
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. 969-A

1936 October 14

**Chicago, IL - Western Campaign Trip -
Campaign Address**

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
OCTOBER 14, 1936.

Four years ago I dropped into this city from the air-ways - an old friend come in a new way - to accept in this hall the nomination for the Presidency of the United States. I came to a Chicago fighting with its back to the wall - factories closed, markets silent, banks shaky, ships and trains empty. Today those factories sing the song of industry, - markets hum with bustling movement, banks are secure; ships and trains are running full. Once again it ^a ~~is~~ Chicago ^{as} Carl Sandberg saw it - "The City of the big-shoulders" ¹⁵ ~~the~~ ⁷ city that smiles. And with Chicago a whole nation that had not been cheerful for years, is full of cheer once more.

On this trip through the nation I have talked to farmers, I have talked to miners, I have talked to industrial

workers - and in all that I have seen and heard one fact has been as clear as crystal - that they are part and parcel of a rounded whole, and that none of them can succeed in their chosen occupations if those in the other occupations fail in their prosperity. I have driven home that point.

Tonight I give the same message to the businessman of America - to those who make and sell the processed goods the nation uses and to the men and women who work for them.

To them I say:

Do you have a deposit in the bank? It's safer today than it has ever been in our history. It's guaranteed. Last October first marked the end of the first full year in 55 years without a single failure of a national bank in the United States. Isn't that on the credit side of the government's account with you?

Are you an investor? Your stocks and bonds are up to five and six year high levels.

Are you a merchant? Your markets have the precious life-blood of purchasing power. Your customers on the farms have better incomes and smaller debts. Your customers in the cities have more jobs, surer jobs, better jobs. Didn't your government have something to do with that?

Are you in industry? Industrial earnings, industrial profits are the highest in four, six, or even seven years! Bankruptcies are at a new low. Your government takes some credit for that.

Are you in railroads? Freight loadings are steadily going up. Passenger receipts are steadily going up — [have in some cases doubled] — because your government made the railroads cut rates and make money.

Are you a middleman in the great stream of farm products? The meat and grain that move through your yards and elevators have a steadier supply, a steadier demand and steadier prices than you have known for years. And your government is trying to keep it that way.

Some people say that all this recovery has just happened. But in a complicated modern world recoveries from depressions do not just happen.

The years from 1929 to 1933 when we waited for recovery just to happen, proves the point.

But in 1933 we did not wait. We acted. Behind the growing recovery of today is a story of deliberate government acceptance of responsibility to save business -- to save the American system of private enterprise and economic democracy -- a record unequalled by any government in history.

What had the previous Administration at Washington done for four years? Nothing. Why? For a very fundamental reason. That Administration was not industrially-minded -- nor agriculturally-minded -- nor business-minded. It was high-finance-minded -- manned and controlled by a handful of men who in turn controlled, and by one financial device or another took their toll from the greater part of all other business and industry.

Let me make one simple statement. When I refer to high finance I am not talking about all great bankers, or all great corporation executives, or all multimillionaires -- any more than Theodore Roosevelt, in using the term "malefactors of great wealth" implied that all men of great wealth were "malefactors." I do not even imply that the majority of them are bad citizens. The opposite is true.

Just in the same way, the overwhelming majority of business-men in this country are good citizens and the proportion of those who are not is probably about the same proportion as in the other occupations and professions of life.

When I speak of high finance as a harmful factor in recent years, I am speaking about a minority which includes the type of individual who speculates with other people's money -- and you in Chicago know the kind I refer to -- and also the type of individual who says that popular government cannot be trusted and, therefore, that the control of business of all kinds -- and, indeed of Government itself -- should be vested in the hands of one hundred or two hundred all-wise individuals controlling the purse-strings of the Nation.

High finance of this type refused to permit government credit to go directly to the industrialist,

10 min

to the businessman, to the home-owner, to the farmer. They wanted it to trickle down from the top, through the intricate arrangements which they controlled and by which they were able to levy tribute on every business in the land.

They did not want interest rates to be reduced by the use of government funds -- for that would affect the rate of interest which they themselves wanted to charge. They did not want government supervision over financial markets through which they manipulated their monopolies with other people's money.

And in the face of their demands that government do nothing that they called "unsound", the government, hypnotized by its indebtedness to them, stood by and let the depression drive industry and business toward bankruptcy.

America is an economic unit. New means and methods of transportation and communications have made us economically as well as politically a single Nation.

Because kidnappers and bank robbers could in a high powered car speed across state lines it became necessary, in order to protect our people, to invoke the power of the Federal Government.

In the same way speculators and manipulators, from across state lines and regardless of state laws, have lured the unsuspecting and the unwary to financial destruction.

In the same way, across state lines, there have been built up intricate corporate structures, piling bond upon stock and stock upon bond -- huge monopolies which were stifling independent business and private enterprise.

There was no power under Heaven that could protect the people against that sort of thing except a people's government at Washington. All that this Administration has done, all that it proposes to do -- and this it does propose to do -- is to use every power and authority of the Federal Government to protect the commerce of America from the selfish forces which ruined it.

Always, month in and month out, during these three and a half years, your Government has had but one sign on its desk -- "Seek only the greater good of the greater number of Americans."

And in appraising the record, remember two things. First, this Administration was called upon to act after a previous Administration and all the combined forces of private enterprise had failed. Secondly, in spite of all the demand for speed, the complexity of the problem and all the vast sums of money involved, we have had no Teapot Dome.

We found when we came to Washington in 1933, that the business and industry of the Nation were like a train which had gone off the rails into a ditch. Our first job was to get it out of the ditch and start it up the track again as far as the shops. Our next job was to repair it -- the broken axles which had gotten it off the road, the engine which had been worn down by gross misuse.

What was it that the average businessman wanted
Government to do for him -- to do immediately -- in 1933?

1. Stop deflation and falling prices -- and we did it.
2. Increase the purchasing power of his customers
who were industrial workers in the cities -- and we
did it.
3. Increase the purchasing power of his customers on
the farms -- and we did it.
4. Decrease interest rates, power rates and trans-
portation rates -- and we did it.
5. Protect him from the losses due to crime, bank
robbers, kidnappers, blackmailers -- and we did it.

How did we do it? By a sound monetary policy which
raised prices. By reorganizing the banks of the Nation and
insuring their deposits. By bringing the businessmen of the
Nation together and encouraging them to pay higher wages,
to shorten working hours, and to discourage that minority
among their ^{OWN} members who were engaging in unfair competition
and unethical practices.

Through the AAA, through our cattle buying program, through our program of drought relief and flood relief, through the Farm Credit Administration, we raised the income of the customers of business who lived on the farms. By our program to provide work for the unemployed, by our CCC camps, and other measures, greater purchasing power was given to those who lived in our cities.

Money began going round again. The dollars paid out by Government were spent in the stores and shops of the Nation; and spent again to the wholesaler; and spent again to the factory; and spent again to the wage earner; and then spent again in another store and shop. The wheels of business began to turn again; the train was back on the rails.

Mind you, it did not get out of the ditch itself, it
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was ~~brought~~ pulled out by your Government.

And we hauled it along the road. PWA, WPA, both provided normal and useful employment for hundreds of thousands of workers. Hundreds of millions of dollars got into circulation when we liquidated the assets of closed

banks through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Millions more when we loaned money for home building and home financing through the Federal Housing program. Hundreds of millions more in loans and grants to enable municipalities to build needed improvements. [Hundreds of millions more through the CCC.]

I am not going to talk tonight about how much our program to provide work for the unemployed meant to the Nation as a whole. That cannot be measured in dollars and cents. It can be measured only in terms of the preservation of the families of America.

But so far as business goes, it can be measured in terms of sales made and goods moving.

The train of American business is moving ahead. ~~But~~ You people know what I mean when I say it was clear that if the train is to run smoothly again the cars will have to be loaded more evenly. We have made a definite start in getting the train loaded more evenly, in order that axles may not break again.

(20 min)

For example, we have provided a sounder and cheaper money market and a sound banking and securities system. You businessmen know how much legitimate business you lost because your customers were robbed by fake securities or impoverished by shaky banks.

By our monetary policy we have kept prices up and lightened the burden of debt. It is easier to get credit. It is easier to repay what you have borrowed.

We have encouraged cheaper power for the small factory owner to lower his cost of production.

We have given the businessman cheaper transportation rates.

But, above all, we have fought to break the deadly grip which monopoly ~~has~~ in the past been able to fasten on the business of the Nation.

Because we cherished our system of private property and free enterprise and were determined to preserve it as the foundation of our traditional American system, we recalled the warning of Thomas Jefferson that "widespread poverty and concentrated wealth cannot long endure side by side in a democracy."

Our job was to preserve the American ideal of economic as well as political democracy, against the abuse of concentration of economic power that had been insidiously growing up among us in the last fifty years, particularly during the twelve years of preceding Administrations. Free economic enterprise was being weeded out at an alarming pace. During those years of false prosperity and during the more recent years of exhausting depression, one business after another, one small corporation after another, their resources depleted, had failed or had fallen into the lap of a bigger competitor.

Major Tom
A dangerous thing was happening. Half of the industrial corporate wealth of the country had come under the control of less than two hundred huge corporations. That is not all. These huge corporations in some cases did not even try to compete with each other. They themselves were tied together by interlocking directors, interlocking bankers, interlocking lawyers.

This concentration of wealth and power has been built upon other people's money, other people's business, other people's labor. Under this concentration, independent business was allowed to exist only by sufferance. It has been a menace to the social system as well as the economic system which we call American Democracy.

There is no excuse for it in the cold terms of industrial efficiency.

There is no excuse for it from the point of view of the average investor.

There is no excuse for it from the point of view of the independent businessman.

I believe, I have always believed, and I will always believe in private enterprise as the backbone of economic well-being in America.

But I know, and you know, and every independent businessman who has had to struggle against the competition of monopolies knows, that this concentration of economic power in all-embracing corporations does not represent private enterprise

as we Americans cherish it and propose to foster it. On the contrary, it represents private enterprise ^{which has} becomes a kind of ^{and is} private government ^{which} is a power unto itself -- a regimentation of other people's money and other people's lives.

Back in Kansas I spoke about bogey-men and fairy tales which the real Republican leaders, many of whom are part of this concentrated power, are using to spread fear among the American people.

You good people have heard about these fairy tales and bogey-men too. You have heard about how antagonistic to business this Administration is said to be. You have heard all about the dangers which the business of America is supposed to be facing if this Administration continues.

The answer to that is the record of what we have done. It was this Administration which saved the system of private profit and free enterprise after it had been dragged to the brink of ruin by these same leaders who now try to scare you.

Look at the advance in private business in the last three and a half years; and read there what we think about private business. Today for the first time in seven years the banker, the storekeeper, the small factory owner, the industrialist, can all sit back and enjoy the company of their ledgers. They are in the black. That is where we want them to be; that is where our policies aim them to be; that is where we intend them to be in the future.

Some of these people really forget how sick they were. But I know how sick they were. I have their fever charts. I know how the knees of all of our rugged individualists were trembling four years ago and how their hearts fluttered. They came to Washington in great numbers. Washington did not look like a dangerous bureaucracy to them then. Oh! no, it looked like an emergency hospital. All of the distinguished patients wanted two things -- a quick hypodermic to end the pain and a course of treatment to cure the disease. We gave them both.

And
And now most of the patients seem to be doing very nicely. Some of them are even well enough to throw their crutches at the ~~head of the~~ doctor.

[The struggle against private monopoly is a struggle for, and not against, American business. It is a struggle to preserve individual enterprise and economic freedom.]

I believe in individualism. I believe in it in the arts, the sciences and professions. I believe in it in business. I believe in individualism in all of these things — up to the point where the individualist starts to operate at the expense of society. American businessmen do not believe in it beyond that point. We have all suffered in the past from individualism run wild — society has suffered and business has suffered.

Believing in the solvency of business, the solvency of farmers and the solvency of workers, I believe also in the solvency of Government. Your Government is solvent.

The net Federal debt today is lower in proportion to the income of the Nation and in proportion to the wealth of the Nation than it was on March 4, 1933.

In the future it will become lower still because with the rising tide of national income and national wealth, the very causes of our emergency spending are disappearing. Starting at Government expenditures are coming down and Government income is going up. The opportunities for private enterprise will continue to expand.

The people of America have no quarrel with business. They insist only that the power of concentrated wealth shall not be abused.

We have come through a hard struggle to preserve democracy in America. Where other nations in other parts of the world have lost that fight, we have won.

The businessmen of America and other citizens have joined in a firm resolve to hold the fruits of that victory -- to cling to the old ideals and old fundamentals upon which America has grown great.

PRIVATE PROFIT AND FREE ENTERPRISE

Speech of
President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Chicago, Illinois
October 14, 1936

"The people of America have no quarrel with business. They insist only that the power of concentrated wealth shall not be abused."

Issued by
THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Hotel Biltmore, N. Y.

PRIVATE PROFIT AND FREE ENTERPRISE



The full text of the address delivered by President Franklin D. Roosevelt at Chicago, Ill., October 14, 1936, follows:

Four years ago I dropped into this city from the airways [an old friend come in a new way] to accept in this hall the nomination for the Presidency of the United States. I came to a Chicago fighting with its back to the wall, factories closed, markets silent, banks shaky, ships and trains empty.

Today those factories sing the song of industry, markets hum with bustling movement, banks are secure; ships and trains are running full. Once again it is the city of smiles. And with Chicago a whole nation that had not been cheerful for years is full of cheer once more.

On this trip through the nation I have talked to farmers, I have talked to miners, I have talked to industrial workers, and in all that I have seen and heard one fact has been as clear as crystal—that they are part and parcel of a rounded whole and that none of them can succeed in their chosen occupation if those in the other occupations fail in their prosperity. I have driven home that point.

Tonight I give the same message to the business men of America, to those who make and sell the processed goods the nation uses and to the men and women who work for them.

To them I say:

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Are you a merchant? Your markets have the precious life-blood of purchasing power. Your customers on the farms have better incomes and smaller debts. Your customers in the cities have more jobs, surer jobs, bet-

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Are you in industry? Industrial earnings, industrial profits are the highest in four, six or even seven years! Bankruptcies are at a new low. Your government takes some credit for that.

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that popular government cannot be trusted and, therefore, that the control of business of all kinds, and, indeed, of government itself, should be vested in the hands of one hundred or two hundred all-wise individuals controlling the purse-strings of the nation.

High finance of this type refused to permit government credit to go directly to the industrialist, to the business man, to the home-owner, to the farmer. They wanted it to trickle down from the top, through the intricate arrangements which they controlled and by which they were able to levy tribute on every business in the land.

They did not want interest rates to be reduced by the use of government funds, for that would affect the rate of interest which they themselves wanted to charge. They did not want government supervision over financial markets through which they manipulated their monopolies with other people's money.

And in the face of their demands that government do nothing that they called "unsound," the government, hypnotized by its indebtedness to them, stood by and let the depression drive industry and business toward bankruptcy.

America is an economic unit. New means and methods of transportation and communications have made us economically as well as politically a single nation. Because kidnappers and bank robbers could in a high-powered car speed across State lines it became necessary, in order to protect our people, to invoke the power of the Federal Government.

In the same way speculators and manipulators from across State lines, and regardless of State laws, have led the unsuspecting and the unwary to financial destruction. In the same way, across State lines, there have been built up intricate corporate structures, piling bond upon stock and stock upon bond, huge monopolies which were stifling independent business and private enterprise.

There was no power under heaven that could protect the people against that sort of thing except a people's government at Washington. All that this administration has done, all that it proposes to do, and this it does propose to do, is to use every power and authority to protect the commerce of America from the selfish forces which ruined it.

Always, month in and month out, during these three and a half years, your government has had but one sign on its deck: "Seek only the greater good of the greater number of Americans."

And in appraising the record, remember two things. First, this administration was called upon to act after a previous administration and all the combined forces of private enterprise had failed. Secondly, in spite of

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What was it that the average business man wanted government to do for him, to do immediately in 1933?

1. Stop deflation and falling prices, and we did it.

2. Increase the purchasing power of his customers who were industrial workers in the cities and we did it.

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4. Decrease interest rates, power rates and transportation rates, and we did it.

5. Protect him from the losses due to crime, bank robbers, kidnappers, blackmailers, and we did it.

How did we do it? By a sound monetary policy which raised prices. By reorganizing the banks of the nation and insuring their deposits. By bringing the business men of the nation together and encouraging them to pay higher wages, to shorten working hours, and to discourage that minority among their own members who were engaging in unfair competition and unethical practices.

Through the AAA, through our cattle buying program, through our program of drought relief and flood relief, through the Farm Credit Administration, we raised the income of the customers of business who lived on the farms. By our program to provide work for the unemployed, by our CCC camps, and other measures, greater purchasing power was given to those who lived in our cities.

Money began going round again. The dollars paid out by government were spent in the stores and shops of the nation; and spent again to the wholesaler; and spent again to the factory; and spent again to the wage-earner; and then spent again in another store and shop. The wheels of business began to turn again; the train was back on the rails.

Mind you, it did not get out of the ditch itself; it was hauled out by your government.

And we hauled it along the road. PWA, WPA, both provided normal and useful employment for hundreds of thousands of workers. Hundreds of millions of dollars got into circulation when we liquidated the assets of closed banks through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Millions more when we loaned money

for home building and home financing through the Federal housing program. Hundreds of millions more in loans and grants to enable municipalities to build needed improvements. Hundreds of millions more through the CCC.

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But above all, we have fought to break the deadly grip which monopoly has in the past been able to fasten on the business of the nation.

Because we cherished our system of private property and free enterprise and were determined to preserve it as the foundation of our traditional American system, we recalled the warning of Thomas Jefferson that "widespread poverty and concentrated wealth cannot long endure side by side in a democracy."

Our job was to preserve the American ideal of economic as well as political democracy, against the abuse of concentration of economic power that had been insidiously growing up among us in the last fifty years, particularly during the twelve years of preceding administrations. Free economic enterprise was being weeded out at an alarming pace.

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D.M.T.

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A

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Bankruptcies are at a new low. Your government takes some credit for that.

Are you in railroads? Freight loadings are steadily going up. Passenger receipts are steadily going up -- have in some cases doubled -- because your government made the railroads cut rates and make money.

Are you a middleman in the great stream of farm products? The meat and grain that move through your yards and elevators have a steadier supply, a steadier demand and steadier prices than you have known for years. And your government is trying to keep it that way.

Our business life is like a bicycle. It has to keep moving forward or it will fall over. Tonight it is moving forward - it gathers speed and stability every day. And your government proposes to keep it running that way.

Why this great difference between 1932 and 1936 in a nation which had enough physical goods to go around in both years?

Some people say that all this recovery has just happened. But in a complicated modern world recoveries from depressions

do not just happen. The years from 1929 to 1933 in this country
show when we waited for recovery just to happen, proves the point.

P
But in 1933 we did not wait. We acted. Behind the growing recovery
of today is a story of deliberate government acceptance of
responsibility to save business -- to save the American system
of private enterprise and economic democracy -- a record unequalled
by any government in history.

By March 1933, on top of an agricultural depression the
United States had reached a point of industrial depression lower
than that reached in any other country. From April 1932 to
March 1933 our industrial production was less than 52% of its
1929-1928 level.

What had the previous Administration at Washington
done for four years? Nothing. Why? For a very fundamental
reason. That Administration was not industrially-minded -- nor
agriculturally-minded -- nor business-minded. It was high-
finance minded -- manned and controlled by a handful of ~~businessmen~~
in turn
~~of high finance~~ who controlled, and by one financial device or
another took their toll from, all other business and industry.
A

Let me make one simple statement. When I refer to high finance I am not talking about all great bankers, or all great corporation executives, or ~~the~~^{all} multimillionaires—any more than Theodore Roosevelt, in using the term "malefactors of great wealth" implied that all men of great wealth were "malefactors." I do not even imply that the majority of them are bad citizens. The opposite is true.

Just in the same way the overwhelming majority of business-men in this country are ~~poor~~^{good} citizens and the proportion of those who are not is probably about the same proportion as in the other occupations and professions of life.

When I speak of high finance as a harmful factor in recent years, I am speaking about a minority which includes the type of individual who speculates with other people's money -- and you in Chicago know the kind I refer to — and the type of individual whose philosophy is that popular government cannot be trusted and, therefore, that the control of business of all kinds — and, ^{indeed}, ~~these~~^{the} of Government itself — should be vested in the hands of ~~a~~^{one} hundred or two hundred all-wise individuals controlling the purse-strings of the Nation.

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High finance of this type refused to permit government credit to go directly to the industrialists, to the businessman, to the home-owner, to the farmer. They wanted it to trickle down from the top, through the intricate arrangements which they controlled and by which they were able to levy tribute on every business in the land. ~~If did not want~~ ~~They demand to permit~~ interest rates to be reduced by the use of government funds, for that would affect the rate of interest which they themselves wanted ~~did not want~~ to charge. They ~~refused to permit~~ government supervision over financial markets through which they manipulated their monopolies with other people's money.

And in the face of their demands that government ~~do nothing~~ ~~must not do anything~~ that they called "unsound", the government, hypnotized by its indebtedness to them, ~~stand by and~~ ~~let~~ ~~stand by and~~ let the depression drive industry and business toward bankruptcy.

America is an economic unit. New means and methods of transportation and communications have made us economically as well as politically a single nation. Because kidnapers and bank robbers could in a high powered car speed

across state lines it became necessary, to protect our
people, to invoke the power of the Federal Government, by
~~extending the national jurisdiction to matters formerly~~
~~of only local concern.~~ ~~that could not be controlled~~
~~only on horse and buggy methods to escape, local authori-~~
~~ties could and did handle crime.~~

~~In the same way~~
~~we have seen speculators and manipulators, regardless~~
~~of state laws, caused~~
~~financial destruction. We have seen an integrated corporate~~
~~practices used to pile bond upon stock and stock upon bonds.~~

There was no power under Heaven that could protect
the people against that sort of thing except a people's
government at Washington, ~~because America is an economic~~
~~unit.~~ All that this Administration has done, all that
it proposes to do ~~and will do~~ - and this it does propose to
do - is to use every power and authority of the Federal
Government to protect the commerce of America from the
selfish ~~and unwholesome~~ forces which ruined it.

~~In the same way, across state lines,~~
~~there have been built up intricate~~
~~corporate structures, piling bond upon~~
~~bond and stock upon bond - holding~~
~~huge amounts of shares which were~~
~~stifling independent business~~
~~and private enterprise.~~

Always, month in and month out, during these three and a half years, your Government has had but one sign on its desk — "Seek only the greater good of the greater number of Americans."

And in appraising the record, remember two things.

*No not
forget*

First, ~~This~~ this Administration was called upon to act after a previous Administration and all the combined forces of private enterprise had failed. *Secondly,* ~~In~~ in spite of all the demand for speed, the complexity of the problem and all the vast sums of money involved, we have had no Teapot Dome.

We found when we came to Washington in 1933, that the business and industry of the Nation ~~were~~ like a train which had gone off the rails into a ditch. Our first job was to get it out of the ditch and start it up the track again as far as the ~~repair-~~ *repair* ~~the broken axles~~ shop. Our next job was to ~~fix-it-up; the mechanism~~ which had gotten it off the road, the engine which had worn out ~~through~~ ^{brown} ~~down by~~ gross misuse.

What was it that the average businessman wanted Government to do for him -- to do ~~it~~ immediately -- in 1933?

1. Stop deflation and falling prices -- and we did it.
2. Increase the purchasing power of his customers who were industrial workers in the cities -- and we did it.

5. Increase the purchasing power of his customers on the farms -- and we did it.

4. Decrease interest rates, power rates and transportation rates -- and we did it.

5. Protect ~~us~~^{him} from the losses due to crime, bank robbers, kidnappers, blackmailers -- and we did it.

How did we do it? By a sound monetary policy which raised prices. By reorganizing the banks of the Nation and insuring their deposits. By bringing the businessmen of the Nation together and encouraging them to pay higher wages, to shorten working hours, ^{A few} and to discourage that minority ~~in~~ ^{among} their own members ~~by~~ who were engaging in unfair competition and unethical practices.

Through the AAA, through ~~in~~ our cattle buying program, through our program of drought relief and flood relief, through the Farm Credit Administration, we raised the income of the customers of business who lived on the farms. By our program to provide work for the unemployed, by our CCC camps, and other measures, greater purchasing power was given ^{to} those who lived in our cities. Money began ~~to~~ ^{by government} going round again. The dollars paid out were spent in the stores and shops of the Nation; and spent again to the wholesaler; and spent again to the factory; and spent again to the wage earner; and then spent again in another store and shop. The wheels of business began to turn again; the train was back on the rails.

it had not yet
Mind you, it ~~had not yet~~ got out of the ditch itself, it
was hauled out by your Government.

And we hauled it along the road. PWA, WPA, both provided
normal and useful employment for hundreds of thousands of workers.
Hundreds of millions of dollars got into circulation when we liquidated
the assets of closed banks through the Reconstruction Finance
Corporation. Millions more when we loaned money for home building
and home financing through the Federal Housing program. Hundreds of
millions more in loans and grants to enable municipalities to build
needed improvements. Hundreds of millions more through the CCC.


I am not going to talk tonight about how much our
program to provide work for the unemployed meant to the Nation
as a whole. That cannot be measured in dollars and cents. It can
be measured only in terms of the preservation of the families of
America.

I do want to point out what it has meant specifically to the business of the nation.
~~But so far as business goes, it can be measured~~
~~Every business man in America knows every grocer,~~
~~in terms of people moving and goods moving -~~
~~and butcher, every department store, every automobile~~
~~dealer, every coal merchant, every gas station - knows~~
~~that his goods are moving again. Every manufacturer,~~
~~every processor, knows this increase in his orders.~~
The government's purse was thrown into the breach to hold back starvation - until private capital and private industry dared to take hold.
And we went on from domestic trade to foreign trade. By trade agreements we have for the first time found foreign markets for domestic production.

The train of American business ~~has been put back~~
~~on the rails and is moving ahead.~~

But you people ~~in Chicago~~ know what I mean when I say ~~what it was apparent~~ ^{clear} that if the train ~~were ever to~~ ^{is} ~~run smoothly again the cars would~~ ^{will} have to be loaded more evenly. We have made a definite start in getting the train loaded more evenly, in order that axles may not break again.

-12- (Do not insert)

for example,

We have provided a sounder and cheaper money market and a sound banking ^{and stronger} system. You businessmen know how much legitimate business you lost because your customers ^{were} ~~have been~~ robbed by fake securities or impoverished by shaky banks.

By our monetary policy we have kept prices up and lightened the burden of debt. It is easier to get credit. It is easier to ~~pay~~.

We have encouraged cheaper power for the small factory owner to lower his cost of production.

We have given the businessman cheaper transportation rates, by showing the railroads how to make more money with cheaper rates. We have begun the reorganization and stimulation of our Merchant Marine by a Maritime Commission.

But above all, we have fought to break the deadly grip which monopoly has in the past been able to ~~fasten~~ ^{fasten} on the business of the nation.

Because we cherished our system of private property and free enterprise and were determined to preserve it as the foundation of our traditional American system, we recalled the warning of Thomas Jefferson that "widespread poverty and concentrated wealth cannot long endure side by side in a democracy".

Our job was to preserve the American ideal of economic as well as political democracy, against the abuse of concentration

of economic power that had been insidiously growing up among us in the last fifty years, particularly during the twelve years of preceding Administrations. Free economic enterprise was being weeded out at an alarming pace. During those years of false prosperity and during the more recent years of exhausting depression, one business after another, one small corporation after another, their resources depleted, had failed or fallen into the lap of a bigger competitor.

A dangerous thing was happening. ~~More than half of~~
~~industrial~~
the corporate wealth of the country had come under the control of less than two hundred huge corporations. That is not all. These huge corporations in some cases did not even try to compete with each other. They themselves were tied together by interlocking directors, interlocking bankers, interlocking lawyers.

Back in 1910 a man who later became a great President had characterized the situation in this way: "Most men are individuals no longer so long as their business, its activities or moralities are concerned * * * they must do what they are told to do or lose their connection with modern affairs * * * they cannot get at the men who ordered it - have no access to them * * * they are mere cogs in a machine which has men for its parts. And yet there are men here and there with whom the whole choice lies * * *. There are men who use it with an imperial freedom of design, whose power and whose individuality overtop whole communities. There is more individual power than ever, but those who exercise it are few and formidable, and the mass of men are mere pawns in the game." The giant which he saw in 1910 had gobbled up hundreds of thousands of businesses by the time the crash came. This concentration of wealth and power has been built upon other people's money, other people's business, other people's labor. *Under this concentration*

become so powerful that independent business was allowed to exist only by ~~their~~ sufferance. It has been a menace to the social system as well as the economic system which we call American Democracy. *It is* There can be no excuse for it — there is no excuse in the cold terms of industrial efficiency.

There is no excuse for it from the point of view of the average investor. There is no excuse for it from the point of view of the independent business man.

I believe, I have always believed, and I will always believe in private enterprise as the backbone of economic well-being in America.

But I know, and you know, and every independent business man who has had to struggle against the competition of monopolies knows, that this concentration of economic power of all-embracing corporations does not represent private enterprise as we Americans ~~have~~ cherish~~ed~~ it and propose~~d~~ to foster it. On the contrary, ~~they~~ represent private enterprise become ~~temperate~~ - a kind of private government ~~within~~ ^{power} public government which is a power unto itself -- a regimentation of other people's money and other people's lives.

Back in Kansas I spoke ~~to the folks~~ about bogey-men and fairy tales which the real Republican leaders, many of whom are part of this concentrated ~~wealth~~, ^{power} are using to spread fear among the American people.

You good people have heard about these fairy tales and bogey-men too. You have heard about how antagonistic this Administration is ^{said to be} to business. You have heard all about the dangers which the business of America ~~will face~~ if this Administration

^{is supposed to be facing}
continued.

The answer ~~is~~ ~~is~~ to that is the record of what we have done. It was this Administration which saved the determination to remake the system of private profit and free enterprise is shown by what we did to save that system after it had been dragged to the brink of ruin by these same leaders who now try to scare you.

End 5
By
WJ
Bob: Look at the advance in private business in the last three and a half years; and read there what we think about private business. Today for the first time in seven years the banker, the storekeeper, the small factory owner, the industrialist, can all sit back and enjoy the company of their ledgers. They are in the black.

WJ That is where we want them to be; that is where our policies aim them to be; that is where we intend them to be in the future.

WJ Some of these people really forgot how sick they were. ~~In~~ But I know how sick they were. I have their fever charts. I know how the knees of all of our rugged individualists were trembling ~~four years ago~~ ^{in those days} and how their hearts fluttered. They came to Washington in great numbers. Washington did not look like a ~~bureaucracy~~ dangerous ^{to them then} emergency hospital. Oh! no, it looked like an ^{distinguished} emergency hospital. All of the patients wanted two things — a

quick hypodermic to end the pain and a long course of treatment to cure the disease. We gave them both. And now most of the patients seem to be doing very nicely. Some of them are even well enough to throw their crutches at the doctor.

I do not say that we have solved this problem of monopoly. I do say we have made a beginning. I do say we are going to press forward. And you American businessmen, upon whom America depends to keep its channel of trade open to free competitive business, I know you are not scared. You know that what we have done has been to free and protect investors and independent business from a danger which threatened their economic liberty.

We have protected the use of other people's money, for that has been the meat on which monopoly flourishes. We have insisted that the whole truth be told about issues of new securities, and we have stopped the use of money in banks for speculative purposes.

We have limited the dangers of huge public utility holding companies. We have taxed intercorporate dividends passing between parent and subsidiary companies.

We are compelling the distribution of dividends to individual stockholders, thus stopping one of the most vagrant types of income tax evasion, and, at the same time, allowing the stockholder to determine whether or not he wants to reinvest his money in the same company.

The struggle against private monopoly is a struggle for,
and not against American business. It is a struggle to preserve
individual enterprise and economic freedom.

I believe in individualism. I believe in it in the arts,
the sciences and professions. I believe in it in business. I believe
in individualism in all of these things — up to the point where the
individualist starts to operate at the expense of society. American
business men do not believe in it beyond that point. We have all
suffered in the past from individualism run wild — society has
suffered and business has suffered.

Believing in solvency of business, the solvency of farmers and the solvency of workers, I believe also in the solvency of Government.

Your Government is solvent. By spending money it has saved the solvency of the Nation. It has borrowed money in order that the debts of private industry and of state and local governments and of individuals might be lowered.

The net national debt today is lower in proportion to the income of the Nation and in proportion to the wealth of the Nation than it was on March 4, 1933. In the future it will become lower still because the restoration of national income and national wealth. Government expenditures are coming down and Government income is going up.

The people of the Nation have been concerned with business. They are just as desirous that business succeed as they are desirous that the farmers and workers of the Nation shall live under a better and more secure life. The business men of America are joining with all other citizens in our fight to preserve the old ideals, the old fundamentals of successful democracy.

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In the future it will become lower still because with the rising tide of national income and national wealth, the very causes of our emergency spending are disappearing, Government expenditures are coming down and government income is going up. The opportunities for private enterprise will continue to expand.

The people of America have no quarrel with wealth. They have no quarrel with business, big or little. They insist only that the power of concentrated wealth shall not be abused.

We have come through a hard struggle to preserve democracy in America. Where other nations in other parts of the world have lost that fight, we have won.

The businessmen of America have joined with all other citizens ^{and} ~~have joined~~ in a firm resolve to hold the fruits of that victory -- to cling to the old ideals and old fundamentals upon which America has grown great.

A.

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