to get in under the wire.

Your task here was made easier by the fact that the Democratic Party did not have to follow what appears to be the 1886 political fashion and have its face lifted. There were no skeletons in your party closet to disturb your deliberations. Your so-called younger element - there's an elastic phrase for you - your so-called "younger element" did not have to meet every train to catch the Old Guard and hustle them into a corner; to keep them hidden to do their wire-pulling back of the scenes. If there is an Old Guard in our party they never got here.

Philadelphia is a good city in which to write American history. This is fitting ground on which to re-affirm the faith of our fathers; to pledge ourselves to restore to the people that wider freedom which

the founders of the nation intended them to have; to give to 1956, as they gave to 1776 an American way of life that for every man, woman and child is full of human meaning.

What was the tyranny from which the freedom of those days was won? It was the tyranny of a political autocracy. Eighteenth century royalists derived their special privilege from the throne. It was in the service of the throne, therefore, that they sought to regiment the people. It was to perpetuate those privileges that they governed without the consent of the governed; that they denied the right of free assembly and free speech; that they put restrictions on the worship of Almighty God; that they put the average man's property and life in pawn to the mercenaries of dynastic power.

It was to win for the plain people opportunity in the place of privilege that that political autocracy was destroyed; that those who were governed took over the business of governing and that the average man joined with his neighbors to make and order his own destiny. Their work was well done. The mediaeval despotism with which they struggled was, for all time, wiped out.

Since that struggle man's inventive genius has released new forces in our land and reordered the lives of our people. Electricity

and steam, modern communications and mass production have made a different civilization. In that civilization the average man once more confronts the same problem that faced the Minute Man.

Out of this modern civilization economic royalists have carved a new dynasty of their own. Their throne has been built upon material things. Through an oligarchy of wealth they seized control of the machinery of production, transportation and finance - the whole structure of modern industrial life. To entrench their economic power they reached out for power over government, itself. They made a new despotism and wrapped it in the robes of legal sanction. For the average man this new despotism had terrors as great as the old. To serve it life again was regimented.

The hours men worked; the wages they received; the conditions of their labor; the employment of women and children - these were beyond the control of the people; they were imposed by this new industrial dictatorship. Here, again, there was taxation - this time of men's bodies - taxation without representation. The savings of the average family, the capital of the small business man, the investments set aside for old age - these were among the tools which this new dictatorship seized to dig itself in.

Those who tilled the soil no longer reaped the rewards which were their right. Their rewards - such as they were - were then decreed for/by men in distant cities.

Throughout the nation opportunity was limited by monopoly. Individual initiative was crushed in the cogs of a great machine. For too many of our people the political equality we once had won was meaningless in the face of economic inequality. For them life was no longer free; liberty was no longer real and they could no longer follow the pursuit of happiness.

But the American people were bound, one day, to rise again in wrath against a tyranny. The collapse of 1929 showed up this despotism as it really was. The election of 1932 was the people's mandate to end it. Under that mandate we are winning the fight for American recovery. But we are winning a more important fight than that. We are winning the fight for the recovery of America.

The royalists of the economic order conceded that political freedom was the business of the government, but they maintained that economic slavery was nobody's business. They granted that the government could protect the citizen in his right to vote, but they denied that the government could do anything to protect the citizen in his right to live. That un-Americanism is on the way out.

Today we stand committed to the proposition that freedom is no half-and-half achievement. The average man, who is guaranteed equal opportunity in the polling place is on the road to equal opportunity in the market place.

The royalists of the economic order declared that the jungle law was law enough; that a place near the throne could be won only by the sharper tooth and the longer claw. That unAmericanism is on the way out.

Today we stand committed to the proposition that the function of government is to nurture the well-being of the whole people rather than to defend privileges of a few people; and that the first concern of an American government should be to improve the lot and the life of its average citizens.

The royalists of the economic order have declared that the amount of an individual's property should be made the measure of his political power; that those who have a vested stake in industry and finance should have a vested stake in government. That unamericanism is on the way out.

The men who made this Republic eliminated property qualifications for those who vote in the nation's elections. Today we stand committed to the proposition that property qualifications must be eliminated for those who administer the nation's affairs. The people themselves are returning to the places of power.

SENATOR ROBINSON, MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, MY FRIENDS:

I come here at a time of great moment to the future of the Nation. It is an occasion ~~not to be artfully assenged for~~ plaudite but rather to be dedicated to the simple and sincere expression of deep differences in underlying principles of Government, the determination of which will profoundly affect the America of our children.

I come not as the leader of a party -- not as a candidate for high office but as one upon whom many critical hours have imposed and still impose a grave responsibility.

A It would be presumptuous to assume that this burden has rested upon ~~me~~ alone for that would imply that the necessities and the arduous labors of these past three years were not shared by millions of others. For the sympathy, help and confidence with which Americans have sustained me in this task I am grateful.

For their loyalty I salute the members of this great party, in and out of official life in every part of the Union. I salute those of other parties, especially those in the Congress who on so many occasions have put partisanship aside and acted as Americans. I thank the Governors of the several States,

✓

~~Memorandum at a time of great~~

~~We are witnesses~~

You and I are met here at a time of great moment ~~now~~ to the future of our country. It is an occasion to be observed by a simple and forthright statement of underlying differences in the principles of government the ~~settlement~~ ~~determination~~ of which will determine the America of our children.

~~We have gone through hard times together. For the sympathy, help and confidence~~
~~which Americans have sustained me in my task~~

I am grateful. For their loyalty I salute the members of ~~now~~ our great party, in and out of official life in every part of the Union. I salute those of other parties, especially those in the Congress who on so many occasions put partisanship aside. I thank the governors of the several states, their legislatures, ~~and~~ their state and local officials who participated unselfishly and regardless of party in our efforts to achieve recovery and destroy abuse. Above all I thank the millions of Americans who have borne disaster bravely and have dared to smile through the storms.

3
-2

their administrations and their local officials, regardless of party,
who participated unselfishly in our efforts to achieve recovery
and destroy abuse. I thank the many millions of people in this
time of stress who kept and are keeping the faith.

~~You and I need not rehearse the past.~~ America will
not forget these recent years -- will not forget that the rescue
was not a mere party task -- it was the concern of all of us. In
our strength we rose together, rallied our energies together,
applied the old rules of common sense, and together survived.

In those days we feared fear. That was why we
fought fear. And today, my friends, we have won against the most
dangerous of our foes -- we have conquered fear.

But I come tonight to speak little of the past --
little even of the present. Chiefly, I come to speak to you of
the future.

I cannot, with candor, tell you that all is well
with the world. Clouds of suspicion, tides of ill-will and
intolerance gather darkly over many parts of the world. In our
own land we enjoy indeed a fullness of life greater than that
of any other nation. But the rush of modern civilization itself

has raised for us new difficulties, new problems which must be solved if we are to preserve to the United States the political ^{Washington and} ~~and~~ ^{and} economic freedom for which Jefferson planned ~~and Washington~~ fought.

Philadelphia is a good city in which to write American history. This is ~~a~~ fitting ground on which to reaffirm the faith of our fathers; to pledge ourselves to restore to the people ^{the} wider freedom -- to give ^{to} 1936 as the founders gave ^{to} 1776 -- an American way of life.

The very word freedom in itself and of necessity suggests freedom from some restraining power. Through the centuries it has meant freedom from some form of political tyranny. In 1776 we sought freedom from the tyranny of a political autocracy --from the Eighteenth century royalists who held ~~the~~ special privilege from the crown. It was to perpetuate ^{their} ~~that form~~ of privilege that they governed without the consent of the governed; that they denied the right of free assembly and free speech; that they ~~put~~ restrictions -- ~~to~~ the worship of Almighty God; that they put the average man's property and the average man's life in pawn to the mercenaries of dynastic power -- that they regimented the people.

5

of And Do It

destroyed ^{or removed in the} crown and transferred ^{to} property of people, ~~now~~

Now it was to win for the plain people freedom from the tyranny of

political autocracy that the American Revolution was fought.

That victory

~~The sovereignty of the people~~

~~was transformed from the ownership of the people and the~~

That victory gave the

business of governing placed in the hands of the average man, the, with

his neighbors

his neighbors, won the right to make and order his own destiny through

his own Government. Political tyranny was wiped out ~~and~~ at

(B) Since that struggle, man's inventive
Philadelphia on July 4, 1776, genius has released new forces in our
land which have reordred the lives of our people.

~~New forces come to the front in later days Inventive genius~~

the age of machinery, of railroads, of steam and electricity; the tele-

graph and the radio; mass production, mass distribution -- all of these

civilization and with it a new

have combined to bring forward a new problem for freedom.

I am reminded of what Lincoln once said:

"We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labors.....

"The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty" * *. Plainly the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon the definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures, * * * and all professing to love liberty."

acceptance Speech June 27/1936
Philadelphia, Pa.

SENATOR ROBINSON, MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, MY FRIENDS:

I come here at a time of great moment to the future of the Nation. It is an occasion to be dedicated to the simple and sincere expression of deep differences in underlying principles of Government, the determination of which will profoundly affect the America of our children.

the
I come not as a leader of a party -- not as a candidate for high office but as one upon whom many critical hours have imposed and still impose a grave responsibility.

For the sympathy, help and confidence with which Americans have sustained me in my task I am grateful. For their loyalty I salute the members of our great party, in and out of official life in every part of the Union. I salute those of other parties, especially those in the Congress who on so many occasions put partisanship aside. I thank the Governors of the several States, their Legislatures, their state and local officials who participated unselfishly and regardless of party in our efforts to achieve recovery and destroy abuse. Above all I thank the millions of Americans who have borne disaster bravely and have dared to smile through the storm.

America will not forget these recent years -- will not forget that the rescue was not a mere party task -- it was the concern of all of us. In our strength we rose together, rallied our energies together, applied the old rules of common sense, and together survived.

In those days we feared fear. That was why we fought fear. And today, my friends, we have won against the most dangerous of our foes -- we have conquered fear.

But I come tonight to speak little of the past -- little even of the present. Chiefly, I come to speak to you of the future.

I cannot, with candor, tell you that all is well with the world. Clouds of suspicion, tides of ill-will and intolerance gather darkly over many parts of the world. In our own land we enjoy indeed a fullness of life greater than that of any other nation. But the rush of modern civilization itself has raised for us new difficulties, new problems which must be solved if we are to preserve to the United States the political and economic freedom for which Washington and Jefferson planned and fought.

Philadelphia is a good city in which to write American history. This is fitting ground on which to reaffirm

the faith of our fathers; to pledge ourselves to restore to the people a wider freedom -- to give to 1936 as the founders gave to 1776 -- an American way of life.

The very word freedom in itself and of necessity suggests freedom from some restraining power. Through the centuries it has meant freedom from some form of political tyranny. In 1776 we sought freedom from the tyranny of a political autocracy -- from the eighteenth century royalists who held special privileges from the crown. It was to perpetuate their privilege that they governed without the consent of the governed; that they denied the right of free assembly and free speech; that they restricted the worship of Almighty God; that they put the average man's property and the average man's life in pawn to the mercenaries of dynastic power -- that they regimented the people.

And so it was to win for the plain people freedom from the tyranny of political autocracy that the American Revolution was fought. That victory destroyed sovereignty in the crown and transferred sovereignty to the people. That victory gave the business of governing into the hands of the

average man, who won the right with his neighbors to make and order his own destiny through his own Government. Political tyranny was wiped out at Philadelphia on July 4, 1776. ~~That~~ ^{America}, political freedom brought with it religious freedom and a way economic to new liberty.

Since that struggle, man's inventive genius has released new forces in our land which have re-ordered the lives of our people. The age of machinery, of railroads, of steam and electricity; the telegraph and the radio; mass production, mass distribution -- all of these have combined to bring forward a new civilization and with it a new problem for freedom.

For out of this modern civilization economic royalists ~~have~~ carved new dynasties. New thrones were built upon concentration of control over material things. Through new uses of corporations, banks and securities ~~undreamed of by~~ ^{— all undreamed of by the} ~~the fathers~~, new machinery of industry and agriculture, of labor and capital, of production and distribution, the whole structure of modern life was impressed into this royal service.

There was no place on these thrones for our many thousands of small business men and merchants who sought to make a worthy use of the American system of initiative and profit. They were no more free than the worker ^{or} the farmer ~~on~~.

Even the honest and progressive-minded man of wealth, aware of his obligation to his generation, ~~would never know just where he fitted in to~~ ^{the kind that is} ~~was upon him to place~~ this dynastic scheme of things.

It was natural and perhaps human that privileged princes of these new economic dynasties, ~~thirsted~~ ^{this says} for power, reached out for control over government itself. They created a new despotism and wrapped it in the robes of legal sanction.

In the service of ~~these~~ ^{this says} new mercenaries sought to regiment the people. And as a result the average man once more confronts the problem that faced the Minute Man.

The hours men and women worked, the wages they received, the conditions of their labor -- these had passed beyond the control of the people, and were imposed by this new industrial dictatorship. Here again was the old problem of taxation without representation -- this time the taxing of men's bodies. The savings of the average family, the capital of the small business man, the investments set aside for old age -- other people's money -- these were simply the tools which the new economic royalty used to dig itself in.

Those who tilled the soil no longer reaped the rewards which were their right. The small measure of their ~~lives~~ ^{lives} ~~rewards~~ was decreed for them by men in distant cities.

Throughout the Nation, opportunity was limited by monopoly. Individual initiative was crushed in the cogs of a great machine. Private enterprise was becoming too private. It was becoming privileged enterprise, not free enterprise. An old English judge once said: "Necessitous men are not free men." Liberty requires opportunity to make a living --- a living decent according to the standard of the time, a living which gives man not only enough to live by but something to live for. Doctrinaires may spin legal cobwebs in the holy name of liberty; but there is no freedom if there is not freedom from want and ~~from~~ ^{from} that quality of life.

I am reminded of what Lincoln once said:
"We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labors ..."

"The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, ~~while~~ while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty**.

Plainly the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon the definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures, **** and all professing to love liberty."

~~Those who tilled the soil no longer reaped the rewards which were
their right. The measure of their rewards were decreed far then by men
in distant cities.~~

Against dangers such as these the citizens' [only means of security] could only appeal to
the organized power of government. We were bound one day to rise in
wrath. The collapse of 1929 showed up the despotism for what it was.
The election of 1932 was the people's mandate to end it, and under that
mandate [we are winning the fight for the recovery of American freedom, it is
beginning ended.]

The royalists of the economic order have conceded that political freedom was the business of the government but [they have maintained] that economic slavery was nobody's business. They granted that the government could protect the citizen in his right to vote but they denied that the government could do anything to protect the citizen in his right to live.

Committed
Today we stand to the proposition that freedom is no half and half
~~African~~ *citizen is* ~~average~~ guaranteed equal opportunity in
the polling place *must have* to equal opportunity in the market place.

The royalists of the economic order declared that the jungle law was law enough. Today we stand committed to the proposition that ~~the foundation~~ ^{it's the function} of Government ~~is~~ to protect the well-being of the whole people rather than to defend the privilege of a few people.

The royalists of the economic order ~~were~~ declared that the ~~same~~ ^{amount} of an individual's ~~power~~ ^{liberty} should be made the measure of his political power. Today we stand committed to the proposition that ~~a~~ ~~those who have a vested~~ ^{more vested} stake in industry and finance ~~should~~ ^{not} be enough to buy ~~have a vested stake in Government~~ ^{to} government. Insert D

The brief and clear platform adopted by this Convention, to ~~which~~ which I heartily subscribe, ~~set~~ set forth that Government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are protection of the family and the home, the establishment of a democracy of opportunity, and aid to those overtaken by ~~distress~~ ^{disaster}

Mere words will not fulfill those obligations. There is a resolute enemy within our gates every ~~ready~~ ready to beat down our words

Insert D *8*
These economic royalists complain that we seek to over-

throw the institutions of America. What they really complain of is
that we seek to overthrow their thrones!

Our allegiance to American institutions requires the overthrow of
their thrones! In vain they seek to hide behind the Flag and the
Constitution, for in their blindness they forget that the Flag
and the Constitution are enlisted as always in the defense of the
Nation against ^a dictatorship by mob rule and equally in the
defense of the Nation against a dictatorship by the over-
privileged. Thus, once more, the Flag and the Constitution take
their place as instruments for freedom.

unless we in greater courage will fight for them.

For more than three years we have proved our courage by fighting for them. This Convention in every word and deed has pledged that that fight will go on.

The first victories of these years have given to us as a people a new understanding of our government and of ourselves. Never since the early days of the New England town meeting have the affairs of government been so clearly understood and appreciated. And we are beginning to understand that the only effective guide for the safety of this most worldly of worlds is moral principle.

We are poor indeed if this Nation cannot afford to lift from every recess of American life the dread fear of the unemployed that they are not needed in the world. We cannot afford to accumulate ^a ~~the~~ deficit in the books of human fortitude.

F We have seen faith and hope and charity not as unattainable ideals, but as the stout supports of a nation fighting the fight of civilisation.

Faith in the soundness of democracy in a world of dictatorships.

Hope, renewed because we see progress towards the goal.

Charity - in the spirit of the ~~true~~ ^{True} ~~understanding~~ ^{the} that grand old word. For Charity literally translated from the original means love, and love that understands, that does not merely share the wealth of the giver, but in true sympathy and wisdom helps men to help themselves.

We do not satisfy our sense of duty by seeing to it ^{only} that men and women and children do not starve. We try to give them the opportunity ^{Honestly} ~~honestly~~ and honestly to earn their bread.

We stand for the reward for work for the profits to which honorable human enterprise is rightly entitled.

We seek not merely to make government a mechanical implement, but to give it the vibrant personal character that is the embodiment of human charity.

E ^{but the immortal Dante tells us how} Governments can err - ^{but} divine justice weighs the ^{outward} _{inner} sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-blooded in different scales.

INSERT F

Palace

In the place of the ~~throne~~ of privilege we seek to
build a temple out of faith and hope and charity. These are
not unattainable ideals, but the stout supports of a nation
fighting the fight for freedom in a modern civilization.

INSERT E

It is a sobering thing to be a servant of this great cause. We try in our daily work to remember that the cause belongs not to us but to the people. The standard is not in the hands of one man or of one party. It is carried by America. We seek daily to profit from experience, to learn to do better as our task proceeds.

11

Better the occasional faults of a government that lives in a spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government ~~knowing~~ ^{frown} in the ^{ice} ~~sphere~~ ^{and indifference} of its own selfishness. There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of others much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny.

In this world of ours some peoples ^{were} who in times past have lived and fought for freedom seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of freedom for ^a illusion of ^a living. They have yielded their democracy.

I believe in my heart that only our success can stir their ancient hope. They begin to know that here in America we are waging a great war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic ~~and financial~~ demoralization. It is a war for the survival of democracy. We are saving a great and precious form of government for democracy-for ourselves and for the world. Rosalist with me in that war.

*I accept the invasions you
have tried and will continue
to do with your ~~best~~ ^{best} efforts
the salvation of the world.*

11

These two inserts in
FDR handwritten corrections
were placed in the
Acceptance Speech at
Phila. 1936

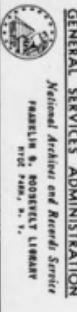
by S.H.

INSERT A

These economic royalists, like the royalists
of the old order, complain that we seek to overthrow
their throne. We do seek to overthrow their throne even
though they conceal it behind the Flag, the Constitution
and the phraseology of patriot^s. We will enlist the
Flag, the Constitution and a true love of country in a
cause that is more American. We will enlist them as a

by making
defense against a dictatorship ~~of the underprivileged.~~
~~We will~~ ^{and} ~~make~~ enlist them as a defense against a dictator-

by ^{The Flag and the Constitution}
~~ship of~~ ^{the} over-privileged. They are being made again
the instruments of freedom.



General I. Rosenberg
Jo Sargent
From the Papers

Humility

It is a sobering thing to be ^Athe servant of this great cause. To serve it well calls for a humility born of the knowledge that this cause does not belong to us but to the people. The standard is not in the hands of one ~~party~~ man or of one party. It is carried by America. Individuals and parties are merely the instruments of the Nation's purpose.

We have made mistakes. Through them we have learned and profited. But we have tried to keep the faith; and the faith has not deserted us. All that I am, all that I seek to be is a voice worthy to speak the people's aspirations of the ~~right of the nation~~.



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From the Projects of
Samuel I. Rosenberg

Accompanying party to Philadelphia:

Senator Pat Harrison

Dr. Ross T. McIntire, U.S.N.
Captain Paul F. Rastedo, U.S.N.
Col. E. M. Watson, U.S.A.

Miss Grace Tully,
Miss Roberta Barrows
Mrs. Paula Larrabee

Joining the party at Philadelphia:

Mrs. James Roosevelt.
Mrs. J. R. Roosevelt.
Mr. and Mrs. James Roosevelt.
Mr. and Mrs. John Boettiger.
Mr. John Roosevelt.
Miss Hager.

Secretary Morgenthau and family.

Governor Lehman and family.

Judge Mack and family.

Major Harry Hooker.

Miss Dickerman,
Miss Cook.
Mrs. O'Day.
Mrs. Dreier.
Mrs. Becker.

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Hoanee

Trip of the President to Philadelphia, Pa.,
and Ryde Park, N. Y.
June 27-30, 1936.

TUESDAY, June 27.

Lv. Washington (N. and C.R.R.)..... 5:45 p.m.
Dinner on train.
Ar. Philadelphia (34th & Chestnut).. 8:25 p.m. E.S.T.
Motor to Franklin Field;
Address
Lv. Philadelphia (34th & Chestnut).. 11:00 p.m. E.S.T.
12:00 D.S.T.
Slow run and lay-over.

WEDNESDAY, June 28.

Ar. Highland, N.Y... (N.Y. Cen.)..... 7:30 a.m. E.S.T.
8:30 a.m. D.S.T.

THURSDAY, June 29.

Lv. Highland (N.Y. Central)..... 11:00 p.m. E.S.T.
12:00 D.S.T.

FRIDAY, June 30.

Ar. Washington (N. and C.)..... 8:30 a.m.

Members of the party:
T H E P R E S I D E N T,
Mrs. ROOSEVELT,
Hon. M.H. McIntyre,
Asstt. Secretary to the President,
Hon. Stephen T. Early,
Asstt. Secretary to the President,
Miss M. A. LeHand,
Mrs. Schneider,
Mr. H. W. Mumme,
Secret Service operatives.

Newspaper men:

Mr. Fred A. Sturm,	The United Press.
Mr. G. W. B. Purd,	New York Times.
Mr. Harold Oliver,	The Associated Press.
Mr. Geo. E. Durso,	Int'l. News Service.
Mr. Ben Robertson,	The Associated Press.
Mr. Phil Pearl,	Universal News Service.
Mr. Walter Trohan,	Chicago Tribune.
Mr. Robert N. Mintner,	New York Herald Tribune.
Mr. Carl Warren,	New York Daily News.
Mr. Oscar Hultstrom,	Swedish News.
Mr. Earl Godwin,	Washington Times To Philadelphia
Mr. Lee F. Hart,	N.Y. Jnl. Comrc. "
Mr. Henry C. Flynn,	"C.N.C. "ers Svc. "
Miss Doris Fleeson,	N.Y. Daily News "
Mr. Benny Meiman,	Jewish Forward "
Mr. Wayne Thomas,	Chicago Tribune "

Picture men:

Mr. Joe Jamieson,	Wide World Photos.
Mr. J. F. Thompson,	Acme Photos.
Mr. F. I. Thompson,	Int'l. News Photos.
Mr. Tommy Beltzell,	Paths West.
Mr. J. C. Brown,	Pearl Movietone.
Mr. Hugo Johnson,	Framount News.
Mr. Geo. Sheddin,	A. T. Photos.
Mr. T. H. Wilkins,	A. F. Photos.
Mr. C. J. Davis,	Fox Movietone.

Telegraph representatives:

Mr. E. F. Kingsbury, Western Union.
Mr. C. S. Linkins, " "
Mr. T. P. Dowd, Postal.
Mr. E. F. Williams, "

Accompanying party to Philadelphia:

Senator Pat Harrison.

Dr. Ross T. McIntire, U.S.A.
Captain Paul F. Bestedo, U.S.A.
Col. E. M. Watson, U.S.A.

Miss Grace Tully.
Miss Roberta Barrows.
Mrs. Paula Larabee.

STATEMENTS FILE
Handwritten by Kanner

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June 27, 1936

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CAUTION: This speech of acceptance by the President
be held in strictest confidence until released.

CAUTION: Release for publication in all editions of
newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than NINE
o'clock, EASTERN STANDARD TIME -- TEN o'clock, DAYLIGHT
SAVING TIME.

SAFEGUARD against premature release.

STEPHEN E. EARLY
Assistant Secretary to the President

SENATOR ROBINSON, MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, MY FRIENDS:

We meet at a time of great moment to the future
of the Nation. It is an occasion to be dedicated to the
simple and sincere expression of an attitude toward problems,
the determination of which will profoundly affect America.

I come not only as the leader of a party -- not
only as a candidate for high office but as one upon whom many
critical hours have imposed and still impose a grave responsibility.

For the sympathy, help and confidence with which
Americans have sustained me in my task I am grateful. For
their loyalty I salute the members of our great party, in and
out of ~~official~~ life in every part of the Union. I salute
those of other parties, especially those in the Congress who
on so many occasions put partisanship aside. I thank the
Governors of the several States, their Legislatures, their
state and local officials who participated unselfishly and
regardless of party in our efforts to achieve recovery and
destroy abuses. Above all I thank the millions of Americans
who have borne disaster bravely and have dared to smile through
the storm.

America will not forget these recent years -- will
not forget that the rescue was not a mere party task -- it
was the concern of all of us. In our strength we rose together,
rallied our energies together, applied the old rules of common
sense, and together survived.

In those days we feared fear. That was why we
fought fear. And today, my friends, we have won against the
most dangerous of our foes -- we have conquered fear.

But I cannot, with candor, tell you that all is
well with the world. Clouds of suspicion, tides of ill will
and intolerance gather darkly in many places. In our own land
we enjoy indeed a fullness of life greater than that of most
nations. But the rush of modern civilization itself has
raised for us new difficulties, new problems which must be
solved if we are to preserve to the United States the political
and economic freedom for which Washington and Jefferson planned
and fought.

Philadelphia is a good city in which to write American history. This is fitting ground on which to reaffirm the faith of our fathers; to pledge ourselves to restore to the people a wider freedom -- to give to 1956 as the founders gave to 1776 -- an American way of life.

The very word freedom, in itself and of necessity, suggests freedom from some restraining power. In 1776 we sought freedom from the tyranny of a political autocracy -- from the eighteenth century royalists who held special privileges from the crown. It was to perpetuate their privilege that they governed without the consent of the governed; that they denied the right of free assembly and free speech; that they restricted the worship of God; that they put the average man's property and the average man's life in pawn to the mercenaries of dynastic power -- that they regimented the people.

And so it was to win freedom from the tyranny of political autocracy that the American Revolution was fought. That victory gave the business of governing into the hands of the average man, who won the right with his neighbors to make and order his own destiny through his own Government. Political tyranny was wiped out at Philadelphia on July 4, 1776.

Since that struggle, however, man's inventive genius released new forces in our land which re-ordered the lives of our people. The age of machinery, of railroads, of steam and electricity; the telegraph and the radio; mass production, mass distribution -- all of these combined to bring forward a new civilization and with it a new problem for those who would remain free.

For out of this modern civilization economic royalists carved new dynasties. New Kingdoms were built upon concentration of control over material things. Through new uses of corporations, banks and securities, new machinery of industry and agriculture, of labor and capital, -- all undreamed of by the fathers -- the whole structure of modern life was impressed into this royal service.

There was no place among this royalty for our many thousands of small business men and merchants who sought to make a worthy use of the American system of initiative and profit. They were no more free than the worker or the farmer. Even honest and progressive-minded men of wealth, aware of their obligation to their generation, could never know just where they fitted into this dynastic scheme of things.

) It was natural and perhaps human that the privileged princes of these new economic dynasties, thirsting for power, reached out for control over government itself. They created a new despotism and wrapped it in the robes of legal sanction. In its service new mercenaries sought to regiment the people, their labor and their properties. And as a result the average man once more confronts the problems that faced the Minute Man.

The hours men and women worked, the wages they received, the conditions of their labor -- these had passed beyond the control of the people, and were imposed by this new industrial dictatorship. The savings of the average family, the capital of the small business man, the investments set aside for old age -- other people's money -- these were tools which the new economic royalty used to dig itself in.

Those who tilled the soil no longer reaped the rewards which were their right. The small measure of their gains was decreed by men in distant cities.

Throughout the Nation, opportunity was limited by monopoly. Individual initiative was crushed in the cogs of a great machine. The field open for free business was more and more restricted. Private enterprise became too private. It became privileged enterprise, not free enterprise.

An old English judge once said: "Necessitous men are not free men." Liberty requires opportunity to make a living -- a living decent according to the standard of the time, a living which gives man not only enough to live by, but something to live for.

For too many of us the political equality we once had was meaningless in the face of economic inequality. A small group had concentrated into their own hands an almost complete control over other people's property, other people's money, other people's labor — other people's lives. For too many of us life was no longer free; liberty no longer real; men could no longer follow the pursuit of happiness.

Against economic tyranny such as this, the citizen could only appeal to the organized power of government. The collapse of 1929 showed up the despotism for what it was. The election of 1932 was the people's mandate to end it. Under that mandate it is being ended.

The royalists of the economic order have conceded that political freedom was the business of the government, but they have maintained that economic slavery was nobody's business. They granted that the government could protect the citizen in his right to vote but they denied that the government could do anything to protect the citizen in his right to work and live.

Today we stand committed to the proposition that freedom is no half and half affair. If the average citizen is guaranteed equal opportunity in the polling place, he must have equal opportunity in the market place.

The economic royalists complain that we seek to overthrow the institutions of America. What they really complain of is that we seek to take away their power. Our allegiance to American institutions requires the overthrow of this kind of power. In vain they seek to hide behind the Flag and the Constitution. In their blindness they forget what the Flag and the Constitution stand for. Now, as always, they stand for democracy, not tyranny; for freedom, not subjection; and against a dictatorship by mob rule and the overprivileged elite.

The brave and clear platform adopted by this Convention, to which I heartily subscribe, sets forth that government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are protection of the family and the home, the establishment of a democracy of opportunity, and aid to those overtaken by disaster.

But the resolute enemy within our gates is ever ready to beat down our words unless in greater courage we will fight for them.

For more than three years we have fought for them. This Convention in every word and deed has pledged that that fight will go on.

The defeats and victories of these years have given to us as a people a new understanding of our government and of ourselves. Never since the early days of the New England town meeting have the affairs of government been so widely discussed and so clearly appreciated. It has been brought home to us that the only effective guide for the safety of this most worldly of worlds is moral principle.

We do not see faith, hope and charity as unattainable ideals, but we use them as stout supports of a Nation fighting the fight for freedom in a modern civilization.

Faith -- in the soundness of democracy in the midst of dictatorships.

Hope -- renewed because we know so well the progress we have made.

Charity -- in the true spirit of that grand old word. For charity literally translated from the original means love, the love that understands, that does not merely share the wealth of the giver, but in true sympathy and wisdom helps men to help themselves.

We seek not merely to make government a mechanical implement, but to give it the vibrant personal character that is the embodiment of human charity.

We are poor indeed if this Nation cannot afford to lift from every recess of American life the dread fear of the unemployed that they are not needed in the world. We cannot afford to accumulate a deficit in the books of human fortitude.

In the place of the palace of privilege we seek to build a temple out of faith and hope and charity.

It is a sobering thing to be a servant of this great cause. We try in our daily work to remember that the cause belongs not to us but to the people. The standard is not in the hands of you and me alone. It is carried by America. We seek daily to profit from experience, to learn to do better as our task proceeds.

Governments can err -- Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted in different scales.

Better the occasional faults of a government that lives in a spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference.

There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of others much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny.

In this world of ours in other lands, there are some people, who, in times past, have lived and fought for freedom, and seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of freedom for the illusion of a living. They have yielded their democracy.

I believe in my heart that only our success can stir their ancient hope. They begin to know that here in America we are waging a great war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic moralization. It is a war for the survival of democracy. We are fighting to save a great and precious form of government for ourselves and for the world.

I ACCEPT THE COMMISSION YOU HAVE TENDERED ME.
I JOIN WITH YOU IN A COMMITMENT FOR THE SURVIVAL OF THE FREE

(S. V. 70241)