
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. 1007-A

1936 October 31

**New York City, NY –
Madison Square Garden - Address**

#1007

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

NEW YORK CITY, October 31, 1936, 8.15 P.M.

Senator Wagner, Governor Lehman, ladies and gentle-
men:

On the eve of a national election, it is well for us to stop for a moment and analyze calmly and without prejudice the effect on our Nation of a victory by either of the major political parties.

The problem of the electorate is far deeper, far more vital than the continuance in the Presidency of any individual. For the greater issue goes beyond units of humanity -- it goes to humanity itself.

In 1932 the issue was the restoration of American democracy; and the American people were in a mood to win. They did win. (Applause) In 1936 the issue is the preservation of their victory. Again they are in a mood to win. (Applause) (Again they will win.)

More than four years ago in accepting the Democratic nomination in Chicago, I said: "Give me your help not to win votes alone, but to win in this crusade to restore America to its own people." (Applause)

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

~~selfless and selfish, based upon personal interests~~

1938

not like all the foolish leaders who are off to
-long fruitless busyness trying to make a lot of noise
and to make up quickly to the public and no further off either
selfless leaders who
not much but a stereotyped off to nothing off
you to yourselves off to communities off their last even
to attain success and gain returns off not . family
. first glimpse of seagulls -- without
desire to interfere off now small off 2500 off
. all off boom a off now along association off this community
-interested off all over off 6500 off (ensusigA) all off year
all off boom a off our only means . probably didn't he want
(. all like that singA) (ensusigA)
-one off guidance off our many that had even
said "now am I off this I thought off all our members didn't
-er off change off all this off our own country all off son
(ensusigA) "I hope our off all of whom wrote

And we know tonight that the banners of that era
made still fly in the (van) forefront of a Nation that is
still on the march.

It is needless to repeat the details of the program which this Administration has been hammering out on the anvils of experience. No amount of misrepresentation or statistical contortion can conceal or blur or smear that record. ("Right." Applause) Neither the attacks of unscrupulous enemies nor the exaggerations of over-zealous friends will serve to mislead (the American) our people.
(Applause)

What was our hope in 1932? Above all other things the American people wanted peace. They wanted peace of mind instead of gnawing fear.

First, they sought escape from the personal terror which had stalked them for three years. They wanted the peace that comes from security in their homes -- safety for their savings -- permanence in their jobs -- a fair profit from their enterprise.

Next, they wanted peace in the community -- the peace that springs from the ability to meet the needs of community life -- schools, playgrounds, parks, sanitation, highways -- those things which are expected of solvent

local government. They sought escape from the disintegra-
tion and the bankruptcy (in) of local and state affairs.

They (also) sought also peace within the Nation -- protection of their currency, fairer wages, the ending of long hours of toil, the abolition of child labor, the elimination of wild-cat speculation, the safety of their children from kidnappers.

And, finally, they sought peace with other Nations -- peace in a world of unrest. (Applause) The nation knows that I hate war, (applause) and I know that the Nation hates war. (Applause)

And so I submit to you a record of peace; and on that record a well-founded expectation for future peace -- peace for the individual, peace for the community, peace for the Nation, and peace with the world. (Applause)

Tonight I call the roll -- the roll of honor of those who stood with us in 1932 and still stand with us today. (Applause)

Written on (it) that roll of honor are the names of millions who never had a chance -- men at starvation wages, women in sweatshops, children at looms.

Written on it are the names of those who despaired, young men and young women for whom opportunity had become a will-o'-the-wisp.

Written on it are the names of farmers whose acres yielded only bitterness, business men whose books were portents of disaster -- home owners who were faced with eviction -- frugal citizens whose savings were insecure.

Written there in large letters are the names of countless other Americans of all parties and all faiths -- Americans who had eyes to see and hearts to understand -- whose consciences were burdened because too many of their (fellows) fellow beings were burdened -- who looked on these things four years ago and said, "This can be changed. We will change it." (Applause)

We still lead that army in 1936. They stood with us then because in 1932 they believed. They stand with us today, in 1936, because they know. And with them stand millions (applause) of new recruits who have come to know. (Applause)

Their hopes have become our record.

We have not come (this) thus far without a struggle and I assure you that we cannot go further without a struggle. (Applause)

For twelve years (this) our Nation was afflicted with hear-nothing, see-nothing, do-nothing government.

(Applause) The Nation looked to that government but the government looked away. (Laughter, applause) Nine mocking years with the golden calf and three long years of the scourge! Nine crazy years at the ticker and three long years in the breadlines! (Applause) Nine mad years of mirage and three long years of despair! And, my friends, powerful influences strive today to restore that kind of government with its doctrine that that government is best which is most indifferent to mankind.

For nearly four years now you have had an Administration which instead of twirling its thumbs has rolled up its sleeves. (Applause) And I can assure you that we will keep our sleeves rolled up. (Applause)

We had to struggle with the old enemies of peace -- business and financial monopoly, speculation, reckless banking, class antagonism, sectionalism, war profiteering.

They had begun to consider the Government of the United States as a mere appendage to their own affairs. We know now that government by organized money is just as dangerous as government by organized mob. (Applause)

Never before in all our history have these forces been so united against one candidate as they stand today. They are unanimous in their hate for me -- and I welcome their hatred. (Applause)

I should like to have it said of my first Administration that in it the forces of selfishness and of lust for power met their match. I should like to have it said of my second Administration that in it these forces met their master. (Applause)

And, my friends, the American people know from a four-year record that today there is only one entrance to the White House -- and that is by the front door. (Applause) Since March 4, 1933 there has been only one passkey to the White House. I have carried that key in my pocket. (Applause) It is there tonight. So long as I am President, it will remain in my pocket. (Applause)

But, those who used to have passkeys are not happy. (Applause) Some of them are desperate. Only desperate men with their backs to the wall would descend so far below the level of decent citizenship as to foster the current pay-envelope campaign against America's working people. (Boos) Only reckless men, heedless of consequences, would risk the disruption of the hope for a new peace between worker and employer by returning to the tactics of the labor spy. (Boos)

Here is an amazing paradox! The very employers and politicians and newspapers who talk most loudly of

class antagonism and the destruction of the American system now undermine that system by this attempt to coerce the votes of the wage earners of this country. It is the 1936 version of the old threat to close down the factory or the office if a particular candidate does not win. It is an old strategy of tyrants to delude their victims into fighting their battles for them. (Applause)

Every message in a pay envelope, even if it is the truth, is a command to vote according to the will of the employer. But this propaganda is worse -- it is deceit.

They tell the worker that his wage will be reduced by a contribution to some vague form of old-age insurance. But they carefully conceal from him the fact that for every dollar of premium he pays for that insurance, the employer pays another dollar. That omission is deceit.

They carefully conceal from him the fact that under the federal law, he receives another insurance policy to help him if he loses his job, and that the premium of that policy is paid 100% by the employer and not one cent by the worker. (Applause) But they do not tell him that the insurance policy that is bought for him is far more favorable to him than any policy that any private insurance company could possibly afford to issue. And that omission is deceit.

They imply to him that he pays all the cost of both forms of insurance. They carefully conceal from him the fact that for every dollar put up by him his employer puts up three dollars -- three for one. And that omission is deceit. (Applause)

But they are guilty of more than deceit. When they imply that the reserves thus created against both these policies will be stolen by some future Congress -- diverted to some wholly foreign purpose, they attack the integrity and honor of American Government itself. (Applause) Those who suggest that, are already aliens to the spirit of American democracy. Let them emigrate and try their lot under some foreign (government) flag in which they have more confidence. (Applause)

The fraudulent nature of this attempt is well shown by the record of votes on the passage of the Social Security Act. In addition to an overwhelming majority of Democrats in both Houses, seventy-seven Republican Representatives voted for it and only eighteen against it and fifteen Republican Senators voted for it and only five against it. Where does this last-minute drive of the Republican leadership leave these Republican Representatives and Senators who helped to enact (this) the law? (Applause)

I am sure that the vast majority of law-abiding business men who are not parties to this propaganda fully appreciate the extent of the threat to honest business contained in this coercion.

I have expressed indignation at this form of campaigning and I am confident that the overwhelming majority of employers, workers and the general public share that indignation and will show it at the polls on Tuesday next.

(Applause)

But, aside from this phase of it, I prefer to remember this campaign not as bitter but only as hard-fought. There should be no bitterness or hate where the sole thought is the welfare of the United States of America. (Applause) No man can occupy the office of President without realizing that he is President of all the people.

It is because I have sought to think in terms of the whole Nation that I am confident that today, just as four years ago, the people want more than promises. (Applause)

And our vision for the future contains more than promises. (Applause)

This is our answer to those who, silent about their own plans, ask us to state our objectives. (Applause)

Of course we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America (applause) -- to reduce hours that are over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, and to wipe out sweatshops. Of course we will continue every effort to end monopoly in business, to support collective bargaining, to stop unfair competition, and to abolish dishonorable trade practices. (Applause) And for all these we have only just begun to fight. (Applause)

Of course we will continue to work for cheaper electricity in the homes and on the farms of America, for better and cheaper transportation, for low interest rates, for sounder home financing, for better banking, for the regulation of security issues, for reciprocal trade among nations, for the wiping out of slums. For all these we have only just begun to fight. (Applause)

Of course we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. (Applause) With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops. We will persist in successful action for better land use, for reforestation, for the conservation of water all the way from its source to the sea, for drought

control and flood control, for better marketing facilities for farm commodities, for a (definite) reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of (farmer) farm cooperatives, for crop insurance and for a stable food supply for the Nation. For all these too we have only just begun to fight. (Applause)

Of course we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed because we prefer useful work to the pauperism of a dole. (Applause)

Here and now I want to make myself clear about those who disparage their fellow citizens on the relief rolls. They say that those on relief are not merely jobless -- (that) they say they are worthless. Their solution for the relief problem is to end relief -- to purge the rolls by starvation. To use the language of the stock broker, our needy unemployed would be cared for when, as, and if some fairy godmother should happen to come on the scene.

But you and I will continue to refuse to accept that estimate of our unemployed fellow Americans. Your Government is still on the same side of the street with the Good Samaritan and not with those who pass by on the other side. (Applause)

(Again) To go on -- what of our objectives?

Of course we will continue our efforts for young men and women so that they may obtain an education and an opportunity to put it to use. (Applause) Of course, we will continue our help for the crippled, for the blind, for the mothers -- our insurance for the unemployed -- our security for the aged. Of course we will continue to protect the consumer against unnecessary price spreads, against the costs that are added by monopoly and speculation. We will continue our successful efforts to increase his purchasing power and to keep it constant.

And for these things, too, and for (others) a multitude of things like them we have only just begun to fight. (Applause)

All this -- all these objectives -- spell peace at home. All our actions, all our ideals, spell also peace with other nations. (Applause)

Today there is war and rumor of war. We want none of it. (Applause) But while we guard our shores against threats of war, we will continue to remove the causes of unrest and antagonism at home which might make our people easier victims to those for whom foreign war is profitable. And, you know well that those who stand to profit by war are not on our side in this campaign. (Applause)

"Peace on earth, good-will toward men" -- democracy must cling to that message. For it is my very deep

conviction that democracy cannot live without that true religion which gives a nation a sense of justice and of moral purpose. Above our political forums, above our market places stand the altars of our faith -- altars on which burn the fires of devotion that maintain all that is best in us and all that is best in our Nation.

We have need of that devotion today. It is that which makes it possible for government to persuade those who are mentally prepared to fight each other to go on instead, to work for and to sacrifice for each other. And that is why we need to say with the old Prophet -- "What doth the Lord require of thee -- but to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God." (Applause) That is why the recovery we seek, the recovery we are winning, is more than economic. In it are included justice and love and humility -- not for ourselves as individuals alone, but for our Nation. That is the road to peace.

(Elongated applause)

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Papers of President Franklin D. Roosevelt
Master Speech File

Preliminary drafts of Madison Square Garden
Speech. October 31, 1936.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

Early draft of Madison
Square Garden speech in
1936 campaign.

Corrections by FDR + SDR

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and to analyze the
of the major political

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American -- the President
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minance in the Presidency
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the American smxxmf

democracy and the American people were in a mood to win. They won.

In 1936 the American people smxxmf
issue is the preservation of victory. smxxmf

Again are in a mood to win. Again they will win.

More than four years ago in accepting the Democratic nomination
in Chicago, I said: "Give me your help not to win votes alone, but to

On the eve of a National Election, it is well for us ~~calmly~~
and without prejudice ~~to stop for a moment and to analyze the~~
~~money and~~
effect on our Nation of a victory by either of the major political
parties.

It has been said by those who oppose us that when ~~all~~ is ~~the~~
~~There is~~ ~~That issue~~ ~~The main which~~
added up ~~the~~ ~~only issue~~ ~~is one individual American -- the President~~
of the United States. If that be true -- if that be the ~~xxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxxxxx~~ issue -- I accept the challenge.

But I myself do not agree that the issue is, or can be, or ought
to be, one man out of millions. The problem of the ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~
is far deeper, far more vital than the continuance in the Presidency
of any individual. For the greater issue goes beyond units of
humanity -- it goes to humanity itself.

In 1932 the issue was the ~~survival of the~~ American ~~xxxxxxxx~~
democracy and the American people were in a mood to win. They won.
In 1936 the ~~American people~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~
again are in a mood to win. Again they will win.

More than four years ago in accepting the Democratic nomination
in Chicago, I said: "Give me your help not to win votes alone, but to



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JF

crusade
win in this ~~effort~~ to restore America to its own people." The
banners of that crusade still fly at the ~~head~~ head of a Nation that
is on the march.

Appreciating to the full the solemn obligations imposed upon us, it is right ~~in the interests of~~ ~~the cause~~ veterans of that crusade to review the things we have fought for and the things we have fought against.

[It would be childish ~~to night~~ on a night like this to divert our thoughts to processes and methods which, while they are proper subjects for examination and discussion in legislative halls, seem petty in the face of an election which ~~is~~ goes to the heart of vital principles. I shall not discuss the relative merit of different forms of taxation, nor the problems of common carriers, nor the effect of trade agreements on Cheddar Cheese, nor even charges involving political patronage such as are raised in every campaign by each party against the other.]

It is fair, however, to point out that the records of democratic administration from 1912 to 1920 and from 1932 to 1936 compare shiningly with the soiled and sordid record made by the Republican Party from 1920 to 1932.

7. 4



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~~It is well, too, to remember that apart from its scandals in high places Republican leadership through sheer inaction took few chances.~~

~~Now it is needless to review the details of the program which this Administration has been hammering out on the anvils of experience. No amount of misrepresentation or statistical contortion can conceal or blur that or smear that record. Neither the attacks of unscrupulous enemies nor the exaggerations of over-zealous friends will serve to mislead the American people.~~

What was our hope in 1932? Above all other things the American people wanted peace. They wanted peace of mind instead of gnawing fear. They wanted the peace that ~~provided~~ ^{fostered} security for their homes -- safety for their savings -- permanence ~~in~~ ^{of} their jobs -- a fair profit from their enterprise. They sought escape from the personal terror which had stalked ~~with~~ them for three years.

They wanted peace in the community -- the peace that ~~provided~~ ^{met} the needs of community life -- schools, parks, highways, ^{and} all within the scope of solvent local government. They sought escape from ~~the~~ disintegration -- bankruptcy ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ local and state affairs which threatened them.



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NSM

They sought peace within the Nation -- [safeguarding] of their currency, fairer wages, the ending of long hours of toil, the abolition of child labor, the elimination of wild-cat speculation, the ~~so~~

[protection] of their children against kidnappers. They sought an end to national government which did nothing but babble and ~~xxxxx~~ rushed from pillar to post beseeching somebody -- ~~anybody~~ anybody -- to ~~xxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ be confident.

To-night Roll the roll ~~list~~ of honor of those who have stood with us and still stand with us today. Written on it

Craftily They ~~were~~ sought peace with other nations -- peace

in a world of unrest. They have thrived at the new found friends

America has made among her neighbors

are the names of millions who never had a chance -- men at starvation wages, women in sweatshops, children at looms. Written on it

The names of are those who despaired, young men and young women for whom

opportunity had become a will-o-the-wisp. Written on it are max

the names of farmers whose acres yielded only bitterness, business-

men whose books were portents of disaster --



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who were faced with
home owners ~~had~~ eviction -- frugal citizens whose savings were
H insecure. Written there in large letters are the names of countless
other Americans of all parties and all faiths -- Americans who had
eyes to see and minds to understand -- whose consciences were bur-
dened because too many of their fellows were burdened -- who looked
on these ~~things~~ things four years ago and said in their hearts "This
can be changed. We will change it."

That same army we imagined still lead in 1936. They stood with
us then because they believed. They stand with us today because ~~they~~
stand with them & stand
they know. Their hopes have become our record.

Now after four ~~years~~ the great goal we sought is nearer -- the
goal of peace and security at home and abroad.

We have not won this alone
These things have not happened without a struggle, and I assure
you *they will not stop without a struggle.*

For twelve years this Nation was afflicted with hear-nothing,
see-nothing, do-nothing government. The Nation looked to government
but the government looked away. Powerful influences strive today
to restore that government on the theory that ~~that~~ government is best

*in time of need is a fundamental
which is indifference*

For nearly four years you have had an Administration which instead of twirling its thumbs has rolled up its sleeves. You have had action -- and you are going to get more action.

A Republican leadership which ~~merely~~ asks questions and answers none wants to know have presented to it the language of every law that will be passed by the Congress or recommended by the President between now and 1940 if a Democratic Congress and I are elected.

Thus to satisfy the Republican leadership is frankly beyond my power. But I am wholly willing to restate -- and by no means for the first time -- the objectives we seek.

Of course we propose to use every effort to improve working conditions for the workers of America -- to reduce over-long hours, to increase starvation wages, to end child labor, to wipe out sweatshops. Of course we shall use every effort to end monopoly in business, to compel collective bargaining, to stop unfair competition, and dishonorable trade practices. For this program we have only just begun to fight.



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Serial 1. Roosevelt
Shows the Progress of
the Program of



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1912-1945, V. 1, v.From the Papers of
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~~SECRET~~

"We had to struggle with the old-age enemies of peace -- selfishness and lust of power -- which have always resisted the forces resisting our march toward a fuller security for the American people. Business and financial monopoly, speculation, class antagonism, sectionalism, unsound banking -- those were foes which stood in the way. For many years they had been the objects of special favors from government. They had begun even to consider the Government of the United States as a mere appendage to their own ~~affairs~~.

But Government by organized money can be as dangerous as Government by organized mob. Never before in all our history have these forces been so united against one candidate and for another as they stand today. They are unanimous in their hate for me and I welcome their hatred.

I would like to have it said of my first Administration that in it the forces of selfishness and of lust for power found their worthy of their hate. I would like to have it said of my second Administration that in it these forces found their oblivion.



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The American people know from a four-year record that today there is only one entrance to the White House -- by the front door. There has been only one passkey to the White House since March 4, 1933.

I have carried it in my pocket. It is there tonight. So long as I am President it will remain in my pocket.

Those who used to have passkeys are not happy. Only desperate men with their backs to the wall would descend so far below the level of ~~decent~~ decent citizenship as to foster the current pay-envelope campaign against America's working people. Only short-sighted men with impaired memories could believe that the wage earners of the United States could be so easily deceived.

It is an amazing paradox. The very employers and politicians and newspapers who talk most loudly of the destruction of the American system are themselves undermining that system by seeking to coerce the votes of the wage earners. Every message in a pay envelope, even if it is the truth, is a command to vote according to the will of the employer. It is the 1936 version of the old threat to close down the

propaganda is worse - it is direct.

A-1

-3-

factory or the office if the employer's candidate does not win.)
They tell the employee his wage will be reduced, that he may contribute to some vague form of old-age pension. They [fail to tell him] that for every dollar he contributes the employer contributes another. That omission is deceit.



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1937-1945, N.Y.C.

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A-2

(1)

Carefully conceal from him the fact
They fail to tell him that under the Social Security

Act he receives an insurance policy to help him if he loses his job and that the premium of this policy is paid 100% by the employer and none of it by the employee. That omission is deceit.

They imply to him that he pays all the cost of both forms of insurance. And when they fail to tell him that for every dollar put up by him his employer puts up three dollars, again they are ~~again~~ guilty of deceit.

When they imply to him that the reserves thus created against both these policies will be squandered by some future Congress -- diverted to some wholly foreign purpose, they are guilty of worse than deceit, for they attack the integrity and the solemn obligations of government itself. Our government has a reputation of living up to its obligations. Those who suggest that [it will default in the days to come] might well emigrate and try their lot under some foreign government in which they have more confidence. The fraudulent nature of this attempt launched



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(E) A-2

after all else had failed is well shown by the record ^{that} on the
passage of the ~~humanitarian~~ Social Security Act. In addition to an
overwhelming majority of Democrats in both Houses, seventy-seven
Republican representatives voted for it and only eighteen against

it and fifteen Republican Senators voted for it and only five
^{of whom} [in] the Senate voted against it. ^{at the close of this session?} ~~at the close of this session?~~ ^{What does this last sentence mean?} ~~Has Congress this square with the Republican leadership~~
~~at the close of this session?~~ ^{I have expressed indignation at this form of co-signing} ~~and~~
~~but~~ ^{I have expressed indignation at this form of co-signing} I am confident that the overwhelming majority of employers and
employees alike share that indignation.



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A-3

Aside from this phase of it, I prefer to remember this campaign ~~not as~~
~~bitter but~~
only as hard-fought. There should be no bitterness or hate
where the sole thought is the welfare of the United States of
America.



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No man can occupy the office of President of the United States without realizing that he is President of all the people. ~~and no~~ man can sit through four years such as these last four years without pouring out every ounce of his physical strength and intelligence for the fulfillment of that trust for the well-being of all the people.

It is because I have sought to think in terms of all the people that I am confident that today, as four years ago, they want more than promises. They want an America which declines to tolerate license at the top and insists on preserving liberty at the bottom.

That is our vision for the future.

In that America there will be a new birth of individualism --

~~We are through with feudalism. The old feudalism.~~

(A) -

In that America there will be a new birth of national

unity for the people have rejected ~~that~~ class hate and sectional
~~which was~~ antagonism fostered by those who stood ~~again~~ by them.

~~New~~

In that America there will be a rebirth of security.

~~not any~~
For the people are insisting that though the office boy may ~~not~~
become president of the company, at least he shall have ~~the~~ ^{a fair} opportunity
to work up to it -- and to be protected in a decent standard of
living in whatever position he attains to.



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not the ugly substitute which passed
for individualism but which was
merely a cloak ~~to~~ behind which
men freed themselves from all restraint.

The foundation of concentrated
economic power and monopoly
the foundation of birth and the
feudalism of class.

A-5

Here and now I want to beat down on those who speak so deprecatingly of their fellow citizens who are on relief rolls. They tell you that ~~if~~ those on relief are not jobless, ^{merely but} that they are worthless. Their solution for the relief problem is to end relief,

to purge the rolls by starvation, to wash their hands in public and throw the whole responsibility on private business or local

To us charity. In the language of the stock broker, our needy unemployed would be cared for if, as and when, ~~without any obligation of~~ Government, some fairy godmother appeared on the scene.

You and I will continue to refuse to accept that estimate of the problem of our unemployed fellow Americans. Your Government is still on the same side of the street with the Good Samaritan and not with those who passed by on the other side.

Again -- what of the future? Of course we ~~repose~~ ^{and continue} to seek in every way to improve working conditions for the workers of America -- to reduce hours over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops. Of course



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

A-6

will
we shall continue every effort to end monopoly in business, to support collective bargaining, to stop unfair competition, to abolish dishonorable trade practices. For this ^{all} ~~program~~ we have only just begun to work fight.

Of course we shall continue to work for cheaper electricity in the homes and on the farms of America, for better and cheaper transportation, for low interest rates, for ^{for detailed home financing} ~~second banks~~ ^{and} for the regulation of security issues, for reciprocal trade among nations, for the wiping out of slums. For all this we have only just begun to fight.



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Samuel I. Rosenman



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Record Service
860 Park Avenue, N. Y.

Samuel I. Rosenman
From the Pages of
The New Deal

~~will~~
Of course we are going to continue our efforts in

behalf of the farmers of America. With their continued cooperation

~~will end the living wage~~
we shall do all in our power to prevent the return of huge surpluses
~~which for them spelled ruinous prices for the crops they grow.~~

~~with his continued cooperation~~ We will persist in
action for better land use, for reforestation, for the conservation
of water, all the way from its source to the sea, for drought
marketing facilities for
and flood control, for the better marketing of farm commodities,
for a definite reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of
farmer cooperatives and for crop insurance. For all of these
we have only just begun to fight.

~~will~~
Of course, we shall provide useful work for the needy
unemployed; we prefer ~~that~~ ^{useful work} to the pauperism of a dole. We will
continue our work for young men and women ^{so} that they may obtain
an education and an opportunity to put it to use. We will

continue our help for the crippled, for the blind, for the

~~mothers~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ insurance for the unemployed ^{and} ~~the~~ security for the aged.

A-6
A-7

A-8

¶ We will continue ~~the protection of~~ ^{to protect} the consumer against unnecessary price spreads, against monopoly and speculation. We will continue our successful efforts to increase his purchasing power and keep

it constant. XXX And for these things, too, we have only just begun to fight. ¶ All these things, all these ideals, spell peace at home. All our actions, all our ideals, seek also peace abroad. We are attaining both.

Today there are wars and rumors of wars. We want none of them. But while we guard our shores against threats of war, we will continue to remove ~~from within our borders~~ ^{the causes of} those domestic irritations conditions which have ~~made~~ ^{made} waging busters who ^{are} ~~make~~ people ~~an easy prey~~ to those for whom war is profitable. Those who stand to profit by war are not on our side in this campaign.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

~~The message~~ "Peace on earth, good will toward men" has — a
come down to us through the ages — true democracy will cling to
that message. For it is my deep conviction that democracy cannot
live without trust in God. Beyond our political forums, beyond
our market places stand the altars of our faith — ^{on which} ~~and~~
from the fires of devotion that maintain all that is best in us and in
our Nation.

We have need of those ~~men~~ today. Today we ^{need a truly spiritual} ~~organize~~
Prophet -- "What doth the Lord require of thee -- but to do justly,
to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God".

*which gives a nation a
sense of justice and of
moral purpose.*



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

On the eve of a national election, it is well for us to stop for
a moment and analyze calmly and without prejudice the effect
on our Nation of a victory by either of the major political
parties.

~~It has been said by those who oppose us that when everything
is added up there is only one issue. That issue is one individual
American -- the man who is now the President of the United States.
If that be true--if that be the issue--I accept the challenge.~~

~~But I myself do not agree that the issue is, or ought to be,
or can be, one man out of millions. The problem of the electorate
is far deeper, far more vital than the continuance in the Presidency
of any individual. For the greater issue goes beyond units of
humanity -- it goes to humanity itself.~~

In 1932 the issue was the restoration of American democracy;
and the American people were in a mood to win. They ~~were~~ ^{would}. In 1936
the issue is the preservation of their victory. Again they are
in a mood to win. Again they will win.

More than four years ago in accepting the Democratic nomina-

STATEMENTS FILE

ShorthandBy Kannee

tion in Chicago, I said: "Give me your help not to win votes alone, but to win in this crusade to restore America to its own people."

The banners of that crusade still fly in the van of a Nation that is on the march.

Appreciating to the full the solemn obligations imposed upon us, it is right for us as veterans of that crusade to review the things we have fought for and the things we have fought against.

It is needless to repeat the details of the program which this Administration has been hammering out on the anvils of experience. No amount of misrepresentation or statistical contortion can conceal or blur or smear that record. Neither the attacks of unscrupulous enemies nor the exaggerations of over-zealous friends will serve to mislead the American people.

What was our hope in 1932? Above all other things the American people wanted peace. They wanted peace of mind instead of gnawing fear.

First, they sought escape from the personal terror which had

stalked them for three years. They wanted the peace that comes from security in their homes -- safety for their savings -- permanence in their jobs -- a fair profit from their enterprise.

Next
Then, they wanted peace in the community -- the peace that springs from the ability to meet the needs of community life -- schools, playgrounds, parks, sanitation, highways -- those things which are expected of solvent local government. They sought escape from disintegration and bankruptcy in local and state affairs.

They also sought peace within the Nation -- protection of their currency, fairer wages, the ending of long hours of toil, the abolition of child labor, the elimination of wild-cat speculation, the safety of their children from kidnappers.

With a checkmark
And, finally, they sought peace with other Nations -- peace in a world of unrest. The Nation knows that I hate war, and I know that the Nation hates war.

I submit to you a record of peace; and on that record a well-founded expectation for future peace -- peace for the individual, peace for the community, peace for the Nation, and peace with the

world.

Tonight I call the roll -- the roll of honor of those who
~~were~~ stood with us and still stand with us today. ^{in 1932} Written on
it are the names of millions who never had a chance -- men at star-
vation wages, women in sweatshops, children at looms.

Written on it are the names of those who despaired, young men
and young women for whom opportunity had become a will-o'-the-
wisp.

Written on it are the names of farmers whose acres yielded
only bitterness, business men whose books were portents of disaster --
home owners who were faced with eviction -- frugal citizens whose
savings were insecure.

Written there in large letters are the names of countless
other Americans of all parties and all faiths--Americans who had
^{hearts} eyes to see and ~~hearts~~ to understand--whose consciences were bur-
dened because too many of their fellows were burdened -- who looked
on these things four years ago and said ~~in their hearts~~ "This can
be changed. We will change it."

We still lead that army in 1936. They stood with us then because they believed. They stand with us today because they know. And with them stand millions of new recruits who have come to know. Their hopes have become our record.

We have not come this far without a struggle,^{and} I assure you we cannot go further without a struggle.

For twelve years this Nation was afflicted with hear-nothing, see-nothing, do-nothing government. The Nation looked to government but the government looked away. Nine mocking years with the golden calf and three long years of the scourge! Nine crazy years at the ticker and three long years in the breadlines! Nine mad years of mirage and three long years of despair! Powerful influences strive today to restore that kind of government with its doctrine that that government is best which is most indifferent.

For nearly four years you have had an Administration which instead of twirling its thumbs has rolled up its sleeves. We will keep our sleeves rolled up.

We had to struggle with the old enemies of peace -- business

and financial monopoly, speculation, reckless banking, class antagonism, sectionalism, war profiteering.

For many years they had been the objects of special favor from government. They had begun even to consider the Government of the United States as a mere appendage to their own affairs. We know now that their government by organized money ^{is} just as dangerous to the security of the American people as government by organized mob.

Never before in all our history have these forces been so united against one candidate as they stand today. They are unanimous in their hate for me -- and I welcome their hatred.

I should like to have it said of my first Administration that in it the forces of selfishness and of lust for power met their match. I ^{should} ~~would~~ like to have it said of my second Administration that in it these forces met their master.

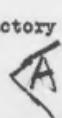
The American people know from a four-year record that today there is only one entrance to the White House — by the front door. Since March 4, 1933 there has been only one passkey to the White

INSERT A

It is an old strategy of tyrants to compel (to persuade, to
delude~~s~~^{into} their victims to fight their battles for them.

House. I have carried that key in my pocket. It is there to-night. So long as I am President, it will remain in my pocket.

Those who used to have passkeys are not happy. Some of them are desperate. Only desperate men with their backs to the wall would descend so far below the level of decent citizenship as to foster the current pay-envelope campaign against America's working people. Only reckless men, heedless of consequences, would risk the disruption of the hope for a new peace between worker and employer by returning to the tactics of the labor spy.

Here is an amazing paradox! The very employers and politicians and newspapers who talk most loudly of class antagonism and the destruction of the American system now undermine that system by this attempt to coerce the votes of the wage earners. It is the 1936 version of the old threat to close down the factory ~~if~~ ^{if} the office if ~~the employee's~~ candidate does not win. 

Every message in a pay envelope, even if it is the truth, is a command to vote according to the will of the employer. But this propaganda is worse -- it is deceit.

INSERT

(B)

They do not tell him that the insurance policy that is bought
for him is far more favorable to him than any policy that any pri-
vate insurance company could afford to issue.

They tell the worker his wage will be reduced by a contribution to some vague form of old-age insurance. They carefully conceal from him the fact that for every dollar of premium he pays for that insurance, the employer pays another dollar. That omission is deceit.

They carefully conceal from him the fact that under the federal law, he receives another insurance policy to help him if he loses his job, and that the premium of that policy is paid 100% by the employer and not one cent by the worker. B That omission is deceit.
A

They imply to him that he pays all the cost of both forms of insurance. They carefully conceal from him the fact that for every dollar put up by him his employer puts up three dollars -- three for one. And that omission is deceit.

But they are guilty of more than deceit. When they imply ~~them~~ that the reserves thus created against both these policies will be stolen by some future Congress -- diverted to some wholly foreign purpose, they attack the integrity and honor of American Government itself. Those who suggest that are already aliens to the spirit of

American democracy. Let them emigrate and try their lot under some foreign government in which they have more confidence.

The fraudulent nature of this attempt is well shown by the record of votes on the passage of the Social Security Act. In addition to an overwhelming majority of Democrats in both Houses, seventy-seven Republican Representatives voted for it and only eighteen against it and fifteen Republican Senators voted for it and only five against it. Where does this last-minute drive of the Republican leadership leave these Republican Representatives and Senators who helped enact this law?

How sincere
I wonder whether the vast majority of law-abiding business men who are not parties to this propaganda, *fully*, *really* appreciate the extent of the threat to honest business contained in this coercion.

I have expressed indignation at this form of campaigning and I am confident that the overwhelming majority of employers, workers and the general public share that indignation, *and will show it at the polls.*

Aside from this phase of it, I prefer to remember this campaign not as bitter but only as hard-fought. There should be no bitterness

or hate where the sole thought is the welfare of the United States of America. No man can occupy the office of President without realizing that he is President of all the people. And no man can sit through four years such as these last four years without pouring out every ounce of his physical strength, his patience and intelligence for the fulfillment of that trust for the well-being of all the people.

It is because I have sought to think in terms of the whole Nation that I am confident that today, just as four years ago, the people want more than promises.

Our vision for the future contains more than promises.

On This
~~This~~ is our answer to those who, silent about their own plans, ask us to state our objectives! Of course we will continue to seek in every way to improve working conditions for the workers of America --- to reduce hours over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops. Of course we will continue every effort to end monopoly in business, to support collective bargaining, to stop unfair competition, to

abolish dishonorable trade practices. For all these we have only just begun to fight.

Of course we will continue to work for cheaper electricity in the homes and on the farms of America, for better and cheaper transportation, for low interest rates, for sounder home financing, for better banking, for the regulation of security issues, for reciprocal trade among nations, for the wiping out of slums. For all these we have only just begun to fight.

Of course we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops. We will persist in successful action for better land use, for reforestation, for the conservation of water all the way from its source to the sea, for drought and flood control, for better marketing facilities for farm commodities, for a definite reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of farmer cooperatives, for crop insurance and a stable food supply. For all these we have only just begun to fight.



Of course we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed; we prefer useful work to the pauperism of a dole.

Here and now I want to make myself clear about those who disparage their fellow citizens on the relief rolls. They say that those on relief are not merely jobless -- that they are worthless. Their solution for the relief problem is to end relief -- to purge the rolls by starvation. To use the language of the stock broker, our needy unemployed would be cared for ~~if, as, and when~~, some fairy godmother ^{within, as, and if} ~~should happen~~ appeared on the scene.

You and I will continue to refuse to accept that estimate of our unemployed fellow Americans. Your Government is still on the same side of the street with the Good Samaritan and not with those who pass by on the other side.

Again-- what of our objectives?

Of course we will continue our efforts for young men and women so that they may obtain an education and an opportunity to put it to use. Of course, we will continue our help for the crippled, for the blind, for the mothers -- our insurance for the unemployed --

our security for the aged. Of course we will continue to protect the consumer against unnecessary price spreads, against the costs that are added by monopoly and speculation. We will continue our successful efforts to increase his purchasing power and to keep it constant.

For these things, too, and for others like them we have only just begun to fight.

All this -- all these objectives -- spell peace at home. All our actions, all our ideals, spell also peace with other nations.

Today there is war and rumor of war. We want none of it. But while we guard our shores against threats of war, we will continue to remove the causes of unrest and antagonism at home which might make our people easier victims to those for whom foreign war is profitable. Those who stand to profit by war are not on our side in this campaign.

"Peace on earth, good will toward men" -- democracy must cling to that message. For it is my deep conviction that democracy cannot

live without that true religion which gives a nation a sense of justice and of moral purpose. ^{Above} ~~Beyond~~ our political forums, ~~beyond~~ ^{above} our market places stand the altars of our faith -- ^{Altars} on which burn the fires of devotion that maintain all that is best in us and in our Nation.

We have need of that devotion today. It is that which makes it possible for government to persuade those who are mentally prepared to fight each other to go on instead, to work for and to sacrifice for each other. That is why we need to say with the Prophet -- "What doth the Lord require of thee -- but to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God". That is why the recovery we seek, the recovery we are winning, is more than economic, ~~it is moral and religious~~. In it are included justice and love and humility -- not for ourselves as individuals alone, but for our Nation. That is the road to peace.

Madison Square Garden

On the eve of a national election, it is well for us to stop for a moment and to analyze calmly and without prejudice the effect on our Nation of a victory by either of the major political parties.

It has been said by those who oppose us that when everything is added up there is only one issue. That issue is one individual American — the man who is the President of the United States. If that be true — if that be the issue — I accept the challenge.

But I myself do not agree that the issue is, or can be, or ought to be, one man out of millions. The problem of the electorate is far deeper, far more vital than the continuance in the Presidency of any individual. For the greater issue goes beyond units of humanity — it goes to humanity itself.

In 1932 the issue was the restoration of American democracy and the American people were in a mood to win. They won. In 1936 the issue is the preservation of their victory. Again they are in a mood to win. They will win again.

More than four years ago in accepting the Democratic nomination in Chicago, I said: "Give me your help not to win votes alone, but to win

in this crusade to restore America to its own people."

The banners of that crusade still fly in the van of a Nation that is on the march.

Appreciating to the full the solemn obligations imposed upon us, it is right for us as veterans of that crusade to review the things we have fought for and the things we have fought against.

It is needless to review the details of the program which this Administration has been hammering out on the anvils of experience. No amount of misrepresentation or statistical contortion can conceal or blur or smear that record. Neither the attacks of unscrupulous enemies nor the exaggerations of over-zealous friends will serve to mislead the American people.

What was our hope in 1932? Above all other things the American people wanted peace. They wanted peace of mind instead of gnawing fear. They sought escape from the personal terror which had stalked them for three years. They wanted the peace that comes from security for their homes — safety for their savings — permanence in their jobs — a fair profit from their enterprise.

They sought escape from disintegration and bankruptcy in local and state affairs. They wanted peace in the community — the peace that springs from

the ability to meet the needs of community life — schools, playgrounds, parks, sanitation, highways — all within the scope of solvent local government.

They sought peace within the Nation — protection of their currency, fairer wages, the ending of long hours of toil, the abolition of child labor, the elimination of wild-cat speculation, the safety of their children from kidnappers.

And finally they sought peace with other Nations — peace in a world of unrest.

Tonight I call the roll — the roll of honor of those who have stood with us and still stand with us today. Written on it are the names of millions who never had a chance — men at starvation wages, women in sweatshops, children at looms.

Written on it are the names of those who despaired, young men and young women for whom opportunity had become a will-of-the-wisp.

Written on it are the names of farmers whose acres yielded only bitterness, business men whose books were portents of disaster — home owners who were faced with eviction — frugal citizens whose savings were insecure.

Written there in large letters are the names of countless other Americans of all parties and all faiths -- Americans who had eyes to see and minds to understand -- whose consciences were burdened because too many of their fellows were burdened -- who looked on these things four years ago and said in their hearts "This can be changed. We will change it."

We still lead that army in 1956. They stood with us then because they believed. They stand with us today because they know. And with them stand millions of others who have come to understand the truth. Their hopes have become our record.

Now after four years the great goal we sought is nearer — the goal of peace and security at home and abroad.

We have not come this far without a struggle. I assure you we cannot go further without a struggle.

For twelve years this Nation was afflicted with hear-nothing, see-nothing, do-nothing government. It was a government which issued only statements which ran from pillar to post beseeching somebody — anybody — to be confident. The Nation looked to government but the government looked away. Powerful influences strive today to restore that government on the theory that what serves the Nation best in time of need is a government of

King

indifference.

For nearly four years you have had an Administration which instead of twirling its thumbs has rolled up its sleeves. You have had action — and you are going to get more action.

We had to struggle with the age-old enemies of peace -- forces which have always resisted the march toward a fuller security for the American people. Business and financial monopoly, speculation, class antagonism, sectionalism, unsound banking -- all these manifestations of selfishness and lust for power -- those were the foes which stood in the way.

For many years they had been the objects of special favors from government. They had begun even to consider the Government of the United States as a mere appendage to their own affairs. But government by organized money can be as dangerous as government by organized mob.

Never before in all our history have these forces been so united against one candidate and for another as they stand today. They are unanimous in their hate for me -- and I welcome their hatred. I should like to have it said of my first Administration that in it the forces of selfishness and of lust for power met their match. I would like to have it said of my second Administration that in it these forces met their

master.

The American people know from a four-year record that today there is only one entrance to the White House — by the front door. Since March 4, 1933 there has been only one passkey to the White House. I have carried that key in my pocket. It is there tonight. So long as I am President it will remain in my pocket.

Those who used to have passkeys are not happy. Some of them are desperate. Only desperate men with their backs to the wall would descend so far below the level of decent citizenship as to foster the current pay-envelope campaign against America's working people. Only short-sighted men with impaired memories can believe that the wage earners of the United States can be so easily deceived.

*Only workers know, consider of the future
for them the working people must work hard.*

It is an amazing paradox. The very employers and politicians and newspapers who talk most loudly of the destruction of the American system are themselves undermining that system by seeking to coerce the votes of the wage earners. It is the 1936 version of the old threat to close down the factory or the office if the employer's candidate does not win. Every message in a pay envelope, even if it is the truth, is a command to vote according to the will of the employer. But this propaganda is worse — it is deceit.

They tell the employee his wage will be reduced in order that he may contribute to some vague form of old-age pension. They carefully conceal from him the fact that for every dollar he contributes the employer contributes another dollar. That omission is deceit.

They carefully conceal from him the fact that under the Social Security Act he receives an insurance policy to help him if he loses his job and that the premium of this policy is paid 100% by the employer and none of it by the employee. That omission is deceit.

They imply to him that he pays all the cost of both forms of insurance. And when they carefully conceal from him the fact that for every dollar put up by him his employer puts up three dollars, again they are guilty of deceit.

When they imply to him that the reserves thus created against both these policies will be squandered by some future Congress — diverted to some wholly foreign purpose, they are guilty of worse than deceit, for when they do that they attack the integrity, the honor and the solemn obligations of government itself. Those who suggest that might well emigrate and try their lot under some foreign government in which they have more confidence. The fraudulent nature of this attempt launched after all else

had failed is well shown by the record of votes on the passage of the Social Security Act. In addition to an overwhelming majority of Democrats in both Houses, seventy-seven Republican Representatives voted for it and only eighteen against it and fifteen Republican Senators voted for it and only five against it. Where does this last-minute drive of the Republican leadership leave these Republican Representatives and Senators who helped enact this law?

I have expressed indignation at this form of campaigning and I am confident that the overwhelming majority of employers and employees alike share that indignation. Aside from this phase of it, I prefer to remember this campaign not as bitter but only as hard-fought.

There should be no bitterness or hate where the sole thought is the welfare of the United States of America. No man can occupy the office of President of the United States without realizing that he is President of all the people. And no man can sit through four years such as these last four years without pouring out every ounce of his physical strength, his patience and intelligence for the fulfillment of that trust for the well-being of all the people.

It is because I have sought to think in terms of all the people that

I am confident that today, as four years ago, they want more than promises.

They want an America which declines to tolerate license at the top and insists on preserving liberty at the bottom.

That is our vision for the future.

In that America there will be a new birth of individualism -- not the ugly substitute which passed for individualism but which was only a cloak behind which men freed themselves from all restraint. We are through with the old feudalism -- the feudalism of concentrated economic power and monopoly -- the feudalism of birth and the feudalism of class.

In that America there will be a new definition of liberty -- it will no longer glorify a minimum of interference with the man of ruthless ambition trampling upon the lives of gentler men as he amasses wealth and power for himself.

In that America there will be a new birth of national unity, for the people have rejected the class hate and sectional antagonism which was fostered by those who stood to gain by them.

In that America there will be a new birth of security. For the people are insisting that though not every office boy may become president of the company, at least he shall have a fair opportunity to work up to it -- and

to be protected in a decent standard of living in whatever position he attains to.

Here and now I want to bear down on those who speak so deprecatingly of their fellow citizens who are on relief rolls. They tell you that those on relief are not merely jobless — but that they are worthless. Their solution for the relief problem is to end relief, to purge the rolls by starvation, to wash their hands in public and throw the whole responsibility on private business or local charity. To use the language of the stock broker, our needy unemployed would be cared for if, as and when, some fairy godmother appeared on the scene.

You and I will continue to refuse to accept that estimate of the problem of our unemployed fellow Americans. Your Government is still on the same side of the street with the Good Samaritan and not with those who passed by on the other side.

Again — what of the future? Of course we will continue to seek in every way to improve working conditions for the workers of America — to reduce hours over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops. Of course we will continue every effort to end monopoly in business, to support collective bargaining,

to stop unfair competition, to abolish dishonorable trade practices.

For all this we have only just begun to fight.

Of course we will continue to work for cheaper electricity in the homes and on the farms of America, for better and cheaper transportation, for low interest rates, for sounder home financing, for better banking, for the regulation of security issues, for reciprocal trade among nations, for the wiping out of slums. For all this we have only just begun to fight.

Of course we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops. We will persist in successful action for better landuse, for reforestation, for the conservation of water all the way from its source to the sea, for drought and flood control, for better marketing facilities for farm commodities, for a definite reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of farmer cooperatives, for crop insurance and a stable food supply. For all of these we have only just begun to fight.

Of course we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed; we prefer useful work to the pauperism of a dole.

We will continue our efforts for young men and women so that they may obtain an education and an opportunity to put it to use. We will continue our help for the crippled, for the blind, for the mothers — our insurance for the unemployed — our security for the aged.

We will continue to protect the consumer against unnecessary price spreads, against the costs that are added by monopoly and speculation. We will continue our successful efforts to increase his purchasing power and to keep it constant. And for these things, too, we have only just begun to fight.

All these things, all these ideals, spell peace at home. All our actions, all our ideals, seek also peace abroad. We are attaining both.

Today there are wars and rumors of wars. We want none of them. But while we guard our shores against threats of war, we will continue to remove the causes of domestic irritations which have made our people willing listeners to those for whom foreign war is profitable. Those who stand to profit by war are not on our side in this campaign.

"Peace on earth, good will toward men" — a true democracy will cling to that message. For it is my deep conviction that democracy cannot live without that trust in God which gives a nation a sense of justice and of

moral purpose. Beyond our political forums, beyond our market places stand the altars of our faith -- on which burn the firest of devotion that maintain all that is best in us and in our Nation.

We have need of those devotions today. Today we need a truly national response to the Prophet — "What doth the Lord require of thee — but to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God".

STATEMENTS FILE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONTREFFAL

CONFIDENTIAL

HOLD FOR RELEASE - October 31, 1936.

C A U T I O N : This address of the President, to be delivered this evening, in Madison Square Garden, New York City, MUST BE HELD IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: RELEASE in editions of all newspapers appearing
on the streets NOT EARLIER than NINE FIFTEEN (9.15)
O'clock P.M., Eastern Standard Time, today.

STEPHEN EARLY
Assistant Secretary to the President.

On the eve of a national election, it is well for us to stop for a moment and analyze calmly and without prejudice the effect on our Nation of a victory by either of the major political parties.

The problem of the electorate is far deeper, far more vital than the continuance in the Presidency of any individual. For the greater issue goes beyond units of humanity -- it goes to humanity itself.

In 1936 the issue was the restoration of American democracy; and the American people were in a mood to win. They did win. In 1938 the issue is the preservation of their victory. Again they are in a mood to win. ~~but they will win.~~

More than four years ago in accepting the Democratic nomination in Chicago, I said: "Give me your help not to win votes alone, but to win in this crusade to restore America to its own people." (6)

The banners of that crusade still fly in the sun of a Nation that is on the march.

It is needless to repeat the details of the program which this Administration has been hammering out on the anvil of experience. No amount of misrepresentation or statistical distortion can conceal or blur the record. Neither the attacks of unscrupulous enemies nor the exaggerations of over-zealous friends will serve to mislead the American people.

What was our hope in 1932? Above all other things the American people wanted peace. They wanted peace of mind instead of gnawing fear.

First, they sought escape from the personal terror which had stalked them for three years. They wanted the peace that comes from security in their homes -- safety for their savings -- permanence in their jobs -- a fair profit from their enterprise.

Next, they wanted peace in the community -- the peace that springs from the ability to meet the needs of community life -- schools, playgrounds, parks, sanitation, highways -- those things which are expected of solvent local government. They sought escape from disintegration and bankruptcy in local and state affairs.

They also sought peace within the Nation -- protection of their currency, fairer wages, the ending of long hours of toil, the abolition of child labor, the elimination of wild-cat speculation, the safety of their children from kidnapers.

And, finally, they sought peace with other Nations -- peace in a world of unrest. The Nation knows that I hate war. And I know that the Nation hates war.

I submit to you a record of peace; and on that record a well-founded expectation for future peace -- peace for the individual, peace for the community, peace for the Nation, and peace with the world.

Tonight I call the roll -- the roll of honor of those who stood with us in 1932 and still stand with us today.

Written on it are the names of millions who never had a chance -- men at starvation wages, women in sweatshops, children at looms.

Written on it are the names of those who despaired, young men ~~and~~ young women for whom opportunity had become a will-o'-the-wisp.

Written on it are the names of farmers whose acres yielded only bitterness, business men whose books were portents of disaster -- home owners who were faced with eviction -- frugal citizens whose savings were insecure.

Written there in large letters are the names of countless other Americans of all parties and all faiths -- Americans who had eyes to see and hearts to understand -- whose consciences were burdened because too many of their fellowmen were burdened -- who looked on these things four years ago and said "This can be changed. We will change it."

We still lead that army in 1936. They stood with us then because they believed. They stand with us today because they know. And with them stand millions of new recruits who have come to know.

Their hopes have become our record.

We have not come this far without a struggle and I assure you we cannot go further without a struggle.

For twelve years this Nation was afflicted with hear-nothing, see-nothing, do-nothing government. The Nation looked to government but the government looked away. Nine mocking years with the golden calf and three long years of the scourge. Nine crazy years at the ticker and three long years in the broadlines. Nine mad years of mirage and three long years of despair. Powerful influences strive today to restore that kind of government with its doctrine that that government is best which is most indifferent.

For nearly four years you have had an Administration which instead of twirling its thumbs has rolled up its sleeves. We will keep our sleeves rolled up.

We had to struggle with the old enemies of peace -- business and financial monopoly, speculation, reckless banking, class antagonism, sectionalism, war profiteering.

They had begun to consider the Government of the United States as a mere appendage to their own affairs. We know now that government by organized money is just as dangerous as government by organized mob.

Never before in all our history have these forces been so united against one candidate as they stand today. They are unanimous in their hate for me -- and I welcome their hatred.

I should like to have it said of my first Administration that in it the forces of selfishness and of lust for power met their match. I should like to have it said of my second Administration that in it these forces met their master.

The American people know from a four-year record that today there is only one entrance to the White House -- by the front door. Since March 4, 1933 there has been only one passkey to the White House. I have carried that key in my pocket. It is there tonight. So long as I am President, it will remain in my pocket.

Those who used to have passkeys are not happy. Some of them are desperate. Only desperate men with their backs to the wall would descend so far below the level of decent citizenship as to foster the current pay-envelope campaign against America's working people. Only reckless men, heedless of consequences, would risk the disruption of the hope for a new peace between worker and employer by returning to the tactics of the labor spy.

Here is an amazing paradox! The very employers and politicians and newspapers who talk most loudly of class antagonism and the destruction of the American system now undermine that system by this attempt to coerce the votes of the wage earners. It is the 1936 version of the old threat to close down the factory or the office if a particular candidate does not win. It is an old strategy of tyrants to divide their victims into fighting their battles for them.

Every message in a pay envelope, even if it is the truth, is a command to vote according to the will of the employer. But this propaganda is worse -- it is deceit.

They tell the worker his wage will be reduced by a contribution to some vague form of old-age insurance. They carefully conceal from him the fact that for every dollar of premium he pays for that insurance, the employer pays another dollar. That omission is deceit.

They carefully conceal from him the fact that under the federal law, he receives another insurance policy to help him if he loses his job, and that the premium of that policy is paid 100% by the employer and not one cent by the worker. They do not tell him that the insurance policy that is bought for him is far more favorable to him than any policy that any private insurance company could afford to issue. That omission is deceit.

They imply to him that he pays all the cost of both forms of insurance. They carefully conceal from him the fact that for every dollar put up by him his employer puts up three dollars -- three for one. And that omission is deceit.

But they are guilty of more than deceit. When they imply that the reserves thus created against both these policies will be stolen by some future Congress -- diverted to some wholly foreign purpose, they attack the integrity and honor of American Government itself. Those who suggest that, are already aliens to the spirit of American democracy. Let them emigrate and try their lot under some foreign government in which they have more confidence.

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(Q) The fraudulent nature of this attempt is well shown by the record of votes on the passage of the Social Security Act. In addition to an overwhelming majority of Democrats in both Houses, seventy-seven Republican Representatives voted for it and only eighteen against it and fifteen Republican Senators voted for it and only five against it. Where does this last-minute drive of the Republican leadership leave these Republican Representatives and Senators who helped enact that law? (Q)

I am sure the vast majority of law-abiding business men who are not parties to this propaganda fully appreciate the extent of the threat to honest business contained in this coercion.

I have expressed indignation at this form of campaigning and I am confident that the overwhelming majority of employers, workers and the general public share that indignation and will show it at the polls. (Q)

Aside from this phase of it, I prefer to remember this campaign not as bitter but only as hard-fought. There should be no bitterness or hate where the sole thought is the welfare of the United States of America. No man can occupy the office of President without realizing that he is President of all the people.

It is because I have sought to think in terms of the whole Nation that I am confident that today, just as four years ago, the people want more than promises. (Q)

'Our vision for the future contains more than promises. (Q)

This is our answer to those who, silent about their own plans, ask us to state our objectives. (Q)

Of course we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America - to reduce hours-over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops. Of course we will continue every effort to end monopoly in business, to support collective bargaining, to stop unfair competition, to abolish dishonorable trade practices. For all these we have only just begun to fight. (Q)

Of course we will continue to work for cheaper electricity in the homes and on the farms of America, for better and cheaper transportation, for low interest rates, for sounder home financing, for better banking, for the regulation of security issues, for reciprocal trade among nations, for the wiping out of slums. For all these we have only just begun to fight. (Q)

Of course we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops. We will persist in successful action for better land use, for reforestation, for the conservation of water all the way from its source to the sea, for drought and flood control, for better marketing facilities for farm commodities, for a definite reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of farm cooperatives, for crop insurance and a stable food supply. For all these we have only just begun to fight. (Q)

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Of course we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed; we prefer useful work to the pauperism of a dole.

Here and now I want to make myself clear about those who disparage their fellow citizens on the relief rolls. They say that those on relief are not merely jobless -- that they are worthless. Their solution for the relief problem is to end relief -- to purge the rolls by starvation. To use the language of the stock broker, our needy unemployed would be cured for whom, as, and if some fairy godmother should happen on the scene.

You and I will continue to refuse to accept that estimate of our unemployed fellow Americans. Your Government is still on the same side of the street with the Good Samaritan and not with those who pass by on the other side.

Again -- what of our objectives?

Of course we will continue our efforts for young men and women so that they may obtain an education and an opportunity to put it to use. Of course, we will continue our help for the crippled, for the blind, for the mothers -- our insurance for the unemployed -- our security for the aged. Of course we will continue to protect the consumer against unnecessary price spreads, against the costs that are added by monopoly and speculation. We will continue our successful efforts to increase his purchasing power and to keep it constant.

For these things, too, and for others like them we have only just begun to fight.

All this -- all these objectives -- spell peace at home. All our actions, all our ideals, spell also peace with other nations.

Today there is war and rumor of war. We want none of it. But while we guard our shores against threats of war, we will continue to remove the causes of unrest and antagonism at home which might make our people easier victims to those for whom foreign war is profitable. Those who stand to profit by war are not on our side in this campaign.

"Peace on earth, good will toward men" -- democracy must cling to that message. For it is my deep conviction that democracy cannot live without that true religion which gives a nation a sense of justice and of moral purpose. Above our political forums, above our market places stand the altars of our faith -- altars on which burn the fires of devotion that maintain all that is best in us and in our Nation.

We have need of that devotion today. It is that which makes it possible for government to persuade those who are mentally prepared to fight each other to go on instead, to work for and to sacrifice for each other. That is why we need to say with thy Prophet -- "What doth the Lord require of thee -- but to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God". That is why the recovery we seek, the recovery we are winning, is more than economic. In it are included justice and love and humility -- not for ourselves as individuals alone, but for our Nation. That is the road to peace.

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Ninety Years Ago

• Since all we suggest should "work" with one in some way, we have not
• done so.

TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT
THROUGH DUTCHESS, ORANGE and ULSTER COUNTIES,
NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 2, 1936.

1.00 PM - Lv Hyde Park

- Pass through Wappingers Falls (Sec. Morgenthau to join)

1.30 PM - Ar Beacon

Stop at Bank Square and express word of greeting.

(Morgan Hoyt is City Chairman. Messrs. Whiton
and Tom Conmy to join here.)

(Orange County Chairman Jacob Hicks to join his
car in motorcade ~~maxxxx~~ at Beacon Ferry)

1.35 PM - Lv Beacon - Ferry to Newburgh

1.50 PM - Ar Newburgh - Proceed to City Hall (Broadway & Grand)

2.00 PM - Express word of greeting

2.05 PM - Lv Newburgh

Motor through Marlboro, Milton and Highland -
no stop.

3.00 PM - Ar Kingston

(Ulster County Chairman Bernard A. Culloton to
join his car in motorcade at bridge)

Motor through business district. Stop at park
in front of Gov. Clinton Hotel - express word
of greeting.

3.10 PM - Lv Kingston (Take Ferry to Rhinecliff)

Motor to Rhinebeck.

4.00 PM - Ar Rhinebeck

Stop in front of Beekman Arms - Express word of
greeting.

4.30 PM - Ar Hyde Park.

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