
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. 1040-A

1937 March 4

Democratic Victory Dinner

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

VICTORY DINNER

MARCH 4, 1937

On this fourth of March, 1937, in millions of homes, the thoughts of American families are reverting to the March 4th of another year. That day in 1933 represented the death of one era and the birth of another.

At that time we faced and met a grave national crisis. Now we face another crisis -- of a different kind but fundamentally even more grave than that of four years ago. Tonight I want to begin with you a discussion of that crisis. I shall continue that discussion on Tuesday night in a nation-wide broadcast and thereafter, from time to time, as may be necessary. For I propose to follow my custom of speaking frankly to the Nation concerning our common problems.

I speak at this Victory Dinner not only as the head of the Democratic Party but as the representative of all Americans who have faith in political and economic democracy.

Our victory was not sectional. It did not come from compromises and bargains. It was the voice of twenty-seven million voters -- from every part of the land.

The Democratic Party, once a minority party, is today the majority party by the greatest majority any party ever had.

It will remain the majority party so long as it continues to justify the faith of millions who had almost lost faith -- so long as it continues to make modern democracy work -- so long and no longer. We are celebrating the 1936 victory. That was not a final victory. It was a victory whereby our party won further opportunity to lead in the solution of the pressing problems that perplex our generation. Whether we shall celebrate in 1938, 1940, and in 1944, as we celebrate tonight, will deservedly depend upon whether the party continues on its course and solves those problems.

And if I have aught to say it will continue on its course and it will solve those problems.

After election day in 1936, some of our supporters were uneasy lest we grasp the excuse of a false era of good feeling to evade our obligations. They were worried by the evil symptom that the propaganda and the epithets of last Summer and Fall had died down.

Today, however, those who placed their confidence in us are reassured. For the tumult and the shouting have broken forth anew -- and from substantially the same elements of opposition. This new roar is the best evidence in the world that we have begun to keep our promises, that we have begun to move against conditions under which one-third of this Nation is still ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed.

We gave warning last November that we had only just begun to fight. Did some people really believe we did not mean it? Well -- I meant it, and you meant it.

A few days ago, a distinguished member of the Congress came to see me to talk about national problems in general and about the problem of the Judiciary in particular.

I said to him:

"John, I want to tell you something that is very personal to me -- something that you have a right to hear from my own lips. I have a great ambition in life."

My friend pricked up his ears.

I went on: "I am by no means satisfied with having twice been elected President of the United States by very large majorities. I have an even greater ambition."

By this time, my friend was sitting on the edge of his chair.

I continued: "John, my ambition relates to January 20, 1941." I could feel just what horrid thoughts my friend was thinking. So in order to relieve his anxiety, I went on to say: "My great ambition on January 20, 1941, is to turn over this desk and chair in the White House to my successor, whoever he may be, with the assurance that I am at the same time turning over to him as President, a Nation intact, a Nation at peace, a Nation prosperous, a Nation clear in its knowledge of what powers it

10.40

has to serve its own citizens, a Nation that is in a position to use those powers to the full in order to move forward steadily to meet the modern needs of humanity -- a Nation which has thus proved that the democratic form and methods of national government can and will succeed.

In these coming years I want to provide such assurance. I want to get the Nation as far along the road of progress as I can. I do not want to leave it to my successor in the condition in which Buchanan left it to Lincoln."

My friends, that ambition of mine for my successor can well be the serious ambition of every citizen who wants his United States to be handed down intact to his children and grandchildren.

I spoke in the dead earnestness of anxiety, I speak to you tonight in the same earnestness. For no one who sees as a whole today's picture of this Nation and the world can help but feel concern for the future.

To the President of the United States there come every day thousands of messages of appeal, of protest, of information and advice, messages from rich and poor, from business man and farmer, from factory employee and relief worker, messages from every corner of our wide domain.

Those messages reflect the most striking feature of the life of this generation -- the feature which men who live mentally in another generation can least understand -- the ever-accelerating speed with which social forces now gather headway.

The issue of slavery, for example, took at least forty years -- two generations -- of argument, discussion and futile compromise, before it came to a head in the tragic War between the States.

But economic freedom for the wage earner and the farmer and the small business man will not wait, like emancipation, for forty years. It will not wait for four years. It will not wait at all.

(10.45)

After the World War, there arose everywhere insistent demands upon government that human needs be met. The unthinking, or those who dwell in the past, have tried to block them. The wise who live in the present have recognized their innate justice and irresistible pressure -- and have sought to guide them.

In some countries, a royalist form of government failed to meet these demands -- and fell. In other countries, a parliamentary form of government failed to meet these demands -- and fell. In still other countries, governments have managed to hold on, but civil strife has flared or threats of upheaval persist.

Democracy in many lands has failed for the time being to meet human needs. People have become so fed up with futile debate and party bickerings over methods that they have been willing to surrender democratic processes and principles in order to get things done. They have forgotten the lessons of history that the ultimate failures of dictatorships cost humanity far more than any temporary failures of democracy.

In the United States democracy has not yet failed and does not need to fail. And we propose not to let it fail!

Nevertheless, I cannot tell you with complete candor that in these past few years democracy in the United States has fully succeeded. Nor can I tell you, under present circumstances, just where American democracy is headed nor just what it is permitted to do in order to insure its continued success and survival. I can only hope.

For as yet there is no definite assurance that the three horse team of the American system of government will pull together. If three well-matched horses are put to the task of ploughing up a field where the going is heavy, and the team of three pull as one, the field will be ploughed. If one horse lies down in the traces or plunges off in another direction, the field will not be ploughed.

What you and I call the principles of the New Deal did not originate on the fourth of March, 1933. We think of that date as their beginning, because it was not until then that the social demands they represented broke through the inertia of many years of failure to improve our political and economic processes.

What were those demands and needs? How far did we succeed in meeting them? What about them today?

Ever since the World War the farmers of America had been beating off ever-mounting disasters. This Administration tried to help them effectively where no other Administration had dared to take that risk.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act testified to our full faith and confidence that the very nature of our major crops makes them articles of commerce between the States.

The A.A.A. testified also to our full faith and confidence that the preservation of sound agriculture is essential to the general welfare -- that the Congress of the United States had full constitutional authority to solve the national economic problems of the Nation's agriculture. By overwhelming votes, the Congress thought so too!

You know who assumed the power to veto, and did veto that program.

10.50

In the campaign of 1936, I said: "Of course we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops.

We will persist in successful action for better land use, for reforestation, *** for better marketing facilities for farm commodities, for a definite reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of farmer cooperatives, for crop insurance and a stable food supply. For all these things we have only just begun to fight."

Neither individually nor as a party can we postpone and run from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. But I defy anyone to read the majority opinion invalidating the A.A.A. and tell us what we can do for agriculture in this session of the Congress with any reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional.

The farmers were not the only people in distress in 1932. There were millions of workers in industry and in commerce who had lost their jobs, young people who had never been able to find their first job, and more millions whose jobs did not return them and their families enough to live on decently.

The Democratic Administration and the Congress made a gallant, sincere effort to raise wages, to reduce hours, to abolish child labor, to eliminate unfair trade practices.

We tried to establish machinery to adjust the relations between the employer and employee.

And what happened?

You know who assumed the power to veto, and did veto that program.

The Railroad Retirement Act, the National Recovery Act and the Guffey Coal Act were successively outlawed as the Child Labor Statute had been outlawed twenty years before.

Soon thereafter the Nation was told by a judicial pronouncement that although the Federal Government had thus been rendered powerless to touch the problem of hours and wages, the States were equally helpless; and that it pleased the "personal economic predilections" of a majority of the Court that we live in a Nation where there is no legal power anywhere to deal with its most difficult practical problems -- a No Man's Land of final futility.

Furthermore, court injunctions have paralyzed the machinery which we created by the National Labor Relations Act to settle great disputes raging in the industrial field, and, indeed, to

prevent them from ever-arising. We hope that this Act may yet escape final condemnation in the highest court. But so far the attitude and language of the courts in relation to many other laws have made the legality of this Act also uncertain, and have encouraged corporations to defy rather than obey it.

In the campaign of 1936, you and I promised this to working men and women:

"Of course we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America -- to reduce hours over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops. **** we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed. For all these things we have only just begun to fight."

And here again we cannot afford, either individually or as a party, to postpone or run from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers.

But I defy anyone to read the opinions concerning A.A.A., the Railroad Retirement Act, the National Recovery Act, the Guffey

10.55

Coat Act and the New York Minimum Wage Law, and tell us exactly what, if anything, we can do for the industrial worker in this session of the Congress with any reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional.

During the course of the past four years the Nation has been overwhelmed by disasters of flood and drought.

Modern science knows how to protect our land and our people from the recurrence of such catastrophes, and knows how to produce as a by-product the blessing of cheaper electric power. With the Tennessee Valley Authority we made a beginning of that kind of protection on an intelligent regional basis. With only two of its nine projected dams completed there was no flood damage in the valley of the Tennessee this Winter.

But how can we confidently complete that Tennessee Valley project or extend the idea to the Ohio and other valleys while the lowest courts have not hesitated to paralyze its operations by sweeping injunctions?

The Ohio River and the Dust Bowl are not conversant with the habits of the Interstate Commerce Clause. But we shall never be safe in our lives, in our property or in the heritage of our soil until we have somehow made the Interstate Commerce Clause conversant with the habits of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl.

In the campaign of 1936, you and I and all who supported us did take cognizance of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl. We said: "Of course we will continue our efforts *** for drought and flood control ***. For these things we have only just begun to fight."

Here, too, we cannot afford, either individually or as a party, to postpone or run away from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. Let them try that advice on sweating men piling sandbags on the levees at Cairo.

But I defy anyone to read the opinions in the T.V.A. case, the Duke Power case and the A.A.A. case and tell us exactly what we can do as a National Government in this session of the Congress to control flood and drought and generate cheap power with any reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional.

The language of the decisions already rendered and the wide-spread refusal to obey law incited by the attitude of the courts, create doubts and difficulties for almost everything else for which we have promised to fight -- help for the crippled, for the blind, for the mothers -- insurance for the unemployed -- security for the aged -- protection of the consumer against monopoly and speculation -- protection of the investor -- the wiping out of slums -- cheaper electricity for the homes and on the farms of America. You and I owe it to ourselves individually, as a party, and as a Nation to remove those doubts and difficulties.

In this fight, as the lawyers themselves say, time is of the essence. In three elections during the past five years great majorities have approved what we are trying to do. To me, and I am sure to you, those majorities mean that the people themselves realize the increasing urgency that we meet their needs now. Every delay creates risks of intervening events which make more and more difficult an intelligent, speedy, and democratic solution of our difficulties.

(1) b (3)

As Chief Executive and as the head of the Democratic Party, I am unwilling to take those risks -- to the country and to the party -- of postponing one moment beyond absolute necessity the time when we can free from legal doubt those policies which offer a progressive solution of our problems.

Floods and droughts and agricultural surpluses, strikes and industrial confusion and disorder, cannot be handled forever on a catch-as-catch-can basis.

I have another ambition -- not so great an ambition as that which I have for the country, but an ambition which as a life-long Democrat, I do not believe unworthy. It is an ambition for the Democratic Party.

The Party, and its associates, have had the imagination to perceive essential unity below the surface of apparent diversity. We can, therefore, long remain a natural rallying point for the cooperative effort of all of those who truly believe in political and economic democracy.

It will take courage to let our minds be bold and find
the ways to meet the needs of the Nation. But for our Party,
now as always, the counsel of courage is the counsel of wisdom.

If we do not have the courage to lead the American people
where they want to go, someone else will.

Here is one-third of a Nation ill-nourished, ill-clad,
ill-housed -- NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of farmers wondering
whether next year's prices will meet their mortgage interest --
NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of men and women
laboring for long hours in factories for inadequate pay -- NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of children who
should be at school, working in mines and mills -- NOW!

Here are strikes more far-reaching than we have ever
known, costing millions of dollars -- NOW!

Here are Spring floods threatening to roll again down
our river valleys -- NOW!

Here is the Dust Bowl beginning to blow again -- NOW!
If we would keep faith with those who had faith in us,
if we would make democracy succeed, I say we must act -- NOW!

Franklin D. Roosevelt

This is the original standing copy

Grand Hotel, Washington

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
delivered at the Democratic Victory Dinner, Washington, D.C., March 4, 1937

Mr. Tumulty, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: On this occasion, fourth of March, 1937, in millions of homes, the thoughts of Americans everywhere are reverting to the March fourth of another year. That day in 1933 represented the death of one era and the birth of another.

(Applause)

At that time we faced and met a grave national crisis. And now we face another crisis -- a crisis of a different kind but fundamentally even more grave than that of four years ago. Tonight I want to begin with you a discussion of (that) this crisis. I shall continue that discussion (on Tuesday night) next week in a nation-wide broadcast and thereafter, from time to time, as may be necessary. (Applause) For I propose to follow my custom of speaking frankly to the Nation concerning our common problems.

I speak at this Victory Dinner not only as the head of the Democratic Party but as the representative of all Americans who have faith in political and economic democracy.

And, incidentally, our victory was not sectional. It did not come from compromises and bargains. It was the voice of twenty-seven million voters -- from every part of the land. (Applause)

The Democratic Party, once a minority party, is today the majority party by the greatest majority any party ever had. (Applause)

It will remain the majority party so long as it continues to justify the faith of millions who had almost lost faith -- so long as it continues to make a modern democracy (work) succeed -- so long and

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

With full sympathy to speak about all of our fellow citizens to build our one true and unshakable independence great (emphasized)

USA citizens everyone has been honest or half bad or
some not quite favorable to staying -- didn't mention much on how
they I thought -- one group that to stay and every one else (emphasized)
wanted them to leave still (said) no movement -- my wife liked it
so good she wanted us to go too (she's yourself) a month ago
(emphasized) -- mentioned me a lot of your work, particular
and (emphatic) not at "greatest" abilities to certain qualities of ours and I say
nothing -- you know the qualities

of the men and women you would probably bring to those I
would expect will be very favorable and on the other circumstances
-- greatest circumstances have (emphasized) at first
one of the difficulties for you yourself was (emphasized) that
you're so eager and now it's -- although you understand sort some (emphasized)
that sort of thing gives sort -- money didn't move
all right at (emphatic) various a few, (said) discussed out
(emphasized) and now bring the greatest justness and to bring (emphasized)
of conditions of all kind on (emphatic) of course like it
be good or -- first feel people and the abilities to assist and (emphasized)
has good on -- (emphasized) (said) you could probably get a lot of assistance if

no longer. We are celebrating the 1936 victory. That was not a final victory. It was a victory whereby our party won further opportunity to lead in the solution of the pressing problems that perplex our generation. Whether we shall celebrate in 1938, and in 1940, and in 1944, as we celebrate tonight, will deservedly depend upon whether the party continues on its course and solves these problems. (Applause)

And if I have aught to say about it, it will continue on its course and it will solve these problems. (Applause)

After election day in 1936, some of our supporters were un-easy, uneasy lest we grasp the excuse of a false era of good feeling to evade our obligations. They were worried by the evil symptom that the propaganda and the epithets of last summer and fall had died down.

Today, however, those who placed their confidence in us are reassured. (Applause) For the tumult and the shouting have broken forth anew -- and from substantially the same elements of opposition. This new roar -- for that is the best term -- is the best evidence in the world that we have begun to keep our promises, that we have begun to move against conditions under which one-third of this Nation is still ill-nourished, ill-clad and ill-housed.

We remember that we gave warning last November that we had only just begun to fight. (Applause) Did some people really believe that we did not mean it? Well -- I meant it, and you meant it. (Applause)

A few days ago, a distinguished member of the Congress came to see me to talk about national problems in general and about the problems of the Judiciary in particular. (Laughter)

I said to him:

"John, I want to tell you something that is very personal to me -- something that you have a right to hear from my own lips. I have a great ambition in life."

My friend pricked up his ears.

I went on: "I am by no means satisfied with having twice been elected President of the United States by very large majorities. I have an even greater ambition."

By this time, my friend was sitting on the edge of his chair.
(Laughter)

I continued: "John," I said, "my ambition relates to January 20, 1941." And I could feel just what horrid thoughts my friend was thinking. (Laughter) So in order to relieve his anxiety, I went on to say: "My great ambition on January 20, 1941, is to turn over (this) the desk and chair in the White House, this desk and chair, to my successor, whoever he may be, with the assurance that I am at the same time turning over to him as President, a Nation intact, a Nation at peace, a Nation prosperous, a Nation clear in its knowledge of what power(s) it has to serve its own citizens, a Nation that is in a position to use those powers to the full in order to move forward steadily to meet the modern needs of humanity -- a Nation which has thus proved that the democratic form and methods of national government can and will succeed. (Applause, prolonged)

In these coming years I want to provide such assurance. I want to get the Nation as far along the road of progress as I can. I do not want to leave it to my successor in the condition in which Buchanan left it to Lincoln." (Applause)

My friends, that ambition of mine for my successor can well

be the serious ambition of every citizen who wants his United States to be handed down intact to his children and grandchildren.

I spoke in the dead earnestness of anxiety, I speak to you tonight in the same earnestness. For no one who sees as a whole today's picture of this Nation and the world can help but feel concern for the future.

To the President of the United States there come every day thousands of messages of appeal, of protest, of support, of information and advice, messages from rich and poor, from business man and farmer, from factory employee and relief worker, messages from every (corner) part of our wide (domain) land.

Those messages reflect the most striking feature of the life of this generation -- the feature which men who live mentally in another generation can least understand -- the ever-accelerating speed with which social forces now gather headway.

The issue of slavery, for example, took at least forty years -- two generations -- of argument, discussion and futile compromise, before it came to a head in the tragic War between the States.

But economic freedom for the wage earner and the farmer and the small business man will not wait, like emancipation, for forty years. It will not wait for four years. It will not wait at all. (Applause)

After the World War, there arose everywhere insistent demands upon government that human needs be met. The unthinking, or those who dwell in the past, have tried to block them. The wise who live in the present have recognized their innate justice, (and) their irresistible pressure -- and have sought to guide them.

In some countries, a royalist form of government failed to

meet these demands -- and fell. In other countries, a parliamentary form of government failed to meet these demands -- and fell. In still other countries, governments have managed to hold on, but civil strife has flared or threats of upheaval persist.

Democracy in many lands has failed for the time being to meet human needs. People have become so fed up with futile debate and party bickerings over methods that they have been willing to surrender democratic processes and principles in order to get things done. They have forgotten the lessons of history that the ultimate failures of dictatorships cost humanity far more than any temporary failures of democracy.

In the United States democracy has not yet failed and does not need to fail. (Applause) And we, (propose not) the leaders of the Democratic Party throughout the Nation, do not propose to let it fail! (Applause)

Nevertheless, I cannot tell you with complete candor that in these past few years democracy in the United States has fully succeeded. Nor can I tell you, under present circumstances, just where American democracy is headed nor just what it is permitted to do in order to insure its continued success and survival. I can only hope.

For as yet there is no definite assurance that the three horse team of the American system of government will pull together. (Applause and boos) If three well-matched horses are put to the task of ploughing up a field where the going is heavy, and the team of three pull as one, the field will be ploughed. If one horse lies down in the traces or plunges off in another direction, the field will not be ploughed. (Applause, cheers)

What you and I call the principles of the New Deal did not originate on the fourth of March, 1933. We think of that date as their beginning, because it was not until then that the social demands that they represented broke through the inertia of many years of failure to improve our political and economic processes.

What were those demands and needs? How far did we succeed in meeting them? And what about them today?

Ever since the World War the farmers of America had been beating off ever-mounting disasters. This Administration tried to help them effectively where no other Administration had dared to take that risk. (Applause)

The Agricultural Adjustment Act testified to our full faith and confidence that the very nature of our major crops of America makes them articles of commerce between the States. (Applause)

The (A.A.A.) Triple A testified also to our full faith and confidence that the preservation of sound agriculture is essential to the general welfare -- that the Congress of the United States had full constitutional authority to solve the national economic problems of the Nation's agriculture. And by overwhelming votes, the Congress thought so too! (Applause)

You know who assumed the power to veto, and did veto that program.

In the campaign of 1936, I said: "Of course we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses (which) that spelled ruinous prices for their crops. We will persist in successful action for better land use, for reforestation,

* * * for better marketing facilities for farm commodities, for a definite reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of farmer co-operatives, for crop insurance and a stable food supply. For all these things we have only just begun to fight." (Applause)

My friends, neither individually nor as a party can we postpone and run from that fight on the advice of defeatist lawyers. But I defy anyone to read the majority opinion invalidating the (A.A.A.) Triple A and tell us what we can do for agriculture in this session of the Congress with any reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional. (Applause)

But the farmers were not the only people in distress in 1932. There were millions of workers in industry and in commerce who had lost their jobs, young people who had never been able to find their first job, and more millions whose jobs did not return them and their families enough to live on decently.

The Democratic Administration and the Congress made a gallant, sincere effort to raise wages, to reduce hours, to abolish child labor, and to eliminate unfair trade practices.

We tried to establish machinery to adjust the relations between the employer and employee.

And what happened?

You know who assumed the power to veto, and did veto that program.

The Railroad Retirement Act, the National Recovery Act and the Guffey Coal Act were successively outlawed as the Child Labor Statute had been outlawed twenty years before.

Soon thereafter the Nation was told by a judicial pronuncia-

mento that although the Federal Government had (thus) been thus rendered powerless to touch the problem of hours and wages, the States were equally helpless; and that it pleased the "personal economic predilections" of a majority of the Court that we live in a Nation where there is no legal power anywhere to deal with its most difficult practical problems -- a No Man's Land of final futility. (Applause)

And, furthermore, -- for I am not through yet (applause) court injunctions have paralyzed the machinery (which) that we created by the National Labor Relations Act to settle great disputes raging in the industrial field, and, indeed, to prevent them from ever-arising. We hope that this Act may yet escape final condemnation in the highest court. But so far the attitude and the language of the courts in relation to many other laws have made the legality of this Act also uncertain, and have encouraged men and corporations to defy rather than to obey it.

In the campaign of 1936, you and I promised this to working men and women:

"Of course we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America -- to reduce hours over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops. * * * we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed. And for all these things we have only just begun to fight."

(And) But here again we cannot afford, either individually or as a party, to postpone or run from that fight on the advice of defeatist lawyers. (Applause)

(But) And I defy anyone to read the opinions concerning (A.A.A.) Triple A, the Railroad Retirement Act, the National Recovery Act, the

Guffey Coal Act and the New York Minimum Wage Law, and tell us exactly what, if anything, we can do for the industrial worker in this session of the Congress with any reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional. (Applause)

During the course of the past four years the Nation has been overwhelmed by disasters of flood and drought.

Modern science knows how to protect our land and our people from the recurrence of such catastrophes, and knows how to produce as a by-product the blessing of cheaper electric power for the Nation. With the Tennessee Valley Authority we made a beginning of that kind of protection on an intelligent regional basis and with only two of its nine projected dams completed there was no flood damage in the valley of the Tennessee this winter. (Applause)

But how can we confidently complete (that) the Tennessee Valley project (or), how can we extend the idea to the Ohio (and other valleys) and the Connecticut and many other rivers and valleys of the Nation while the lowest courts have not hesitated to paralyze its operations by sweeping injunctions?

My friends, the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl are not convergent with the habits of the Interstate Commerce Clause. (Applause) But we shall never be safe in our lives, in our property or in the heritage of our soil until we have somehow made the Interstate Commerce Clause consonant with the habits of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl. (Laughter, applause)

In the campaign of 1936, you and I and all who supported us, men and women of all parties, we took (did take) cognizance of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl. We said: "Of course we will continue our

efforts * * * for drought and flood control * * *. For these things we have only just begun to fight." (Applause)

Here, too, we cannot afford, either individually or as a party, to postpone or run away from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. Let them try that advice on sweating men piling sandbags on the levees (at Cairo) in Louisville and Cairo and Memphis. (Applause)

But I defy anyone to read the opinions in the T.V.A. case, or the Duke Power case (and the A.A.A.) or the Triple A case and tell us exactly what we can do as a National Government in this session of the Congress to control flood and drought and generate cheap power for the Nation with any reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional. (Applause)

The language of the decisions already rendered and the widespread refusal to obey law incited by the attitude of the courts, create doubts and difficulties for almost everything else for which we have promised to fight -- help for the crippled, for the blind, for the mothers -- insurance for the unemployed -- security for the aged -- protection of the consumer against monopoly and speculation -- protection of the investor -- the wiping out of slums -- cheaper electricity for the homes and (on the) farms of America. You and I owe it to ourselves individually, as a party, and as a Nation to remove those doubts and difficulties. (Applause)

And, in this fight, as the lawyers themselves say, time is of the essence. (Applause) In three elections during the past five years great majorities have approved what we are trying to do. To me, and I am sure to you, those majorities mean that the people themselves realize the increasing urgency that we meet their needs now. Every

delay creates risks of intervening events which make more and more difficult an intelligent, speedy, and democratic solution of our difficulties.

As Chief Executive and as head of the Democratic Party, I am unwilling to take those risks -- risks to the country and to the party -- of postponing one moment beyond absolute necessity the time when we can free from legal doubt those policies which offer a progressive solution of our problems. (Applause)

Floods and droughts and agricultural surpluses, strikes and industrial confusion and disorder, cannot be handled forever on a catch-as-catch-can basis. (Applause)

And, my friends, I have another ambition -- not so great an ambition as that which I have for the country, but an ambition which as a life-long Democrat, I do not believe unworthy. It is an ambition for the Democratic Party.

The Party, and its associates, have had the imagination to perceive essential unity below the surface of apparent diversity. We can, therefore, long remain a natural rallying point for the cooperative effort of all (of) those who truly believe in political and economic democracy.

It will take courage to let our minds be bold and find the ways to meet the current needs of the Nation. But for our Party, now as always, the counsel of courage is the counsel of wisdom. (Applause)

If we do not have the courage to lead the American people where they want to go, someone else will.

Here is one-third of a Nation ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed -- NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of farmers wondering whether next year's prices will meet their mortgage interest -- NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of men and women laboring for long hours in factories for inadequate pay -- NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of children who should be at school, working in mines and mills -- NOW!

Here are strikes more far-reaching than we have ever known, costing millions of dollars -- NOW!

Here are spring floods threatening to roll (again) down again upon our river valleys -- NOW!

Here is the Dust Bowl beginning to blow again -- NOW!

If we would keep faith, faith with those who had faith in us, if we would make democracy succeed, I say we must act -- NOW! (Applause, prolonged)

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

FOR THE PRESS

March 4, 1937

STATEMENTS FILE
Shorthand By Kanner

CUSTOM: This address of the President, to be delivered at the Democratic Victory Dinner, Washington, D. C., MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release in editions of newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 10:30 o'clock P. M., E. S. T. today, (March 4, 1937).

Care must be exercised to prevent premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY
Assistant Secretary to the President

On this fourth of March, 1937, in millions of homes, the thoughts of American families are reverting to the March 4th of another year. That day in 1933 represented the death of one era and the birth of another.

At that time we faced and met a grave national crisis. Now we face another crisis -- of a different kind but fundamentally even more grave than that of four years ago. Tonight I want to begin with you a discussion of the crisis. I shall continue that discussion on Tuesday night in a nation-wide broadcast and thereafter, from time to time, as may be necessary. For I propose to follow my custom of speaking frankly to the Nation concerning our common problems.

I speak at this Victory Dinner not only as the head of the Democratic Party but as the representative of all Americans who have faith in political and economic democracy.

Our victory was not sectional. It did not come from compromises and bargains. It was the voice of twenty-seven million voters -- from every part of the land.

The Democratic Party, once a minority party, is today the majority party by the greatest majority any party ever had.

It will remain the majority party so long as it continues to justify the faith of millions who had almost lost faith -- so long as it continues to make modern democracy work, so long and no longer. We are celebrating the 1936 victory. That was not a final victory. It was a victory whereby our party won further opportunity to lead in the solution of the pressing problems that perplex our generation. Whether we shall celebrate in 1939, 1940, and in 1944, as we celebrate tonight, will deservedly depend upon whether the party continues on its course and solves these problems.

And if I have ought to say it will continue on its course and it will solve these problems.

After election day in 1936, some of our supporters were uneasy lest we grasp the excuse of a false era of good feeling to evade our obligations. They were worried by the evil symptom that the propaganda and the epithets of last summer and fall had died down.

Today, however, those who placed their confidence in us are reassured. For the tumult and the shouting have broken forth anew -- and from substantially the same elements of opposition. This now roar is the best evidence in the world that we have begun to keep our promises, that we have begun to move against conditions under which one-third of this Nation is still ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed.

-- for that is the best term --

✓ We gave warning last November that we had only just begun to fight. Did some people really believe we did not mean it? Well -- I meant it, and you meant it. (S)

A few days ago, a distinguished member of the Congress came to see me to talk about national problems in general and about the problems of the Judiciary in particular. ()

I said to him:

"John, I want to tell you something that is very personal to me -- something that you have a right to hear from my own lips. I have a great ambition in life."

My friend pricked up his ears.

I went on: "I am by no means satisfied with having twice been elected President of the United States by very large majorities. I have an even greater ambition."

By this time, my friend was sitting on the edge of his chair.

I continued: "John, my ambition relates to January 20, 1941." I could feel just what horrid thoughts my friend was thinking. So in order to relieve his anxiety, I went on to say: "My great ambition on January 20, 1941, is to turn over this desk and chair in the White House to my successor, whoever he may be, with the assurance that I am at the same time turning over to him as President, a Nation intact, a Nation at peace, a Nation prosperous, a Nation clear in its knowledge of what power it has to serve its own citizens, a Nation that is in a position to use those powers to the full in order to move forward steadily to meet the modern needs of humanity -- a Nation which has thus proved that the democratic form and methods of national government can and will succeed. (Applause, prolonged)

In these coming years I want to provide such assurance. I want to get the nation as far along the road of progress as I can. I do not want to leave it to my successor in the condition in which Buchanan left it to Lincoln."

My friends, that ambition of mine for my successor can well be the serious ambition of every citizen who wants his United States to be handed down intact to his children and grandchildren.

I spoke in the dead earnestness of anxiety, I speak to you tonight in the same earnestness. For no one who sees as a whole today's picture of this Nation and the world can help but feel concern for the future.

To the President of the United States there come every day thousands of messages of appeal, of protest, of information and advice, messages from rich and poor, from business man and farmer, from factory employee and relief worker, messages from every corner of our wide domain land. (domain) land.

Those messages reflect the most striking feature of the life of this generation -- the feature which men who live mentally in another generation can least understand -- the ever-accelerating speed with which social forces now gather headway.

The issue of slavery, for example, took at least forty years -- two generations -- of argument, discussion and futile compromise, before it came to a head in the tragic War between the States.

But economic freedom for the wage earner and the farmer and the small business man will not wait, like emendation, for forty years. It will not wait for four years. It will not wait at all.

After the World War, there were everywhere insistent demands upon government that human needs be met. The untiring, or those who dwell in the past, have tried to block them. The wise who live in the present have recognized their innate justice, and irresistible pressure -- and have sought to guide them.

In some countries, a royalist form of government failed to meet those demands -- and fell. In other countries, a parliamentary form of government failed to meet those demands -- and fell. In still other countries, governments have managed to hold on, but civil strife has flared or threats or upheaval persist.

Democracy in many lands has failed for the time being to meet human needs. People have become so fed up with futile debate and party bickering over methods that they have been willing to surrender democratic processes and principles in order to get things done. They have forgotten the lessons of history that the ultimate failures of dictatorships cost humanity far more than any temporary failures of democracy.

In the United States democracy has not yet failed and does not need to fail. And we ~~representatives~~ to let it fail!

Nevertheless, I cannot tell you with complete candor that in these past few years democracy in the United States has fully succeeded. Nor can I tell you, under present circumstances, just where American democracy is headed nor just what it is permitted to do in order to insure its continued existence and survival. I can only hope.

For as yet there is no definite assurance that the three basic tenets of the American system of government will pull together. If these well-watched horses are put to the task of ploughing up a field where the doing is heavy, and the team of three pull as one, the field will be ploughed. If one horse lies down in the track, or plunges off in another direction, the field will not be ploughed.

Want you and I call the principles of the New Deal did not originate on the fourth of March, 1933. We think of that date as their beginning, because it was not until then that the social demands they represented broke through the inertia of many years of failure to improve our political and economic processes.

What were those demands and needs? How far did we succeed in meeting them? What about them today?

Ever since the World War the farmers of America had been beating off crop-cutting dictators. This administration tried to help them effectively when no other administration had dared to take that risk.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act testified to our full faith and confidence that the very nature of our major crops makes them articles of commerce between the states.

(A.A.A.) *With a* *little* *confidence*

The ~~Admirer~~ ^{Admirer} ~~criticized~~ ^{criticized} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Administration~~ ^{Administration} ~~said~~ ^{said} that the preservation of sound agriculture is essential to the general welfare -- that the Congress of the United States had full constitutional authority to solve the national economic problems of the nation's agriculture. By overwhelming votes, the Congress thought so too!

You know who assumed the power to veto, and did veto that program.

(Applause and Rose)

-4-
(which) that

In the campaign of 1936, I said: "Of course we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops. We will persist in successful action for better land use, for reforestation, ~~and~~ for better marketing facilities for farm commodities, for a definite reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of farmer cooperatives, for crop insurance and a stable food supply. For all these things we have only just begun to fight."

Then proceed,
Neither individually nor as a party can we postpone and run from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. But I defy anyone to read the majority opinion invalidating the ~~A.A.A.~~ and tell us what we can do for agriculture in this session of the Congress with any reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional.

But, the farmers were not the only people in distress in 1932. There were millions of workers in industry and in commerce who had lost their jobs, young people who had never been able to find their first job, and more millions whose jobs did not return them and their families enough to live on decently.

The Democratic Administration and the Congress made a gallant, sincere effort to raise wages, to reduce hours, to abolish child labor, to eliminate unfair trade practices.

We tried to establish machinery to adjust the relations between the employer and employee.

And what happened?

You know who assumed the power to veto, and did veto that program.

The Railroad Retirement Act, the National Recovery Act and the Guffey Coal Act were successively outlawed as the Child Labor Statute had been outlawed twenty years before.

Soon thereafter the Nation was told by a judicial pronouncement that although the Federal Government had ~~time~~ been rendered powerless to touch the problem of hours and wages, the States were equally helpless; and that it pleased the "personal economic predilections" of a majority of the Court that we live in a Nation where there is no legal power anywhere to deal with its most difficult practical problems — a No Man's Land of final futility.

X Furthermore, court injunctions have paralyzed the machinery which we created by the National Labor Relations Act to settle great disputes raging in the industrial field, and, indeed, to prevent them from ever-arising. We hope that this Act may yet escape final condemnation in the highest court. But so far the attitude and language of the courts in relation to many other laws have made the legality of this Act also uncertain, and have encouraged corporations to defy rather than obey it.

In the campaign of 1936, you and I promised this to working men and women:

"Of course we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America. — to reduce hours over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops, ~~and~~ we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed. For all these things we have only just begun to fight."

(A) But

Here again we cannot afford, either individually or as a party, to postpone or run from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers.

(B) And

I defy anyone to read the opinions concerning ~~the~~, the Railroad Retirement Act, the National Recovery Act, the Gaffey Coal Act and the New York Minimum Wage Law, and tell us exactly what, if anything, we can do for the industrial worker in this session of the Congress with any reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional.

During the course of the past four years the Nation has been overwhelmed by disasters of flood and drought.

Modern science knows how to protect our land and our people from the recurrence of such catastrophes, and knows how to produce as a by-product the blessing of cheaper electric power. With the Tennessee Valley Authority we made a beginning of that kind of protection on an intelligent regional basis. With only two of its nine projected dams completed there was no flood damage in the valley of the Tennessee this Winter.

But how can we confidently complete the Tennessee Valley project and extend the idea to the Ohio and other valleys while the lowest courts have not hesitated to paralyze its operations by sweeping injunctions?

The Ohio River and the Dust Bowl are not conversant with the habits of the Interstate Commerce Clause. But we shall never be safe in our lives, in our property or in the heritage of our soil until we have somehow made the Interstate Commerce Clause conversant with the habits of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl.

In the campaign of 1936, you and I and all who supported us did make cognizance of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl. We said: "Of course we will continue our efforts *** for drought and flood control ***. For these things we have only just begun to fight."

Here, too, we cannot afford, either individually or as a party, to postpone or run away from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. Let them try that advice on sweating men piling sandbags on the levees ~~at Seiso~~.

But I defy anyone to read the opinions in the T.V.A. case, the Duke Power case and ~~the~~ ~~the~~ case and tell us exactly what we can do as a National Government in this session of the Congress to control flood and drought and generate cheap power with any reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional.

The language of the decisions already rendered and the wide-spread refusal to obey law incited by the attitude of the courts, create doubts and difficulties for almost everything else for which we have promised to fight -- help for the crippled, for the blind, for the mothers -- insurance for the unemployed -- security for the aged -- protection of the consumer against monopoly and speculation -- protection of the investor -- the wiping out of slums -- cheaper electricity for the homes and ~~farms~~ ^(in the) farms of America. You and I owe it to ourselves individually, as a party, and as a Nation to remove those doubts and difficulties.

In this fight, as the lawyers themselves say, time is of the essence. In three elections during the past five years great majorities have approved what we are trying to do. To me, and I am sure to you, those majorities mean that the people themselves realize the increasing urgency that we meet their needs now. Every delay creates risks of intervening events which make more and more difficult an intelligent, speedy, and democratic solution of our difficulties.

As Chief Executive and as the head of the Democratic Party, I am unwilling to take those risks ~~to~~ to the country and to the party -- of postponing one moment beyond absolute necessity the time when we can free from legal doubt those policies which offer a progressive solution of our problems. (Applause) *repeat the last
nickie after
the leader*

Floods and droughts and agricultural surpluses, strikes and industrial confusion and disorder, cannot be handled forever on a catch-as-catch-can basis.

Good, my friends

I have another ambition -- not so great an ambition as that which I have for the country, but an ambition which as a life-long Democrat, I do not believe unworthy. It is an ambition for the Democratic Party.

The Party, and its associates, have had the imagination to perceive essential unity below the surface of apparent diversity. We can, therefore, long remain a natural rallying point for the cooperative effort of all ~~of~~ those who truly believe in political and economic democracy. (A)

It will take courage to let our minds be bold and find the ways to meet the needs of the Nation. But for our Party, now as always, the counsel of courage is the counsel of wisdom.

If we do not have the courage to lead the American people where they want to go, someone else will.

Here is one-third of a Nation ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed -- NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of farmers wondering whether next year's prices will meet their mortgage interest -- NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of men and women laboring for long hours in factories for inadequate pay -- NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of children who should be at school, working in mines and mills -- NOW!

Here are strikes more far-reaching than we have ever known, costing millions of dollars -- NOW! (again) *again when*

Here are Spring floods threatening to roll ~~again~~ down ^{again} our river valleys -- NOW!

Here is the Dust Bowl beginning to blow again -- NOW!

X If we would keep faith with those who had faith in us, if we would make democracy succeed, I say we must act -- NOW! (Applause, prolonged)

*myself by & all
good to you }*

- ✓ 1. Our dedication of four years ago to keep the temple clear of money changers.
- ✓ 2. What has been done has been done through the efforts of the millions of men and women.
- ✓ 3. The concrete achievements are plain for all to see.
- ✓ 4. The unseen achievements of breaking down habits of thinking are the important ones.
- ✓ 5. These habits of thinking are as follows.
 - (a) The advertised versions of our national traditions.
 - (b) ~~that~~ We have come to recognize Un-American things and un-American.
 - (c) That government is incompetent to solve the problems.
 - (d) (Government has been able to solve the problems without having democracy take a holiday.)
 - (e) Another myth we have dissipated is the economic ~~fatalism~~ fatalism of 1932.
 - (f) The seeming unholy alliance between unscrupulous material success and moral righteousness.
- 6. We have cleared our minds of these myths but the first condition of success for the future is the realization that a nation ~~cannot~~ cannot rest - it must go forward.

7.

7. The problem of the future is to devise means of moral control over the new changes which science brings about in the material universe.
8. That task will require greater wisdom and tenacity than the depression called for in fortitude and patience.
9. That progress will have to be forced over a strong opposition. We now know that we cannot end abuse by one single energetic thrust.
10. The problems of prosperity are harder to solve than those of depression because the emergency is no longer with us.
11. To solve those problems will require more than warm hearts - it will require using the following instruments:
- (a) Competent personnel
 - (b) Workable relationship of all resources of government.
 - (c) Power of government investigation.
 - (d) Free press
12. With these tools we envisage a civilization in which
- (a) ~~MAXX~~ money is not the only important thing.
 - (b) Administration of other people's money is a public trust.
 - (c) Knowledge of the interdependence of American life.
 - (d) Where public office is sought for solely for public service rather than for private gain.
13. The problem for the future as compared with the problem of the pioneers is the same.
14. There is no area of public welfare in which government cannot enter.
15. We have a private profit system and we should also make it a social profit system.

DRAFT #1

While this dinner in Washington, like many similar dinners in many parts of the Nation, is conducted under Democratic auspices [and by the] Democratic party to mark the significance in honor of the amazing results of last November's election, I feel that in speaking tonight to many millions of Americans [I am speaking] not as the nominee of one party, but as [the President of the United States.]

In so doing I address myself not to those twenty-seven million Americans — men and women belonging to all parties or to no parties — who voted for me, but also to the sixteen or seventeen million other Americans who voted for other candidates for the presidency.

Tonight, to my mind, is an occasion that far transcends party rejoicing; for if we are to rejoice at all, it is because an overwhelming majority of our citizens have shown their approval of certain efforts made by their government during the past four years.

You and I, as Americans, remember much of the publicity, much of the propaganda and many of the epithets which were used last summer and autumn. For a few short months, we breathed more freely

because the extravagance of diction and of writing seemed to have been tempered. Today, however, the tumult and the shouting have broken forth anew, [not with any great novelty, but at least with a whole-souled and hearty invective.]

[is a preface, may I tell you a story which illustrates what I believe to be the more serious aspect of our national situation?]

A few days ago, a distinguished member of the legislative branch of our national government [Congress] came to see me to talk about national problems in general and about the problem of the Judiciary, in particular.

I said to him:

"John, I want to tell you something that is very personal to me -- something that you have a right to hear from my own lips. I have a great ambition in life." At these words, I felt that my friend had begun to prick up his ears. I went on: "I am by no means satisfied in having twice been elected President of the United States by very large majorities. I have an even greater ambition than that." By this time, my friend was sitting on the edge of his chair. I continued: "John, my ambition relates

to January 20, 1941." I could ~~see~~ just what my friend was thinking.

[He was expecting me, the President of the United States, to tell him, in confidence, either that I was going to run for a third time, or that I was going to set myself up as a dictator, or even that I was going to establish a monarchy in the United States.] So in order to relieve [my anxious friend, I went on like this: "John, my great ambition on January 20, 1941 is to turn over this desk and chair in the White House to my successor with the assurance to that man, who-

ever he may be, that I am at the same time turning over to him, as

President, a Nation intact, a Nation at peace, a Nation that has used those powers ~~of~~ ^{for} ~~the~~ ^{best} interest ~~now~~ steadily in meeting the dire needs of modern humanity,

a Nation prosperous, a Nation clear in its knowledge of what it has

the ~~right~~ ^{power} to do for its own citizens, a Nation, in other words, which has proved that the Democratic form and methods ~~and~~ ^{of} practice of national government can work and ~~do~~ ^{is} work."

That ambition of mine, my friends, can well be the ambition of every citizen of the United States who wants the United States to be handed down intact to ~~their~~ ^{the} children and grandchildren.

Why didn't I speak to my friend with such seriousness? and why

Do I speak to you with equal ~~seriousness~~^{confidence}, tonight? It is because to the President of the United States there come a thousand messages of fact and thought every day that passes, messages of appeal, messages of protest, messages of information, messages from rich and poor, from business man and farmer and factory employee and relief worker, messages from every nook and corner of every part of our wide domain.

The record shows that the average of the mail alone in the case of my recent predecessors was about four hundred letters a day. Since I have been in the White House, the average of my mail is about four

thousand a day. Often it runs to six and seven and ten thousand a

To the President, the United States come daily
day. Messages of the condition of affairs abroad.

America lies many thousands of miles away from scenes of
turmoil on other Continents. Nevertheless, ~~we must~~ ^{BUT} we take
the time to think that on this hemisphere and within this Nation
great human forces are at work in many of the ways in which those

A century ago, the movements of civilisation were vastly
slower. The issue of slavery, for example, took at least forty years

two generations before it came to a head in the great Civil War between the States. In those days, human surges in search of liberty and free government proceeded with equal slowness.

Today, it is not transportation and communications and productive methods alone which have speeded up. The needs of humanity along social and economic lines express themselves far more quickly — the demand for them becomes crystallized far more quickly — and the necessity for doing something about them is equally speeded up.

They will not wait like [] for forty years. (A) Let us take you back no further than the World War.

In the [] years that followed, in every civilized Nation of the world, the people themselves became conscious of the need for action to correct obvious abuses of society — obvious imperfections in the results [] that were being obtained by then existing governmental methods.

In some countries, the failure of the imperial or royalist form of government led to violent changes, overthrowing monarchy and replacing it with other methods. In other countries, the failure of the parliamentary form of government [] due, for example, to a multiplicity of parties and the jealousies of leadership [] led to the establishment of open or disguised dictatorships. In still other

Although there is no permanent Russian working group

Nations, civil strife has flared or threats of upheaval persist.

From all this
[The lesson to be learned] is that all of these great changes have come from an insistent demand on the part of the people themselves that inaction, inefficiency, inability to bring economic and social order out of chaos be replaced by action and efficiency, even at the price of throwing the [Democratic] form of government completely overboard.

[Any] Democracy has failed in many lands. Why not admit it. But, in admitting it, let us say to ourselves with firmness and courage "Democracy has not failed in the United States: more than that we do not purpose to let it fail."

Now, then, will I go serious tonight? It is because I
cannot tell you with complete candor that in these past few years Democracy in the United States has succeeded. *Not now* I cannot tell you, under present circumstances, just where American democracy is headed. *Then later* I can hope but I cannot assure.

B
What you and I loosely call the principles of the New Deal did not begin on the fourth of March, 1933. Their roots go back many years before that. We think of that date, *as this page*, because that was the culmination of many years during which *there had been no* progressive improvement

of our social and economic processes was at a standstill. Yet,
during all those former years the demand for social and economic
reform, though not visible on the surface, ^{had been} ~~was~~ piling up like a vast
underground stream ready to burst forth and cover the land at the
first opportunity.

[First since the World War]
Let us specify. The farmer of America was starving.

He was losing his home and his farm. The prices of the crops he raised were at starvation levels. [They were] subject to the impulses

of speculators and of world conditions over which he had no control.

As a national government we gave him the Agricultural Adjustment Act and we undertook to work out an agricultural economic program over a period of years under which the farmer could be refinanced at lower interest cost, under which he could save his farm, under which the prices of his crops would be raised to a point more close to a parity with the level of earnings of other population groups. We undertook, as a national government, to curb the piling up of vast surpluses and, at the same time, to encourage the production of wholly adequate food and fibre supplies for the entire Nation. We undertook, as a national government, to increase farm export markets and lessen the evils of speculation. We did all this in full faith and confidence that because the very nature

of our major crops make them articles of commerce between the States, the Congress of the United States had full constitutional authority to solve the economic problems of the Nation's agriculture.

[We were wrong. The overwhelming majority of the Senate and the House of Representatives were wrong. The President was wrong. The lawyers we hired were wrong. Remember, my friends, that the Constitution of the United States does not prohibit action such as we took. As a matter of fact, it says nothing about it at all. But the highest Judicial Court of the Federal Government has construed or interpreted the Constitution of the United States by saying that crops are essentially a matter of local concern and that therefore the growing of crops, even though the sum total of any one of them may form an essential part of our national economy, is not a matter for Federal legislation.

We have sought a partial way out from this dilemma, but it is only a part answer and we still are wandering around at the end of a dead-end street, unable to reach our destination and hoping that by trying a dozen side streets we may eventually find one which going many miles around will take us years later to the place we seek to go.

James R. Connelly

DRAFT #2

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW DEMOCRATS:

I feel that I am speaking tonight not only as the head of the Democratic Party but as the representative of all Americans who have faith in political and economic democracy.

For this occasion is more significant than a celebration of an electoral success. It signalizes the approval by an overwhelming majority of citizens of all parties of the high purpose and the unremitting efforts with which an Administration directed by the Democratic Party has met the most bewildering problems in our national history.

Because that approval was truly national and truly popular, our party victory is all the more significant. It was not a sectional victory. It was not a victory which came from compromises and bargains. It came from twenty-seven million people -- and from every nook and corner of the land. It was an overwhelming response to a government in whose heart as well as whose head the people had confidence.

It was a response to the humanity of a government that could understand that the problems of the average men and women who make up the Nation are the problems of the Nation itself.

It was a response to the clear-sightedness of a government that could see the Nation as essentially one -- where the welfare

of each section and each group of citizens is the concern and the welfare of every section and every group of citizens.

It was a response to the common sense of a government that could appreciate the importance of purchasing power in our interwoven national life; that could see how the purchasing power of the city dweller fixed the market price of the farmer's produce -- how the purchasing power of the farmer fixed the wages of the industrial worker -- how the prosperity of all the rest of the population depended upon the prosperity of these two great producing and purchasing groups.

And above all it was a response of faith on the part of millions who had lost or who had never had faith in the promises of political parties and in the effectiveness of the democratic method -- belief that at last a political leadership had been found which would keep its promises to those who believed that democracy could be made to work.

It was a response from those in other parties who found that they could make the most practical progress toward their ideals by working with the Democratic Party.

As the sum of all these responses, the Democratic Party, once a minority party, is today the majority party by the greatest

majority any party ever had.

But as we celebrate, let us remember that it will remain the majority party only so long as it continues to justify those responses-- only so long as it continues to make democracy work.

You and I remember the propaganda and the epithets of last Summer and Fall. For three short months thereafter the extravagant abuse tempered. Today, however, the tumult and the shouting have broken forth anew. That should reassure those who placed their confidence in us. It is the best evidence in the world that we have begun to keep our promises, that we have begun to move against conditions under which one-third of this Nation are ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed. It is the trumpet of our march.

A few days ago, a distinguished member of Congress came to see me to talk about national problems in general and about the problem of the Judiciary in particular.

I said to him:

"John, I want to tell you something that is very personal to me -- something that you have a right to hear from my own lips. I have a great ambition in life."

My friend pricked up his ears.

I went on: "I am by no means satisfied with having twice been elected President of the United States by very large majorities. I have an even greater ambition."

By this time, my friend was sitting on the edge of his chair.

I continued: "John, my ambition relates to January 20, 1941." I could feel just what my friend was thinking. So in order to relieve his anxiety, I went on to say:

"John", I said "My great ambition on January 20, 1941, is to turn over this desk and chair in the White House to my successor, whoever he may be, with the assurance that I am at the same time turning over to him, as President, a Nation intact, a Nation at peace, a Nation prosperous, a Nation clear in its knowledge of what powers it has to serve its own citizens, a Nation that has used those powers to the full to move forward steadily to meet the modern needs of humanity -- a Nation which has thus proved that the democratic form and methods of national government can and will succeed."

"I have only three-and-a-half short years left to do what I can to provide such assurance. I want to get as far along the road of progress as I can. But at any rate I do not want to leave our country to my successor in the condition in which Buchanan left

it to Lincoln."

That ambition of mine for my successor, my friends, can well be the serious ambition of every citizen of the United States who wants the United States to be handed down intact to his children and grandchildren.

My friend and I spoke in the dead earnestness of anxiety. I speak to you tonight in the same earnestness. For no one who sees as a whole the picture of this Nation and the world today can help but be concerned for the days that lie ahead. To the President of the United States there come every day thousands of messages of fact and thought, messages of appeal, of protest, of information, messages from rich and poor, from business man and farmer and factory employee and relief worker, messages from every nook and corner of our wide domain. And to the President of the United States come daily messages of the condition of affairs abroad.

America lies many thousands of miles away from scenes of turmoil on other Continents. But those messages tell me that on this hemisphere and within this Nation there are insistent demands for the satisfaction of human needs which cannot be long thwarted. The danger is that these great human forces may move here.

in ways in which they have moved and are moving in other lands.

The most striking feature of modern life is the ever-accelerating speed with which these human forces move. The machine age has given them wings.

Transportation and communications and productive methods have not speeded up alone. The needs of humanity along social and economic lines can express themselves far more quickly. The demand for them can become crystallized far more quickly. The necessity for doing something about them can become irresistible far more quickly.

A century ago the movements of civilization were far slower. The issue of slavery, for example, took at least forty years -- two generations of argument, discussion and futile compromise -- before it came to a head in the great War Between the States. In those days, all human surges toward liberty and free government proceeded at the same slow pace.

But today economic freedom for the wage earner and the farmer and the small business man cannot be delayed so long as was personal freedom for the slave.

It will not wait, like emancipation, for forty years. It will not wait for four years. It will not wait at all.

After the disorganization of the World War the people in every civilized nation became conscious that they wanted certain results from government which they never had asked before. They became conscious of the need for action to correct obvious failures to produce these results.

In some countries, imperial or royalist form of government failed to meet these demands leading to the overthrow of monarchy and its replacement with other forms. In other countries, the parliamentary form of government failed to meet their demands leading to its overthrow and the establishment of open or disguised dictatorships. In still other nations, although the form of government has remained unchanged, civil strife has flared and threats of upheaval persist.

There is a lesson in all this for the United States. All of these great changes have come from an insistent demand on the part of the people themselves that inability to bring economic and social order out of chaos be replaced -- a demand for action and efficiency, even at the unhappy price of their traditional form of government.

Democracy has failed in many lands. Why not admit it. But, in admitting it, we should recognize that democracy has not failed and does not need to fail in the United States, and should say to

DRAFT #3

ourselves with firmness and courage "We do not purpose to let it fail." I cannot tell you with complete candor that in these past few years democracy in the United States has fully succeeded. Nor can I tell you, under present circumstances, just where American democracy is headed nor just what it can do to direct itself. I can hope, but I cannot assure. No one can assure you. For today no one knows what action the American legal system will permit it to take to preserve itself. There lies the challenge which we must meet.

Our people, too, have long been coming to expect more from their government. What you and I call the principles of the New Deal were not born on the fourth of March, 1933. Their roots go back many years before that. We think of that date as their beginning, because it was then that those principles broke through the inertia of twelve years during which there had been little or no progressive improvement in our social and economic processes. Yet, during all those twelve years the demand/the need for social and economic reform, though not visible on the surface, were present -- gathering power like a vast underground stream ready to burst forth at the first opportunity.

What were those demands and needs? What did we do about them? How far did we succeed in meeting them? Where are they now?

The most pressing are familiar to us all.

Ever since the World War the farmers of America had been
beating off ever-mounting troubles. The prices of the crops
they raised were at bankruptcy levels -- at the mercy of specu-
lators and of world conditions over which they had no control.
They were losing their homes and their farms.

The Democratic Party pledged itself to the farmers. It tried
to fulfill those pledges. As a National Government, we gave the
farmers the Agricultural Adjustment Act and the Farm Credit Ad-
ministration.

As a National Government, by these and other methods, we
undertook to work out a national program -- to curb the piling up
of vast crop surpluses -- to raise crop prices until the farmers'
earnings were nearer to parity with the earnings of other workers --
to increase markets for farm products and decrease speculation in
farm commodities -- to refinance farm debts at a lower interest cost--
and thereby assure adequate food and fibre supplies for the whole
Nation.

All this we did in full faith and confidence that the very
nature of our major crops makes them articles of commerce between
the States, and with full faith and confidence that the preserva-
tion of sound agriculture is essential to the general welfare. For

those reasons we assumed in the naivete' of common sense that the Congress of the United States had full constitutional authority to solve the economic problems of the Nation's agriculture.

That faith and confidence was embodied in the original A.A.A. statute. You know what happened to that statute.

In 1936 the Democratic Party pledged itself once more to attack the problem. We said: "Of course we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops. We will persist in successful action for better land use, for reforestation, * * * for better marketing facilities for farm commodities, for a definite reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of farmer cooperatives, for crop insurance and a stable food supply. For all these things we have only just begun to fight."

It is now the responsibility of all of us whose promises the farmers believed, to carry forward that fight and not turn from it until those things have been won. Neither individually nor as a party can we flee or postpone that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. But I defy anyone to read together the Constitution and the opinion invalidating the A.A.A. and tell us what we can do for agriculture in this session of the Congress with even reasonable

certainty that what we do will be held constitutional?

Let us look at our next great problem -- the industrial scene.

The farmers were not the only people in distress in 1932.

There were millions of workers in industry and in commerce who had lost their jobs, millions of young people who had never been able to find their first job, and even more millions whose jobs did not return them enough to live on, according to the standards we have come to consider adequate for the American family. Millions of children were working for a few pennies who should not be working at all. And the inability of all these millions to find work at decent wages constantly tended, by a vicious circle, to increase still further the number out of work in the shop and on the farm.

The Democratic Party made pledges to industry and labor in 1932. It tried hard to keep them. W.R.A. made a gallant, desperate effort to reach all these problems at once, to raise wages, to reduce hours, to abolish child labor.

And as an indispensable part of an intelligent approach to the problem of employment and recovery, we tried to establish machinery for regularizing the relations between the employer and employee. We hoped that it would be functioning before there would break over us the threat of industrial warfare which might nip in the bud our

efforts for continued recovery.

And what happened?

The N.R.A. was outlawed as the Child Labor Statute had been outlawed twenty years before. The judicial nullification did not stop with a condemnation of legislative and administrative methods. If it had stopped there, corrective legislation could have cured the trouble. But the nullification extended to a sweeping denial to the Congress of the right to exercise powers repeatedly declared in previous opinions to reside in the National Government. And soon thereafter the Nation was told that although the Federal Government was powerless to touch the problem of hours and wages, the States were equally helpless and that we had to go on pretending to be intelligent in a Nation where there was no legal power to deal with its most difficult practical problems.

Furthermore, court injunctions have rendered futile the machinery which we devised to settle the great disputes that are now raging in the industrial field -- and, indeed, to prevent such warfare from ever arising. We hope that these laws may yet escape condemnation. But, in effect, to date they have been useless as a practical instrument because the attitude and language which the courts have adopted in relation to many other laws have made the legality of these laws also uncertain.

In 1936, in addition to our platform pledges, you and I and all other Democrats promised this to the working men: "Of course we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America -- to reduce hours over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops.

"Of course we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed. For all these we have only just begun to fight."

And here again we cannot afford, either personally or as a party, to flee or postpone that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. But who in the face of the language of the Supreme Court in the opinions concerning N.R.A., A.A.A., the Railroad Retirement Act and the Cuffey Coal Act and the New York Minimum Wage Law, can tell us exactly what, if anything, we can do for the industrial worker.

Let us look at our next great problem -- the preservation of our natural resources.

During the course of the past four years we have been faced by natural disasters of flood and drought of unprecedented intensity. At times our productive land was being either blown away or washed away at a rate that might spell ruin even to this present generation. And in the meantime the loss of life and of property values has

been beyond anything we have known in our history.

If ever there was a policy to which sound reasons of national interest compel us, it is to do our utmost as a National Government to save our land from ruin and our people from the recurrence of such catastrophes. Modern engineering knows how to prevent those catastrophes -- and knows how to produce the blessing of cheaper electric power as a by-product of that flood prevention.

With the Tennessee Valley Authority we made a beginning of that kind of prevention on an intelligent regional basis. With only two of its seven projected dams completed there was little flood damage in the valley of the Tennessee this Winter.

But how can we safely either complete that Tennessee project or extend the idea to the Ohio and other valleys while the validity of such operations has been placed in such doubt by the language of the highest courts of the Nation that the lowest courts do not hesitate to forbid its operations by injunctions.

The Ohio River is not conversant with the habits of the Interstate Commerce Clause. It does not listen to that or to any other King Canute, whether or not robed in ermine. But we shall never be safe as a people in our lives, in our property or in the heritage of our soil until we have somehow ^{made} the Interstate Commerce Clause conversant with the habits of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl.

In our campaign you and I and all Democrats did take cognizance of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl. We said: "Of course we will continue our efforts * * * for drought and flood control * * *. For these things we have only just begun to fight." Here, too, we cannot afford, either individually or as a party, to run away from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. Let them try that advice on men piling sandbags on the dikes at Cairo. Who can read the opinions in the T.V.A. case, the Duke Power Case, the A.A.A. case and tell us exactly what, if anything, we can constitutionally do as a National Government in the way of flood control and drought control?

The doubts created by the language of the decisions already rendered and the attitude of the courts in those decisions throw a cloud in some degree on almost everything else that we have promised to fight for -- help for the crippled, for the blind, for the mothers -- insurance for the unemployed -- security for the aged -- protection of the consumer against monopoly and speculation -- protection of the honest employer and business men against monopoly, unfair competition and dishonorable trade practices -- protection of the investor against unscrupulous promoters -- curbs on the overweening power and the unholy practices of utility holding companies -- the wiping out of slums -- cheaper electricity in the homes and on the farms of America.

And as the American people understand performance of promises, we became pledged in honor bound to carry on and win the fight for those things the moment the election returns were complete. And that obligation was to begin that fight not sometime in the unpredictable future, but in the very next session of the Congress of the United States -- and to carry it on to a successful finish as soon as was humanly possible.

In this fight, as the lawyers themselves say, time is of the essence. We have been aiming at these results for nearly five years. Three elections have intervened during those five years, and in each of them, by increasing majorities, the people have told us that they want us to get these results. Those increasing majorities mean to me, and I think they must mean to you, that the people themselves realize the increasing urgency that we get results soon. All over the world events are moving with a rapidity we have never seen before. The risks of intervening events which may interfere with our economic plans are too great to take. We cannot afford to delay, and as your Chief Executive I am unwilling to take the responsibility of postponing one moment beyond absolute necessity the time when we can free from legal doubt the advance of our policies -- policies which have shown us the possibility of a permanently growing society on our old American foundations -- policies

which have thus far successfully brought us through dangers which other nations have not managed to avoid.

We have found practical means to adapt the American way of life to the modern world. We must find a way to adapt the words of our law to that practical way of living. And we must do it now. Floods and droughts and agricultural surpluses, strikes and industrial confusion, incompetence and disorder, cannot be handled forever on a temporary basis.

Millions of farmers wondering whether next year's prices will meet their mortgage interest -- Now!

Millions of women laboring for long hours in cotton mills for \$5 a week -- Now!

Millions of children who should be at school, working in mines and factories -- Now!

Strikes more far-reaching than we have ever known, costing millions of dollars -- Now!

Spring floods threatening to roll down our river valleys -- Now!

The Dust Bowl beginning to blow again -- Now!

If we would keep faith with those who had faith in us, I say we must act -- Now!

I might also have said to my visitor from Congress: "John, I have another ambition. It's not so great an ambition as that which

I have for the country. But it's an ambition which a life-long Democrat need not believe unworthy. It's an ambition for the Democratic Party.

"Today, we are the majority party enjoying national power, enjoying the enormous privilege of being allowed to lead in the solution of national problems. Over the greater part of its history, our party has not been the majority party. It has found difficulty in holding together for long the various sources of strength which at times have made it the majority party. Some have said that it was inevitable that the Democratic Party follow this cycle of a short time in power and a long time out of power because it was made up of elements without a common interest -- of one kind of agricultural interest in the South, another kind in the West, of the industrial workers of the great cities and of liberals of all faiths who wanted results more than theories. What an unnatural combination, the wisecracks have said. How can it expect to prevail against the solid phalanxes of the stolidly cautious reactionaries who so easily keep united about the simple platform of saying "no, we can't do anything".

But to me that which the cynics call an unnatural combination has always seemed the most natural unit in our political history. For the Democratic Party expresses the essential unity of interests

of all the men and women of good will whose sense of good neighborliness and fairness and patriotism make them happier living and letting live for the common good of all than exploiting their fellows in over-acquisitiveness. It has always been the warm-hearted party of the common man. The lessons of the depression have taught it a new unity in economic interdependence. For the common man of the farms and mines of the South and West and the common man of the factory and the office of the North and East, now know that each is the other's customer and the other's source of prosperity.

The Democratic Party is, therefore, the logical leader in this struggle to keep this a Nation united through economic and political democracy. It has successfully carried on the experience of unity in spite of the diversity of its adherents. Under the liberal banner it has been able to rally those forces who believe that the enforcement of the human rights of the average man and woman is the proper solution of our major national problems. The job cannot be done by a party made up of one economic group dominated only by a desire never to change things as they are.

This Democratic Party is, therefore, a natural rallying point for all of those who truly believe in political and economic democracy. And in proportion, therefore, as the ~~xxxxxx~~ cause of political and economic democracy advances, so shall this party of ours. The reason you and

I can celebrate tonight is that all those believers in democracy felt a new enthusiasm and a new belief last November in the promises of the Democratic Party. Whether we shall be celebrating in 1941, and in 1945, as we are celebrating tonight, will deservedly depend upon whether we have justified their belief in us by meeting their needs.

For let us not forget that we gather here tonight to celebrate a victory which was not a victory over the pressing problems that perplex our generation, but only a victory whereby we won the opportunity to lead in the solution of those problems. It will be a victory for the American people only if we prove loyal to our trust.-- It will be a victory for the Democratic Party only if we prove able to lead the American people to a triumph over the evils and dangers that beset the present day and menace their welfare in the days to come.

It will take courage to let our minds be bold and find the ways to meet those needs. But for the Democratic Party, the counsel of courage is as ever the counsel of wisdom.

DRAFT #3

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW DEMOCRATS:

I feel that I am speaking tonight not only as the head of the Democratic Party but as the representative of all Americans who have faith in political and economic democracy.

For this occasion is more significant than a celebration of [In maintaining office] un-electoral success.^A It signalizes the approval by an overwhelming majority of citizens of all parties of the high purpose and the unremitting efforts with which an Administration directed by the Democratic Party has met the most bewildering problems in our national history.

Because that approval was truly national and truly popular, our party victory is all the more significant. It was not a sectional victory. It was not a victory which came from compromises and bargains. It came from twenty-seven million people -- and from every nook and corner of the land. It was an overwhelming response to a government in whose heart as well as whose head the people had confidence.

It was a response to the humanity of a government that could understand that the problems of the average men and women who make up the Nation are the problems of the Nation itself.

It was a response to the clear-sightedness of a government that could see the Nation as essentially one -- where the welfare

of each section and each group of citizens is the concern and the welfare of every section and every group of citizens.

It was a response to the common sense of a government that could appreciate the importance of purchasing power in our interwoven national life; that could see how the purchasing power of the city dweller fixed the market price of the farmer's produce -- how the purchasing power of the farmer fixed the wages of the industrial worker -- how the prosperity of all the rest of the population depended upon the prosperity of these two great producing and purchasing groups. →

And above all it was a response of faith on the part of millions who had lost or who had never had faith in the promises of political parties and in the effectiveness of the democratic method -- belief that at last a political leadership had been found which would keep its promises to those who believed that democracy could be made to work.

It was a response ^(of practicality) from those in other parties who found that they could make the most practical progress toward their ideals by working with the Democratic Party.

As the sum of all these responses, the Democratic Party, once a minority party, is today the majority party by the greatest

*(Old page clipped
and reinserted)*

majority any party ever had.

It will remain the majority party so long as it continues to justify those responses -- so long as it continues to make modern democracy work.

For three short months, there was uneasy concern of some of our supporters that we were going to find excuses not to justify those responses. They were worried, as at an evil symptom, because the propaganda and the epithets of last Summer and Fall had died down. Today, however, those who placed their confidence in us are reassured. For the tumult and the shouting have broken forth anew -- from substantially the same sources. And the roar of it is the best evidence in the world that we have begun to keep our promises, that we have begun to move against conditions under which one-third of this Nation are ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed. It is the trumpet of the march of democracy.

A few days ago, a distinguished member of Congress came to see me to talk about national problems in general and about the problem of the Judiciary in particular.

I said to him:

"John, I want to tell you something that is very personal to me -- something that you have a right to hear from my own lips. I have a great ambition in life."

majority any party ever had.

But as we celebrate, let us remember that it will remain the majority party only so long as it continues to justify those responses-- only so long as it continues to make democracy work.

You and I remember the propaganda and the epithets of last Summer and Fall. For three short months thereafter the extravagant abuse tempered. Today, however, the tumult and the shouting have broken forth anew. That should reassure those who placed their confidence in us. It is the best evidence in the world that we have begun to keep our promises, that we have begun to move against conditions under which one-third of this Nation are ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed. It is the trumpet of our march.

A few days ago, a distinguished member of Congress came to see me to talk about national problems in general and about the problem of the Judiciary in particular.

I said to him:

"John, I want to tell you something that is very personal to me -- something that you have a right to hear from my own lips. I have a great ambition in life."

My friend pricked up his ears.

I went on: "I am by no means satisfied with having twice been elected President of the United States by very large majorities. I have an even greater ambition."

By this time, my friend was sitting on the edge of his chair.

I continued: "John, my ambition relates to January 20, 1941." I could feel just what my friend was thinking. So in order to relieve his anxiety, I went on to say:

"John", [I said] "My great ambition on January 20, 1941, is to turn over this desk and chair in the White House to my successor, whoever he may be, with the assurance that I am at the same time turning over to him, as President, a Nation intact, a Nation at peace, a Nation prosperous, a Nation clear in its knowledge of what powers it has to serve its own citizens, a Nation that [has] (*is*) (in a position to use) [used] those powers to the full to move forward steadily to meet the modern needs of humanity -- a Nation which has thus proved that the democratic form and methods of national government can and will succeed."

"I have only three-and-a-half short years left to do what I can to provide such assurance. I want to get as far along the road of progress as I can. [But at any rate] I do not want to leave our country to my successor in the condition in which Buchanan left

it to Lincoln."

That ambition of mine for my successor, my friends, can well be the serious ambition of every citizen of the United States who wants the United States to be handed down intact to his children and grandchildren.

My friend and I spoke in the dead earnestness of anxiety. I speak to you tonight in the same earnestness. For no one who sees as a whole the picture of this Nation and the world today can help but be concerned for the days that lie ahead. To the President of the United States there come every day thousands of messages of fact and thought, messages of appeal, of protest, of information, messages from rich and poor, from business man and farmer and factory employee and relief worker, messages from every nook and corner of our wide domain. And to the President of the United States come daily messages of the condition of affairs abroad.

America lies many thousands of miles away from scenes of turmoil on other Continents. But those messages tell me that on this hemisphere and within this Nation there are insistent demands for the satisfaction of human needs which cannot be long thwarted—
(Institute rider)
[The danger is that these great human forces may move here]

in ways in which they have moved and are moving in other lands.

The most striking feature of the life of this generation -- and the feature which men who have lived in another generation can least understand -- is the ever-accelerating speed at which human movements gather way.

The machine age and the disillusionments of depression have given them double wings. Transportation and communications and productive methods have not speeded up inanimate things alone. The needs of humanity along social and economic lines now can express themselves far more quickly. The demand for them now can become crystallized far more quickly. The necessity for doing something about them now can become irresistible far more quickly.

A century ago, fifty years ago, even twenty-five years ago, the movements of civilization were far slower. The issue of slavery, for example, took at least forty years -- two generations of argument, discussion and futile compromise -- before it came to a head in the great War Between the States.

In those days, all human surges toward liberty and free government crept along at the same slow pace. Today they fly.

Today economic freedom for the wage earner and the farmer and the small business man cannot be delayed as was personal freedom for the slave.

in ways in which they have moved and are moving in other lands.

The most striking feature of modern life is the ever-accelerating speed with which these human forces move. The machine age has given them wings.

Transportation and communications and productive methods have ^{inanimate things} not speeded up alone. The needs of humanity along social and economic lines can express themselves far more quickly. The demand for them can become crystallized far more quickly. The necessity for doing something about them can become irresistible far more quickly.

A century ago the movements of civilization were far slower. The issue of slavery, for example, took at least forty years -- two generations of argument, discussion and futile compromise -- before it came to a head in the great War Between the States. In those days, all human surges toward liberty and free government proceeded at the same slow pace.

But today economic freedom for the wage earner and the farmer and the small business man cannot be delayed so long as was personal freedom for the slave.

It will not wait, like emancipation, for forty years. It will not wait for four years. It will not wait at all.

*(Old page copied
underneath)*

It will not wait, like emancipation, for forty years. It will not wait for four years. It will not wait at all.

After the disorganization and the disillusion that followed the World War the people of every civilized nation became articulate in their want of certain results from government they had never dared hope for before. And they demanded action to correct obvious failures to produce these results.

In some countries, the imperial or royalist form of government failed to meet these demands and the monarchy fell and was replaced with other forms. In other countries, the parliamentary form of government failed to meet these demands and it too fell before the establishment of open or disguised dictatorships. In still other nations, although the form of government has remained unchanged, civil strife has flared and threats of upheaval persist.

There is a lesson in all this for the United States. All of these great changes have come from an insistent demand on the part of the people themselves for action and efficiency to bring economic and social order out of chaos.

Democracy in many lands has failed to meet that demand. Let's admit it. But, in admitting it, we can recognize that democracy has not failed and does not need to fail in the United States, and can say to

After the disorganization of the World War the people in every civilized nation became conscious that they wanted certain results from government which they never had asked before. They became conscious of the need for action to correct obvious failures to produce these results.

In some countries, imperial or royalist form of government failed to meet these demands, leading to the overthrow of monarchy and its replacement with other forms. In other countries, the parliamentary form of government failed to meet their demands, leading to its overthrow and the establishment of open or disguised dictatorships. In still other nations, although the form of government has remained unchanged, civil strife has flared and threats of upheaval persist.

There is a lesson in all this for the United States. All of these great changes have come from an insistent demand on the part of the people themselves that inability to bring economic and social order out of chaos be replaced -- a demand for action and efficiency, even at the unhappy price of their traditional form of government.

Democracy has failed in many lands. Why not admit it. But, in admitting it, we should recognize that democracy has not failed and does not need to fail in the United States, and should say so

DRAFT #3

ourselves with firmness and courage "We do not purpose to let it fail." ^A I cannot tell you with complete candor that in these past few years democracy in the United States has fully succeeded. Nor can I tell you, under present circumstances, just where American democracy is headed nor just what it can do to direct itself. I can hope, but I cannot assure. No one can assure you. ^(Because) ^{(For) today} ^{American Democracy} no one knows what action the American legal system will permit ^{it} to take to preserve itself. There lies the challenge which we must meet.

[have felt the trend of the world. They]
Our people, too, have long been coming to expect more from their government. What you and I call the principles of the New Deal were not born on the fourth of March, 1933. Their roots go back many years before that. We think of that date as their beginning, because it was ^(only) then that ^(the) those principles broke through the inertia of twelve years during which there had been little or no progressive improvement in our social and economic processes. Yet, during all those twelve years the demand/the need for social and economic reform, though not visible on the surface, were ^(rising) present -- gathering ^(and) head [power] like a vast underground stream ready to burst forth at the first opportunity.

What were those demands and needs? What did we do about them? How far did we succeed in meeting them? Where are they now?

[where no Administration had
dared to take the risks
before]

-9-

The most pressing demands are familiar to us all.

Ever since the World War the farmers of America had been
beating off ever-mounting troubles. The prices of [the] crops
[they raised were at] ^(fell to) bankruptcy levels -- at the mercy of specu-
lators and of world conditions over which [they] had no control.
^(the farmers)

They were losing their homes and their farms.

The Democratic Party [pledged itself to the farmers. It] tried
to help the farmers to fulfill those pledges. As a National Government, [we] gave the
farmers the Agricultural Adjustment Act and the Farm Credit Ad-
ministration.

As a National Government, by these and other methods, we
undertook to work out a national program -- to curb the piling up
of vast crop surpluses -- to raise crop prices until the farmers'
earnings were nearer to parity with the earnings of other workers --
to increase markets for farm products and decrease speculation in
farm commodities -- to refinance farm debts at a lower interest cost--
and thereby assure adequate food and fibre supplies for the whole
Nation.

All this we did in full faith and confidence that the very
nature of our major crops makes them articles of commerce between
the States, ^{All the way} with full faith and confidence that the preserva-
tion of sound agriculture is essential to the general welfare. For

those reasons we assumed in the naivete's of common sense that the Congress of the United States had full constitutional authority to solve the economic problems of the Nation's agriculture.

That faith and confidence was embodied in the original A.A.A. statute. You know what happened. [to that statute.]

In 1936 the Democratic Party pledged itself once more to attack the problem. We said: "Of course we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops. We will persist in successful action for better land use, for reforestation, * * * for better marketing facilities for farm commodities, for a definite reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of farmer cooperatives, for crop insurance and a stable food supply. For all these things we have only just begun to fight."

[We did not expect the Farmers to want us to live for them, they do not expect us to work for them.]

It is now the responsibility of all of us whose promises the farmers believed, to carry forward that fight and not turn from it until those things have been won. Neither individually nor as a party can we flee or postpone that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. But I defy anyone to read [together the Constitution and] [Majority] the opinion invalidating the A.A.A. and tell us what we can do for agriculture in this session of the Congress with even reasonable

certainty that what we do will be held constitutional?

Let us look at our next great problem -- the industrial scene.

The farmers were not the only people in distress in 1932. There were millions of workers in industry and in commerce who had lost their jobs, millions of young people who had never been able to find their first job, and even more millions whose jobs did not return them enough to live on, according to the standards we have come to consider adequate for the American family. Millions of children were working for a few pennies who should not be working at all. [And] The inability of all these millions to find work at decent wages constantly tended, by a vicious circle, to increase still further the number out of work in the shop and on the farm.

The Democratic Party made pledges to industry and labor in 1932. It tried hard to keep them. [N.R.A.] made a gallant, desperate effort to reach [all] these problems [at once] to raise wages, to reduce hours, to abolish child labor.

And as an indispensable part of an intelligent approach to the problem of employment and recovery, we tried to establish machinery for regularizing the relations between the employer and employee. We hoped that it would be [functioning] before there would break over us the [threat of] industrial warfare which might nip in the bud our

(operating smoothly)

efforts for continued recovery.

And what happened?

The N.R.A. was outlawed as the Child Labor Statute had been outlawed twenty years before. The judicial nullification did not stop with a condemnation of legislative and administrative methods.

[If it had stopped there, corrective legislation could have cured the trouble. But the nullification ^{It} extended to a sweeping denial to the Congress of the right to exercise powers repeatedly declared in previous opinions to reside in the National Government. [And] Soon ^{if} (By a judicial ^{subcase}) thereafter the Nation was told that although the Federal Government was powerless to touch the problem of hours and wages, the States were equally helpless and that we had to go on pretending to be intelligent in a Nation where there was no legal power to deal with its most difficult practical problems.]

(Meanwhile)

[Furthermore, court injunctions have rendered futile] the machinery
SUBSTITUTE RIDER * PAGE 12

warfare from ever arising -- have been rendered futile by court injunctions. We hope that laws creating this machinery may yet escape condemnation. But, in effect, to date they have been useless as a practical instrument because the attitude and language which the courts have adopted in relation to many other laws have made the legality of these laws also uncertain and have encouraged those whose duty it is to cooperate with these laws to defy them.

efforts for continued recovery.

And what happened?

The N.R.A. was outlawed as the Child Labor Statute had been outlawed twenty years before. The judicial nullification did not stop with a condemnation of legislative and administrative methods.

[If it had stopped there, corrective legislation could have cured the trouble. But the nullification] ^{JT} extended to a sweeping denial to the Congress of the right to exercise powers repeatedly declared in previous opinions to reside in the National Government. [And] Soon ^{JT} *(by a judicial whack)* thereafter the Nation was told ^{JT} that although the Federal Government was powerless to touch the problem of hours and wages, the States were equally helpless and that we had to go on pretending to be intelligent in a Nation where there was no legal power to deal with its most difficult practical problems.

(Meanwhile)
[Furthermore, court injunctions have rendered futile] the machinery which we devised to settle the great disputes that are now raging in the industrial field -- and, indeed, to prevent such warfare from ever arising. ^(have been rendered futile by court injunctions) We hope that these laws ^{JT} may yet escape ^{Creating this machinery} condemnation. But [in effect] to date they have been useless as a practical instrument because the attitude and language which the courts have adopted in relation to many other laws have made the legality of these laws also uncertain ^{and have encouraged those whose duty it is to}

In 1936, in addition to our platform pledges, you and I and all other Democrats promised this to the working man: "Of course we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America -- to reduce hours over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops.

"Of course we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed. For all these we have only just begun to fight."

And here again we cannot afford, either personally or as a party, to flee or postpone that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. But who in the face of the language of the Supreme Court in the opinions concerning N.R.A., A.A.A., the Railroad Retirement Act and the Guffey Coal Act and the New York Minimum Wage Law, can tell us exactly what, if anything, we can do for the industrial worker. *Rider*

Let us look at our next great problem -- the preservation of

INSERT - PAGE 13

However carefully and prayerfully we may study the Constitution and the writings of the Founding Fathers, we cannot prevent those who do not understand the needs of the present generation from adopting a tortured construction of the Constitution or from reading into the fundamental law of the land their own personal predilections.

In 1936, in addition to our platform pledges, you and I and all other Democrats promised this to the working man: "Of course we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America -- to reduce hours over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops.

"Of course we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed. For all these we have only just begun to fight."

And here again we cannot afford, either personally or as a party, to flee or postpone that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. But who in the face of the language of the Supreme Court in the opinions concerning N.R.A., A.A.A., the Railroad Retirement Act and the Guffey Coal Act and the New York Minimum Wage Law, can tell us exactly what, if anything, we can do for the industrial worker. *Rider*

Let us look at our next great problem -- the preservation of our natural resources.

During the course of the past four years we have been faced by natural disasters of flood and drought of unprecedented intensity. At times our productive land was being either blown away or washed away at a rate that might spell ruin even to this present generation. And in the meantime the loss of life and of property values has

been beyond anything we have known in our history.

If ever there was a policy to which sound reasons of national interest compel us, it is to do our utmost as a National Government to save our land from ruin and our people from the recurrence of such catastrophes.~~which~~ Modern engineering knows how to prevent those catastrophes -- and knows how to produce the blessing of cheaper electric power as a by-product of that flood prevention.

With the Tennessee Valley Authority we made a beginning of that kind of prevention on an intelligent regional basis. With only two of its seven projected dams completed there was little flood damage in the valley of the Tennessee this Winter.

But how can we safely either complete that Tennessee project or extend the idea to the Ohio and other valleys while the validity of such operations has been placed in such doubt by the language of the highest courts of the Nation that the lowest courts do not hesitate to ^{bar} ~~permitt~~ its operations by injunctions.

The Ohio River is not conversant with the habits of the Interstate Commerce Clause. It does not listen to that or to any other King Canute, whether or not robed in ermine. But we shall never be safe as a people in our lives, in our property or in the heritage of our soil until we have somehow/the Interstate Commerce Clause ^{made} consonant with the habits of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl.

In our campaign you and I and all Democrats did take cognizance of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl. We said: "Of course we will continue our efforts * * * for drought and flood control * * *. For these things we have only just begun to fight." Here, too, we cannot afford, either individually or as a party, to run away from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. Let them try that advice on men piling sandbags on the dikes at Cairo. ^{But} Who can read the opinions in the T.V.A. case, the Duke Power Case, the A.A.A. case and tell us exactly what, if anything, we can constitutionally do as a National Government in the way of flood control and drought control?

The doubts created by the language of the decisions already rendered and the attitude of the courts in those decisions throw a cloud ~~in some degree~~ on almost everything else that we have promised to fight for -- help for the crippled, for the blind, for the mothers -- insurance for the unemployed -- security for the aged -- protection of the consumer against monopoly and speculation -- protection of the honest employer and business man against monopoly, unfair competition and dishonorable trade practices -- protection of the investor against unscrupulous promoters -- curbs on the overweening power and the unholy practices of utility holding companies -- the wiping out of slums -- cheaper electricity in the homes and on the farms of America.

[And] As the American people understand performance of promises, we became pledged in honor bound to carry on and win the fight for those things the moment the election returns were complete. And that obligation was to begin that fight not sometime in the unpredictable future, but in the very next session of the Congress of the United States -- and to carry it on to a successful finish as soon as was humanly possible.

In this fight, as the lawyers themselves say, time is of the essence. We have been aiming at these results for nearly five years. Three elections have intervened during those five years, and in each of them, by increasing majorities, the people have told us that they want us to get these results. Those increasing majorities mean to me, and I think they must mean to you, that the people themselves realize the increasing urgency that we get results soon. All over the world events are moving with a rapidity we have never seen before. The risks of intervening events which may interfere with our economic plans are too great to take. We cannot afford to delay, and as your Chief Executive I am unwilling to take the responsibility of postponing one moment beyond absolute necessity the time when we can free from legal doubt the advance of our ~~party~~ policies -- policies which have shown us the possibility of a permanently growing society on our old American foundations -- policies

which have thus far successfully brought us through dangers which other nations have not managed to avoid.

We have found practical means to adapt the American way of life to the modern world. We must find a way to adapt the words of our law to that practical way of living. And we must do it now. Floods and droughts and agricultural surpluses, strikes and industrial confusion, incompetence and disorder, cannot be handled forever on a temporary basis.
[catch-as-catch-can]

Millions of farmers wondering whether next year's prices will meet their mortgage interest -- Now!

Millions of women laboring for long hours in cotton mills for \$5 a week -- Now!

Millions of children who should be at school, working in mines and factories -- Now!

One-third of the nation unemployed, ill-clad, ill-housed -- Now!
Strikes more far-reaching than we have ever known, costing millions of dollars -- Now!

Spring floods threatening to roll down our river valleys -- Now!
The Dust Bowl beginning to blow again -- Now!

If we would keep faith with those who had faith in us, I say we must act -- Now!

I might also have said to my visitor from Congress: "John, I have another ambition. It's not so great an ambition as that which

I have for the country. But it's an ambition which a life-long Democrat need not believe unworthy. It's an ambition for the Democratic Party.

"Today, we are the majority party enjoying national power, enjoying the enormous privilege of being allowed to lead in the solution of national problems. Over the greater part of its history, our party has not been the majority party. It has found difficulty in holding together for long the various sources of strength which at times have made it the majority party. Some have said that it was inevitable that the Democratic Party follow this cycle of a short time in power and a long time out of power because it was made up of elements without a common interest -- of one kind of agricultural interest in the South, another kind in the West, of the industrial workers of the great cities and of liberals of all faiths who wanted results more than theories. What an unnatural combination, the wiseacres have said. How can it expect to prevail against the solid phalanxes of the stolidly cautious reactionaries who so easily keep united about the simple platform of saying "no, we can't do anything".

John,
"But to me that which the cynics call an unnatural combination
has always seemed the most natural unit in our political history.
For the Democratic Party expresses the essential unity of interests

of all the men and women of good will whose sense of good neighborliness and fairness and patriotism make them happier living and letting live for the common good of all than exploiting their fellows in over-acquisitiveness. It has always been the warm-hearted party of the common man. The lessons of the depression have taught its component parts ~~the~~ new unity in economic interdependence. For the common man of the farms and mines of the South and West and the common man of the factory and the office of the North and East, now know that each is the other's customer and the other's source of prosperity.

The Democratic Party is, therefore, the logical leader in this struggle to keep this a Nation united through economic and political democracy. It has successfully carried on the ^{rancht} experience of unity in [spite of the] diversity [of its adherents]. Under the liberal banner it has been able to rally those forces who believe that the enforcement of the human rights of the average man and woman is the proper solution of our major national problems. The job cannot be done by a party made up of one economic group dominated only by a desire never to change things as they are.

This Democratic Party is, therefore, a natural rallying point for all of those who truly believe in political and economic democracy. And in proportion, therefore, as the ~~cause~~ cause of political and economic democracy advances, so shall this party of ours. The reason you and

I can celebrate tonight is that all those believers in democracy felt a new enthusiasm and a new belief last November in the promises of the Democratic Party. Whether we shall be celebrating in 1941, and in 1945, as we are celebrating tonight, will deservedly depend upon whether we have justified their belief in us by meeting their needs.

For let us not forget that we gather here tonight to celebrate a victory which was not a victory over the pressing problems that perplex our generation, but only a victory whereby we won the opportunity to lead in the solution of those problems. It will be a victory for the American people only if we prove loyal to our trust.-- It will be a victory for the Democratic Party only if we prove able to lead the American people to a triumph over the evils and dangers that beset the present day and menace their welfare in the days to come.

It will take courage to let our minds be bold and find the ways to meet those needs. But for the Democratic Party, the counsel of courage is as ever the counsel of wisdom.

DRAFT #4

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW DEMOCRATS:

A > I feel that I am speaking tonight not only as the head of the Democratic Party but as the representative of all Americans who have faith in political and economic democracy.

This occasion is more significant than a celebration of success in maintaining office. It signalizes the approval by an overwhelming majority of citizens of all parties of the high purpose and the unremitting efforts with which ~~the~~ ^{the} Administration directed by the Democratic Party has met the most ~~pressing~~ ^{perilous} problems in our national history.

Because that approval was truly national and truly popular, our ~~party~~ victory is all the more significant. It was not a sectional victory. It was not a victory which came from compromises and bargains. It came from twenty-seven million people -- and from every nook and corner of the land. It was an overwhelming response because the people had confidence in ~~in whose~~ a government ^{whose} head the people ~~had~~ ^{had} confidence.

It was a response to the humanity of a government that ~~would~~ ^{would} ~~hoped~~ ^{hope} understand that the problems of the average men and women who make up the Nation are the problems of the Nation itself.

It was a response to the clear-sightedness of a government

that could see the Nation as essentially one -- where the welfare of each section and each group of citizens is the concern and the welfare of every section and every group of citizens.

It was a response to the common sense of a government that could appreciate the importance of purchasing power in our interwoven national life; that could see how the purchasing power of the city dweller fixed the market price of the farmer's produce -- how the purchasing power of the farmer fixed the wages of the industrial worker -- how the prosperity of all the rest of the population depended upon the prosperity of these two great producing and purchasing groups.

It was a response ~~of practicality~~ from those in other parties who found that they could make the most practical progress toward their ideals by working with ~~the~~ Democratic Party. *and not against a liberal*

And above all it was a response of faith on the part of millions who had lost or who had never had faith in the promises of political parties and in the effectiveness of the democratic method -- belief that at last a political leadership had been found which would keep ~~its~~ *to the principles of* promises to those who believed that democracy could be made to work.

As the sum of all these responses, the Democratic Party, once

a minority party, is today the majority party by the greatest majority any party ever had.

It will remain the majority party so long as it continues to justify those responses -- so long as it continues to make modern democracy work -- so long and no longer. And if I have ~~ought to say~~ it will continue on its course.
~~For three short months~~ ^{After a month or two} following Nov 3 1936 our supporters that we were going to find excuses not to justify those responses. They were worried, as at an evil symptom, because the propaganda and the epithets of last Summer and Fall had died down. Today, however, those who placed their confidence in us are reassured. For the tumult and the shouting have broken forth anew -- ^{and} from substantially the same ~~sources~~ ^{elements of opposition}. The roar of it is the best evidence in the world that we have begun to keep our promises, that we have begun to move against conditions under which one-third of this Nation ^{is} ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed. ^{Our real opponents are playing for us} ~~blow~~ the trumpet of the march of democracy.

A few days ago, a distinguished member of Congress came to see me to talk about national problems in general and about the problem of the Judiciary in particular.

I said to him:

"John, I want to tell you something that is very personal to me -- something that you have a right to hear from my own

lips. I have a great ambition in life."

My friend pricked up his ears.

I went on: "I am by no means satisfied with having twice been elected President of the United States by very large majorities. I have an even greater ambition."

By this time, my friend was sitting on the edge of his chair.

I continued: "John, my ambition relates to January 20, 1941."

Friend thoughts
I could feel just what my friend was thinking. So in order to relieve his anxiety, I went on to say:

"John, my great ambition on January 20, 1941, is to turn over this desk and chair in the White House to my successor, whoever he may be, with the assurance that I am at the same time turning over to him, as President, a Nation intact, a Nation at peace, a Nation prosperous, a Nation clear in its knowledge of what powers it has to serve its own citizens, a Nation that is in a position to use those powers to the full, to move forward steadily to meet the modern needs of humanity -- a Nation which has thus proved that the democratic form and methods of national government can and will succeed."

"I have only three and a half short years left to do what I can. These coming years I want to provide such assurance. I want to get as far along the road of progress as I can. I do not want to leave our country to

my successor in the condition in which Buchanan left it to Lincoln."

That ambition of mine for my successor, my friends, can well be the serious ambition of every citizen of the United States who wants the United States to be handed down intact to his children and grandchildren.

My friend and I spoke in the dead earnestness of anxiety. I speak to you tonight in the same earnestness. For no one who sees as a whole the picture of this Nation and the world today can help but be concerned for the days that lie ahead.

To the President of the United States there come every day thousands of messages of fact and thought, messages of appeal, of protest, of information, messages from rich and poor, from business man and farmer and factory employee and relief worker, messages from every nook and corner of our wide domain. And to the President of the United States come daily messages of the condition of affairs abroad.

America lies many thousands of miles away from scenes of turmoil on other Continents. But those messages tell me that on this hemisphere and within this Nation there are insistent demands for the satisfaction of human needs which cannot be long thwarted -- which wisdom will try to guide, not to block. Unrecognized, unguided, these great human forces may move here in ways in which

~~they have moved and are moving in other lands.~~

The most striking feature of the life of this generation --
and the feature which men who ~~have~~ live^{P.J.H.} in another generation can
least understand -- is the ever-accelerating speed at which human
movements gather way.

The machine age and the ~~development~~ of depression have given
them ~~double~~ wings. Transportation and communication^s and production,
~~they~~ have not speeded up ~~in~~ alone. The needs
of humanity along social and economic lines now ~~can~~ express them-
selves far more quickly. The demand for them now ~~can~~ becomes
crystallized far more quickly. The necessity for doing something
about them now ~~can~~ become irresistible far more quickly.

A century ago, fifty years ago, even twenty-five years ago,
the movements of civilization were far slower. The issue of slavery,
for example, took at least forty years -- two generations of argu-
ment, discussion and futile compromise -- before it came to a head
^{Tragedy} in the ~~great~~ War Between the States.

In those days, all human surges toward liberty and free gov-
ernment crept along at the same slow pace. Today they ~~are~~ ^{rush} upon us.

Today economic freedom for the wage earner and the farmer and
the small business man cannot be delayed as was personal freedom
for the slave. A century ago,

It will not wait, like emancipation, for forty years. It will not wait for four years. It will not wait at all.

After the disorganization and the disillusion that followed the World War the people of every civilized nation became articulate in their ~~more~~ ^{70% of them to} demands from government. ~~they had~~ ~~never been~~ ~~before~~ ^{and} They demanded action to correct obvious failures to produce these results.

In some countries, the ~~important~~ royalist form of government failed to meet these demands and the monarchy fell and was replaced by other forms. In other countries, the parliamentary form of government failed to meet these demands and it too fell before ~~the~~ ~~establishment of~~ open or disguised dictatorships. In still other nations, although the form of government has remained unchanged, civil strife has flared ~~and~~ threats of upheaval persist.

There is a lesson in all this for the United States. All of these great changes have come from an insistent demand on the part of the people themselves for action and efficiency to bring economic and social order out of chaos.

C Democracy in many lands has failed to meet that demand. Let's admit it. But, in admitting it, we can ~~still~~ ^{still} ~~say~~ ^{say} that democracy has not failed and does not need to fail in the United States, ~~and can say to ourselves with firmness and courage~~ We do

not purpose to let it fail.

I cannot tell you with complete candor that in these past few years democracy in the United States has fully succeeded. Nor can I tell you, under present circumstances, just where American democracy is headed nor just what it can do to direct itself. I can hope, but I cannot assure. No one can assure you today.
~~Because today no one knows what action the American legal system will permit American democracy to take to preserve itself.~~

There lies the challenge which we must meet.
~~Our people have felt the trend of the world. They, too, have long been coming to expect more from their government. What you and I call the principles of the New Deal were not born on the fourth of March, 1933. Their roots go back many years before that. We think of that date as their beginning, because it was only then that they broke through the inertia of twelve years of little or no progressive improvement in our social and economic processes. Yet, during all those twelve years the demand and the need for social and economic reform, though not visible on the surface, were rising -- gathering head like a vast underground stream ready to burst forth at the first opportunity.~~

What were those demands and needs? What did we do about them? How far did we succeed in meeting them? Where are they now?

The most pressing demands are familiar to us all.

Ever since the World War the farmers of America ~~had~~ been beating off ever-mounting troubles. The prices of farmers' crops fell to bankruptcy levels -- at the mercy of speculators and of world conditions over which the farmers had no control. They were losing their homes and their farms.

~~This administration ought~~
~~The Democratic Party really~~ tried to help the farmer where no Administration had dared to take the risks before.

As a National Government, ~~our administration~~ gave the farmers the Agricultural Adjustment Act and the Farm Credit Administration.

~~As a National Government, by these and other methods, we~~
undertook to work out a national program to assure adequate food and fibre supplies for the whole Nation -- to curb the piling up of vast crop surpluses -- to raise crop prices until the farmers' earnings were nearer to parity with the earnings of other workers -- to increase markets for farm products and decrease speculation in farm commodities -- to refinance farm debts at a lower interest cost.

All this we did in full faith and confidence that the very nature of our major crops makes them articles of commerce between the States. ~~All the~~ ^E ~~we did with~~ full faith and confidence that the preservation of sound agriculture is essential to the general

welfare. For these reasons we assumed in the private of course
sense that the Congress of the United States had full constitu-
tional authority to solve the economic problems of the Nation's
agriculture. The Congress, by overwhelming vote thought so too.
That faith and confidence was embodied in the original A.A.A.
statute. You know what happened to that statute.

In 1936 the Democratic Party pledged itself once more to
attack the problem. ~~We~~ said: "Of course we will continue our
efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. With their continued
cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of
huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops. We
will persist in successful action for better land use, for refor-
estation, * * * for better marketing facilities for farm commodities,
for a definite reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of
farmer cooperatives, for crop insurance and a stable food supply.
For all these things we have only just begun to fight."

It is now the responsibility of all of us whose promises the
farmers believed, to carry forward that fight and not turn from
it until those things have been won. Neither individually nor as
a party can we flee or postpone that fight on advice of defeatist
lawyers. ~~We did not expect the farmers to wait to vote for us,~~
~~for year & term.~~
~~We~~ do not expect us to wait ~~to~~. But I defy anyone

to read the majority opinion invalidating the A.A.A. and tell us what we can do for agriculture in this session of the Congress with even reasonable certainty that what we do will be ~~just~~ ^{interpreted as} constitutional?

Let us look at our next great problem -- the industrial scene.

The farmers were not the only people in distress in 1932. There were millions of workers in industry and in commerce who had lost their jobs, millions of young people who had never been able to find their first job, and even more millions whose jobs ~~and too familiar recently~~ did not return them enough to live on, ~~according to the standards we have come to consider adequate for the American family.~~ Millions of children ~~were working for a few pennies who should not be~~ working at all. ^{at those} The inability of all these millions to find work at decent wages constantly tended, by a vicious circle, to increase still further the number out of work in the shop and on the farm.

The Democratic Party made pledges to industry and labor in 1932. It tried hard to keep them. We made a gallant, ~~desperate~~ effort to reach these problems, to raise wages, to reduce hours, to abolish child labor.

And as an indispensable part of an intelligent approach to the problem of employment and recovery, we tried to establish machinery ~~regulating~~ ^{standardizing} the relations between the employer and employee.

We hoped that it would be operating smoothly before there would break over us ~~the~~ industrial warfare which might nip in the bud our efforts for continued recovery.

And what happened?

The N.R.A. was outlawed as the Child Labor Statute had been outlawed twenty years before. The judicial nullification did not stop with a condemnation of legislative and administrative methods. ^{F.} It extended to a sweeping denial to the Congress of the right to exercise powers repeatedly declared in previous opinions to reside in the National Government.

Soon thereafter the Nation was told by a judicial ~~sense~~ that although the Federal Government was powerless to touch the problem of hours and wages, the States were equally helpless and that we had to go on pretending to be intelligent in a Nation where there was ^{nowhere} no legal power to deal with its most difficult practical problems— ^{A No man's Land of final futility.}

Meanwhile the machinery which we devised to settle the great disputes that are now raging in the industrial field -- and, indeed, to prevent such warfare from ever arising -- ~~has~~ been rendered futile by court injunctions. We hope that laws creating this ^{As} ~~first~~ machinery may yet escape condemnation. But, in effect, to date they have been useless as a practical instrument because the attitude and language which the courts have adopted in relation to many other

laws have made the legality of these laws also uncertain and have
encouraged those ~~whose duty it is to cooperate with~~ ^{men not to obey but to defy} these laws,
~~to defy them~~

In 1936, in addition to our platform pledged^s, you and I ~~and~~
~~all other progressive~~ promised this to the working man: "Of course
we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the
workers of America -- to reduce hours over-long, to increase wages
that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out
sweatshops.

"Of course we will provide useful work for the needy unem-
ployed. For all these we have only just begun to fight."

And here again we cannot afford, either personally or as a
party, to flee or postpone that fight on advice of defeatist law-
yers. But who in the face of the language of the Supreme Court in
the opinions concerning N.R.A., A.A.A., the Railroad Retirement
Act and the Guffey Coal Act and the New York Minimum Wage Law, can
tell us exactly what, if anything, we can do for the industrial
worker. However carefully ~~and~~ ^{bill} preferably we may study the Constitu-
tion and the writings of the Founding Fathers, we cannot prevent
those who ~~do~~ not understand the needs of the present generation
from adopting a tortured construction of the Constitution or from
reading into the fundamental law of the land their own personal

~~unwritten~~ legislation for progress.

Let us look at our next great problem -- the preservation of our natural resources.

During the course of the past four years we have been faced ^{great} by natural disasters of flood and drought, ~~of unprecedented intensity~~.

~~satty~~ At times our productive land was being either blown away or washed away at a rate that might spell ruin even to this present generation. And in the meantime the loss of life and of property values has been beyond anything we have known in our history.

If ever there was a policy to which sound reasons of national interest compel us, it is to do our utmost as a National Government to save our land from ruin and our people from the recurrence of such catastrophes. Modern engineering knows how to protect us from those catastrophes -- and knows how to produce the blessing of cheaper electric power as a by-product of that protection.

With the Tennessee Valley Authority we made a beginning of that kind of prevention on an intelligent regional basis. With only two of its seven projected dams completed there was little flood damage in the valley of the Tennessee this Winter.

But how can we safely either complete that Tennessee project ^{to many} or extend the idea to the Ohio and other valleys while the validity of such operations has been placed in such doubt by the language of

the highest courts of the Nation that the lowest courts do not hesitate to paralyze its operations by sweeping injunctions.

and the Dust Bowl are changing
The Ohio River ~~is~~ not conversant with the habits of the Interstate Commerce Clause. ~~It does not heed that or any other thing~~
~~concerned~~ ~~not faced in mind~~ But we shall never be safe as a people in our lives, in our property or in the heritage of our soil until we have somehow made the Interstate Commerce Clause conversant with the habits of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl.

who supported us
In our campaign you and I and all ~~Democrats~~ did take cognizance of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl. We said: "Of course we will continue our efforts * * * for drought and flood control * * *. For these things we have only just begun to fight." Here, too, we cannot afford, either individually or as a party, to run away from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. Let them try *piling* *But* that advice on men piling sandbags on the dikes at Cairo. Who can read the opinions in the T.V.A. case, the Duke Power Case, the A.A.A. Case and tell us exactly what, if anything, ~~that is proposed~~ *To control* ~~we can constitutionally do as a National Government~~ ~~by the~~ *means of flood control and drought control?*

The language of the decisions already rendered, the attitude of the courts in those decisions and the new refusal to obey the

law engendered by that attitude, throw a cloud of doubt over almost everything else that we have promised to fight for -- help for the crippled, for the blind, for the mothers -- insurance for the unemployed -- security for the aged -- protection of the consumer against monopoly and speculation -- protection of the honest employer and business man against monopoly, unfair competition and dishonorable trade practices -- protection of the investor against unscrupulous promoters -- curbs on the overweening power and the unholy practices of utility holding companies -- the wiping out of slums -- cheaper electricity in the homes and on the farms of America.

You and I owe it to ourselves and to our country to remember that I stand up for what I believe.

As the American people understand promises, we became pledged ~~in~~ honor bound to carry on and win the fight for those things the moment the election returns were complete. ~~and~~ That obligation *Starting on the morning of Nov 4th 1936* was to begin that fight not sometime in the unpredictable future, but in the very next session of the Congress of the United States -- and to carry it on to a successful finish as soon as humanly possible.

In this fight, as the lawyers themselves say, time is of the *for nearly 5 years* essence. We have been trying to give the majority of people what *wanted*, they *want for nearly five years*. During those five years three elections have intervened. In each of them we have had *great* ~~dispersed~~ majorities for what we are trying to do. To me, and I am sure to

you, those ~~increasing~~ majorities mean that the people themselves realize the increasing urgency that we meet their needs soon.

All over the world events are moving with a rapidity we have never seen before. Every month of delay creates risks of intervening events which may make more and more difficult intelligent ^{an} ~~properly and~~ ^A ~~democratic~~ solution of our difficulties.

We cannot wait to build a new waterworks before we start to put out present fires -- particularly when we can't hope to start to build a new waterworks until we have fought to the death over what kind of waterworks we shall build.

As Chief Executive and as the head of the Democratic Party, I am unwilling to take the risks -- to the country and to the party -- of postponing one moment beyond absolute necessity the time when we can free from legal doubt the ~~practical~~ ^{progressive} ~~policy~~ ^{of} our ~~police~~ ^{problems}.

Those policies have shown us the possibility of a permanently growing society on our old American foundations. ~~expansionism~~ Those policies have thus far successfully brought us through dangers which other nations have not managed to avoid.

Those policies have embodied practical means to adapt ~~the~~ ^{needs of the} ~~old~~ way of life to the modern world.

We must now find a way to adapt the ~~old~~ ^{whole} ~~of~~ our law to that

practical way of living. And we must do it now. Floods and droughts and agricultural surpluses, strikes and industrial confusion, incompetence and disorder, cannot be handled forever on a catch-as-catch-can basis.

One-third of a Nation ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed --

Now!

Thousands upon thousands

~~Millions~~ of farmers wondering whether next year's prices will

meet their mortgage interest -- Now!

Thousands upon thousands

~~Millions~~ of women laboring for long hours in ~~factories~~ for
inadequate pay --

~~Now!~~

Thousands upon thousands

~~Millions~~ of children who should be at school, working in mines

and factories -- Now!

Strikes more far-reaching than we have ever known, costing millions of dollars -- Now!

Spring floods threatening to roll down our river valleys --

Now!

The Dust Bowl beginning to blow again -- Now!

If we would keep faith with those who had faith in us, if we would have the courage of self-preservation, I say we must act -- Now!

I might well have finished my conversation with my visitor from Congress in this way: "John, I have another ambition -- not so great an ambition as that which I have for the country, but an

ambition which a life-long Democrat need not believe unworthy.

¹⁵
It is an ambition for the Democratic Party.

"Today, we are the majority party ~~enjoying~~ national power, ^{high} ~~enjoying~~ privilege of being allowed to lead in the solution of national problems.

"Over the greater part of its history, our party has not been the majority party. It has found difficulty in holding together for long at a time its various sources of strength.

"Some have felt it inevitable that the Party follow this cycle of a short time in power and a long time out of power. They have pointed out it was made up of elements that on the surface may seem diverse in interest -- one kind of agricultural ~~economy~~ ^{problem} in the South, another kind in the West, industrial workers of the great cities, liberals of all faiths who cherished results more than theories. An unnatural combination, the wiseacres have said. How can it expect to prevail against the solid phalanxes of the stolidly ~~self-satisfied~~ cautious reactionaries who so easily keep united about the simple ~~and understand~~ platform of saying "No", to everything.

"But the last three elections have shown that those whom the cynics used to call an unnatural combination have sensed a fundamental community of interest in the modern world that makes them the most natural unit in our political history. ~~It has always~~ ^{The Democratic Party}

¹⁵
Signed 15
Associate Editor

expressed the moral unity of all men and women of good will -- all those whose sense of good neighborliness and fairness and patriotism make them happier ⁱⁿ living and letting live for the common good of all than ⁱⁿ exploiting their fellows in over-acquisitiveness. It has always been the warm-hearted party of the common man. But with ^{s) b)} ~~the~~ ^{U. S. Democratic Party} the lesson ^{of} the depression ~~is~~ has come to express their economic unity as well. For both the common man of the farms and mines of ^{Nation} ~~the~~ and the common man of the factory ^{and} the office ^{of} the ^{U. S. Nation} ~~and~~ ^{national} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~best~~, now know that each is the other's customer and the other's ally in a common prosperity.

" The Democratic Party, therefore, has ^{and its} ^{American} ~~new~~ ^{definite} ^{leaders} new indefinite possibilities of ~~new~~ as ^{the} leaders in the struggle that lies ahead to keep this a Nation united in the preservation of its old traditions through economic and political democracy. ~~It~~ ^{We have} had the imagination to perceive essential unity below the surface of apparent diversity. ~~It~~ ^{We have} had the vision to see the trend of the future and ^{we} become a natural rallying point for the cooperative effort of all of those who truly believe in political and economic democracy.

And just ^{as} faithfully as we meet the needs of the Nation, just ^{as} steadily as the cause of political and economic democracy advances, just that surely will the privilege and responsibility of national leadership be ours.

" It will take courage to let our minds be bold and find the ways to meet those needs -- to ~~keep~~^{make} up that advance -- to keep following the star that has brought us to victory. But for the ~~Democratic Party~~, now as always, the counsel of courage is the counsel of wisdom.

" ~~Exhale~~ John, we came to national responsibility by conquer-
ing the fears of others. I hope we will not have to see that responsibility pass from us because we have become afraid ourselves.

Tonight we celebrate because last November many non-believers in democracy felt a new enthusiasm and a new belief in our promises. Whether we shall be celebrating in 1933, 1941, and in 1945, as we are celebrating tonight, will deservedly depend upon whether we have justified their belief in us by keeping those promises.

For we are celebrating a victory which was not a victory over the pressing problems that perplex our generation, but only a victory whereby we won the opportunity to lead in the solution of those problems. It will be a permanent victory for the American people only if we prove loyal to our trust. It will be a permanent victory for the Democratic Party only if we have the imagination and courage to lead the American people where they want to go. For if we do not lead them there, some one else will.

B. B. T.

On this fourth of March, 1937 — ~~not only in this room,~~
~~not only at many of these dinners in every part of the Nation,~~
~~but also~~ in millions of homes, the thoughts of American families
are reverting to the March 4th of another year. ~~Since early~~
~~memories~~ *M*emory has carried me back to the events of that other
fourth of March.

In 1933
That day represented the death of one era and the birth
of another. It is fitting that we appreciate our heritage from
those who settled our land and established our democracy. But
a true reverence for the past must never blind us to the necessities
of the present ~~day~~ and the problems of the future.

I speak tonight not only as the head of the Democratic
Party but as the representative of all Americans who have faith
in political and economic democracy.

This occasion is more than a celebration of success in
maintaining office. It signalizes the approval, by an overwhelming
majority of citizens of all parties, of the high
purpose and the unremitting efforts with which your Adminis-
tration has
~~tration~~ *A* met the most perplexing problems in our national
history.

Our victory was not sectional. It did not come from compromises and bargains. It was the voice of twenty-seven million people -- from every part of the land.

It was a response to the humanity of a government that made honest effort to understand the problems of average men and women.

It was a response to the clear-sightedness of a government that could see the Nation as essentially one -- could see that ~~protecting the~~ prosperity of all depended on ~~protecting the~~ ^{protecting} ~~licating~~ the purchasing power of all.

It was a response from those in other parties who found that they could make the most practical progress toward their ideals by working with and not against a liberal Democratic Party.

And above all it was a response of faith on the part of millions, who had almost lost faith in the promises of political parties, ~~and in the effectiveness of the democratic method.~~ ^{Carrying out of the}

As the sum of all these responses, the Democratic Party, once a minority party, is today the majority party by the greatest majority any party ever had.

It will remain the majority party so long as it continues to justify those responses -- so long as it continues to make modern democracy work -- so long and no longer. We are celebrating ^{The 1936} ~~that~~ victory, which was not a victory over the pressing problems ^A ~~that~~ that perplex our generation, ^{It was} ~~but~~ only a victory whereby ^{over} ~~the~~ party won the opportunity to lead in the solution of those problems. Whether we shall be celebrating in 1940, and in 1944, as we are celebrating tonight, will deservedly depend upon whether the party continues on its course and solves those problems. And if I have aught to say it will continue on its course and solve those problems.

After election day in 1936, some of our supporters were uneasy ~~because we might find~~ ^{for a great} the excuse of a false era of good feeling to evade our obligations. They were worried by the evil symptom that the propaganda and the epithets of last summer and fall had died down. Today, however, those who placed their confidence in us are reassured. For the tumult and the shouting have broken forth anew -- and from substantially the same elements of opposition. This new roar is the best evidence in the world that we have begun to keep our promises, ~~and~~ that we have begun to move against conditions under which one-third of this Nation is ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed.

last November

We gave warning that we had only just begun to fight. Did
~~people really believe~~ ^{Will - I mean it, did you hear it,} ~~anything~~ we did not mean it?

A few days ago, a distinguished member of ^{The} Congress came to see me to talk about national problems in general and about the problem of the Judiciary in particular.

I said to him:

"John, I want to tell you something that is very personal to me -- something that you have a right to hear from my own lips. I have a great ambition in life."

My friend pricked up his ears.

I went on: "I am by no means satisfied with having twice been elected President of the United States by very large majorities. I have an even greater ambition."

By this time, my friend was sitting on the edge of his chair.

I continued: "John, my ambition relates to January 20, 1941." I could feel just what horrid thoughts my friend was thinking. So in order to relieve his anxiety, I went on to say:

"John, my great ambition on January 20, 1941, is to turn over this desk and chair in the White House to my successor, whoever he may be, with the assurance that I am at the same

time turning over to him, as President, a Nation intact, a Nation at peace, a Nation prosperous, a Nation clear in its knowledge of what powers it has to serve its own citizens, a Nation that is in a position to use those powers to the full, in order to move forward steadily to meet the modern needs of humanity -- a Nation which has thus proved that the democratic form and methods of national government can and will succeed.

In these coming years I want to provide such assurance. I want to get the Nation as far along the road of progress as I can. I do not want to leave it to my successor in the condition in
which Buchanan left it to Lincoln.

My friends, That ambition of mine for my successor, ~~my successor~~, can well be the serious ambition of every citizen [of the United States]
^{his} who wants the United States to be handed down intact to his children and grandchildren.

My ~~President~~ I spoke in the dead earnestness of anxiety. I speak to you tonight in the same earnestness. For no one who sees as a whole ~~the~~ picture of this Nation and the world ~~today~~, ^{to-day's} can help but be concerned for the ~~says that the ahead~~ future.

To the President of the United States there come every day thousands of messages ~~of fact and thought, messages~~ of appeal,

of protest, of information, messages from rich and poor, from
business man and farmer, ^{and} factory employee and relief worker,
messages from every corner of our wide domain.

Those messages reflect the most striking feature of the
life of this generation -- the feature which men who ~~still~~ live
~~mentally~~ in another generation can least understand -- the ever-
accelerating speed at which ~~men~~ ^{with natural forces} gain head-
~~men~~ now ^{gaining} way.

A century ago, fifty years ago, even twenty-five years
ago, the movements of civilization were far slower. The issue
of slavery, for example, took at least forty years -- two
generations--of argument, discussion and futile compromise,
before it came to a head in the tragic ~~war~~ between the States.

All human surges toward liberty and free government ~~and~~ ^{to advance}
~~crept along~~ at that same slow pace. But the machine age and
~~the depression have given them wings~~ ^{Rush} and today they rush
upon us.

Economic freedom for the wage earner and the farmer and
the small business man cannot be delayed today as was personal
~~freedom for the slave a century ago.~~ It will not wait, like
emancipation, for forty years. It will not ~~wait~~ wait for four
years. It will not wait at all.

(A) They have forgotten the lessons of
history that dictatorships ~~can~~^{will} ~~short~~
~~last~~ cost humanity far more than any
~~the~~ temporary failures of democracy.

Everywhere

After the World War, there arose throughout the world insistent demands upon government that human needs be met.

[Those demands could not long be thwarted.] The unthinking, who dwell in the past, have tried to block them. The wise who live in the present have recognized their innate justice and have sought to guide them.

In some countries, a royalist form of government failed to meet these demands -- and fell. In other countries, a parliamentary form of government failed to meet these demands -- and fell. In still other countries, governments have managed to hold on, but civil strife has flared or threats of upheaval persist.

Democracy in many lands has failed to meet human needs. *for the time being*
People have become so fed up with futile debate and party bickerings over methods that they have been willing to surrender democratic processes ^{and principles} in order to get things done. (A)

[Let us admit it. Admitting it, we still assert that] In the United States democracy has not yet failed and does not need to fail. And we ^{hope} ~~promise~~ not to let it fail!

Nevertheless, I cannot tell you with complete candor that in these past few years democracy in the United States has fully succeeded. Nor can I tell you, under present circumstances, just where American democracy is headed nor just what it ~~can do~~ ^{is permitted to} ~~will~~, in order to insure its continued success and survival.

I can hope, but ~~I cannot assure~~. No one can today assure.

If so
Because as yet there is no definite assurance that the three horse team of the American system of government will continue to pull together. If three well-matched horses are put to the task of ploughing up a field where the going is heavy and the team of three pull as one, the field will be ploughed. If one horse lies down in the traces or plunges off in another direction, the field will not be ploughed.

What you and I call the principles of the New Deal did not originate on the fourth of March, 1933. We think of that date as their beginning, because it was not until then that the social demands they represented broke through the inertia of ~~several~~ ^{many} years of failure to improve our ~~social~~ ^{political} and economic processes.

What were those demands and needs? How far did we succeed in meeting them? What about them today?

H. T. Tuckey

Ever since the World War the farmers of America had been
beating off ever-mounting disasters.

This Administration ~~merely~~ tried to help them where no other
Administration had dared to take that risk.^{before} [That help was
built around the Agricultural Adjustment Act.]

~~Agricultural Adjustment Act~~
The ~~A.A.A.~~ testified to our full faith and confidence that

the very nature of our major crops makes them articles of com-
merce between the States. Many years ago I learned that the
price of New York State wheat is fixed by the size of the Kansas
crop -- that the price of Georgia cotton is fixed by the size of
the Texas crop. ^{Truthfully or not} Can it ~~be really true~~ that the raising of wheat
^{are only of local} and the raising of cotton ~~concern only the many separate states~~
~~in which they grow~~

The A.A.A. testified also to our full faith and confidence
that the preservation of sound agriculture is essential to the
general welfare -- that the Congress of the United States had
full constitutional authority to solve the national economic
problems of the Nation's agriculture. By overwhelming votes,
the Congress thought so too!

We did our best to help the farmers of the Nation. But
the elected representatives of the people, the instruments of
the people's will, found themselves vetoed by a few men not

~~elected by the people:~~

You know who assumed the power ~~to~~ ^{to} veto, ~~over~~, ^{and did unto} that program.
In the campaign of 1936, I said:
Once more, in 1936, the Democratic Party pledged itself to
attack the farm problem. I said, "Of course we will con-
tinue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. With their
continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling
up of huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops.
We will persist in successful action for better land use, for
reforestation, *** for better marketing facilities for farm
commodities, for a definite reduction of farm tenancy, for en-
couragement of farmer cooperatives, for crop insurance and a
stable food supply. For all these things we have only just begun
to fight."

[] Now it is the responsibility of all ^{of us} ~~whose promises the~~
~~farmers believed,~~ to carry forward that fight ~~until those~~
things have been won. [] Neither individually nor as a party can
we postpone and run from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers.
But I defy anyone to read the majority opinion invalidating the
A.A.A. and tell us what we can do for agriculture in this session
of the Congress with ^{my} ~~any~~ reasonable certainty that what we do
will not be nullified as unconstitutional.

The farmers were not the only people in distress in 1932.

There were millions of workers in industry and in commerce who had lost their jobs, millions of young people who had never been able to find their first job, and even more millions whose jobs did not return them and their families enough to live on decently.

The Democratic Party made [pledges to labor and industry in 1932. It tried hard to keep them. We made] a gallant, sincere effort to raise wages, to reduce hours, to abolish child labor, to eliminate unfair trade practices.

We tried to establish machinery to adjust the relations between the employer and employee. We hoped that it would be operating smoothly before industrial warfare would overwhelm our efforts for industrial recovery.

And what happened?

We did our best to help the workers of the Nation. But the elected representatives of the people, the instruments of the people's will, found themselves vetoed by a few men not elected by the people. You know who assumed the power ~~of~~ veto over that program.

The ~~N.R.A.~~, the Railroad Retirement Act, the Guffey Coal Act were outlawed as the Child Labor Statute had been outlawed twenty years before.

The National Recovery Act and

Soon thereafter the Nation was told by a judicial pronouncement that although the Federal Government has thus been rendered powerless to touch the problem of hours and wages, the States were equally helpless; and that it pleased the economic predilections of the court that we live in a Nation where there is no legal power anywhere to deal with its most difficult practical problems -- a No Man's Land of final futility.

Furthermore, the machinery which we ~~designed~~ to settle the ^{Created by the National Labor Relations Act} great disputes that are now ~~existing~~ ^{existing} raging in the industrial field, and, indeed, to prevent ~~such warfare~~ ^{them} from ever arising, has been rendered futile by court injunctions. We hope that ~~the~~ ^{this Act} operating this machinery may yet escape final condemnation in the highest court. But, ~~in effect, to date they have~~ ^{so far} been rendered useless as a practical instrument, because ^{the Act} the attitude and language of the courts ~~have adopted~~ in relation to many other laws have made the legality of ~~these laws~~ ^{the Act} also uncertain, and have encouraged men to defy rather than ~~to~~ obey ~~them~~ it.

DRAFT #7

In the campaign of 1936, in addition to our platform pledges, you and I promised this to [redacted] working men and women.

"Of course we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America -- to reduce hours over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops. Of course we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed. For all these we have only just begun to fight."

And here again we cannot afford, either individually or as a party, to [redacted] postpone that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. But I defy anyone to read the opinions concerning ~~the~~, the National Recovery Act, A.A.A., the Railroad Retirement Act, ^{the} and the Guffey Coal Act and the New York Minimum Wage Law, and tell us exactly what, if anything, we can do for the industrial worker in this session of the Congress with ^{any} reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional.

[] We have the same difficulty with our next great problem -- the preservation of our natural resources. []

During the course of the past four years [we have] been overwhelmed by [great natural] disasters of flood and drought. At times our productive land has been blown away or washed away at

DRAFT #7

~~us and our children,~~
a rate that ~~might~~ spell ruin ~~even~~ to this present generation.
~~and in the meantime the loss of property values has been beyond~~
~~anything we have known in our history.~~

If ever there was a policy to which sound reasons of national interest compel us, it is to do our utmost as a National Government to protect our land and our people from the recurrence of such catastrophes. Modern engineering knows how to give that protection and knows how to produce as a by-product the blessing of cheaper electric power.

With the Tennessee Valley Authority we made a beginning of that kind of protection on an intelligent regional basis. With only two of its ~~seven~~ projected dams completed there was no flood damage in the valley of the Tennessee this winter.

But how can we ~~safely either complete~~ that Tennessee project or extend the idea to the Ohio and ~~to many~~ other valleys while the validity of ~~such~~ operations has been placed in such doubt by the language of the highest Courts of the Nation that the lowest courts have not hesitated to paralyze its ~~operations~~ by sweeping injunctions.

The Ohio River and the Dust Bowl are not conversant with the ~~shameless~~ habits of the Interstate Commerce Clause. But we

DRAFT #7

shall never be safe in our lives, in our property or in the heritage of our soil until we have somehow made the Interstate Commerce Clause consonant with the habits of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl.

In the campaign of 1936, you and I and all who supported us did take cognizance of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl. We said: "Of course we will continue our efforts *** for drought and flood control ***. For these things we have only just begun to fight." Here, too, we cannot afford, either individually or as a party, to ~~forget~~ run away from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. Let them try ~~xxxxxx~~ that advice on sweating men piling sandbags on the dikes at Cairo. But I defy anyone to read the ~~legal~~ and opinions in the T.V.A. case, the ~~Duke-Power Case~~, the A.A.A. Case and tell us exactly what we can do as a National Government to control flood and drought ^{and generate cheap power} ^A in this session of the Congress with ~~any~~ reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional.

The language of the decisions already rendered, the widespread refusal to obey law incited by the attitude of the courts, create doubts and difficulties for almost everything else for which we have promised to fight -- help for the crippled, for the blind, for the mothers -- insurance for the unemployed--

DRAFT #7

security for the aged -- protection of the consumer against monopoly and speculation -- protection of the investor against unscrupulous promoters -- curbs on the overweening power and the unholy practices of utility holding companies -- the wiping out of slums -- cheaper electricity in the homes and on the farms of America. You and I owe it to ourselves individually, as a party, and as a nation to remove those doubts and difficulties.

That obligation started, ^{*began running*} on the morning of November 4, 1936, four months ago. That obligation was to begin that fight not sometime in the unpredictable future, but in the very next session of the Congress of the United States -- and to carry it on to a successful finish as soon as humanly possible.

In this fight, as the lawyers themselves say, time is of the essence. In three elections during the past five years great majorities have approved what we are trying to do. To me, and I am sure to you, those majorities mean that the people themselves realize the increasing urgency that we meet their needs ^{*now!*} Every ~~month~~ of delay creates risks of intervening events which may make more and more difficult an intelligent, speedy and democratic solution of our difficulties.

DRAFT #7

We cannot wait to build a new waterworks before we start to put out present fires -- particularly when we can't hope to start to build a new waterworks until we have fought to the death over what kind of waterworks we shall build.

As Chief Executive and as the head of the Democratic Party, I am unwilling to take those risks -- to the country and to the party -- of postponing one moment beyond absolute necessity the time when we can free from legal doubt those policies which offer a progressive solution of our problems.

We must ~~now~~ find a way to adapt the wholly reasonable interpretations of our law to ^A practical way of ~~dealing~~ ^{modern life}. And we must do it now. Floods and droughts and agricultural surpluses, strikes and industrial confusion, ~~incompetence~~ and disorder, cannot be handled forever on a catch-as-catch-can basis.

I might well have finished my conversation with my visitor from the Congress in White House, I have another ambition -- not so great an ambition as that which I have for the country, ^{I do} but an ambition which a life-long Democrat ^{as} need not believe unworthy. It is an ambition for the Democratic Party.

DRAFT #7

~~For the greater part of its history, our party has not been~~
the majority party. Some have felt it inevitable that the party follow this cycle of a short time in power and a long time out of power. They have pointed out it was made up of elements that on the surface seem diverse in interest. An unnatural combination, the wiseacres have said. How can it expect to prevail against the solid phalanxes of the reactionaries who so easily keep united on the single platform of saying "No" to everything.

~~The Democratic Party has always been the warm-hearted party
of the common man.~~ ^{of fine} ~~in the depression these whom the cynics~~
~~used to call an unnatural combination of diverse elements. But the division~~
~~of those elements~~
~~community of economic interest in the modern world, that makes them~~
~~the most natural unit in our political history. For the common~~
~~men of the farms and mines, and factories and offices of the Nation~~
~~now know that each is the other's customer, ally in a common~~
~~national prosperity.~~

The Democratic Party, and its associates, have had the imagination to perceive essential unity below the surface of apparent diversity. We ~~have become~~^{therefore} ~~are~~^{Can} ~~now~~^{long} a natural rallying point for the cooperative effort of all of those who truly believe in political and economic democracy.

DRAFT #7

It will take courage to let our minds be bold and find
the ways to meet the needs of the Nation. But for ~~us~~, now
as always, the counsel of courage is the counsel of wisdom.

~~John, we came to national responsibility by conquering
the fears of others. I hope we will not have to see that
responsibility pass from us because we have succumbed to fear
ourselves. ^{Run the thought} If we do not lead the American people where
they want to go, someone else will.~~

Here is one-third of a Nation ill-nourished, ill-clad,
ill-housed -- NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of farmers wondering
whether next year's prices will meet their mortgage interest --
NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of men and women labor-
ing for long hours in factories for inadequate pay -- NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of children who should
^{be} at school, working in mines and ~~factories~~ -- NOW!

Here are strikes more far-reaching than we have ever
known, costing millions of dollars -- NOW!

Here are spring floods threatening to roll again down
our river valleys -- NOW!

-20-

DRAFT #7

Here is the Dust Bowl beginning to blow again -- NOW!

If we would keep faith with those who had faith in us,

~~If we would have the courage of self-preservation,~~ I say we

must act -- NOW!

Words - 3773.

-1- Additional possible cuts in
Incomes - 49% and -

On this fourth of March, 1937, in millions of homes,
the thoughts of American families are reverting to the March
4th of another year.

That day in 1933 represented the death of one era and

Inertia
the birth of another. It is fitting that we appreciate our
heritage from those who settled our land and established our
M.W.G. democracy. But a true reverence for the past must never blind
us to the necessities of the present and the problems of the
future.

I speak tonight not only as the head of the Democratic
Party but as the representative of all Americans who have faith
in political and economic democracy.

SD [This occasion is more than a celebration of success
in maintaining office. It signalizes the approval, by an
overwhelming majority of citizens of all parties, of the high
purpose and the unremitting efforts with which your Adminis-
tration and your Congress have met the most perplexing problems
in our national history.]

| A

SPECH OF THE PRESIDENT
VICTORY DINNER
MARCH 4, 1937

On this fourth of March, 1937, in millions of homes, the thoughts of American families are reverting to the March 4th of another year.

That day in 1933 represented the death of one era and the birth of another. At that time we were facing [one kind of] grave national crisis. Today we are facing another crisis -- of a different kind but fundamentally even more grave than that of four years ago. I want to begin a (frank) discussion with you of that crisis tonight. I shall continue it on Tuesday night in a nation-wide broadcast and thereafter, from time to time, as may be necessary. For I propose to follow frankly my custom of speaking to the Nation concerning our common problems.

I speak tonight not only as the head of the Democratic Party but as the representative of all Americans who have faith in political and economic democracy.

Our victory was not sectional. It did not come from compromises and bargains. It was the voice of twenty-seven million ~~voters~~ ~~people~~ -- from every part of the land.

[It was a response to the humanity of a government that made honest effort to understand the problems of average men and women.]

[It was a response to the clear-sightedness of a government that could see the Nation as essentially one -- could see that permanent prosperity of all depends on creating purchasing power to all.]

[It was a response from those in other parties who found that they could make the most practical progress toward their ideals by working with and not against a liberal Democratic Party.]

[And above all it was a response of faith on the part of millions who had almost lost faith in the carrying out of promises by political parties.]

As the sum of all these responses, [the Democratic Party, once a minority party, is today the majority party by the greatest majority any party ever had.]

DRAFT #21

the faith of millions who had
almost lost faith.
-3-

It will remain the majority party so long as it continues to justify ~~these responses~~ -- so long as it continues to make modern democracy work -- so long and no longer. We are celebrating the 1936 victory. That was not a victory, over the pressing problems that perplex our generation. It was ~~only~~ a victory whereby our party won ~~the~~ opportunity to lead in the solution of ~~the~~ problems ^{final} that ~~had~~ ^{further} ~~is~~ our generation. Whether we shall celebrate in 1938, 1940, and in 1944, as we celebrate tonight, will deservedly depend upon whether the party continues on its course and solves those problems.

And if I have aught to say it will continue on its course and it will solve those problems.

After election day in 1936, some of our supporters were uneasy lest we grasp the excuse of a false era of good feeling to evade our obligations. They were worried by the evil symptom that the propaganda and the epithets of last Summer and Fall had died down.

Today, however, those who placed their confidence in us are reassured. For the tumult and the shouting have broken forth anew -- and from substantially the same elements of opposition. This new roar is the best evidence in the world that we

We have begun to keep our promises, that we have begun to move against conditions under which one-third of this Nation is still ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed.

We gave warning last November that we had only just begun to fight. Did some people really believe we did not mean it? Well -- I meant it, and you meant it.

A few days ago, a distinguished member of the Congress came to see me to talk about national problems in general and about the problem of the Judiciary in particular.

I said to him:

"John, I want to tell you something that is very personal to me -- something that you have a right to hear from my own lips. I have a great ambition in life."

My friend pricked up his ears.

I went on: "I am by no means satisfied with having twice been elected President of the United States by very large majorities. I have an even greater ambition."

By this time, my friend was sitting on the edge of his chair.

I continued: "John, my ambition relates to January 20, 1941." I could feel just what horrid thoughts my friend was thinking. So in order to relieve his anxiety, I went on to

DRAFT #21

-4A-

say:

"...My great ambition on January 20, 1941, is to turn over this desk and chair in the White House to my successor, whoever he may be, with the assurance that I am at the same

time ~~now~~ turning over to him, as President, a Nation intact, a Nation at peace, a Nation prosperous, a Nation clear in its knowledge of what powers it has to serve its own citizens, a Nation that is in a position to use those powers to the full, in order to move forward steadily to meet the modern needs of humanity — a Nation which has thus proved that the democratic form and methods of national government can and will succeed.

In these coming years I want to provide such assurance. I want to get the Nation as far along the road of progress as I can. I do not want to leave it to my successor in the condition in which Buchanan left it to Lincoln."

My friends, that ambition of mine for my successor can well be the serious ambition of every citizen who wants his United States to be handed down intact to his children and grandchildren.

I spoke in the dead earnestness of anxiety, I speak to you tonight in the same earnestness. For no one who sees as a today's whole ~~the~~ picture of this Nation and ~~the~~ the world ~~xxxthexxam~~ can help but feel concern for the future.

To the President of the United States there come, every day thousands of messages of appeal,

of protest, of information and advice, messages from rich and poor, from business man and farmer, from factory employe and relief worker, messages from every corner of our wide domain.

Those messages reflect the most striking feature of the life of this generation -- the feature which men who live mentally in another generation can least understand -- the ever-accelerating speed with which social forces now ^{gather} ~~make~~ headway.

A century ago, fifty years ago, even twenty-five years ago, the movements of civilization were far slower. The issue of slavery, for example, took at least forty years -- two generations -- of argument, discussion and futile compromise, before it came to a head in the tragic war between the States.

All human surges toward liberty and free government used to advance at that same slow pace. But today they rush upon us.

But economic freedom for the wage earner and the farmer and the small business man will not wait, like emancipation, for forty years. It will not wait for four years. It will not wait at all.

After the World War, there arose everywhere insistent demands upon government that human needs be met. The unthinking, who dwell in the past, have tried to block them. The wise who live in the present have recognized their innate justice and irresistible pressure — and have sought to guide them.

In some countries, a royalist form of government failed to meet these demands — and fell. In other countries, a parliamentary form of government failed to meet these demands — and fell. In still other countries, governments have managed to hold on, but civil strife has ~~fam~~ flared or threats of upheaval persist.

Democracy in many lands has failed for the time being to meet human needs. People have become so fed up with futile debate and party bickerings over methods that they have been willing to surrender democratic processes and principles in order to get things done. They have forgotten the lessons of history that ~~the ultimate failures of~~ dictatorships cost humanity far more than any temporary failures of democracy.

In the United States democracy has not yet failed ~~now~~ ~~now~~ and does not need to fail. And we propose not to let it fail!

Nevertheless, I cannot tell you with complete candor that in these past few years democracy in the United States has fully succeeded. Nor can I tell you, under present circumstances, just where American democracy is headed nor just what it is permitted to do in order to insure its continued success and survival. I can only hope.

For as yet there is no definite assurance that the three horse team of the American system of government will ~~coincide~~ pull together. If three well-matched horses are put to the task of ploughing up a field where the going is heavy, and the team of three pull as one, the field will be ploughed. If one horse lies down in the traces or plunges off in another direction, the field will not be ploughed.

What you and I call the principles of the New Deal did not originate on the fourth of March, 1933. We think of that date as their beginning, because it was not until then that the social demands they represented broke through the inertia of many years of failure to improve our political and economic processes.

What were those demands and needs? How far did we succeed in meeting them? What about them today?

Ever since the World War the farmers of America had been beating off ever-mounting disasters. This Administration tried to help them effectively where no other Administration had dared to take that risk.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act testified to our full faith and confidence that the very nature of our major crops makes them articles of commerce between the States. [Many years ago I learned that the price of New York State wheat is fixed by the size of the Kansas crop -- that the price of Georgia cotton is fixed by the size of the Texas crop. Can it truthfully be said that the raising of wheat and the raising of cotton are only of local concern.]

The A.A.A. testified also to our full faith and confidence that the preservation of sound agriculture is essential to the general welfare -- that the Congress of the United States had full constitutional authority to solve the national economic problems of the Nation's agriculture. By overwhelming votes, the Congress thought so too!

You know who assumed the power to veto, and did veto that program.

In the campaign of 1936, I said: "Of course we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops. We will persist in successful action for better land use, for ^{/A.L.} ~~A~~ forestation, *** for better marketing facilities for farm commodities, for a definite reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of farmer cooperatives, for crop insurance and a stable food supply. For all these things we have only just begun to fight."

Neither individually nor as a party can we postpone and run from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. But I defy anyone to read the majority opinion invalidating the A.A.A. and tell us what we can do for agriculture in this session of the Congress with any reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional.

The farmers were not the only people in distress in 1932. There were millions of workers in industry and in commerce who had lost their jobs, ~~millions~~ of young people who had never been able to find their first job, and ~~even~~ more millions whose jobs did not return them and their families enough to live on decently.

Administration and the Program
The Democratic Party made a gallant, sincere effort to raise wages, to reduce hours, to abolish child labor, to eliminate unfair trade practices.

We tried to establish machinery to adjust the relations between the employer and employee. We hoped that it would be operating smoothly before industrial warfare would overwhelm our efforts for industrial recovery.

And what happened?

You know who assumed the power to veto, and did veto, that program.

The Railroad Retirement Act, the National Recovery Act and the Gurney Coal Act were ^{successively} outlawed as the Child Labor Statute had been outlawed twenty years before.

Soon thereafter the Nation was told by a judicial pronouncement that although the Federal Government had thus been rendered powerless to touch the problem of hours and wages, the States were equally helpless; and that it pleased the "personal economic predilections" of a majority of the Court that we live in a Nation where there is no legal power anywhere to deal with its most difficult practical problems -- a No Man's Land of final futility.

Furthermore, court injunctions have paralyzed the machinery which we created by the National Labor Relations Act to settle ~~the~~ great disputes ~~then~~ raging in the industrial field, and, indeed, to prevent them from ever arising. We hope that this Act may yet escape final condemnation in the highest court. But so far the attitude and language of the courts in relation to many other laws have made the legality of this Act also uncertain, and have encouraged ~~men~~ to defy rather than obey it.

A

In the campaign of 1936 you and I promised this to working men and women:

"Of course we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America -- to reduce hours ~~too~~ over-long, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops. *** ~~so~~ we will provide useful work for the needy ~~and~~ unemployed. For all these things we have only just begun to fight."

again
And here ~~again~~ we cannot afford, either individually or as a party, to postpone or run from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers.

But I defy anyone to read the opinions concerning A.A.A., the Railroad Retirement Act, the National Recovery Act, the Guffey Coal Act and the New York Minimum Wage Law, and tell us exactly what, if anything, we can do for the industrial worker in this session of the Congress with any reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional.

During the course of the past four years the Nation has been overwhelmed by disasters of flood and drought. ~~so~~
times our productive land has been blown away or washed away at

~~a rate that spells ruin to us and our children.~~

Modern ~~engineering~~ ^{Qechnical} knows how to protect our land and our people from the recurrence of such catastrophes, and knows how to produce as a by-product the blessing of cheaper electric power. With the Tennessee Valley Authority we made a beginning of that kind of protection on an intelligent regional basis. With only two of its nine projected dams completed there was no flood damage in the valley of the Tennessee this Winter.

But how can we confidently complete that Tennessee Valley project or extend the idea to the Ohio and other valleys while ~~the validity of the Tennessee operation has been placed in such doubt by the language of the highest Courts that the~~ ^{factions} lowest courts have not hesitated to paralyze it, by sweeping injunctions.

The Ohio River and the Dust Bowl are not conversant with the habits of the Interstate Commerce Clause. But we

shall never be safe in our lives, in our property or in the heritage of our soil until we have somehow made the Interstate Commerce Clause consonant with the habits of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl.

In the campaign of 1936, you and I and all who supported us did take cognizance of the Ohio River and the Dust Bowl. We said: "Of course we will continue our efforts *** for drought and flood control ***. For these things we have only just begun to fight."

Here, too, we cannot afford, either individually or as a party, to postpone or run away from that fight on advice of defeatist lawyers. Let them try that advice on sweating men piling ~~sand~~^{fifteen} sandbags on the ~~dikes~~ at Caire.

But I defy anyone to read the opinions in the T.V.A. ^{the Duke Power case} case and the A.I.A. case and tell us exactly what we can do as a National Government in this session of the Congress to control flood and drought and generate cheap power with any reasonable certainty that what we do will not be nullified as unconstitutional.

The language of the decisions already rendered and the wide-spread refusal to obey law incited by the attitude of the

DRAFT #21

-15-A

courts, create doubts and difficulties for almost everything
else for which we have promised to fight -- help for the
crippled, for the blind, for the mothers -- insurance for
the unemployed --

security for the aged -- protection of the consumer against monopoly and speculation -- protection of the investor against ~~unscrupulous practices -- subservient to the overweening power and~~ ~~the unwholesome practices of utility holding companies~~ -- the wiping out of slums -- cheaper electricity ^{for} ~~in~~ the homes and on the farms of America. You and I owe it to our selves individually, as a party, and as a Nation to remove those doubts and difficulties.

[⁵⁵ That obligation began running on the morning of ~~the~~ November 4, 1936, four months ago. That obligation was to begin that fight not sometime in the unpredictable future, but in the very next session of the Congress of the United States -- and to carry it on to a successful finish as soon as humanly possible.]

In this fight, as the lawyers themselves say, time is of the essence. In three elections during the past five years great majorities have approved what we are trying to do. To me, and I am sure to you, those majorities mean that the people themselves realize the increasing urgency that we meet their needs now. Every delay creates risks of intervening events which make more and more difficult an intelligent, speedy, and democratic solution of our difficulties.

As Chief Executive and as the head of the Democratic Party, I am unwilling to take those risks — to the country and to the party — of postponing one moment beyond absolute necessity the time when we can free from legal doubt those policies which offer a progressive solution of our problems.

[We must find a way to adapt the wholly reasonable interpretations of our law to a practical way of modern life.
And we must do it now.] Floods and droughts and agricultural surpluses, strikes and industrial confusion and disorder, cannot be handled forever on a catch-as-catch-can basis.

I have another ^{ambition} ~~solution~~ — not ~~as~~ great an ambition as that which I have for the country, but an ambition which as a life-long Democrat, I do not believe unworthy. It is an ambition for the Democratic Party.

In its modern history, our party has not often been the majority party.

Before the depression the wiseacres used to call us an unnatural combination of diverse elements. But the depression made evident a fundamental community of economic interest of those elements in the modern world, making us the most natural unit in American political history. For the common man of the farms, the mines, the factories and the offices of the Nation now knows that each is the other's customer and ally in a common national prosperity.

The ~~Progressive~~ Party, and its associates, have had the imagination to perceive essential unity below the surface of apparent diversity. We can, therefore, long remain a natural rallying point for the cooperative effort of all of those who truly believe in political and economic democracy.

It will take courage to let our minds be bold and find the ways to meet the needs of the Nation. But for our Party, now as always, the counsel of courage is the counsel of wisdom.

If we do not have the courage to lead the American people where they want to go, ~~someday~~ else will.

Here is one-third of a Nation ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed -- NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of farmers wondering whether next year's prices will meet their mortgage interest -- NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of men and women laboring for long hours in factories for inadequate pay --NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of children who should be at school, working in mines and mills -- NOW!

Here are strikes more far-reaching than we have ever known, costing millions of dollars -- NOW!

Here are spring floods threatening to roll again down our river valleys -- NOW!

Here is the Dust Bowl beginning to blow again -- NOW!

If we would keep faith with those who had faith in us,
if we would make democracy succeed,
I say we must act -- NOW!

THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

On the left are two drafts of the President's Inaugural Address of January 20, 1937; on the right are two drafts of the Victory Dinner speech of March 4, 1937, one of them the final reading copy. Notice the frequent changes, omissions, and insertions — all in the President's own handwriting.

THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

SPEECH AT THE VICTORY DINNER

At the left is a draft, with corrections by the President, of his speech at the Victory Dinner on March 4, 1937, and on the right is the final reading copy of the same speech.

THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

Four drafts of the address made by President Roosevelt at the Democratic Party "Victory Dinner" held in Washington on March 4, 1937. The changes, additions and corrections are all in President Roosevelt's handwriting.

Call of Mrs. S.
tonight

[NOTE: The FDR Library
staff has translated the
stereographic notation on the
M.S., as above] - K.W.H.

Contents of manuscript case labeled: "F.D.R. — Speech — Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C. — March 4, 1937 — Victory Dinner."

- ✓ (1). Draft of Victory Dinner speech numbered 1. *marked FDR*
- ✓ (2). " " " " " " " 2. ^{3 - carbon copy}
- ✓ (3). " " " " " " " 3.
- ✓ (4). " " " " " " " 4.
- ✓ (5). " " " " " " " 14.
- ✓ (6). " " " " " " " 21.
- ✓ (7). Reading copy of Victory Dinner Speech (not numbered).
- ✓ (8). Outline of Victory Dinner speech (not numbered).
- ✓ (9). Draft of Inaugural Address of January 20, 1937, numbered 1.
- ✓ (10). " " " " " " " " " 2.

Note removals below:

September 9, 1943. For exhibit in National Archives: Items 6, 7, 9, 10.

" " " " " " " F.D.R. Library: Items 1, 3, 4, 5. } *EAS* *9-8-43*