
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. 1028

1937 January 6

Message to Congress - State of the Union

THE PRESIDENT'S ANNUAL MESSAGE

JANUARY 6, 1937.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of

THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

For the first time in our national history a President delivers his Annual Message to a new Congress within a fortnight of the expiration of his term of office. While there is no change in the Presidency this year, change will occur in future years. It is my belief that under this new constitutional practice, the President should in every fourth year, in so far as seems reasonable, review the existing state of our national affairs and outline broad future problems, leaving specific recommendations for future legislation to be made by the President about to be inaugurated.

At this time, however, circumstances of the moment compel me to ask your immediate consideration of: First, measures extending the life of certain authorizations and powers which, under present statutes, expire within a few weeks; second, an addition to the existing Neutrality Act to cover specific points raised by the unfortunate civil strife in Spain; and, third,

a deficiency appropriation bill for which I shall submit estimates this week.

In March, 1933, the problems which faced our nation and which only our national government had the resources to meet, were more serious even than appeared on the surface.

It was not only that the visible mechanism of economic life had broken down. More disturbing was the fact that long neglect of the needs of the underprivileged had brought too many of our people to the verge of doubt as to the successful adaptation of our historic traditions to the complex modern world. In that, lay a challenge to our democratic form of government itself.

Ours was the task to prove that democracy could be made to function in the world of today as effectively as in the simpler world of a hundred years ago. Ours was the task to do more than to argue a theory. The times required the confident answer of performance to those whose instinctive faith in humanity made them want to believe that in the long run democracy would prove superior to more extreme forms of government as a process of getting action when action was wisdom, without the spiritual sacrifices which those other forms of government exact.

That challenge we met. To meet it required unprecedented activities under Federal leadership -- to end abuses -- to restore a large measure of material prosperity -- to give new faith to millions of our citizens who had been traditionally taught to expect that democracy would provide continuously wider opportunity and continuously greater security in a world where science was continuously making material riches more available to man.

In the many methods of attack with which we met these problems, you and I, by mutual understanding and by determination to cooperate, helped to make democracy succeed by refusing to permit unnecessary disagreement to arise between ~~two~~ or our ~~two~~ branches of government. That spirit of cooperation was able to solve difficulties of extraordinary magnitude and ramification with few important errors, and at a cost cheap when measured by the immediate necessities and the eventual results.

I look forward to a continuance of that cooperation in the next four years. I look forward also to a continuance of the basis of that cooperation -- mutual respect for each

other's proper sphere of functioning in a democracy which is working well, and a common-sense realization of the need for play in the joints of the machine.

On that basis, it is within the right of the Congress to determine which of the many new activities shall be continued or abandoned, increased or curtailed.

On that same basis, the President alone has the responsibility for their administration. I find that this task of executive management has reached the point where our administrative machinery needs comprehensive overhauling. I shall, therefore, shortly address the Congress more fully in regard to modernizing and improving the Executive branch of the government.

That cooperation of the past four years between the Congress and the President has aimed at the fulfillment of a two-fold policy -- first, economic recovery through many kinds of assistance to agriculture, industry and banking; and, second, deliberate improvement in the personal security and opportunity of the great mass of our people.

The recovery we sought was not to be merely temporary. It was to be a recovery protected from the causes of previous disasters. With that aim in view -- to prevent a future similar crisis -- you and I joined in a series of enactments -- safe banking and sound currency, the guarantee of bank deposits, protection for the investor in securities, the removal of the threat of agricultural surpluses, insistence on collective bargaining, the outlawing of sweat shops, child labor and unfair trade practices, and the beginnings of security for the aged and the worker.

Nor was the recovery we sought merely a purposeless whirring of machinery. It is important, of course, that every man and woman in the country be able to find work, that every factory run, that business as a whole earn profits. But government in a democratic nation does not exist solely, or even primarily, for that purpose.

It is not enough that the wheels turn. They must carry us in the direction of a greater satisfaction in life for the average man. The deeper purpose of democratic government

is to assist as many of its citizens as possible --- especially those who need it most -- to improve their conditions of life, to retain all personal liberty which does not adversely affect their neighbors, and to pursue the happiness which comes with security and an opportunity for recreation and culture.

Even with our present recovery we are far from the goal of that deeper purpose. There are far-reaching problems still with us for which democracy must find solutions if it is to consider itself successful.

For example, many millions of Americans still live in habitations which not only fail to provide the physical benefits of modern civilization but breed disease and impair the health of future generations. The menace exists not only in the slum areas of the very large cities, but in many smaller cities as well. It exists on tens of thousands of farms, in varying degrees, in every part of the country.

Another example is the prevalence of an un-American type of tenant farming. I do not suggest that every farm family has the capacity to earn a satisfactory living on its own farm.

But many thousands of tenant farmers -- indeed most of them -- with some financial assistance and with some advice and training, can be made self-supporting on land which can eventually belong to them. The nation would be wise to offer them that chance instead of permitting them to go along as they do now, year after year, with neither future security as tenants nor hope of ownership of their homes nor expectation of bettering the lot of their children.

Another national problem is the intelligent development of our social security system, the broadening of the services it renders, and practical improvement in its operation. In many nations where such laws are in effect, success in meeting the expectations of the community has come through frequent amendment of the original statute.

And, of course, the most far-reaching and the most inclusive problem of all is that of unemployment and the lack of economic balance of which unemployment is at once the result and the symptom. The immediate question of adequate relief for the needy unemployed who are capable of performing useful work,

I shall discuss with the Congress during the coming months. The broader task of preventing unemployment is a matter of long-range evolutionary policy. To that we must continue to give our best thought and effort. We cannot assume that immediate industrial and commercial activity which mitigates present pressures justifies the national government at this time in placing the unemployment problem in a filing cabinet of finished business.

Fluctuations in employment are tied to all other wasteful fluctuations in our mechanism of production and distribution. One of these wastes is speculation. In securities or commodities, the larger the volume of speculation the wider become the upward and downward swings and the more certain the result that in the long run there will be more losses than gains in the underlying wealth of the community.

And, as is now well known to all of us, the same net loss to society comes from reckless overproduction and monopolistic underproduction of natural and manufactured commodities.

Overproduction, underproduction and speculation are three evil sisters who distill the troubles of unsound inflation and disastrous deflation. It is to the interest of the nation to have government help private enterprise to gain sound general price levels and to protect those levels from wide perilous fluctuations. We know now that if early in 1931 government had taken the steps which were taken two and three years later, the depression would never have reached the depths of the beginning of 1933.

Sober second thought confirms most of us in the belief that the broad objectives of the National Recovery Act were sound. We know now that its difficulties arose from the fact that it tried to do too much. For example, it was unwise to expect the same agency to regulate the length of working hours, minimum wages, child labor and collective bargaining on the one hand, and the complicated questions of unfair trade practices and business controls on the other.

The statute of NRA has been outlawed. The problems have not. They are still with us.

That decent conditions and adequate pay for labor, and just return for agriculture, can be secured through parallel and simultaneous action by forty-eight states is a proven impossibility. It is equally impossible to obtain curbs on monopoly, unfair trade practices and speculation by state action alone. There are those who, sincerely or insincerely, still cling to state action as a theoretical hope. But experience with actualities makes it clear that Federal laws supplementing state laws are needed to help solve the problems which result from modern invention applied in an industrialized nation which conducts its business with scant regard to state lines.

During the past year there has been a growing belief that there is little fault to be found with the Constitution of the United States as it stands today. The vital need is not an alteration of our fundamental law, but an increasingly enlightened view with reference to it. Difficulties have grown out of its interpretation; but rightly considered, it can be used as an instrument of progress, and not as a device for prevention of action.

It is worth our while to read and re-read the preamble of the Constitution, and Article I thereof which confers the legislative powers upon the Congress of the United States. It is also worth our while to read again the debates in the Constitutional Convention of one hundred and fifty years ago. From such reading, I obtain the very definite thought that the members of that convention were fully aware that civilization would raise problems for the proposed new Federal Government, which they themselves could not even surmise; and that it was their definite intent and expectation that a liberal interpretation in the years to come would give to the Congress the same relative powers over new national problems as they themselves gave to the Congress over the national problems of their day.

In presenting to the Convention the first basic draft of the Constitution, Edmund Randolph explained that it was the purpose "to insert essential principles only, lest the operation of government should be clogged by rendering those provisions permanent and unalterable which ought to be accommodated to times and events."

With a better understanding of our purposes, and a more intelligent recognition of our needs as a nation, it is not to be assumed that there will be prolonged failure to bring legislative and judicial action into closer harmony. Means must be found to adapt our legal forms and our judicial interpretation to the actual present national needs of the largest progressive democracy in the modern world.

That thought leads to a consideration of world problems. To go no further back than the beginning of this century, men and women everywhere were seeking conditions of life very different from those which were customary before modern invention and modern industry and modern communications had come into being. The World War, for all of its tragedy, encouraged these demands, and stimulated action to fulfill these new desires.

Many national governments seemed unable adequately to respond; and, often with the improvident assent of the masses of the people themselves, new forms of government were set up with oligarchy taking the place of democracy. In oligarchies, militarism has leapt forward, while in those nations which have retained democracy, militarism has waned.

I have recently visited three of our sister-Republics in South America. The very cordial receptions with which I was greeted were in tribute to democracy. To me the outstanding observation of that visit was that the masses of the peoples of all the Americas are convinced that the democratic form of government can be made to succeed and do not wish to substitute for it any other form of government. They believe that democracies are best able to cope with the changing problems of modern civilization within themselves, and that democracies are best able to maintain peace among themselves.

The Inter-American Conference, operating on these fundamental principles of democracy, did much to assure peace in this Hemisphere. Existing peace machinery was improved. New instruments to maintain peace and eliminate causes of war were adopted. Wider protection of the interests of the American Republics in the event of war outside the Western Hemisphere was provided. Respect for, and observance of, international treaties and international law were strengthened. Principles of liberal

trade policies, as effective aids to the maintenance of peace were reaffirmed. The intellectual and cultural relationships among American Republics were broadened as a part of the general peace program.

In a world unhappily thinking in terms of war, the representatives of twenty-one nations sat around a table, in an atmosphere of complete confidence and understanding, sincerely discussing measures for maintaining peace. Here was a great and a permanent achievement directly affecting the lives and security of the two hundred and fifty million human beings who dwell in this Western Hemisphere. Here was an example which must have a wholesome effect upon the rest of the world.

In a very real sense, the Conference in Buenos Aires sent forth a message on behalf of all the democracies of the world to those nations which live otherwise. Because such other governments are perhaps more spectacular, it was high time for democracy to assert itself.

Because all of us believe that our democratic form of government can cope adequately with modern problems as they arise, it is patriotic as well as logical for us to prove that we can meet new national needs with new laws consistent with an historic constitutional framework clearly intended to receive liberal and not narrow interpretation.

The United States of America, within itself, must continue the task of making democracy succeed.

In that task the legislative branch of our government will, I am confident, continue to meet the demands of democracy whether they relate to the curbing of abuses, the extension of help to those who need help, or the better balancing of our interdependent economies.

So, too, the Executive branch of the government must move forward in this task, and, at the same time, provide better management for administrative action of all kinds.

The Judicial branch also is asked by the people to do its part in making democracy successful. We do not ask the Courts to call non-existent powers into being, but we have a

right to expect that conceded powers or those legitimately implied shall be made effective instruments for the common good.

The process of our democracy must not be imperiled by the denial of essential powers of free government.

Your task and mine is not ending with the end of the depression. The people of the United States have made it clear that they expect us to continue our active efforts in behalf of their peaceful advancement.

In that spirit of endeavor and service I greet the Seventy-Fifth Congress at the beginning of this auspicious New Year.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

(Original reading copy)
FDR

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS

January 6, 1937

(TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:)

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

For the first time in our national history a President delivers his Annual Message to a new Congress within a fortnight of the expiration of his term of office. While there is no change in the Presidency this year, change will occur in future years. It is my belief that under this new constitutional practice, the President should in every fourth year, in so far as seems reasonable, review the existing state of our national affairs and outline broad future problems, leaving specific recommendations for future legislation to be made by the President about to be inaugurated.

At this time, however, circumstances of the moment compel me to ask your immediate consideration of: First, measures extending the life of certain authorizations and powers which, under present statutes, expire within a few weeks; second, an addition to the existing Neutrality Act to cover specific points raised by the unfortunate civil strife in Spain; and, third, a deficiency appropriation bill for which I shall submit estimates this week.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

In March, 1933, the problems which faced our nation and which only our national government had the resources to meet, were more serious even than appeared on the surface.

It was not only that the visible mechanism of economic life had broken down. More disturbing was the fact that long neglect of the needs of the underprivileged had brought too many of our people to the verge of doubt as to the successful adaptation of our historic traditions to (the) a complex modern world. In that, lay a challenge to our democratic form of government itself.

Ours was the task to prove that democracy could be made to function in (the) a world of today as effectively as in the simpler world of a hundred years ago. Ours was the task to do more than to argue a theory. The times required the confident answer of performance to those whose instinctive faith in humanity made them want to believe that in the long run democracy would prove superior to more extreme forms of government as a process of getting action when action was wisdom, without the spiritual sacrifices which those other forms of government exact.

That challenge we met. (Applause) To meet it required unprecedented activities under Federal leadership -- to end abuses -- to restore a large measure of material prosperity -- to give new faith to millions of our citizens

who had been traditionally taught to expect that democracy would provide continuously wider opportunity and continuously greater security in a world where science was continuously making material riches more available to man.

In the many methods of attack with which we met (these) those problems, you and I, by mutual understanding and by determination to cooperate, helped to make democracy succeed by refusing to permit unnecessary disagreement to arise between (two of) our two branches of government.

(Applause) That spirit of cooperation was able to solve difficulties of extraordinary magnitude and ramification with few important errors, and at a cost that was cheap when measured by the immediate necessities and by the eventual results.

I look forward to a continuance of that cooperation in the next four years. I look forward also to (a) the continuance of the basis of that cooperation -- a mutual respect for each other's proper sphere of functioning in a democracy which is working well, and a common-sense realization of the need for play in the joints of the machine.

(Applause)

On that basis, it is within the right of the Congress to determine, for example, which of the many new activities shall be continued or abandoned, increased or curtailed.

On that same basis, the President alone has the responsibility for their administration. I find that this task of executive management has reached the point where our administrative machinery needs comprehensive overhauling. I shall, therefore, shortly address the Congress more fully in regard to modernizing and improving the Executive branch of the government.

That cooperation of the past four years between the Congress and the President has aimed at the fulfillment of a two-fold policy -- first, economic recovery through many kinds of assistance to agriculture, to industry and to banking; and, second, deliberate improvement in the personal security and opportunity of the great mass of our people.

The recovery we sought was not to be merely temporary. It was to be a recovery protected from the causes of previous disasters. With that aim in view -- to prevent a future similar crisis -- you and I joined in a series of enactments -- safe banking and sound currency, the guarantee of bank deposits, protection for the investor in securities, the removal of the threat of agricultural surpluses, insistence on collective bargaining, the outlawing of sweat shops, child labor and unfair trade practices, and, last but not least, the beginnings of security for the aged and the worker. (Applause)

Nor was the recovery that we sought merely a purposeless whirring of machinery. It is important, of course, that every man and woman in the country be able to find work, that every factory run, that business and farming as a whole shall earn profits. But government in a democratic nation does not exist solely, or even primarily, for that purpose.

It is not enough that the wheels turn. They must carry us in the direction of a greater satisfaction in life for the average (man) citizen. (Applause) The deeper purpose of democratic government is to assist as many of its citizens as possible -- especially those who need it most -- to improve their conditions of life, to retain all personal liberty which does not adversely affect their neighbors, and to pursue the happiness which comes with security and an opportunity for recreation and culture.

Even with our present recovery we are far from the goal of that deeper purpose. There are far-reaching problems still with us for which democracy must find solutions if it is to consider itself successful. (Applause)

For example, many millions of Americans still live in habitations which not only fail to provide the physical benefits of modern civilization but breed disease and impair the health of future generations. The menace exists not only in the slum areas of the (very large) great

cities, but in many smaller cities as well. It exists on tens of thousands of farms, in varying degrees, in every part of the country.

Another example is the prevalence of an un-American type of tenant farming. I do not suggest that every farm family has the capacity to earn a satisfactory living on its own farm. But many thousands, tens of thousands, of tenant farmers -- indeed most of them, I believe -- with some financial assistance and with some advice and training, can be made self-supporting on land which can eventually belong to them. (Applause) The nation would be wise to offer them that chance instead of permitting them to go along as they do now, year after year, with neither future security as tenants nor hope of ownership of their homes nor expectation of bettering the lot of their children.

Another national problem is the intelligent development of our social security system, the broadening of the services it renders, and practical improvement in its operation. In many nations where such laws are in effect, success in meeting the expectations of the community has come through frequent amendment of the original statute.

And, of course, the most far-reaching and the most inclusive problem of all is that of unemployment and the lack of economic balance of which unemployment is at once the result and the symptom. The immediate question

of adequate relief for the needy unemployed who are capable of performing useful work, I shall discuss with the Congress during the coming months. The broader task of preventing unemployment is a matter of long-range evolutionary policy, and to (that) it we must continue to give our best thought and effort. We cannot assume that immediate industrial and commercial activity which mitigates present pressures justifies the national government at this time in placing the unemployment problem in a filing cabinet of finished business. (Applause)

Fluctuations in employment are tied to all other wasteful fluctuations in our mechanism of production and distribution. One of these wastes is speculation. In securities or commodities, the larger the volume of speculation, the wider become the upward and downward swings and the more certain the result that in the long run there will be more losses than gains in the underlying wealth of the community.

And, as is now well known to all of us, the same net loss to society comes from reckless overproduction and monopolistic underproduction of our natural and manufactured commodities. (Applause)

Yes, overproduction and underproduction and speculation are three evil sisters who distill the troubles of unsound inflation and the troubles of disastrous deflation.

It is to the interest of the nation, as a whole, to have government help private enterprise to gain sound general price levels and to protect those levels from wide and perilous fluctuations. We know now that if early in 1931 government had taken the steps (which) that were taken two (and) or three years later, the depression would never have reached the depths of the beginning of 1933. (Prolonged applause)

Sober second thought confirms most of us, I think, in the belief that the broad objectives of the National Recovery Act were sound. (Applause) We know now that its difficulties arose from the fact that it tried to do too much. For example, it was unwise, perhaps, to expect the same agency to regulate the length of working hours, minimum wages, child labor and collective bargaining on the one hand and the complicated questions of unfair trade practices and business controls on the other.

The statute of NRA has been outlawed. The problems have not. They are still with us. (Prolonged applause)

That decent conditions and adequate pay for labor, and just return for agriculture, can be secured through parallel and simultaneous action by forty-eight states is a proven impossibility. (Applause) It is equally impossible to obtain curbs on monopoly, unfair trade practices and speculation by state action alone. There are those who,

sincerely or insincerely, still cling to state action as a theoretical hope. But experience with actualities makes it clear that Federal laws supplementing state laws are needed to help solve the problems which result from modern invention applied in an industrialized nation which conducts its business with scant regard to state lines.

During the past year there has been a growing belief in the Nation that there is little fault to be found with the Constitution of the United States as it stands today. (Applause) The vital need is not an alteration of our fundamental law, but an increasingly enlightened view with reference to it. (Applause, cheers) Difficulties have grown out of its interpretation; but rightly considered, it can be used as an instrument of progress, and not as a device for prevention of action. (Applause)

It is worth our while to read and re-read the preamble of the Constitution of the United States, (applause) and Article I thereof which confers the legislative powers upon the Congress of the United States. (Applause) It is also worth our while to read again the debates in the Constitutional Convention of one hundred and fifty years ago. From such reading, I obtain and I believe most of you obtain the very definite thought that the members of that Convention were fully aware that civilization would raise problems for the proposed new Federal Government, which they

themselves could not even surmise; and that it was their definite intent and expectation that a liberal interpretation in the years to come would give to the Congress the same relative powers over new national problems as they themselves gave to the Congress over the national problems of their day. (Prolonged applause)

In presenting to the Convention the first basic draft of the Constitution, Edmund Randolph explained that it was the purpose "to insert essential principles only, lest the operation of government should be clogged by rendering those provisions permanent and unalterable which ought to be accommodated to times and events."

With a better understanding of our purposes, and a more intelligent recognition of our needs as a nation, it is not to be assumed that there will be prolonged failure to bring legislative and judicial action into closer harmony. Means must be found to adapt our legal forms and our judicial interpretation to the actual present national needs of the largest progressive democracy in the modern world. (Applause)

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tragedy, encouraged these demands, and stimulated action to fulfill these new desires.

Many national governments seemed unable adequately to respond; and, often with the improvident assent of the masses of the people themselves, new forms of government were set up with oligarchy taking the place of democracy. In oligarchies, militarism has leapt forward, while in those nations which have retained democracy, militarism has waned. (Applause)

I have recently visited three of our sister Republics in South America. The very cordial receptions with which I was greeted were in tribute to democracy. (Applause) To me the outstanding observation of that visit was that the masses of the peoples of all the Americas are convinced that the democratic form of government can be made to succeed and do not wish to substitute for it any other form of government. (Prolonged applause) They believe that democracies are best able to cope with the changing problems of modern civilization within themselves, and that democracies are best able to maintain peace among themselves.

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January 6, 1937

STATEMENTS FILE
Shorthand by Kenneth L. Kenner

CONFIDENTIAL: To be held in STRICT CONFIDENCE and no portion, synopsis or intimation to be published or given out until delivery of the President's address to the Congress has begun.
CAUTION: Extreme care must be exercised to avoid premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY
Assistant Secretary to the President

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

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In the many methods of attack with which we met these problems, you and I, by mutual understanding and by determination to cooperate, helped to make democracy succeed by refusing to permit unnecessary disagreement to arise between the two branches of government. That spirit of cooperation was able to solve difficulties of extraordinary magnitude and ramifications with few important errors, and at a cost cheap when measured by the immediate necessities and the eventual results.

I look forward to a continuance of that cooperation in the next four years. I look forward also to a continuance of the basis of that cooperation -- mutual respect for each other's proper sphere of functioning in a democracy which is working well, and a common-sense realization of the need for play in the joints of the machine.

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Nor was the recovery we sought merely a purposeless whirring of machinery. It is important, of course, that every man and woman in the country be able to find work, that every factory run, that business, as a whole, earn profits. But government in a democratic nation does not exist solely, or even primarily, for that purpose.

It is not enough that the wheels turn. They must carry us in the direction of a greater satisfaction in life for the average man. The deeper purpose of democratic government is to assist as many of its citizens as possible -- especially those who need it most -- to improve their conditions of life, to retain all personal liberty which does not adversely affect their neighbors, and to pursue the happiness which comes with security and an opportunity for recreation and culture.

Even with our present recovery we are far from the goal of that deeper purpose. There are far-reaching problems still with us for which democracy must find solutions if it is to consider itself successful.

For example, many millions of Americans still live in habitations which not only fail to provide the physical benefits of modern civilization but breed disease and impair the health of future generations. The menace exists not only in the slum areas of the very large cities, but in many smaller cities as well. It exists on tens of thousands of farms, in varying degrees, in every part of the country.

Another example is the prevalence of an un-American type of tenant farming. I do not suggest that every farm family has the capacity to earn a satisfactory living on its own farm. But many thousands of tenant farmers -- indeed most of them -- with some financial assistance and with some advice and training, can be made self-supporting on land which can eventually belong to them. The nation would be wise to offer them that chance instead of permitting them to go along as they do now, year after year, with neither future security as tenants nor hope of ownership of their homes nor expectation of bettering the lot of their children.

Another national problem is the intelligent development of our social security system, the broadening of the services it renders, and practical improvement in its operation. In many nations where such laws are in effect, success in meeting the expectations of the community has come through frequent amendment of the original statute.

And, of course, the most far-reaching and the most inclusive problem of all is that of unemployment and the lack of economic balance of which unemployment is at once the result and the symptom. The immediate question of adequate relief for the needy unemployed who are capable of performing useful work, I shall discuss with the Congress during the coming months. The broader task of preventing unemployment is a matter of long-range evolutionary policy. To that we must continue to give our best thought and effort. We cannot assume that immediate industrial and commercial activity which mitigates present pressures justifies the national government at this time in placing the unemployment problem in a filing cabinet of finished business.

Fluctuations in employment are tied to all other wasteful fluctuations in our mechanism of production and distribution. One of these wastes is speculation. In securities or commodities, the larger the volume of speculation, the wider become the upward and downward swings and the more certain the result that in the long run there will be more losses than gains in the underlying wealth of the community.

And, as is now well known to all of us, the same net loss to society comes from reckless overproduction and monopolistic underproduction of natural and manufactured commodities.

Overproduction, underproduction and speculation are three evil sisters who distill the trouble of unsound inflation and disastrous deflation. It is to the interest of the nation to have government help private enterprise to gain sound general price levels and to protect those levels from wide perilous fluctuations. We know now that if early in 1931 government had taken the steps which were taken two and three years later, the depression would never have reached the depths of the beginning of 1933.

Sober second thought confirms most of us in the belief that the broad objectives of the National Recovery Act were sound. We know now that its difficulties arose from the fact that it tried to do too much. For example, it was unwise to expect the same agency to regulate the length of working hours, minimum wages, child labor and collective bargaining on the one hand and the complicated questions of unfair trade practices and business controls on the other.

The statute of NRA has been outlawed. The problems have not. They are still with us.

That decent conditions and adequate pay for labor, and just return for agriculture, can be secured through parallel and simultaneous action by forty-eight states is a proven impossibility. It is equally impossible to obtain curbs on monopoly, unfair trade practices and speculation by state action alone. There are those who, sincerely or insincerely, still cling to state action as a theoretical hope. But experience with securities makes it clear that Federal laws supplementing state laws are needed to help solve the problems which result from modern invention applied in an industrialized nation which conducts its business with scant regard to state lines.

During the past year there has been a growing belief that there is little fault to be found with the Constitution of the United States as it stands today. The vital need is not an alteration of our fundamental law, but an increasingly enlightened view with reference to it. Difficulties have grown out of its interpretation; but rightly considered, it can be used as an instrument of progress, and not as a device for prevention of action.

(C!)

It is worth our while to read and re-read the preamble of the Constitution, and Article I thereof which confers the legislative powers upon the Congress of the United States.⁶ It is also worth our while to read again the debates in the Constitutional Convention of one hundred and fifty years ago. From such reading, I obtain the very definite thought that the members of that Convention were fully aware that civilization would raise problems for the proposed new Federal Government, which they themselves could not even surmise; and that it was their definite intent and expectation that a liberal interpretation in the years to come would give to the Congress the same relative powers over national problems as they themselves gave to the Congress over the national problems of their day.

In presenting to the Convention the first basic draft of the Constitution, Edmund Randolph explained that it was the purpose "to insert essential principles only, lest the operation of government should be clogged by rendering those provisions permanent and unalterable which ought to be accommodated to times and events."

With a better understanding of our purposes, and a more intelligent recognition of our needs as a nation, it is not to be assumed that there will be prolonged failure to bring legislative and judicial action into closer harmony. Means must be found to adapt our legal forms and our judicial interpretation to the actual present national needs of the largest progressive democracy in the modern world.

That thought leads to a consideration of world problems. To go no further back than the beginning of this century, men and women everywhere were seeking conditions of life very different from those which were customary before modern invention and modern industry and modern communications had come into being. The World War, for all of its tragedy, encouraged these demands, and stimulated action to fulfill these new desires.

Many national governments seemed unable adequately to respond; and, often with the improvident assent of the masses of the people themselves, new forms of government were set up with oligarchy taking the place of democracy. In oligarchies, militarism has leapt forward, while in those nations which have retained democracy, militarism has vanished.

I have recently visited three of our sister Republics in South America. The very cordial receptions with which I was greeted were in tribute to democracy.⁷ To me the outstanding observation of that visit was that the masses of the peoples of all the Americas are convinced that the democratic form of government can be made to succeed and do not wish to substitute for it any other form of government.⁸ They believe that democracies are best able to cope with the changing problems of modern civilization within themselves, and that democracies are best able to maintain peace among themselves.

The Inter-American Conference, operating on these fundamental principles of democracy, did much to assure peace in this Hemisphere. Existing peace machinery was improved. New instruments to maintain peace and eliminate causes of war were adopted. Wider protection of the interests of the American Republics in the event of war outside the Western Hemisphere was provided. Respect for, and observance of, international treaties and international law were strengthened. Principles of liberal trade policies, as effective aids to the maintenance of peace were reaffirmed. The intellectual and cultural relationships among American Republics were broadened as a part of the general peace program.

In a world unhappily thinking in terms of war, the representatives of twenty-one nations sat around a table, in an atmosphere of complete confidence and understanding, sincerely discussing measures for maintaining peace. Here was a great and permanent achievement directly affecting the lives and security of the two hundred and fifty million human beings who dwell in this Western Hemisphere. Here was an example which must have a wholesome effect upon the rest of the world.

In a very real sense, the Conference in Buenos Aires sent forth a message on behalf of all the democracies of the world to those nations which live otherwise. Because such other governments are perhaps more spectacular, it was high time for democracy to assert itself.

Because all of us believe that our democratic form of government can cope adequately with modern problems as they arise, it is patriotic as well as logical for us to prove that we can meet new national needs with new laws consistent with an historic constitutional framework clearly intended to receive liberal and not narrow interpretation.

The United States of America, within itself, must continue the task of making democracy succeed.

In that task the legislative branch of our government will, I am confident, continue to meet the demands of democracy whether they relate to the curbing of abuses, the extension of help to those who need help, or the better balancing of our interdependent economies.

So, too, the Executive branch of the government must move forward in this task, and, at the same time, provide better management for administrative action of all kinds.

The Judicial branch also is asked by the people to do its part in making democracy successful. We do not ask the Courts to call non-existent powers into being, but we have a right to expect that conceded powers or those legitimately implied shall be made effective instruments for the common good.

The process of our democracy must not be imperiled by the denial of essential powers of free government.

Your task and mine is not ending with the end of the depression. The people of the United States have made it clear that they expect us to continue our active efforts in behalf of their peaceful advancement.

In that spirit of endeavor and service I greet the Seventy-Fifth Congress at the beginning of this auspicious New Year.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 6, 1937.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

DRAFT

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

For the first time in our national history a President
delivers his annual Message to ~~the~~ Congress within a fortnight
of the expiration of his term of office. While no change
in the Presidency occurs this year, such change will occur in
future years, and I am therefore constrained to the belief that
~~it~~ in every fourth year the President should, in so far as seems
reasonable, review the existing state of our national affairs,

~~but and leave to a time immediately following the coming inauguration~~
specific recommendations for future legislative enactments to the
~~President about to be inaugurated~~

[I will not burden you with a detailed recital of the
problems which faced our nation, and therefore our national
government, in March, 1933. You are fully aware not only of the
economic crisis of those days, but also of the crying need for
social betterment. You know also of the unprecedented activities
under Federal leadership during the past four years, under which
many former abuses have been ended or lessened, a great degree

*Fed the resources went, went far deeper
there appeared on the surface.*

(A) Not only had the mechanism of economic life broken down but long years of neglect of the needs for social betterment of the underprivileged had ~~so thrown down~~ brought about ~~a state of popular~~
~~hick~~ ~~saint~~ conditions which laid down a challenge to Democracy itself. ours was the job to ~~make do~~ prove that Democracy could be made to work in a world beset by dictatorships as efficiently as in the modern world as ~~well~~ efficiency as in the simpler world of a hundred years ago. ours was the job to give confident answers to those who held to the hope ~~that in a~~ ~~there was a practicable alternative~~ of Democracy in a world of dictatorships.

That challenge we met. To meet it required

had been led to expect that
Democracy would provide
in their lives

- 2 -

of material prosperity restored, and hope given to many millions
of our citizens who rightfully believed that they were entitled
to wider opportunity and greater security in their lives.

[Here again it is unnecessary for me to recite the scores
of individual methods of attack which we have used in meeting
these problems, in moving We have moved on a broad front] [Too little
credit was for successful results has been given to the simple
fact of understanding cooperation] between the legislative and the
Executive branches of our Government a cooperation which in view
of the magnitude and the wide ramifications of the task, resulted
in few fundamental errors, and in expenditures in greater part] at a
cost just excessive when measured by the eventual results.
Justified both by the necessities and by the outcome.

(C) Many new activities have been undertaken, it is wholly within
the right of the Congress to determine whether these activities
shall be continued or abandoned, increased or curtailed.

On the President however falls the exclusive duty for their
administration. The Constitution vests this responsibility in
him and in him alone. I find that this task of executive manage-

Administration

B) we solved one of the ^{major} problems of a
government ~~protested~~ by a
democratic separation of powers — understanding
and working cooperation between ~~the legislature~~

C.) I look forward to continued cooperation in the next four years. I look forward to a continuance of the basis of that co-operation - a mutual respect for each other's proper sphere of functioning in a democracy which works. And therefore, of the

ment has reached the point where ~~the~~ administrative machinery needs
a comprehensive ~~reorganization~~ revision. I shall shortly address the Congress
more fully in regard [to what I believe to be] ^{one} vital importance
to the modernizing and improvement ^{of} government. At this time
however, it [may well be said] ^{The Executive side of the} ~~should be pointed out that while~~ better business
management into [the Executive branch of government, ^{will relax} while re-
lieving] duplication and lost motion, [does not in itself produce] ^{it can} ~~afford~~
[a large percentage of] savings in comparison with total expenditures.
[Large savings can be obtained only by] ^{That can come only by} abolishing or diminishing
actual functions of government. Congress determines [this policy]
that ^{to control of} by means of authorizations and appropriations.

Beginning in 1933, and continuing through each of the
three succeeding years, the Congress and the President were in
full accord in [the adoption of] a two-fold policy ^{economic recovery by} - relief for
the needy unemployed, and assistance to ^{industry and banking,} industry and
agriculture ^{in order to make them self-supporting.} As corre-
lates to these two fields were] ^{the} series of enactments intend-
ed to avert a future crisis similar to that through which we
were passing, ^{such as} the guaranteeing of bank deposits, (E)

D
and ~~the~~ definite improvement in the security
~~of~~
our people.

But ^{more important} recovery was not our goal. We
sought to ^{find} ~~the causes~~ which had
brought about disaster and to build protection
to make it permanent by protecting it
from the causes of disaster in 1933. For
that reason we co-operated in a series of
~~treatments~~

E) the beginnings of security to the aged and
the worker, the removal of the threat of
agricultural surpluses, protection for
the investor in securities, sound
banking and intelligent currency,
the outlawing of sweat shops, child labor
and unfair trade practices.

[the Agricultural adjustment, social security, resettlement, flood prevention, security supervision and fiscal laws.]

[All of this called for greatly increased expenditures the first year, in the face of a greatly diminished national revenue. From that time on, however, the revenues have steadily and definitely increased, and the ^{federal} ~~federal deficit is~~ expenditures are, with equal definiteness, declining.

The forthcoming budget message will, I am sure, be gratifying to you, ~~for it leads us to hope that the time is not far off when the government can begin some reduction in the public debt.~~

I would not have you think that I am deliberately advocating a policy of retrenchment based on the abandonment of any of the objectives which have guided us during the past four years. There is no reversal of national policy. You and I hew to the same line. We do so for the good reason that our objectives have not yet been attained.

~~Democratic~~ Government of a nation [like the United States] does not exist for the sole, or even the primary, purpose of fostering prosperity. Its [true] purpose is to assist as large a majority of its citizens as possible, to improve their conditions of life, to retain all personal liberty which does not adversely affect their neighbors, and to pursue the happiness which [means] comes with security and an opportunity for [the avocations of] recreation and culture.

(F)

^{Ministers}
The problem of adequate relief for the needy unemployed, who are capable of performing useful work, I shall [hope to] discuss with the Congress during the coming month. This problem, ^{The broadest} ~~itself is a matter of~~ nevertheless, is inevitably and rightly connected with long-range policies [which are with us today, and which we cannot solve merely by assuming that great business or building activity will] which ^{assume that immediate} present pressures will so mitigate as to allow the national government to place [it] the unemployment problem among those unfinished matters which are put away in filing cabinets of finished matters.

For example, many millions of Americans are living

Even with our present recovery
D, we are far from ~~attaining~~ the goal of
that greater purpose. For example, our
less There are still far too
many unemployed citizens.

today in habitations which not only breed disease, thus not only affecting ~~and impairing~~ the health of future generations, but make impossible

[the enjoyment of what have come to be considered many of the] and physical material/benefits of [our much-vaunted] modern civilization. The menace

[The dwelling conditions to which I refer] exist not only in much publicized areas of the very large cities, but [also in many of the] to sometimes to an even greater extent smaller cities as well. They exist on tens of thousands of farms, [some of them] in every part of the country, [but most of them] in the southern states.

Another example [to which we cannot be blind] is the prevalence of an unsatisfactory and un-American type of tenant farming. [I do not mean to suggest that every farm family has the capacity to earn a satisfactory living on its own farm.

But I point out that [many thousands of them], with some financial assistance, /with some advice and training, can be

made self-supporting on land which will eventually belong to them. ^{The Nation would be wise to offer them that chance} instead of [going] along as they do now, year after year, permitting them to go

as tenants with no hope of ownership of their homes and no expectation of being able to better the lot of their children.

Another example among our national needs is [that of the continued search for practical improvements in continuing efforts to improve] our social security laws. We should remember [for instance,] that many nations [which adopted old-age contributory pension systems many years ago, have amended and improved the original law through almost all of the succeeding years.]

Another example relates to the field of buying and selling securities and commodities, [and this merges into the even larger question of planning against either unwieldy surpluses or abnormal scarcities.]

[In the case of the exchanges on which securities and commodities are dealt in, the greater the speculation the greater become the upward and downward swings, and it is these drastic swings [which], in the long run, create more losses than gains in the underlying welfare of the community.

[In the case of the basic commodities, whether they be crops or minerals, or textiles or steel, or automobiles, government in itself, under modern conditions, is justified in the use of proper means to prevent run-away over-production

9) Where such laws now work smoothly, the efficiency of operation has come through constant amendment and improvement of the original statute.

Modern go

Modern government also prepared to meet evils > overproduction of certain basic agricultural & mineral resources with the resulting destructive surpluses and the equally harmful production of certain indispensable manufactured commodities by monopolistic price and quota controls.

and also to avoid harmful under-production.] We know now, that if, early in 1931, the government had fostered a great building program, and at the same time had curtailed the acreage of a few of our major crops, the [depth reached by the world never had needed the depths of depression [in] the spring of 1933 [would not have been nearly as great as it was.]

The great questions which affect men and women who work for wages, are involved in this same [broad field]. Because the length of working hours, minimum pay, child labor, [and indeed all the underlying principles of] collective bargaining, have much to do with production and prices.

[A sober second thought [leads] most of us [to believe] that the objectives of the National Recovery Act were sound. The principal difficulties lay in the administration of an Act which did not separate the administrative functions into several parts. If the Supreme Court, by its decision, had not outlawed the whole of the work of the National Recovery Administration, ^{Amendatory} legislation based on experience would have been wholly capable over a period of a few years, of ~~obtaining~~ retaining the underlying

(4) We know now that its difficulties arose from the fact that it tried to accomplish too much at the same time.

objectives.

That adequate conditions and pay for work can be secured

[On the one hand, and curbs on monopoly, unfair trade practices

and speculation can be obtained on the other hand,] through

parallel and simultaneous action by 48 states, is a proven
(J) impossibility. There are those who still cling to ^{the theoretical} hope,
but [the long] experience ^{with actualities} [of a century and a half,] makes it clear

that Federal laws alone can solve these problems which [are the]
direct [result ^{from}] of modern invention applied in an industrialized
nation which conducts its business with scant regard to state
lines.

During the past year there has been a growing belief
that there is little fault to be found with the Constitution
of the United States as it stands today. The vital need [of
today] is not an alteration of our fundamental law, but an in-
creasingly enlightened view with reference to it. Difficulties
have grown out of its interpretation: but rightly considered,
it can be used as an instrument of progress, and not a device for
preventing action. It is worth our while to read and re-read

J It is equally impossible, ~~on the other~~
hand, to obtain curbs on monopoly,
unfair trade practices and speculation
by state action.

the preamble of the Constitution, and Article I thereof, which confers the legislative powers upon the Congress of the United States. It is also worth our while to read again the debates in the Constitutional Convention of 150 years' ago. From such reading, I obtain~~not~~ the very definite thought that the members of that Convention were fully aware that ~~the problems of~~ civilization would raise ~~questions~~ ^{problems} ~~of~~ for the ^{new} Federal Government which ~~they~~ ^{were creating}, which they themselves could not even surmise; and that it was their definite intent that a liberal interpretation in the years to come would give to the Congress the same relative powers over new national problems which they themselves gave to the Congress ^{with the intention of} ~~in respect to~~ ^{existing} national problems.

With a better understanding of our purposes, and a wider recognition of our needs as a nation, it is not to be assumed that there will be prolonged failure to bring legislative and judicial action into closer harmony. Means must be found to adapt our legal forms and our judicial interpretation to the actual present national needs of the largest progressive democracy in the modern world.

That thought leads me logically to a consideration of world problems. To go no further back than the beginning of this century, it seems evident that men and women everywhere were seeking conditions of life very different from those which were customary before modern invention and modern industry and modern communications had come into being. The world War, for all of its tragedy, encouraged these demands, and stimulated the desire for action to get them.

Many forms of national government seemed unable to respond, and, often with the assent of the masses of the people themselves, new forms of government whereby oligarchy took the place of Democracy were set up. With them militarism has leapt forward, whereas among those nations which have retained democracy militarism has waned.

I have recently visited three of our sister-republics in South America. I do not hesitate to say that to me the outstanding lesson of that visit was the strengthening of my conviction that the masses of the peoples of all the Americas be-

lieve that the democratic form of government can be made to succeed and that they do not wish to substitute for it ~~the oligarchy~~ ^{any other} ~~relic~~ form of government. They believe that democracies are best able to retain peace, ^{among them} and that democracies are best able to cope with the changing problems of modern civilization within themselves.

In a very real sense the great Inter-American Conference in Buenos Aires issued a challenge on behalf of all the ~~democracies~~ ^{other} democracies of the world to those nations which live ~~under~~ ^{for} ~~other forms of government~~ ^{to}. Because such other governments are perhaps more spectacular it was high time ~~the~~ democracy asserted itself.

If for no other reason than that all of us believe that our form of government can cope adequately with ~~new~~ new problems as they arise, we can patriotically and logically proceed with new laws to meet new national needs under an historic constitutional framework clearly intended to receive liberal and not narrow interpretation.

The Inter-American Conference proceeding on the fundamental principles of Democracy of which I have spoken, took many steps in furtherance of peace in this hemisphere. Existing peace machinery was strengthened; new instruments to maintain peace and eliminate causes leading to war were adopted; a wider protection of the interests of the American Republics in the event of war outside the Western hemisphere was provided; respect for, and observance of, international treaties and international law was strengthened; principles of liberal trade policies, as effective aids to the maintenance of peace were reaffirmed; and the intellectual and cultural relations among American Republics as a part of the general peace program were broadened.

In view of the present situation
I do not hesitate to say that the results of the Conference constitute a great and I believe a permanent achievement in ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~Western~~ Hemisphere. direct effect on the lives of and peace among the two hundred and fifty million human beings who dwell in this Western Hemisphere.

The Conference did more. In a world unhappily thinking in terms of war, and of cut-throat competition, the representatives of 21 nations have sat at a common table and earnestly discussed

measures for maintaining peace in an atmosphere of complete confidence and understanding. Such an example cannot but have a wholesome effect upon the rest of the world.

~~from p. 2~~ The United States of America, within itself, must continue the task of making democracy succeed. In this task, the legislative branch of our government will I trust continue to meet social needs whether they relate to the curbing of abuses, the extension of help to those who need help, or the better balancing of our economies. ^{interdependent}

~~So too~~ The Executive Branch of the Government ~~also~~ must move forward, ^{in this task and at same time} ~~to~~ ^{to} provide better management for administrative action of all kinds.

~~Judicial~~ The ~~Legislative~~ branch also is ~~asked~~ by the people to do ~~assist~~ in making democracy successful: We do not ask the Courts to call non-existent powers into being, but we have a right to expect that conceded powers or those legitimately implied shall be made effective instruments for the common good.

Your task and mine is not ending with the end of the depression. The people of the United States have made it clear

(first draft)

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that they expect us to continue our active efforts in behalf of their peaceful advancement. In that spirit of endeavor and service I greet the 75th Congress at the beginning of this auspicious New Year.

(SECOND DRAFT)

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

For the first time in our national history a President delivers his Annual Message to a new Congress within a fortnight of the expiration of his term of office. While there is no change in the Presidency this year, change will occur in future years. It is my belief that in every fourth year the President should, in so far as seems reasonable, review the existing state of our national affairs and outline broad future problems, leaving specific recommendations for future legislative enactments to the President about to be inaugurated.

H The problems which faced our nation in March, 1933, and which only our national government had the resources to meet, went far deeper than appeared on the surface.

Not only had the mechanism of economic life broken down, but long years of neglect of the needs for social betterment of the underprivileged had brought about conditions which laid down a challenge to ^{the term of government} ~~democracy~~ itself. Ours was the task to prove that ~~democracy~~ could be made to work in the modern world as efficiently as in the simpler

PA
world of a hundred years ago. Ours was the ~~job~~ to give
confident answer to those who held to the hope of Democracy
in a world of Dictatorships.

That challenge we met. To meet it required
unprecedented activities under Federal leadership during
in order
the past four years, to end abuses, to restore a ~~great~~ large
degree of material prosperity and to give new hope to
millions of our citizens who had been led to expect that
Democracy would provide in their lives wider opportunity
and greater security.

B
In the scores of individual methods of attack
which we used in meeting these problems, ~~in meeting~~ on a
broad front, we solved one of the major problems of a govern-
ment protected by a democratic separation of powers —
understanding and working cooperation between the legislative
and the Executive branches of our Government. That co-
operation solved problems of extraordinary magnitude and
ramifications, with few fundamental errors, and at a cost
not excessive when measured by the ^{immediate} necessities or the
eventual results.

I look forward to continued cooperation in the
Anticipate
next four years. I ~~look forward to~~ a continuance of the
basis of that cooperation — a mutual respect for each
other's proper sphere of functioning in a democracy which *if*
works.¹ And, therefore, of the many new activities which
have been undertaken, it will be within the right of the
Congress to determine which ~~of them~~ shall be continued or
abandoned, increased or curtailed.

On the President alone, however, the Constitution
has placed the responsibility for their administration. I
find that this task of executive management has reached the
point where our administrative machinery needs a comprehensive
overhauling. I shall shortly address the Congress more fully
in regard to the modernizing and improvement of the Executive
side of the government. At this time, however, it should be
pointed out that while better business management in the
Executive branch of government will relieve duplication and
lost motion, it cannot produce *a large percentage of* ~~appreciable~~ savings in com-
parison with total expenditures. *Large Savings*
abolishing or diminishing actual functions of government.
Congress alone can determine that by the control of
authorizations and appropriations.

SECOND DRAFT)

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For these last four years, the Congress and the President have been in full accord in a two-fold policy — ~~First~~ ¹ economic recovery by ~~relief for the needy unemployed,~~ and ² ~~assistance to agriculture, industry and banking, and~~ ^{secondly} ~~definite deliberate~~ improvement in the security and opportunity of the great mass of our people.

But mere temporary recovery was not our goal. We sought to ~~make it permanent by protecting~~ it from the causes of disaster ~~in 1933~~. For that reason ~~we~~ cooperated in a series of enactments intended to avert a future crisis similar to that through which we were passing — the guarantee of bank deposits, the beginnings of security to the aged and the worker, the removal of the threat of agricultural surpluses, protection for the investor in securities, ~~sound~~ banking and currency, the outlawing of sweat shops, child labor and unfair trade practices.

Government ~~of~~ a democratic nation does not exist ~~only~~ ⁱⁿ ~~or even primarily for~~ that for the sole, or even the primary, purpose of fostering prosperity at the top. Its deeper purpose is to assist as ^{especially those who need it most —} many of its citizens as possible to improve their conditions

of life, to retain all personal liberty which does not adversely affect their neighbors, and to pursue the happiness which comes with security and an opportunity for recreation and culture.

Even with our present recovery we are far from the goal of that greater purpose.

For example, there are still far too many unemployed citizens. The immediate problem of adequate relief for the needy unemployed, who are capable of performing useful work, I shall discuss with the Congress during the coming month. The broader problem of unemployment itself is a matter of long-range policy. We cannot assume that immediate business activity which mitigates present pressures will allow the national government to place the unemployment problem in a filing cabinet of finished matters.

For another example, many millions of Americans are living today in habitations which not only fail to provide the material and physical benefits of modern civilization but also breed disease and impair the health of future generations. The menace exists not only in the ~~most~~ ^{largest} publicized slum areas of the very large cities, but ~~sometimes~~ ^{now} ~~in~~ ^{everywhere} ~~more~~ ^{mainly} smaller cities as well. The menace exists on tens of thousands of farms in every part of the country, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~of these~~

R?

(SECOND DRAFT)

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~~particularly in the southern states.~~

Another example is the prevalence of an unsatisfactory and un-American type of tenant farming. Many thousands of tenant farmers, with some financial assistance and with some advice and training, can be made self-supporting on land which will eventually belong to them. The nation would be wise to offer them that chance instead of permitting them to go along as they do now, year after year, as tenants with no hope of ownership of their homes and no expectation of being able to better the lot of their children.

Another example among our national needs is the continued search for practical improvements in our social security laws. We should remember that in many nations where such laws now work smoothly, the efficiency of operation has come through constant amendment and improvement of the original statute.

Another example relates to the field of buying and selling securities and commodities. The greater the speculation the greater become the upward and downward swings. These drastic swings, in the long run, create more losses than gains in the underlying wealth of the community.

Modern government must also be prepared to meet the evils of the overproduction of certain basic agricultural and mineral resources with the resulting destructive surpluses and the equally harmful underproduction of certain indispensable manufactured commodities by monopolistic price and quota controls.

We know now that if, early in 1931, the government had fostered a great building program, and at the same time had curtailed the acreage of a few of our major crops, the depression would never have reached the depths of the Spring of 1933.

The great questions which affect men and women who work for wages are involved in ~~this~~ same problem. The length of working hours, minimum pay, child labor, collective bargaining, all have much to do with production and prices.

underlying objectives.

That adequate conditions and pay for work and adequate returns for agriculture can be secured through parallel and simultaneous action by forty-eight states is a proven impossibility. It is equally impossible to obtain curbs on monopoly, unfair trade practices and speculation by state ~~action~~. There are those who still cling to ^{this} theoretical hope; but experience with actualities makes it clear that Federal ~~laws~~ ^{are needed to help} solve the problems which result from modern invention applied in an industrialized nation which conducts its business with scant regard to state lines.

During the past year there has been a growing belief that there is little fault to be found with the Constitution of the United States as it stands today. The vital need is not an alteration of our fundamental law, but an increasingly enlightened view with reference to it. Difficulties have grown out of its interpretation; but rightly considered, it can be used as an instrument of progress, and not a device for prevention of action. It is worth ^{our} while to read and re-read

THIRD DRAFT AMENDED

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

For the first time in our national history a President delivers his Annual Message to a new Congress within a fortnight of the expiration of his term of office. While there is no change in the Presidency this year, change will occur in future years. It is my belief that under *this new constitutional practice*, in every fourth year, the President should, in so far as seems reasonable, review the existing state of our national affairs and outline broad future problems, leaving specific recommendations for future ~~legislative enactments~~ ^{legislation} to be made by the President about to be inaugurated.

At this time, however, I am compelled by the circumstances of the moment to ask your immediate consideration; first, of measures extending the life of certain ~~authorizations and powers~~ ^{additions to} ~~authorities~~ which, under present statutes, expire within a few weeks; second, of an ~~amendment~~ ^{issues raised} of the existing Neutrality Act to cover specific ~~problems occasioned~~ by the unfortunate civil strife in Spain; and, third, a deficiency appropriation bill for which I shall submit estimates this week.

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In March 1933
The problems which faced our nation ~~in March, 1933.~~
and which only our national government had the resources to
meet were more fundamental than appeared on the surface.

It was not only that the visible mechanism of
economic life had broken down. More disturbing was the fact
that long ~~years of~~ neglect of the need for continued better-
ment ~~of~~ ^{for} the underprivileged had brought too many of our people
~~to the verge of doubt as to the~~ ^{survival of} ~~values~~ of our historic traditions
~~in the~~ ^{to the} complex modern world. In that, lay a challenge to our
democratic form of government itself.

Ours was the task to prove that democracy could be
made to function in the world of today as ~~efficiently~~ ^{effectively} as in
the simpler world of a hundred years ago. Ours was the task
to do more than to argue a theory. The times required ~~us to~~
~~the~~ ^a confident answer ~~by actual~~ ^{of} performances to those whose
instinctive faith in humanity made them want to believe that
in the long run democracy would prove superior to more
extreme forms of government as a process of getting action
when action was ~~was~~ ^{needed}.

That challenge we met. To meet it required unprecedented activities under Federal leadership -- to end abuses, to restore a large degree of material prosperity, to give new faith to millions of our citizens who had been traditionally taught to expect that democracy would provide continuously wider opportunity and continuously greater security in a world where science was continuously making [] material riches available to man.

In the [] of individual methods of attack which we [] these problems on a broad front, you and I, by mutual understanding and by [] determination to cooperate helped make democracy succeed by [] avoiding difficulties which in the past have come from the separation of governmental powers designed to protect the democratic process. Our spirit of cooperation [] able to solve [] problems of extraordinary magnitude and ramification with but few [] errors, and at a cost cheap when measured by the immediate necessities and the eventual results.

I look forward to a continuance of cooperation in the next four years. I look forward also to a continuance of the basis of that cooperation -- mutual respect for each

other's proper sphere of functioning in a democracy which
is working well. ^{it is} On that basis, ~~is~~ ^{it is} within the
right of the Congress to determine which of the many new
activities shall be continued or abandoned, increased or
curtailed.

On ~~the~~ same basis, ~~the~~ the President alone ~~will~~ ^{has}
~~assumed~~ the responsibility for their administration. I
find that this task of executive management has reached the
point where our administrative machinery needs ~~a~~ comprehensive
overhauling. I shall, therefore, shortly address
the Congress more fully in regard to ~~the~~ modernizing and
~~improving~~ ^{and the best} ~~of~~ the Executive ~~side~~ of the government.

That cooperation ~~over these~~ ^{in the past} four years
between the Congress and the President has ~~been~~ aimed at
the fulfillment of a two-fold policy -- first, economic
recovery through many kinds of assistance to agriculture,
industry and banking; and, second, deliberate improvement
in the personal security and opportunity of the great mass
of our people.

(A)

It is not enough that the wheels turn. They must carry us
in the direction of a greater satisfaction in life for the
average man.

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The recovery we sought was not to be merely temporary. It was to be a recovery protected from the causes of previous disasters. With that aim in view you and I ~~cooperated~~ joined in a series of enactments intended to avert a future similar crisis -- the guarantee of bank deposits, the beginnings of security to the aged and the worker, the removal of the threat of agricultural surpluses, protection for the investor in securities, safe banking and sound currency, insistence on collective bargaining, the outlawing of sweat shops, child labor and unfair trade practices.

Nor was the recovery we sought merely a purposeless whirring of machinery. It is important ^{of course,} that every man and woman in the country ~~can~~ ^{be able to} find work, that every factory run, ~~be running~~, and that business as a whole ~~be running~~ ^{earn} profits.

RnT Government in a democratic nation does not exist solely, or even primarily for that purpose. ^(A) [Its] The deeper purpose ^{of democratic government} is to assist as many of its citizens as possible -- especially those who need it most -- to improve their conditions of life, to retain all personal liberty which does not adversely affect their neighbors, and to pursue the happiness which comes with security and an opportunity for recreation and culture.

Even with our present recovery we are far from the goal of that greater purpose.

There are ~~great~~ ^{large} problems still with us for which democracy must find solution if it is to consider itself successful. For example, many millions of Americans ~~are~~ ^{still live} ~~living today~~ in habitations which not only fail to provide the ~~material and~~ physical benefits of modern civilization but ~~even~~ breed disease and impair the health of future generations. The menace exists not only in the slum areas of the very large cities, but in many smaller cities as well. ~~This~~ ^{exists} on tens of thousands of farms, in varying degrees, in every part of the country.

Another example is the prevalence of an ~~un-American~~ ^{factory and} un-American type of tenant farming. I do not ~~suggest~~ ^{in fact} suggest that every farm family has the capacity to earn a satisfactory living on its own farm. But many thousands of tenant farmers, with some financial assistance and with some advice and training, can be made self-supporting ^{on land} ~~which~~ eventually belong to them. The nation would be wise to offer them that chance instead of permitting them to go along as they do now, year after year, ~~as tenants~~ ^{with} ~~and~~ ^{and} future security ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~with~~ ^{with} hope of ownership of their homes ~~and~~ ^{and} expectation

of [being able to] better the lot of their children.

Among our national needs also ^{is} the continued ^{and} continuous
[research] practical improvements in our social security laws, and
the broadening of the service they render.
We should remember that in many nations where such laws are
in effect, complete success in meeting the expectations of the
community has come through frequent amendment ^{constant improvement}
of the original statute.

And, of course, the most far-reaching problem
of all is that there are still far too many unemployed which
unemployment is a ^{question} ~~problem~~ ^{as a result of} the ^{the symptom}
[situation]. The immediate problem of adequate relief for the
needy unemployed, who are capable of performing useful work,
I shall discuss with the Congress during the coming months.

The broader problem of unemployment itself is a matter of
To this must continue to give our best thought and effort.
long-range evolutionary policy. We cannot assume that immediate

[Industrial and Commercial]
[business] activity which might mitigate present pressures, cannot
justify justify the national government at this time in placing the
unemployment problem in a filing cabinet of finished actions.

The problem of [employment] fluctuations is tied
to all other ^{in employment} fluctuations
wasteful [expenses] in our methods of production and
speculation is one of these wastes. In
distribution. [In the field of buying and selling securities

volume of
commodities, the greater the speculation the greater become
extremes of the and the greater the certainty that
the upward and downward swings, These drastic swings, in the

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long run, create more losses than gains in the underlying wealth of the community.

And ~~the same evil results come~~, as is now well known to all of us, from ~~unchecked~~ overproduction and monopolistic underproduction of natural and manufactured commodities.

~~Speculation~~, ~~overproduction~~, ~~and underproduction~~ and ~~disturbances~~ are three evil sisters who ~~bring~~ the troubles of unsound inflation and disastrous deflation. It is to the interest of the nation to have government help business establish, generally, sound price levels and maintain those levels without ~~frequent~~ pernicious fluctuations. We know now that if early in 1931 ~~the~~ government had taken the steps which were taken two and three years later, the depression would never have reached the depths of the ~~winter~~ of 1933.

Sober second thought confirms most of us in the belief that the broad objectives of the National Recovery Act were sound. We know now that its difficulties arose from the fact that it tried to accomplish too much at the same time. For example, the tying-up of the length of ^{in the same agency}

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working hours, minimum wages, child labor, collective bargaining with complicated questions of unfair trade practices and business practices controls was a confusing obstacle to workable administration. Though the statute of NRA has been unconstitutional, if the Supreme Court had not outlawed the whole of the work of the National Recovery Administration, amendatory legislation based on experience would have resulted, over a period of years, in finding better methods of reaching the underlying objectives.

That decent conditions and adequate pay for labor, and just return for agriculture, can be secured through parallel and simultaneous action by forty-eight states is a proven impossibility. It is equally impossible to obtain curbs on monopoly, unfair trade practices and speculation by state action alone. There are those who still cling to state action as a theoretical hope. But experience with actualities makes it clear that Federal laws are needed to help solve the problems which result from modern invention applied in an industrialized nation which conducts its business with scant regard to state lines.

During the past year there has been a growing belief that there is little fault to be found with the Constitution of the United States as it stands today. The

vital need is not an alteration of our fundamental law, but an increasingly enlightened view with reference to it. Difficulties have grown out of its interpretation; but rightly considered, it can be used as an instrument of progress, and ^{A:} not a device for prevention of action.

^A It is worth our while to read ~~the~~ re-read the preamble of the Constitution, and Article I thereof, which confers the legislative powers upon the Congress of the United States. It is also worth our while to read again the debates in the Constitutional Convention of one hundred and fifty years ago. From such reading, I obtain the very definite thought that the members of that Convention were fully aware that civilization would raise problems for the proposed new Federal Government, which they themselves could not even surmise; and that it was their definite intent that a liberal interpretation in the years to come would give to the Congress the same relative powers over new national problems which they themselves gave to the Congress over the national problems of their day.

(A)

(RAN
1??

(A) ^{the Convention}
In presenting the first basic draft of the Constitution, Edmund Randolph explained that it was the purpose ~~to make~~ "to insert essential principles only, lest the operations of government should be clogged by rendering those provisions permanent and unalterable which ought to be accommodated to times and events."

With a better understanding of our purposes, and a more intelligent recognition of our needs as a nation, it is not to be assumed that there will be prolonged failure to bring legislative and judicial action into closer harmony. Means must be found to adapt our legal forms and our judicial interpretation to the actual present national needs of the largest progressive democracy in the modern world.

That thought leads me logically to a consideration of world problems. To go no further back than the beginning of this century, men and women everywhere were seeking conditions of life very different from those which were customary before modern invention and modern industry and modern communications had come into being. The World War, for all of its tragedy, encouraged these demands and stimulated action to fulfill these new desires.

Many national governments seemed unable adequately to respond; and, often with the assent of the masses of the people themselves, new forms of government were set up with oligarchy taking the place of democracy. In self-preservation these oligarchies have encouraged militarism to leap forward, while democracies, in equal self-preservation, have tried to keep militarism down.

Dubbed false

(B) In the oligarchies,
militarism has kept
forward, while in those
nations which have
retained democracy, militarism
has waned.

I have recently visited three of our sister-Republics in South America. The ~~most~~^{10/10/} cordial reception with which I was greeted ~~were~~^{was} in tribute to democracy. To me the outstanding observation of that visit was that the masses of the peoples of all the Americas are convinced that the democratic form of government can be made to succeed and do not wish to substitute for it any other form of government. They believe that democracies are best able to cope with the changing problems of modern civilization within themselves, and that democracies are best able to maintain peace among themselves.

The Inter-American Conference operating on these fundamental principles of democracy did much to assure peace in this Hemisphere. Existing peace machinery was improved. New instruments to maintain peace and eliminate causes of war were adopted. Wider protection of the interests of the American Republics in the event of war outside the Western Hemisphere was provided. Respect for, and observance of, international treaties and international law were strengthened. Principles of liberal trade policies, as effective aids to the maintenance of peace were reaffirmed. The intellectual and

(C)

In a very real sense, the Conference in Buenos Aires sent forth a message on behalf of all the democracies of the world to those nations which live otherwise. Because such other governments are perhaps more spectacular it was high time for democracy to assert itself.

cultural relationships among American Republics were broadened as a part of the general peace program.

In a world unhappily thinking in terms of war, the representatives of twenty-one nations have sat around a table, in an atmosphere of complete confidence and understanding, sincerely discussing measures for maintaining peace. Here was a great and a permanent achievement directly affecting the peace and security of the two hundred and fifty million human beings who dwell in this Western Hemisphere. Here was an example which must have a wholesome effect upon the rest of the world.

Diverted → (C)
Because all of us believe that our democratic form of government can cope adequately with modern problems as they arise, it is patriotic as well as logical for us to prove that we can meet new national needs with new laws consistent with an historic constitutional framework clearly intended to receive liberal and not narrow interpretation.

The United States of America, within itself, ~~carries the task of~~ must make democracy succeed. That is the destiny of this generation of Americans. That is our opportunity to find a great place in the history of mankind. In that task, the legislative branch of our government will I ~~must~~ continue ^{→ her confident}

D)

So too, the Executive branch of the Government must move forward in this task, and, at the same time, provide better management for administrative action of all kinds.

to meet the demands of democracy whether they relate to the curbing of abuses, the extension of help to those who need help, or the better balancing of our interdependent economies.

I pledge you that the Executive branch of the Government will move forward in that task. *add*

The Judicial branch also is asked by the people to do its part in making democracy successful. We do not ask the Courts to call non-existent powers into being, but we have a right to expect that conceded powers or those legitimately implied -- powers-recognized by a minority--of ~~the Government~~ shall be made effective instruments for the common good.

Your task and mine is not ending with the end of the depression. The people of the United States have made it clear that they expect us to continue our active efforts in behalf of their peaceful advancement.

In that spirit of endeavor and service I greet the Seventy-Fifth Congress at the beginning of this auspicious New York.

FOURTH DRAFT

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

For the first time in our national history a President delivers his Annual Message to a new Congress within a fortnight of the expiration of his term of office. While there is no change in the Presidency this year, change will occur in future years. It is my belief that under this new constitutional practice, the President should in every fourth year, in so far as seems reasonable, review the existing state of our national affairs and outline broad future problems, leaving specific recommendations for future legislation to be made by the President about to be inaugurated.

At this time, however, I am compelled by the circumstances of the moment to ask your immediate consideration: First, [] measures extending the life of certain authorizations and powers which, under present statutes, expire within a few weeks; second, [] an addition to the existing Neutrality Act to cover specific [] raised by the unfortunate civil strife in Spain; and, third, a deficiency appropriation bill for which I shall submit estimates this week.

In March, 1933, the problems which faced our nation and which only our national government had the resources to meet, were more ^{serious than} fundamental than appeared on the surface.

It was not only that the visible mechanism of economic life had broken down. More disturbing was the fact that long neglect of the needs ~~for continued betterment for~~ of the underprivileged had brought too many of our people to the ^{Adaptation, stability} verge of doubt as to the successful ~~application~~ of our historic traditions to the complex modern world. In that, lay a challenge to our democratic form of government itself.

Ours was the task to prove that democracy could be made to function in the world of today as effectively as in the simpler world of a hundred years ago. Ours was the task to do more than to argue a theory. The times required the confident answer of performance to those whose instinctive faith in humanity made them want to believe that in the long run democracy would prove superior to more extreme forms of government as a process of getting action when action was wisdom, without the spiritual sacrifice which those other forms of government exact.

That challenge we met. To meet it required unprecedented activities under Federal leadership -- to end abuses, -- to restore a large degree of material prosperity, -- to give new faith to millions of our citizens who had been traditionally taught to expect that democracy would provide continuously wider opportunity and continuously greater security in a world where science was continuously making material riches more available to man.

In the many methods of attack with which we met these problems, you and I, by mutual understanding and by determination to cooperate, helped to make democracy succeed

by refusing to permit unnecessary disagreement between ~~the~~ ^{to arise} ~~two~~ ^{that} ~~branches of~~ government ~~[redacted]~~. Our spirit of cooperation was able to solve difficulties of extraordinary magnitude and ramifications with ~~but~~ few important errors, and at a cost cheap when measured by the immediate necessities and the eventual results.

I look forward to a continuance of that cooperation in the next four years. I look forward also to a continuance of the basis of that cooperation -- mutual respect for each

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other's proper sphere of functioning in a democracy which is working well, and a common-sense realization of the need for play in the joints of the machine.

On that basis, it is within the right of the

Congress to determine which of the many new activities shall be continued or abandoned, increased or curtailed.

On that same basis, the President alone has the responsibility for their administration. I find that this task of executive management has reached the point where our administrative machinery needs comprehensive overhauling. I shall, therefore, shortly address the Congress more fully in regard to modernizing and improving the Executive branch of the government.

That cooperation of the past four years between the Congress and the President has aimed at the fulfillment of a two-fold policy -- first, economic recovery through many kinds of assistance to agriculture, industry and banking; and, second, deliberate improvement in the personal security and opportunity of the great mass of our people.

The recovery we sought was not to be merely temporary. It was to be a recovery protected from the causes of previous disasters. With that aim in view you and I joined

in a series of enactments -- safe banking and sound currency, the guarantee of bank deposits, protection for the investor in securities, the removal of the threat of agricultural surpluses, insistence on collective bargaining, the outlawing of sweat shops, child labor and unfair trade practices, and the beginnings of security for the aged and the worker.

Nor was the recovery we sought merely a purposeless whirring of machinery. It is important, of course, that every man and woman in the country be able to find work, that every factory run, that business as a whole earn profits. But government in a democratic nation does not exist solely, or even primarily, for that purpose.

It is not enough that the wheels turn. They must carry us in the direction of a greater satisfaction in life for the average man. The deeper purpose of democratic government is to assist as many of its citizens as possible -- especially those who need it most -- to improve their conditions of life, to retain all personal liberty which does not adversely affect their neighbors, and to pursue the happiness which comes with security and an

opportunity for recreation and culture.

Even with our present recovery we are far from the goal of that [greater] purpose. ^{just} There are [many] ~~far-reaching~~ problems still with us for which democracy must find solutions if it is to ~~be~~ consider ^{itself} ~~successful~~.

For example, many millions of Americans still live in habitations which not only fail to provide the physical benefits of modern civilization but breed disease and impair the health of future generations. The menace exists not only in the slum areas of the very large cities, but in many smaller cities as well. It exists on tens of thousands of farms, in varying degrees, in every part of the country.

Another example is the prevalence of an un-American type of tenant farming. I do not suggest that every farm family has the capacity to earn a satisfactory living on its own farm. But many thousands of tenant farmers -- indeed most of them -- with some financial assistance and with some advice and training, can be made self-supporting on land which can eventually belong to them. The nation would be wise to offer them that chance instead of permitting them to go along as they do now, year after year, with neither future security as tenants nor hope of

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Another [of our] national problem is the intelligent development
of our social security system, the broadening of the services
it renders, and practical improvement in its operation.

ownership of their homes nor expectation of bettering the lot of their children.

(A) [Among our national needs also are the continuous practical improvement in our social security laws, and the broadening of the service they render.] In many nations where such laws are in effect, success in meeting the expectations of the community has come through frequent amendment of the original statute.

And, of course, the most far-reaching and the most inclusive problem of all is that of unemployment and the lack of economic balance of which unemployment is at once the result and the symptom. The immediate question of adequate relief for the needy unemployed who are capable of performing useful work, I shall discuss with the Congress during the coming months. The broader ^{task of preventing} [problems of] unemployment [itself] is a matter of long-range evolutionary policy. To that we must continue to give our best thought and effort. We cannot assume that immediate industrial and commercial activity which mitigates present pressures justifies the national government at this time in placing the unemployment problem in a filing cabinet of finished business.

FOURTH DRAFT

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The problem of fluctuations in employment is tied to all other wasteful fluctuations in our ~~methods~~ mechanism of production and distribution. Speculation is one of these wastes. In securities or commodities, the greater the volume of speculation the wider become the extremes of the upward and downward swings and the greater the certainty that in the long run ~~will~~ ^{there will be} more losses than gains in the underlying wealth of the community.

And, as is now well known to all of us, the same net loss to society comes from ~~thoughtless~~ ^{reckless} overproduction and monopolistic underproduction of natural and manufactured commodities.

Overproduction, underproduction and speculation are three evil sisters who distill the troubles of unsound inflation and disastrous deflation. It is to the interest of the nation to have government help private enterprise to gain general sound price levels and to protect those levels from wide perilous fluctuations. We know now that if early in 1931 government had taken the steps which were taken two and three years later, the depression would never have reached the depths of the beginning of 1933.

Sober second thought confirms most of us in the belief that the broad objectives of the National Recovery Act were sound. We know now that its difficulties arose from the fact that it tried to ~~accomplish~~ too much. ~~at the same time~~.
~~It was impossible to expect~~ ^{to regulate} For example, ~~the coming up in~~ the same agency ~~of~~ the length of working hours, minimum wages, child labor and collective bargaining on the one hand ~~with~~ ^{and the} complicated questions of unfair trade practices and business controls on the other, ~~was a~~ ^{of} confusing obstacle to workable administration. ~~though the~~ statute of NRA has been outlawed, the problems have not. They are still with us.

That decent conditions and adequate pay for labor, and just return for agriculture, can be secured through parallel and simultaneous action by forty-eight states is a proven impossibility. It is equally impossible to obtain curbs on monopoly, unfair trade practices and speculation by state action alone. There are those who ^{sincerely or insincerely} still cling to state action as a theoretical hope. But experience with actualities makes it clear that Federal laws supplementing state laws are needed to help solve the problems which result from modern invention applied in an industrialized nation which conducts its business with scant regard to state lines.

During the past year there has been a growing belief that there is little fault to be found with the Constitution of the United States as it stands today. The vital need is not an alteration of our fundamental law, but an increasingly enlightened view with reference to it. Difficulties have grown out of its interpretation; but rightly considered, it can be used as an instrument of progress, and not as a device for prevention of action.

It is worth our while to read and re-read the preamble of the Constitution, and Article I thereof, which confers the legislative powers upon the Congress of the United States. It is also worth our while to read again the debates in the Constitutional Convention of one hundred and fifty years ago. From such reading, I obtain the very definite thought that the members of that Convention were fully aware that civilization would raise problems for the proposed new Federal Government, which they themselves could not even surmise; and that it was ~~intended by the Constitution~~ their definite intent that a liberal interpretation in the ^A years to come would give to the Congress the same relative powers over new national problems which they themselves gave to the Congress over the national problems of their day.

In presenting to the Convention the first basic draft of the Constitution, Edmund Randolph explained that it was the purpose "to insert essential principles only, lest the operations of government should be clogged by rendering those provisions permanent and unalterable which ought to be accommodated to times and events."

With a better understanding of our purposes, and a more intelligent recognition of our needs as a nation, it is not to be assumed that there will be prolonged failure to bring legislative and judicial action into closer harmony. Means must be found to adapt our legal forms and our judicial interpretation to the actual present national needs of the largest progressive democracy in the modern world.

That thought leads [~~me-legitimacy~~] to a consideration of world problems. To go no further back than the beginning of this century, men and women everywhere were seeking conditions of life very different from those which were customary before modern invention and modern industry and modern communications had come into being. The World War, for all of its tragedy, encouraged these demands, and stimulated action to fulfill these new desires.

Many national governments seemed unable adequately to respond; and, often with the assent of the masses of the people themselves, new forms of government were set up with oligarchy taking the place of democracy. In ~~some~~ oligarchies, militarism has leapt forward, while in those nations which have retained democracy, militarism has waned.

I have recently visited three of our sister-Republics in South America. The very cordial receptions with which I was greeted were in tribute to democracy. To me the outstanding observation of that visit was that the masses of the peoples of all the Americas are convinced that the democratic form of government can be made to succeed and do not wish to substitute for it any other form of government. They believe that democracies are best able to cope with the changing problems of modern civilization within themselves, and that democracies are best able to maintain peace among themselves.

The Inter-American Conference, operating on these fundamental principles of democracy did much to assure peace in this Hemisphere. Existing peace machinery was improved. New instruments to maintain peace and eliminate causes of war were adopted. Wider protection of the interests of the American Republics in the event of war outside the Western

Hemisphere was provided. Respect for, and observance of, international treaties and international law were strengthened. Principles of liberal trade policies, as effective aids to the maintenance of peace were reaffirmed. The intellectual and cultural relationships among American Republics were broadened as a part of the general peace program.

In a world unhappily thinking in terms of war, the representatives of twenty-one nations [have] sat around a table, in an atmosphere of complete confidence and understanding, sincerely discussing measures for maintaining peace. Here was a great and a permanent achievement directly affecting the ~~peace~~ ^{here} and security of the two hundred and fifty million human beings who dwell in this Western Hemisphere. Here was an example which must have a wholesome effect upon the rest of the world.

In a very real sense, the Conference in Buenos Aires sent forth a message on behalf of all the democracies of the world to those nations which live otherwise. Because such other governments are perhaps more spectacular, it was high time for democracy to assert itself.

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(A)

The process of our democracy must not be imperiled
by the denial of executive powers of free government. ~~whose~~
~~by amendment~~
~~powers must be implemented without constitutional amendment~~
~~if possible -- with amendment if necessary.~~

Because all of us believe that our democratic form of government can cope adequately with modern problems as they arise, it is patriotic as well as logical for us to prove that we can meet new national needs with new laws consistent with an historic constitutional framework clearly intended to receive liberal and not narrow interpretation.

The United States of America, within itself, must continue the task of making democracy succeed.

In that task the legislative branch of our government will, I am confident, continue to meet the demands of democracy whether they relate to the curbing of abuses, the extension of help to those who need help, or the better balancing of our interdependent economies.

So, too, the Executive branch of the government must move forward in this task, and, at the same time, provide better management for administrative action of all kinds.

The Judicial branch also is asked by the people to do its part in making democracy successful. We do not ask the Courts to call non-existent powers into being, but we have a right to expect that conceded powers or those legitimately implied shall be made effective instruments for the common good.

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Your task and mine is not ending with the end of the depression. The people of the United States have made it clear that they expect us to continue our active efforts in behalf of their peaceful advancement.

In that spirit of endeavor and service I greet the Seventy-Fifth Congress at the beginning of this auspicious New Year.
